

LEARNING THE JOB: AN EXAMINATION OF
INDUCTION INTO AN AUSTRALIAN POLICE FORCE

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The statistical segment of this research project was designed, implemented and analysed by my colleague Dr. Norman Kafer, Senior Lecturer in Psychology at the University of Newcastle.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		<u>Page Nos.</u>
Introduction	"Each to each a looking glass"	1 - 2
Methodology	"Walking in Another's Shoes"	3 - 23
The Presenting Perspective	"... you will all turn into pigs"	24 - 47
The Academy and Interaction	"Welcome to the Brotherhood"	48 - 59
The Work Face Experience	"Nobody listens to a Probationary Constable"	60 - 83
The Essential Job:	"... there were two blokes trapped in a car wrapped around a telephone post"	84 - 102
Bibliography		103 - 104
Appendices	Appendix A	105 - 111
	Appendix B	112 - 127
	Appendix C	128 - 132

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I have no hesitation, however, in extending a particular tribute to John Avery, who must count as one of the most enlightened and interested police officers in this country. The project simply would have not been possible without his support. My hope is that this project will contribute to the realization of the fundamental training initiatives this officer has instituted.

My thanks to Mrs. Dianne Hill for her masterful stenographic assistance.

It is customary to point out that the views of the author are his responsibility. In this report, which I feel reflects favourably on the N.S.W. Police, there is material liable to journalistic distortion which may distract from my enduring estimation of the N.S.W. Police as being fundamentally men of competence and of honour. That some of the material in this report will be hurtful to those who helped me is a possibility I've had to face. The views are my views and it is I alone who must accept the responsibility of presenting them.

LEARNING THE JOB: AN EXAMINATION OF INDUCTION INTO AN AUSTRALIANPOLICE FORCESYNOPSIS

Premised on the view that one's occupational identity makes a major input into adult interaction, this study monitored the adoption of the occupational identity of "policemen" by a cohort of New South Wales Police officers. The project sought to answer four specific questions.

- (i) How does becoming a "policeman" affect the way one interacts with friends and acquaintances?
 - (ii) Is this suspected change stressful?
 - (iii) Does the formal training of police officers address such changes?
- and (iv) If such changes are stressful, how can we change training to make them less so?

The project used basically a qualitative design in that the major research methods were the conversational interview and observation. These methods were supplemented by the use of some standard statistical instruments. The fundamental qualitative technique focussed on the reaction of others, relatives, friends and acquaintances to the trainees' induction into the police force. In a more general way the project sought to establish the trainees' expectations of their being police officers and how they thought being "in the job" would affect their life generally. By following the one group through their training and probationary period (longitudinal design) and matching their views with a group already graduates (cross sectional design), the study sought to establish what becoming a police officer meant in the eyes of some forty trainees - particularly as it affected their friendship patterns.

The project's methodology is indebted to the Chicago School of Symbolic Interactionism. In terms of actual research activity such a stance dictated that the researcher seek to see the police world through the eyes of his respondents.

Reporting a great amount of verbatim data, the project aimed for a standard of proof which may be phrased in terms of "balance of probability". The

chosen methodology asks that the reader be given as much exposure as possible to the first hand data on which the researcher's conclusions, albeit tentative, are constructed. In adopting this strategy, the report sought to gauge the sort of commitment that the sample group brought to the enterprise of policing. By making a passing comparison to the commitment revealed by a group of medical students in another of the author's studies, the project estimated that the bulk of the sample approached policing with no burning commitment to the enterprise. Some were economic conscripts but the bulk were young people "trying on" the occupational role. Some, though few, were fundamentally quite idealistic.

As soon as the decision to join the police was made known, there began to operate against this background of peripheral commitment, social forces of a very considerable magnitude which the report argues, fundamentally altered the perspective from which the trainees saw the police world. The decision to join the police is a subject of intense and enduring interest among family members. But whereas family basically supported the decision, mainly for its implications for the inductees' entering a career, friends coupled their remarking on the decision with a banter which proved, over the twelve months of service, onerous. Acquaintances also couched their recognition of the decision to join in bantering terms though often the recognition was accompanied by verbal, even physical hostility. The report argues that these reactions constitute a significant force for distancing the new trainee from his former world.

It is against this background of commitment that the attitude changing force of the Police Academy operates. The separation from society, which has already begun, is paralleled by a very persuasive invitation to join the "brotherhood of police". This "brotherhood" is, in turn, premised on the functionality of police working as a united group, a "thin blue line", between the criminal or hoodlum element and the wider society who, although the beneficiaries of police protection, are largely unappreciative.

Leaving the Academy with a view of themselves and their brother officers which, in its extreme form, is one of heroic martyrdom, the trainee is extremely vulnerable to other forces which distinguish him from the rest of society. He routinely goes behind the respectable front of society to the world of the aberrant and in so doing can become cynical towards "the public" in general. Interacting with this negative separating force is the seemingly paradoxical fact of the constable being afforded preferential treatment in a complex network of occasional and institutionalized privilege

which has a similar effect to other separating forces in that it also says to the officer he is indeed different from his fellows in the "civilian world". The acceptance, or even mere extension of such privileges which the paper argues contributes to a climate of expectation upon which an ethical slide into dishonourable conduct may be founded, is literally a violation of police regulations. This violation by basically ethical men is tentatively explained as a reaction to a "they" of headquarters who, like the public, also cannot, or won't, understand the reality of being a street policeman.

Such privileged treatment, notwithstanding being a street policeman, basically entails dealing with matters of vital importance to an unappreciative public. The reaction of people to this service is such that half of the respondents had, on occasions, disguised the fact that they were police officers in off duty arenas.

The report argues that becoming a police officer entails a fundamental change in self-identity - a change brought about in significant part by the reactions of others - reactions supportive, hostile and commercially deferential and which distinguish the officer from the community. Moreover, the report argues that present training procedures exacerbate the isolation process which, though significant, is not so stressful as to entail any serious thoughts about leaving a job which most officers found personally very rewarding in terms of the vital contribution to society. Nonetheless, the police occupation envelops other identifying characteristics - it is a "greedy" occupation.

In acknowledging a 1978 internal review of training by Inspector John Avery and the 1981 Inquiry by Mr. Justice Lusher, the report concludes with an annotated recommendation for a restructured police education/training programme in the manner of a semi-professional occupation.

INTRODUCTION

*"Each to each a looking-glass
Reflects the other that doth pass"*

I get a little bit jacked off about people takin' the mickey outa things. I have a really good friend and he said to me, "Oh here's Dave; he's a walloper, he's a pig." Ha - Ha - Ha. It ended up he said to me one night, "You're changin' so much." I said "The reason I'm changin' at all is cause you're makin' me change because you're forcing me into changin'. You're not treatin' me the same as you did before." He's expecting me to do different things.

(Secondary Trainee, 1979)

Vollmer & Mills prefaced their landmark work on Professionalization by underscoring the fact that the adult of our society is a "drawer of water and a hewer of wood". From the literal dichotomy of work of our earliest ancestors has evolved a sophisticated taxonomy of occupations numbering in the contemporary world of work in excess of 25,000 (1966). Yet as students of the human condition will note this specialization has assumed much greater significance than essential life sustenance functions. From the time of the first work specialization - from the time that hunters were distinguished from agriculturists, medicine men from priests, warriors from sages the kind of work that a man does is "as good a clue as any to the course of his life and to his social being and identity". (Hughes: 58:7). When we ask a guest at a social gathering "What do you do?" we are asking not only what his principal income producing activity is but are seeking at the same time a vital clue to the ensuing interaction. In the words of Erving Goffman we are constructing a definition of the situation (1959). Moreover, following the "looking glass self" the work identity of the plumber, or the psychiatrist, the gaol warden, or the bankclerk or the schoolteacher will affect not only the ways others perceive and hence interact with him but also the way he perceives himself (Cooley, 1908). Some occupations however would appear to dominate the identity more than others. Certainly at an informal social gathering if someone is introduced as a "clergyman" the effect on the ensuing interaction is likely to be greater than if he were introduced as say a "bank officer" - similarly the "school teacher" is likely to have lesser impact than "psychiatrist".

This research project is about the fundamental effect that occupational identity does have on interaction in society. In seeking to understand this phenomenon I took as my exclusive focus the occupation of "police officer" in the belief that the police occupation was of more likely significance in illustrating the intended phenomenon than "cost accountant" or "carpenter". As students of the sociology of occupations I was interested in the emergent phenomenon of an occupational identity of "copper", "pig", "police officer" by a group of police trainees from the time they first made personal inquiries of the N.S.W. Police Department to the time they graduated as fully sworn-in constables some twelve to fifteen months later.

The police in contemporary Australia deliver a central social service. Although having some difficulty with the self estimation proffered by some police as "the thin blue line", the barrier between democracy and barbarism, there can be little doubt that the police contribute in the most visible way to the maintenance of natural rights in society. (Hart, 1961). Leaving aside the rhetoric of the old "new" criminologists of police as lackeys of the grand conspiracy, there can be little doubt that on the roads, and in other public places, the existence if not the presence of police allows us to make implicit assumptions which, given the fact of co-existence, enable us to pursue our share of freedom.

My purpose was to contribute to the understanding of this socially important occupation by looking at the police occupation in its societal context through the eyes of those being inducted into the occupation. By adopting this stance I felt the project could contribute to the better preparation of police to meet the demands of their occupation.

WALKING IN ANOTHER'S SHOES

"What value can there be in buying scientific rigour with irrelevant methods - searching in the brightly lit foyer for items lost in the dim foreboding attic; because - as the fool explained - the light in the foyer is so much better."

(Barber, 1973)

Example 1In Situ Notes

Use of firearms.

161 Check it out.

His M.O. - knows language well.

Nobody else in the classroom remarks - Turns around and said "oh".

"breakers".

Police idiom.

Rite de passage.

Note member of class turning around to look at me on occasion of story. Pt. of, singular interest is the "we feeling".

Look the same from the back.

Reconstructed Material

This was a lesson by X (Instructor) on firearms. Once again they were told not to stand up. Walking with the instructor up to the lesson I said, "Their experiences will be interesting". In effect he asked them if they had any experiences. About five guys put their hands up. He said "I don't want those guys who have just had experience shooting stray animals." Two guys put their hands down. He asked one of the other guys.

It was Y. He had a horror story. I guess it was the most singularly interesting piece of research data today. The guy was talking about a 'person, (a druggie,) on premises call'. He got a wrong call on V.K.G. - the police radio - about a chemist shop. In fact there were a number of chemist shops. "The druggie" he said, "was strung right out" and he laid him across the top of the police car and he kept fighting, pleading for mercy and fighting at the same time.

... The most remarkable thing of the whole story was that he (trainee) said "We're all here in the classroom Sergeant so I can tell you what went on." (Meaning all here alone) Some people gave him visual cues to look around. He saw me and was quite singularly embarrassed. He did later recover his level of rapport but he was quite embarrassed giving this in-house information to an outsider. I discussed the matter with X (Instructor) and said I wouldn't use the actual details of the incident in the report. He said he had hoped I'd use some sort of editorial licence. The trainee used the police language all the time. He used the terms "breakers" etc. He had the attention of the class. Their attention was riveted on him. Looked like the incident was a rite de passage. Very much felt an outsider in this case Throughout this nicely balanced lesson the emphasis was on the power and the restraints on that power. All in uniform look the same from the back. Only individual touch is the socks. (Field notes reconstructed on tape from notebook, p.22.)

Perhaps the most treacherous pitfall in the qualitative research enterprise is to overestimate just how fully one blends into the host group. The personal discomfort that one experiences when one is re-identified as a visitor, albeit a welcome one, is matched by serious methodological implications which are suggestive of Denzin's notion of the fallacy of objectivism (1970:80). Although Denzin was addressing the wider problem of imposition of the researcher's

perspective on the research subject, his point applies also to the researcher who misunderstands his standing with the research population. (See example 1). This misdemeanour is slight beside that of not recognizing at all that the research act itself is a process of symbolic interaction (Denzin, 1970:83), which characteristic must render the "researcher's activities ... as much an object of study as the actor's ways of knowing or explaining his environment". (Cicourel, 1968:vii). The researcher who seeks to participate and observe or merely observe is in similar situations to Schutz's "stranger" (1964:32) who is bent on interpreting the "cultural" pattern of the social group he enters. Like the "stranger", the researcher must translate the cultural pattern into "terms of the cultural pattern of his home group". Unlike the Stranger the researcher, most of all the announced researcher, must not only translate but transmit selectively the details of that cultural pattern to the researcher's home group.

The transmission, hopefully, is as accurate a representation as possible but is of course incomplete not just because of economy demands but because of what Becker et.al. call the researcher's "double duty".

We have a double duty - to our own profession of social observation and analysis and to those who have allowed us to observe their conduct. We do not report everything we observe, for to do so would violate confidences and otherwise do harm. On the other hand we must take care not to bias our analyses and conclusions. Finding a balance between our obligations to our informants and the organization (Kansas Medical School) on the one hand, and our scientific duty, on the other is not easy. (1963:15)

Good attentions notwithstanding, the researcher is inevitably a "marginal man" whose loyalty to the host group must be always under potential challenge by the members of that group who may see themselves, not altogether inaccurately, as having little to gain but a considerable amount to lose. The methodological corollary of this observation is that the element of contingency in the public construction of conclusions must be underscored by consideration of researcher rapport - a rapport which rests in considerable part on the host group's attribution of motive. (Example 2).

Example 2In Situ Notes

Challenge to motives.

Reply convincing?

Reconstructed Notes

X asked me "Tell me why are you doing this? I asked him "Doing what?" "You know", he said "What you're doing at the academy. What's it for - a thesis?" "No, not that. I've written my last thesis. It's for interest really. We're expected to do research. Anyway, I like to do it. I get a charge out of it; I guess." (X replied), "Well ya can't knock that. Will you get a book out of it?" "I might. You don't make money out of books in our game. If you want to get promoted you've got to do research. That aside, I like doing research. I just do." "O.K."

Background to the Study

Throughout each year hundreds of young men and women present themselves at the enquiry counter at the N.S.W. Police Headquarters seeking information about joining the police force. Of those who approach the enquiry desk a little over five hundred will eventually arrive at the N.S.W. Police Academy in Bourke Street, Redfern, to begin their study for a police career as Initial Trainees. Some eleven weeks later they stand with hands on bibles in colourful but solemn ceremony before hundreds of kin and friends to swear to "well and truly serve our sovereign lady the Queen in the office of constable of police without favour or affection, malice or ill will" and "to the best of my skill and knowledge discharge all the duties thereof faithfully according to law - so help me God." Example 3 recalls the details of the day.

Example 3In Situ Notes

Commissioner's great police fellowship stress.

Discretion - do not invoke the letter of the law.

Deal with trivialities by a smile and a caution.

You're all now members of the club. It's international.

It's rewarding.

Reconstructed Notes

Graduation day continued. Commissioner introduces them to "the brotherhood"... Great stress at this graduation exercise on police fellowship. Told them to deal with trivialities with a smile and a caution. "You're all members of the club - It's international". Very true, of course, the bit about the club. The heroes of the occupation are paraded before these neophytes. Ones who were shot, who disarmed, who risked their lives. One case involved the disarming of a crazed man who had killed (?) two people with a tomahawk.

Plain clothes constables -
2 murderers apprehended.

Tomahawk - oohs and aahs.

None looked up.

Rescue squad daring.

Note 7. p.72, 73.

Police helicopter going over. The
whole seriality of the organization
is most obvious. Clear statement on
role models!

This ceremony conducted before the elders and heroes of their new profession is strongly reminiscent of graduating physicians swearing before a gathering of similiar proportions the Hippocratic oath or officer cadets or seminarians or postulants swearing or vowing their respective allegiance to occupations whose "claims over one's daily existence extend well beyond official duties. (Skolnick, 1965:43. Niederhoffer, 1978. Rubinstein, 1973. Cain, 1973. Banton, 1964). This research project is about some of the occupational claims of "copper" as seen by "coppers". Formally stated, the project examined the effects on police inductees of the "Police Trainee" and "Probationary Constable" identity as such effects are perceived by inductees. Of particular interest was the perceived influence of the emergent occupational identity on interactions with others outside the force. Further, the study monitored the latent and manifest institutional press of the N.S.W. Police Academy as such press appeared related to the interaction between trainees and the newly constructed category "civilians".

The initial research proposal to the police department phrased the matter thus:

Project seeks, over the period Sept. 1978 - Jan. 1980, to address by observation, interview and survey four interrelated questions:

1. To what extent do trainee and probationary officers perceive changes in interactions, both on and off duty, between themselves and others as they undergo induction into police training and police work?
2. What impact on trainee and probationary officers do such changes have?
3. Do training procedures address such changes?
4. How might training procedures be altered with a view to accommodation of such changes and the minimization of their stress potential?

The field study heeded the methodological imperatives of the Chicago School of Symbolic Interactionism. (Denzin, 1970:76 - 91). The field strategy and analysis is indebted to Denzin's derivation of the methodological principles of Symbolic Interactions:

- 1) Symbols and interaction must be brought together before an investigation is complete.
- 2) the investigator must indicate how shifting definitions of self are reflected on ongoing patterns of behaviour.
- 3) The investigator must simultaneously link man's symbols and conceptions of self with the social circles and relationships that furnish him with those symbols and conceptions.
- 4) Research methods must capture the "situated aspects" of human conduct.
- 5) research methods must be capable of reflecting both stable and processual forms.
- 6) act of engaging in social research must be seen as a process of symbolic interaction.
- 7) proper use of concepts is at first sensitizing and only later operational.

The two principal field techniques were the semi-structured interview and semi-participant observation. The interview segment entailed the interviewing of a stratified sample of Initial and Secondary trainees who entered the Academy as ordinary Police Trainees. Fifteen Initial Trainees and fifteen Secondary Trainees were selected from what are called Placement Forms.

The Placement Form in addition to providing valuable sampling information constitutes an interesting piece of data in itself. In addition to age, sex, etc. the form notes previous occupation, whether or not the trainee plays or played representative sport and, from an interactionist perspective most interestingly, the names of any relatives "in the job". The form was completed by each of the some one hundred and forty inductees who presented themselves at 8 a.m. on a Monday morning at 749 Bourke Street, Redfern, to begin their eleven weeks of Initial Training for the N.S.W. Police. These one hundred and forty came to their Initial Training by three routes - through the Cadet system, from the Junior Trainee ranks or as ordinary entrants. The now defunct Cadet system and the present Junior Trainee system entailed

trainees becoming involved in police work as Cadets or Junior Trainees from the age of 16 or 17 respectively as employees, but not officers, of the N.S.W. Police Force. The research sought to capture what promised to be a novel and somewhat sudden phenomenon as it occurred and rather than rely on a long range retrospective technique I decided to interview only the uninitiated, the Ordinary Entrant. Moreover, for the same reason, I excluded from the initial sample any rejoiner and any trainee who indicated that he had relatives in the force.

Of the group of one hundred and thirty-two in the target class, seventeen were Cadets, twenty-four were Junior Trainees and two were women. The cross-sectional sample group presented a similar profile. Thirty trainees from as near as possible to a "non-police" background were selected for interview. As time became available the sample was complemented by thirteen extra respondents who included two trainees and two Probationary Constables who had resigned. Each of the major occupations of origin were represented in the final sample (see p. 37 for a breakdown of the previous occupations of the longitudinal research population).

The study incorporated both longitudinal and cross sectional design with the longitudinal sample being reinterviewed on their return to the Academy for Secondary training after spending eleven months as Probationary Constables in and around the city of Sydney. (Figure 1).

The original interview schedule contained eighteen questions. These questions were directed at estimating how trainees perceived the reactions of kin, friends and acquaintances to their decision to join the police and their reaction to their "Police Trainee" or "Constable" status. Further, the interviews were directed at tracing the career of the interviewee's decision to enter the force from the time of initial interest in joining "the job" through to their actual application at the police recruitment

Figure 1: Research Design

Sept./Oct. 1978	Initial Survey and Interview		Secondary Survey and Interview
December 1978			
Oct./Nov. 1979			
Nov./Dec. 1979	Exiting Secondary Survey		

office in Police Headquarters to eventual arrival at the Academy. The interviews probed their expectations of the job ahead and their general estimation of the adequacy of their training. To the extent that the interviews were directed specifically at ascertaining changes in friendship patterns etc. the interview schedule was structured. To the extent that the interviews were directed at ascertaining changes in world view generally, the structuring went only to the extent of questions, say, of Secondary Trainees, "You've been in the job nearly a year now. How's it been?" Most of the interviews lasted an hour or more with some going to two and a half hours. The interviews were sometimes serious and sometimes hilarious. Two respondents were uncommunicative and only one trainee declined the use of the tape recorder. I wanted to see the world as far as I could through their eyes. To this end I encouraged them to unpack their world, interjecting to ask for incidents which would illustrate the point they were making. I also interrupted their narrative to ask questions which emerged as important in the pilot project and which emerged during the course of the main project. The nett result of the initial foray into the field was a reduction in the number of questions and hence the degree of structure of the interview design from eighteen questions plus sub parts in stage one to six questions, or, more accurately, topics in stage two - topics which included specific inquiries regarding the perceived attitude of others in questions like "Ever disguised the fact that you were a policeman or trainee?"

The interview segment of the project yielded nearly eight hundred pages of single spaced transcription. Given the semi structured nature of the interview schedule and given its on-going modification, it is appropriate to comment on just how this mammoth amount of data was made manageable. Transcriptions were, by and large, verbatim, though in passing it should be noted that even the most conscientious of the stenographic assistants found some of the interactants' lexicon, including the researcher's, heavy going. Unlike the researcher who employs a highly structured schedule, I was faced

with the considerable problem of categorising material which was often tangential to the question at hand. I was very conscious, perhaps even too conscious, of making the interviews a non-threatening even pleasant experience for the interviewees. As I will note in more detail below, police are unused to having outsiders on their patch and suspicious, indeed sometimes fearful, particularly of "academics" who come with the blessing of Headquarters. I can say at this point that co-operation from staff and trainees was, in the main, excellent. This level of co-operation can be partly attributed to the grape vine feedback which defined the interviews as being "interesting". I was very much concerned with the interviewees' perception of their new world not only for reasons of research productivity but simply because it was interesting. That this concern was interpreted positively is illustrated in the fact that on a number of occasions trainees with personal problems came, or were referred to, my office. Calling on a long dormant formal counselling training, I think I was of some assistance to these young people away from their homes for the first time in meeting the demands of a new, and to some, unexpected life style. These occasional exercises contributed, I feel, to a favourable definition of the research situation and led to enthusiastic participation.

Such observations aside, the problem of handling data generated by this degree of co-operation was met by coding all the data of the interviews into one of twenty-seven categories. The first four categories were the principal research questions with the remaining twenty-three developed as the interviews and analysis progressed. Not all the interviewees were asked exactly the same questions though all were asked questions related to the principal research questions e.g. "How did your friends react to your decision to join, the job?" Yet in discussing their experiences after twelve months' service not all respondents addressed or were directed to their attitude to say the Internal Affairs branch. As we shall see the latter question is an important one. Inevitably in the qualitative enterprise questions emerge or are dropped as

the field activity progresses. New categories arise. One such was labelled "Discretion Limited" which dealt with the fact that Probationary Constables were concerned that the Commissioner had limited their discretion to caution motorists or on another front were limited by H.Q.'s interpretation of privacy regulations in referring victims of domestic crisis to welfare agencies. In reporting the data in this paper I have employed quasi-counts where the research design would not be misrepresented. In other instances I have used less precise terms like "widely held view" or "in general estimation". I see little point in adopting the procedure of some qualitative methodologists by saying "twenty-four negative references to Internal Affairs were found" unless we can somehow put a denominator on the quantity. This brings us to an important methodological issue which I'll address again in the balance of probabilities argument.

The techniques of the qualitative methodologist don't sit well with the popular notion of scientific sociology. Yet, even if we accept the scientific paradigm (Filstead, Smolicz), qualitative techniques do provide an important means by which hypotheses are generated. The moving from the *verstehen* to the empirical validation or rejection are techniques common to the natural sciences. I myself don't hold with the narrowness of this benediction of the qualitative enterprise. Indeed I feel that the themes which this research project addresses are amply addressed and meet the "balance of probability argument", if not the popular misconstruction of upper case "Empirical" sociology's beyond reasonable doubt" standard of proof.

To respond to accusations of unbridled "softness", the qualitative segment of the research was supplemented here by the use of a survey instrument embracing two types of questions - the Semantic Differential Scale and a social distance scale. These measures developed by Osgood, Suci, Tannenbaum and Bogardus and adapted and implemented by Dr. Norm Kafer of the University of Newcastle were intended to augment the qualitative material of the interview and observation segment. Data available from this segment

is included wherever relevant.

The semi-participant segment of the field work entailed attendance at class, participation in range and driving centre activities and the very occasional involvement in physical training and unarmed personal defence exercises. Data from this segment was gathered in field work books in situ with tape annotations and descriptions being made at the conclusion of each day of field work. From 15 field note books have come thirty-two hours of tape reflections designed to capture those nuances of the institutional press not revealed in formal and formalized curriculum offerings - all of which were made accessible to the research team. The semi-participant observation segment particularly focussed on "asides" which, perhaps more than formal curriculum offerings, gave guidance to trainees as to how they should cope with interactions both on and, more importantly, off duty. The very extensive observation section in the Academy was complemented by a little under 100 hours incidental but recorded observation in the field - a segment which involved attending "jobs" and familiarization hours with newly sworn in probationary and experienced police officers.

The collation of 496 pages of field reflections into manageable proportions was achieved by the same technique adopted for the relatively more structured interview material. Thirty-three categories were eventually settled ranging from the expected "Club Membership", which matter embraced matters as "joining the family data" (see below p. 18) to "appearance change", the latter referring to the dramatic change in physical appearance occasioned by the donning of uniforms and the machinations of "Charlie the barber". Both in the interview data and in the observation segment elaborate cross referencing of specific pieces of data was achieved. Although indebted to a well developed data scavenging mentality, the practice of cross referencing buttressed the data evidencing technique I've called, for want of a less pretentious label, "obiter dicta".

Methodological Location - Some Thoughts

When I began this study I thought of myself, and presented myself, as owing a theoretical and hence methodological debt to the Chicago School of Symbolic Interactionism particularly as operationalized in the work of Howard Becker and Everett Hughes on occupational socialization. Although conscious of some fundamental departures in field techniques, I saw myself working within the same theoretical spectrum dominated by the notion of reflexive self and "taking the role of the other" as these standard bearers of the symbolic interactionist tradition. I shared their attention to the relationship between individual conduct and the social group (Denzin, 1974:260) and would have liked to have employed what is undoubtedly their central research technique in socialization studies - participant observation. Participant observation is, of course, a most rewarding research technique with its peculiar data promise and its own very real methodological problems not the least of which is that of "going native", a matter which will be of some relevance below. Ideally I would have plumped unreservedly like Becker to giving priority to the observation segment of the research. Thus the primacy of the interview material in the present project is a compromise dictated by economy as well as access issues. In adopting interviewing as the prime field technique I clearly moved away from the field imperatives of the Chicago school. Such a movement may have led me in the direction of that area of sociological inquiry labelled "ethnomethodology" which boasts a range of field techniques bounded on the one hand by the participant observation of Cicourel, (1968) and by the interactional vandalism of Garfinkel on the other. (Turner, 1974). Though ill at ease with much ethnomethodological writing which appears to be research of the research act, I am in sympathy with the ethnomethodological quest to make the process of conclusion construction more publicly analyzable than is evident in the work of some symbolic interactionists, (making the phenomenon accountable). (See examples 1 and 2).

Given these observations, it may be of interest to try and locate this present project by reference to two classic symbolic interactionist statements,

that articulated in Becker's Boys in White and that implicit in Johnathon Rubinstein's City Police (1973).

In seeking to tap the changing perspectives of his medical student respondents Becker informs us that he was "interested in discovering the systematic relationship between many kinds of phenomena and events considered simultaneously." He continued, "Our analysis would proceed to building tentative models of that set of systematic relationships and revising these models as new phenomena requiring incorporation came to our attention (1963:21)". In so stating his purpose Becker reiterates his clearly stated view that "symbolic interactionist theory lacks a body of substantive propositions that would have directed our attention to particular phenomena" (1963:19). A clearer statement on avoiding premature closure on research issues would be difficult to find. In this view Becker would appear to see symbolic interactionist theory as not so much a theory as a methodological stance which urges in this Chicago view the avoidance of pre-structuring the reality under examination. This argument can be further evidenced in his opting for participant observation as the prime means of making accountable the changing perspectives of medical students. In reporting these perspectives Becker emphasizes the importance of allowing the reader "ample opportunity to form his own judgement" by engaging in what he sees as a public analysis of data (1963:32).

Becker's documentation, say of the "Initial Perspective", draws material from different sections of the observation segment and includes a quasi-count of observed frequency of behaviour which can buttress or undermine the claim for a particular and general "Initial Perspective". (1963:99). In short, the way the students act seems consistent with the way they talk. (See Denzin's fourth principle 1970: p.87). The balance of probability then would be in favour of the Initial Perspective being a "fact" of the first year students' reality. If there is any deficiency in Boys in White it may lie in the area of Denzin's sixth principle namely "Conducting research and

being a sociologist is best viewed as an act of symbolic interaction!" (1970:87). Although Denzin's statement is directed more to the blatant fallacy of objectivism issue one is not conscious throughout Boys in White of any problem being occasioned by the researcher's presence; not as detailed as, say, Klockars gives to his field presence in Professional Fence (1974:99). All material on how the researchers were received throughout constitutes data in the view, I would argue, of Denzin (and Rubenstein & Klockars). Upon reflection, Becker in his quest for public analysability of the data would, in all probability, agree but the extent to which this should be taken may be a matter of substantial disagreement. Becker would, I'd suggest, probably become impatient with the more committed ethnomethodologist just as the committed ethnomethodologist, and in my case the committed symbolic interactionist, would express varying degrees of impatience with Becker's argument for perspective change. Certainly the balance of probability is clearly in Becker's favour despite the demand for some substantial acts of faith.

Greater attention to rapport problems and to reporting generally can be found in other symbolic interactionist examinations of medical schools, for example Miller's work (1970), and to a lesser extent, in Sam Bloom's study of Downstate (1971). In the ways we conducted ourselves in our respective fields Becker and I are fairly close. There is, I would posit, no substantial disagreement then about a theoretically oriented methodology - our only point of difference would be in the fullness of our data reporting and in my broader view (given Becker did have accounting problems) of what constitutes data.

Becker's examination was, of course, more global in scope. The terms of access sought and access granted for the present study were, by comparison, quite specific. For example, the bulk of the data addressing police occupational socialization arose almost as a byproduct of observation directed at assessing how the institutional press addressed the matter of changes in interaction, yet in meeting this purpose there was, as I've stated, a conscious

decision on my part to take down everything of interest - the "it might come in handy" scavenging ethos of research, if you like. It is opportune to examine some data from the trainees' first day at the Academy. Consider the process by which one of the interview questions was constructed. (Example 4).

Example 4.

In Situ Notes

*By the end of the day
you'll realise you've joined
a big family and not just
a job P. 60.*

*Two ladies in the group.
Always afforded courtesy.*

They're your sister.

Some smiles.

We're one big family.

Reconstructed Notes

*"By the end of the day" X said, harshly
paternalistic (?) you're 'joining a big
family not just a job'. The ladies
got a bit of a special attention
Then X said we've got two ladies in the
group. They're your sisters. Some smiles.
Big family. We're one big family.
'We feeling'?*

From the In Situ Notes came a taped reflection on the possible effect of what seemed patently grandiloquent rhetoric. Out of these taped reflections emerged a question about possible effects of same - a question which in its pursuit of a 'we-feeling' is clearly attributable in one view to Mead's (see Becker, 1963) notion of perspective and to Goffman's institutionalization thesis. (1961) Most significantly, the question arose from the field and not principally from the theory. The reaction of two respondents to the question demonstrates, I feel, the productivity of this strategy of allowing the field to dictate within loose boundaries the conduct of the field enterprise.

A. I. *What about the "family" thing?*

R. *I think it is a good idea. Because the public generally dislikes the Police, I think it is good to have that bond. You know you have got mates. Whenever you get signalled, you know you will have 5 or 6 cars there in 1 or 2 minutes. It's a good feeling to have someone backing you up.*

(Initial Trainee)

- B. I. *What about the talk when Sergeant said you were becoming a member of a family?*
- R. *I thought, good if I get pulled over and get a speeding fine, I've got Brother John here who's not going to book me!*
- I. *Do you think that would happen?*
- R. *I suppose in some cases it would happen. For a motoring offence they probably wouldn't book you, but if you got caught up on an assault offence they have to pick you up for that.*

(Initial Trainee)

Clearly the data addresses the issue of manifest institutional press with the respondents' interpretation of the phenomenon giving the reader some indication of the effectiveness of that press. Yet the data produces a number of interesting by products which, in a more structured approach, may have been missed. Respondent B volunteers the information "the public generally dislikes the Police". What is of more interest than the obvious assessment of the public's attitude is the construction of a "public - a recurring theme throughout the enterprise. Observations such as Respondent B's led to the inclusion of questions in the second section of the longitudinal segment of the order "Has your attitude to the public changed since you came in do you think?" Respondent B, by way of further example, raises the issue of the "discount suit" - the epithet by which the uniform is known to those seeking a privileged treatment which included lenient treatment at the hands of the Highway Patrol to 50% discount from a major fast food chain. These field generated questions facilitate the researcher's taking the role of the other, seeing the world through the eyes of the respondents. Admittedly the making accountable of that world to the reader is still as problematic as it is in the case of Becker. Like Becker, I have refrained from including in the data presentation any detailed notes on intonation etc. but I have presented the material in its grammatically unrefined state. There are stylistic advantages in making sentences out of non sentences but it is a practice which in the main exacerbates rather than alleviates the inevitable distortion of material transcribed from audio tapes.

On the matter of verification I will, like Becker, invoke the balance of probabilities argument but do once again sacrifice stylistic nicety in a quest for what I called above "obiter dicta" verification. There is, I feel, a gross overuse of omission marks in much symbolic interactionist writing. If we are to seriously engage in rites of public analysis underscoring the likelihood rather than the certainty of our conclusion construction, our purposes would be better served if we presented the reader with as much primary material as possible. Take for example the somewhat rambling Reconstructed Material example which prefaced this chapter. The prime purpose of the presentation was to demonstrate the substantive issue of researcher rapport with the secondary purpose of illustrating a quest for a greater degree of witness to data gathering and conclusion construction issues. Included in that presentation are a number of matters unrelated to the prime or secondary purpose of the extract e.g. "The trainee used the police language all the time" or "all in uniform look the same from the back". Both these examples could be used by the reader to buttress or erode the claim resting on more direct data of a "we feeling". The immense readability of, say, Boys in White is partly at the expense of the inclusion of such tangentially buttressing data. I feel we might be better served if we presented as much data as possible sacrificing fluency of presentation for heightened verifiability by the reader willing to cross reference in a search for consistency of evidence both direct and tangential. (Of course, it should be observed in passing that some have more "style" to sacrifice than others. My point stands none the less!)

In City Police Rubinstein (1973), like Becker, relies on participant observation as his principal field technique. Unlike Becker he makes no clear and detailed acknowledgement to a particular sociological tradition but states as his only purpose the making reportable the world of the working policeman. Clearly the work is in the Chicago tradition, a fact clearly evidenced in Rubinstein's alertness to the research act as one of symbolic

interaction (Denzin, principle 4).

There is no way of judging exactly how my presence affected the manner and actions of my companions. I was keenly aware of my apartness and sought to limit it by locating myself in their midst so that the contingencies of the work would compel them to ignore me or even, in spite of reservations, to count on my being there. I also relied on the cumulative effect of familiarity to weaken defenses against my presence. (1973:xii).

That this sentiment is realised is evidenced in the quality of detail that Rubinstein employs in presenting the perspective of the working police with whom he rode. On two fronts Rubinstein is peculiarly convincing. The use of the police argot is authenticating in the tradition of Sutherland's Professional Thief (1937). On another front, the book is presented in a way which, unlike Becker, addresses specific concepts which are not easily articulated into an explicit theoretical framework (Denzin, principles 6 and 7). The work could be not so much a work in sociology but a presentation of sociological data in that it is a "one frame" study of the world of the policeman and not on the developing of that world. (See Baner on this point in Psathas, 1973:29).

Rubinstein states that his interest is not that of the reporter whose concentration must be on the adventurous and/or scandalous aspect of police work, but on description, i.e. making accountable and verifiable. Witness Rubinstein's awareness of the sensitivity of the research site underscored in the closing statement of the preface.

"The point I want to make is that I was granted unrestricted freedom of inquiry by an agency which some people judge to be committed to stifling dissent and diversity of opinions."

He continues,

"and if this statement itself sounds like the plea of someone who has been taken in by an institution and speaks in the interests of its public relations, then what follows must serve as the only denial." (1973:xiv).

Being "taken in" by the host institution is for no other reason than propinquity a risk in the qualitative, especially the longitudinal qualitative enterprise. This risk is compounded by the general question of values in research. There has been extensive debate surrounding the issue of values in social and behavioural scientific research. (See Filstead, 1970; Psathas, 1968 and 1973; Tilley, 1980; Vidich, 1960; Gouldner, 1972; Bittner, 1973; Blumer, 1978.)

It is probably fair to say that the minotaur of value free sociology has been effectively laid to rest, yet a reminder of the value dilemma is appropriate. Bittner (Psathas 1973: 115) phrased the matter thus:

Positivists cannot understand that the realities of society and culture are a function of passion and judgement and that without passion and judgement they cannot be apprehended in their true nature.

Blumer is even more pointed in his assessment.

To try to catch the interpretive process by remaining aloof as a so called "objective" observer and refusing to take the role of the acting unit is to risk the worst kind of subjectivism. (Blumer 1978).

In seeking to take the role of the "acting unit", in this instance the trainee and probationary constable, I necessarily seek to share, however momentarily, their perspective on "the job". The only answer to whether a research report like this one is unintended propaganda or an intended but disguised position paper must be the report itself. No assurances that I was not "taken in" can allay suspicion - nor should they. Of course, I was taken in but this does not mean that the reality I sought to capture eluded me - simply it is precisely the taken-in reality that I was after. But how do I know that the reality presented to me was not a "gold coast tour" conducted by those experienced in the court room adversary mode of exactly such journeys? The answer must again be disappointing. I do not know. Yet

if I was, there is a remarkable degree of disciplined orchestration of phenomena, of manifest belief and of detailed action in the presentation of the police team front.

The final test of any social scientific methodology, quantitative or qualitative, must be the degree to which the research phenomena, their presence and their construction are made accessible to the reader. I am reminded of those arcade watchmakers who ply their craft in full view of the customers and passers by. That the present audience is composed of initiates rather than merely the lay curious only exacerbates the demand for the public nature of the data gathering, "hypothesis construction" and the accounting phenomenon itself. I've adhered as closely as possible to this principle - to that of letting the reader in on the unpacking of the process of becoming a police officer, and how that process affects the way these officers interact with others.

LEARNING THE JOB: THE PRESENTING PERSPECTIVE

*"Bugger you, they all say that
before they go in, but you will
all turn into pigs"*

COMMITMENT

I. When did you first think about becoming a copper?

R. When I was about knee high to a grasshopper. I had two ambitions in life. To go into the Army mainly for my family's sake. My grandfather had been in the first war and my father and his brother had been in the second. I'd done six years in the Army I said I was going to get out and make something of myself so here I am.

I. Tell me how you became interested in becoming a police officer?

R. I left (Agricultural) College or, more accurately, they made me leave and I put in for a few jobs when I got home. Sat around for six or seven months, got sick of it and the police force was the first job that came up so I took it.

The one hundred and forty trainees who gather under the eastern arch of the N.S.W. Police Academy at 749 Bourke Street, Redfern, bring with them to the enterprise varying kinds and degrees of commitment. I think we will profit in our understanding of the perspective through which these inductees will filter their initial experiences of the police world by looking at this spectrum of commitment and comparing it with those entering a quite different occupation, (McGrath, 1974).

In a study of the socialization of medical students which relied, like the present endeavour, on interview and semi-participant observation, I encountered a spectrum of commitment ranging from an almost pure utilitarianism to one almost purely idealistic. As an example of the former consider the response of one student - selected as one of sixty-eight entrants from four thousand applications on criteria which stressed worthiness of purpose.

- Respondent A
- R. *I came into medicine because I want to be a family practitioner. It gives you contact with people and when they give you the licence to steal it really opens up a lot of doors.*
- I. *Licence to steal?*
- R. *The M.D. - the licence to steal - you know!*
- I. *Oh yes I suppose I do. Doors, tell me about these doors!*
- R. *Well, medicine is not, well it's not intellectual. You deal with people, help them, but it's not intellectual like say philosophy. I'm going to practice until I'm 45 and then do something I want to do. I might do a Ph.D. in something like philosophy. Medicine is a good way to do what you want to do. It opens a lot of doors.*

An equally extreme response came from another.

- Respondent B
- R. *Medicine is my vocation - I've been called to it. I don't mean it's just what I want to do. I've been called by God to medicine. It's my vocation.*

Within these readily classifiable extremes fell the bulk of respondents who presented their choice of career in terms less easily categorized.

Respondent C R. *It would be nice to say that the position that a physician occupies in society does not figure in my thinking. Medicine does promise a high standard of living but it is my belief that it also demands great effort and dedication.*

A further example is presented by a student who put his choice of career in similar terms but with different weightings.

Respondent D R. *I want to do something with my talents. Medicine will enable me to use my intellect and to help people at the same time.*

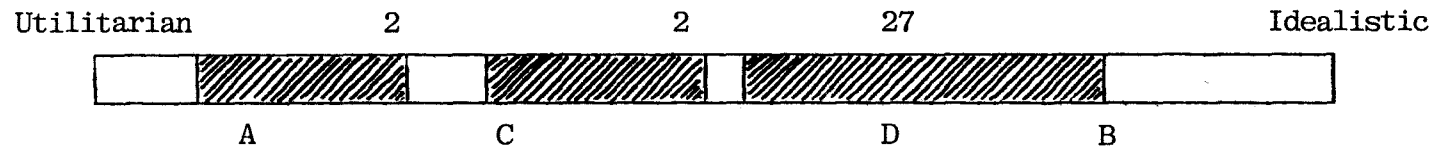
We can present a preliminary categorization of these four examples on a continuum bounded by the extremes of pure utilitarianism and singular idealism. (Figure 1). Superimposing on these four locating examples we can estimate where the bulk of the highly motivated medical students fell with twenty-five of the thirty-one respondents clustering round D i.e. fundamentally idealistic. Only one other student saw medicine in the pragmatic terms of A. It was on the assumption that the majority of students were fundamentally idealists that the pedagogy of the Calgary school of medicine was predicated - an assumption which incidentally I demonstrated as being warranted. Moreover, it was the central input into the presenting and, unlike Becker (1961), enduring perspective through (rather than "from") which students estimated the training programme and general educational environment and the behaviour of personnel, both faculty and fellow students.

It is important to remember that we are speaking here of kind of "commitment". In terms of "degree" of commitment we can be more definite than the approximate intervals in Figure 1 suggest. All but one of thirty-one respondents in the medical school study were engrossed for whatever reason in their study of medicine. It was, even for the student "marking time" until he could pursue something intellectual, a "principal life concern". By interview and detailed observation I established that medicine dominated nearly every aspect of their lives - they, in short, lived and breathed medicine to the point where wives and girlfriends dreaded any social gathering which included other students or physicians.

What then of the kind and degree of commitment brought to their studies and to their career by a cohort of entrants to an occupation traditionally somewhat removed in terms of social status (though, to my surprise, strikingly

FIGURE 1 GENRE OF CAREER COMMITMENT: MEDICAL STUDENT

N = 31



similar in other facets) from that of physician. Consider the following responses which illustrate the varying kinds of commitment brought to the enterprise.

- Respondent A
- I. Tell me how you became interested in becoming a police officer?
- R. I left (Agricultural) College, or more accurately they made me leave and I put in for a few jobs when I got home. I sat around for six or seven months, got sick of it and the police force was the first job that came up so I took it.

Respondent A was one of the 16% of Ordinary Entrants who were listed on the placement forms as "unemployed". The kind of commitment he recalls can be classified as being basically utilitarian - the police offering him a chance to escape the mundane existence of the dole. A similar fugitive element is evident in the response of B.

- Respondent B
- I. Had you thought about becoming a policeman before (you were retrenched)?
- R. No, not really. I hadn't considered it. I think it was in desperation that I came down for the interview. It wasn't foremost in my mind at any time in my life. I hadn't considered becoming a policeman. I'm quite happy with it now though, since I have been in.

The ideal utilitarian response came from a young man who was the only respondent who refused the use of the tape recorder. The conversation reconstructed from notes immediately after the interview is illuminating.

- Respondent C
- R. My career in X (white collar occupation) was going alright. I was working at an office in suburban Sydney. One afternoon the boss came back from the pub with a white cockatoo on his shoulder. The place was divided into two sorts of people. On the one hand you have the guys that play sport - I'm very interested in sport. On the other you have the pansies and the mumma's boys. Anyway this cockatoo - girls and pansies all laughing - boss's full. Cockatoo's screeching its bloody head off. Boss goes round putting it near you, you know. Well he puts it near me and it bites me on the bloody ear. I grab the bastard and I pulled its bloody head off.
- I. Pulled its head - pulled its head off?
- R. Pulled its bloody head right off. (Illustrated same with a wrenching gesture.) It quietened things down very bloody smartly I can tell you - very bloody quickly.

- I. *It didn't occur to you that it might have been the manager's pet - he may have been, how shall I put it, fairly close to the ... ?*
- R. *Oh, it was his alright. Anyway the following week I get transferred to bloody X (distant, country town). Told 'em to stick it. Anyway had no job - couldn't go back to X (previous line of work) - word got around about the bloody cocky.*
- I. *I'm not altogether surprised.*

Towards the other end of the spectrum was a small number of respondents who decided to do something "important" with their lives. Included among these was a respondent who though unemployed immediately before entry had experienced promotion in three careers which he'd found basically unfulfilling.

Respondent D I. *Tell me about your decision to join?*

- R. *When I left high school I was too young to come in as a joinee I got an opportunity to go into real estate which I did for about 3 years. Spent about a year working for a finance company and a year as a computer operator. Spent six months bumming round northern Queensland doing virtually nothing and then I finally decided that I had seen enough to join. I was seeing things that I disagreed with, kids that went through school with, were getting into strife, drugs in particular. Other things as well, minor crime, theft, knocking off cars and it used to worry me. I was the greatest at saying, "The coppers should be doing this and that", and I thought "Well you should be doing it yourself". So I came up and joined, and that's about it. I thought "somebody has got to do it and you are as able as anybody and hopefully more able than somebody else" so I joined up.*

A number of other respondents brought with them a similar kind of commitment, to do something "that mattered". More typical were the respondents with a more multi-faceted commitment which featured the variety offered by the police work arena and the security of a government job as attractive characteristics.

Respondent E I. *When did you first think of becoming a policeman?*

- R. *About three years ago. I failed the first exam. After a couple more years had gone by I thought well I'm not getting any younger and have to get a career going. So I talked to my wife and decided to go through with it.*

This view proffered by a former truck driver is fairly typical of that offered by many respondents from a similar background. It was a view put forward by virtually all respondents who were qualified tradesmen. (Some biographical details are altered slightly.)

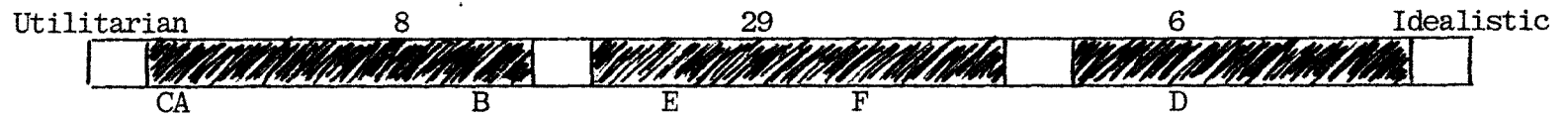
Respondent F R. *I have always had a lot of respect for policemen. I have always stuck by them. To the point when I was younger they used to scare me a little bit. As I got older I realised that that was wrong. I thought it would be a good job to get into security wise - most government jobs are. Apart from that I think it is a useful sort of career. At my age of life, 24 when I joined, I didn't want to go back into the fitting game and I thought "What was I going to do?" I was leaving it late to start a career I had made up my mind to join.*

Given this variety in the kind of commitment I think it useful to summarize the genre of commitment manifested by the respondent group. I have attempted to locate the examples given into a "utilitarian-idealistic" continuum, superimposing the manifest kind of commitment of the respondent sample of 43. As Figure 2 suggests, there is a widespread variation in the kind of commitment that inductees recall. 19% are basically what might be termed "economic conscripts" and 14% have a moderate to strong ingredient of idealism in their choice of police as an occupation. The bulk of the Ordinary Entrant group - (67%) are clearly somewhere in between. They choose the police occupation for reasons that would not be readily distinguishable from those of some other occupations - they're neither crudely pragmatic nor singularly idealistic. It is for them another job - albeit an interesting and secure one but still another job.

If this represents an accurate picture of the kind of commitment that trainees present with, what can we say of the degree of commitment? Unlike our medical students there is not, at the start of the induction process, the almost complete identification of the self with one's chosen career. There is, I feel, the absence of the interweaving of the general life prospects with the career passage that the medical students studied manifested. The medical students in my earlier study could not, perhaps with one exception, entertain any other career for indeed any other career was in many senses a dramatic step not so much down the ladder as off the ladder, for most the very unlikely prospect of "flunking out" was too abhorrent to ever consider - they were, after all, the chosen ones. No such interweaving was apparent in the presenting

FIGURE 2: GENRE OF PRESENTING CAREER COMMITMENT: POLICE TRAINEES

n = 43



perspective of the respondents in the present study. Some had acquired to use Becker's notion, a considerable "side bet" degree of commitment - paradoxically those who were nearer the "vocational" end of the Commitment Genre continuum had done exactly that because they were older and were all married with children and were in secure careers in which "good will" more than formal credentials had constructed substantial bridges which they had, for all intents and purpose, burnt behind them. There were the exceptions.

Most respondents, at the very beginning anyway, could have foresaken the promised utilitarian benefits and returned to their former worlds.

Yet this is at the very beginning. From the moment of decision to join and the communication of that decision, a very remarkable process of identification takes place which alters to the point of redefinition, the genre and kind of commitment that will affect them all in their induction into "the job". Though many have a diffuse, ill-focussed impression that somehow "the job" might be a bit different to other jobs, the first real impact that the job is indeed different comes from the reaction of others to the decision to join. It is a reaction of singular interest.

The Image in the Looking Glass

George Herbert Mead in response to the scientism of the Watsonian behaviourists pointed to the diversity of human cultures as a behavioural refutation of those who would generalize to human behaviour from the sameness of the various worlds of infra-human species. Mead, in rooting home the diversity of human cultures to differences in modes of socialization concentrated on primary socialization. His complex and ornate theorizing was systematized by people like Cooley and Blumer, the latter of whom drew our attention to the role of others in the socialization process with the notion of "significant others". At one level the concept refers to the fact that some people's opinion counts more than others, but it is Cooley's (1922) early elucidation of Mead in the notion of looking glass self which extends the "significant other" to a place of central importance in that body of quasi theory central to much of modern social psychology known as Symbolic Interactionism. Although the primitive concept of significant others has been refined to the point of being ornate, its derivatives, most notably the various sub theories falling under the rubric of reference group, have drawn our attention to the explanatory value of the concept. Two of the more lucid proponents of the theoretical position propogated by Mead, Cooley and Blumer are Peter and Brigitte Berger who distinguish between the socialization of children and the socialization of adults by just how locked into a circle of significant others the respective socializee is (1977).

In secondary socialization arenas we rank others in a situationally specific continuum of importance, the degree of choice depending on the degree of commitment to the enterprise. To paraphrase Burns "we are largely, but not exclusively, what we see as others see us". It is, of course, beyond the scope of this work to define the symbolic interactionist model. My purpose is merely to sketch the theoretical stance of this endeavour to let the reader in on the researcher's perspective and the field imperatives derived from that perspective.

At either the lay level of interpretation of "significant others" or at the more ornate theoretical level of Cooley, Blumer et al, it is of singular interest to find out what others with whom the trainee interacts most frequently, think of the trainee's decision to embark on a new career.

Our study's pure purpose goes well beyond the ascertaining of changes in interaction patterns but it is from this vital starting point which is the essence of this report that we must begin. It is against this backdrop and in interaction with this backdrop that the commitment of the inductees will be modified and revised.

The Reaction of Kin

Mothers, spouses, brothers, sisters, aunts are described by trainees as being fundamentally supportive of their decision to join the police. In looking at the extent of that support and the occasional caveat, it is important to note one factor so obvious as to be missed: The decision to join is worthy of notice - it is a subject of remark. Not one trainee had to search even momentarily to recall the reaction of those around him to his decision to join the police.

I. *What does she (your wife) think about you being in the force?*

R. *She likes it, and is quite happy about it. She has got some reservations when I tell her about some of the things we have been doing - like the (Officer) survival lectures. She's pretty pleased about it really.*

and

I. *What does your wife think about it (decision to join)?*

R. *She's always been happy with what I've been doing but she's glad that I'm going into something that I can work at and improve myself.*

I. *How old is your eldest child?*

R. *He's six.*

I. *What does he think about it?*

R. *He thinks it is the greatest. He's pretty excited about it really.*

and

I. *What did they think about their brother becoming a policeman?*

R. *They were right behind me. They liked it.*

TABLE 3.1.

Occupational background longitudinal population (Ordinary Entrants)
Target class

	N
White Collar (Insurance Clerks, Bank Officers etc.)	23
Tradesmen	21
Semi-skilled blue collar (fitter's mate, builder's labourer etc.)	20
Unemployed	14
Unskilled white collar (sales assistant etc.)	5
Student	2
Apprentice	2
Unskilled	2

88

The general support of those close to the trainee is clearly related in most instances to the "career" ingredient - the inductee is moving from "a job" to "a career". In the case of those trainees leaving one career for another it is now "a career which matters to him." The decision to join is seen in other words by virtually all of those close to trainees as a fundamental change. This was particularly so with trainees with previously spasmodic work records. This quite general response was recalled by one trainee reared by his aunt.

I. *What was your Aunt's reaction to it?*

R. *She is good; everyone in the family accepts it. They realise that I never really amounted to anything. I went to an Electrical Engineering course for a year and dropped out of that. Got kicked out of physiotherapy and everyone in the family is so pleased that I'm finally getting into something that I like.*

The few reservations from close kin seem largely concerned with shift work rigours and the physical danger that a policeman might face. That the job might entail more than was obvious to an outsider seem appreciated by very few. One hint of difficulties anticipated emerges in the report of one trainee's broaching of the subject with his spouse.

I. *What sort of encouragement did you get from your wife to join the Force?*

R. *She was all for it. I explained to her the whole situation. I didn't go into it lightly, because I was aware of the fact that it's harder to become a policeman and have a successful marriage joining after you are married than joining before you are married. Got to give your wife the drum. So I went into it pretty deeply. I went to a Police Station, I had a yarn with a Sergeant who was very co-operative.*

I. *What was this bloke like?*

R. *He seemed to be very genuine. I explained the situation that I was married and that I was going to join the Police and that I didn't want to go into it cold and I wanted to obtain some advice from a bloke who had been at it a while so I could pass it on to my wife and let her know what would go on. We could have a yarn about it and decide if I should join.*

I. *What sort of things did he tell you?*

R. *He mainly explained the shift work situation and there is different sorts of Police in every situation. One sort of realises the fact that you can't abuse yourself, physically, grogging. Say, the boys after finishing work at 6 o'clock one morning after working all night, "Let's not go home, we'll have a game of golf, and have a sleep in the afternoon", and the poor wife is waiting at home for you. He said, "You want*

to drop that attitude." The situation that most coppers like to have a drink I asked him about promotion, salary and different things which would benefit me.

- I. *When you told your wife, was she fairly content with things?*
- R. *Yes, she needed some assurance from me that I wasn't going to go and drink myself into a stupor after every shift. I think she just wanted me, not to promise, to give her some assurance that because I was a policeman my head was not going to blow up and my chest was going to expand 12" because I was a copper - go out and drink with the boys and be tough, and forget about my wife.*

Only two respondents reported central reservations on the part of their closest relatives. One trainee had indicated that his mother who was a professional person and anticipated her son aspiring for the same or similar situation in life was less than overjoyed at the news.

- R. *I was wondering how I was going to tell my Mum that I was going to join the Police Force and I left things around so that she would see them, leaflets on the Police Force and that sort of thing. She took it quite calmly actually. She said "That is great". I always have the impression that mother expects me to be something "great".*

A quite jarring rebuttal came in the case of another respondent further down the socio-economic ladder. Reporting support from his immediate family one trainee was considerably taken aback by the response of his grandmother.

- R. *When I went down to my gran's she said "once a copper never a man".*
- I. *What did she mean by that?*
- R. *She doesn't like it. I don't know if she had a bad experience with them or what. She's alright now, handles the whole thing. Her general attitude now seems to be pretty good.*

The support however, from close family, most notably spouses, was general throughout the sample. All married respondents reported support from their spouses to join "the job". Only two married respondents indicated that this support came with reservations - reservations which were essentially peripheral and dealt with shift work and a passing reference to the John Wayne syndrome. (Vide the 12" chest expansion). Yet there is in family's support a crystallization process. I have argued that many trainees, indeed most of the sample join for a constellation of reasons characterised by a good degree of diffuseness. If

within that diffuseness we can capture a genuine contingency in their commitment there is very little in the reported manifest attitude of their close family. Two respondents only reported serious reservations on the part of their close family. One reported hesitant support. The remaining respondents indicated that their immediate family was "right behind" them. It is for many, indeed most families, the beginning of a career. Whatever the deep seated psychological mechanisms at work there is substantial data support for the view that the decision constitutes, at least in the eyes of these most likely significant others, a rite de passage. To put it another way the decision to join begins to gather an unsuspected momentum.

I. *What was your dad's reaction to your joining?*

R. *Oh, really good - he's really happy.*

I. *Is he!*

R. *Yeah - the only thing my parents were really - were really worried that I'd go through life as a no-hoper and getting out of the gutter type things, you know, like you know what I mean. Like go from job to job all your life and have nothing to fall back on by the time you're fifty or something like that.*

The Reaction of Friends

The recalled reaction of "friends and acquaintances" to the decision to enter is of singular interest. Firstly, as I've argued in the case of kin, the decision to become a police officer is worthy of remark. The other general ingredient in the reactions is that of banter.

- I. Have you heard the term "pig"?
- R. Yes, in jest, by my friends, quite often. Nobody has done it to me, to get me upset. When playing football and you get tackled by the opposition, they might say "cop that, you copper pig". Or one of your mates mucking about at football, and you drop a ball, "you big useless dumb copper bastard, pig", that sort of thing all the time. It is well intended. I haven't had anyone say it to me in a fit of anger or anything.

Many respondents reported somewhat similar reactions from friends and close acquaintances but with a perhaps sharper cutting edge to the humour.

- I. What did your mates say about you coming in?
- R. They said "Tell us when you are coming in so we can't speak to you."

Another respondent put his interpretation of friends' reaction to his decision to enter the Police thus:

I was rather surprised actually. Most of my friends don't worry at all about the fact that I'm becoming a policeman. They have a good joke about it. They say "If we ever get into strife you can fix this ticket up for us" and that sort of thing. When I left, the majority of people came up to me the day I was leaving and said, "Goodbye, good luck and don't arrest me."

Radcliffe-Brown in Structure and Function in Primitive Society alludes to what Pedler called "the joking relationship". He defines the joking relationship as "a relation between two persons in which one is by custom permitted, and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offence." (1965:90). Most of the joking relationships in our society are of course much less clearly detailed and prescribed than in less developed societies. Moreover, within developed society there are quite massive cultural and sub-cultural differences. Certainly in Australian Society the "joking relationship", a term which I use analogously, would appear to be more a working class than an upper or even middle class characteristic. It is interesting to note the universality of the banter reported by the respondents in this project takes place primarily within a working or lower middle class social context.

I see in such banter something more than a casual humorous recognition of a change in status. The relationship, on the sight of it, would appear to be asymmetrical i.e. A makes a joke against B with B not being expected to reciprocate. In the cases cited, which are quite representative of the mass of comments reported, there is the ingredient of recognition of a change not just in status i.e. status referring primarily to prestige but in the symmetry of the relationship between A and B. There is, I'd point out, a clear distancing process taking place which says in effect "you are now different from me". It is, further, a difference in some context of the authority and in some, perhaps, the "power" of B over A. In the respondents' eyes, well most respondents' eyes, the remarks are well intentioned yet there can be little doubt that they lend weight to "rite de passage" that the inductee is experiencing.

One respondent who had previously worked in the transport industry recalled a more sinister response than banter.

I met a couple of blokes I've known for a long while. They have said, "Still driving trucks?" They didn't know about it. I said, "I'm training for the police now". They say "Well that's a step down the ladder!" That's typical and doesn't worry me. I'm surprised as 98% of my friends have said "Good luck." I thought there was sure to be a lot saying pig and all that stuff.

There is some suggestion in the data that the more distant the assessed friendship or acquaintanceship the more likely is the malice to outweigh the humour. Certainly inductees experience both in interactional arenas which they frequented.

I. Did anyone joke about your becoming a policeman?

R. Well, I didn't tell anyone - Now when I walk into the Surf Club someone will say, I hear you are joining the Force and I would be surprised. The one I get every Saturday afternoon is "You are due for another haircut!" One bloke really gives me a hard time, "pig" and all that. He is a little pest. Don't worry about him at all.

I. Is he joking?

R. No, he's fair dinkum. He's not at the point where he'll do anything about it. He'd like to but he won't. He's got a reputation as being a little heavy. He's been known to pick blokes up and scare them but I'm not real worried about him. He's always having a go at me - when I walk into the pub at 6 o'clock and he's had a skin-full, ready to fire - but I don't worry about him.

Another respondent reported more extreme incidents where hostility was only thinly veiled with humour. This most eloquent example came from a mature trainee quite taken aback by the vigor of the labelling.

- R. One thing that is really sticking out now, I went to a party with friends and there was an old army mate of mine there, and a lot of blokes I knew of, and they stayed away from me, won't accept me because I am going into the police force. "You are going to be a copper, how low can you get? I said "I don't think so Well paid job, uniform supplied, you are meeting people every day, helping the public." He said, "You are goddamned pigs". I said "that might be your attitude, just a few policemen have given you a rough time or spoken to you in the wrong way, and you get the impression that all policemen are the same, they are not". He said, "Bugger you, they all say that before they go in, but you will all turn into pigs". I have noticed that with a few people.
- I. When was the last time that happened?
- R. That happened the weekend before last.
- I. Were you with your wife?
- R. No, she was at home.
- I. And that was their reaction?
- R. Yes. I went away from there thinking "God Almighty, it is true that the old saying is that policemen have only police friends, don't have friends outside the service". But if they were true friends, they would not say that anyway.
- I. It seems to be the acquaintances, not your true friends?
- R. Yes, you walk into a house and they say "here's the law, here's the copper coming in". You feel proud but you feel embarrassed at the same time, everybody is looking at you.
- I. Has anybody been more offensive than that?
- R. Only once, there was a young bloke, about 29, a young hood, I knew him in my young days at Parramatta, I knew what he was like, he said "I've been on both sides of the law, I know what these coppers are like". I'm saying in my mind "you only think you know mate". I shut up and let him go on and said "yes, yes mate you're right". He went on to say "All you coppers think you are smart-arses". Even when you work for a department, you stick by it don't you. If somebody had a go at your profession, you would stand your ground.

All but three of the respondents could recall similar if less abrasive encounters. One very extreme case was recalled by one trainee when discussing his farewell party from the clerical division of a large appliance company.

- R. When I left the firm I was at, they had a party for me and it was a week after I left and they knew where I'd gone and they started, you know, coming on pretty strongly.
- I. Can you remember what they said?
- R. Oh they, just you know, were carrying on with this "pig" business and when I didn't say a word they started chucking stuff at me. I just stayed there and weathered the storm.
- I. What were they chucking?
- R. Bits of paper and stuff ... They didn't know me. They'd had a few beers and that and I didn't particularly want to get involved with them. They wanted to take me outside and give me a hiding.

Only one other respondent could recall physical harassment but the incidence of verbal harassment was general if not universal. One most interesting feature of the reactions whether bantering or hostile is the extent of the arenas in which it is encountered.

- R. It is hard to say when it exactly started. You get, the first couple of months, different blokes, mates that are on the door at the Club say "Constable (misplaced emphasis) you are wanted on the phone", and everyone will giggle and you'd walk in and some of the blokes have a drink together would laugh to themselves. You have to be careful or you could have a million blues.
- I. Did you find that a bit wearing?
- R. I got to the stage where I dropped the Club off for about 2 months. I didn't go down there, I thought I would let it ease for a little while and it might drop off. But you still get it, with particular blokes, little men, that's who I find. There's one bloke, a little guy, and little guys have always been the same to me, always trying to prove something or trying to make themselves bigger in stature than what they really are, so they are usually the comedians and stirrers. This particular guy still carries it on. He gives you the shits to be honest. I cop it sweet, you have to, you have to laugh it off with them, buy them a drink. I try to steer well away from the conversation of the job.
- I. I have talked to some blokes who won't let people know they are a copper!
- R. Well, I agree with that and often, especially if you are in a situation or an area that you don't normally knock around in. If it comes up well what do you do, "Oh, I'm a truck driver". But it always ends up, someone dropping that you are a copper, because there is someone who knows what you do, or they pick you for your haircut. You get that sort of smell about you, because people seem to smell you out. They say well you are either in one of the services or you are a copper because of the haircut and general appearance the way you talk I suppose. You find it hard to disorientate yourself from the actual law when someone says something or something comes up relating to it, you say "well that's wrong," or "That doesn't sound right", and they said "what are you talking about, are you a copper."

"No, what made you say that."

One respondent had been discussing the reaction of casual acquaintances and raised the matter of the inability to lay aside the occupational identity as a result of the expectation of others.

- R. One particular lady who has been a friend of my family for years, I ran into her in a fish and chip shop, and I haven't seen her for 4 - 5 years and talking away to her and she asked what I was doing now and I said "in the Police Force" and she went "Oh," and turned away and never said another word to me. And she still hasn't to this day. That surprised me, particularly from this woman, because she is a very nice woman, well-to-do type. I don't know if she has ever had a run in with the police or not. I remember telling my parents about it and they were quite surprised about it too.
- I. Did you discuss it with your wife?
- R. Yes, she thought she was a bit strange, think my wife said "if that is her attitude, bugger her."
- I. Can you recall discussing that with your class mates?
- R. No, I told my parents and wife, mainly because they know her and they were really surprised. I don't think Mum and Dad have seen her since either.
- I. Is there any other occasions you can think of?
- R. I can remember once I had a bit of a shot at a bloke who had done something to annoy me, and I stood my ground and argued with him. One particular acquaintance who I heard was saying a few things behind my back, virtually saying, if I wasn't a copper I wouldn't have done that. This again was at the Club where my father works, he was off-duty this night and I was drinking with my brother and a group of other blokes and this man who is not employed by the soccer Club, but he thinks he owns the place anyway, came up to us and told us to get out that it was closing time, and I said "righto". He came back a few minutes later saying the same thing but added "Get out, your father doesn't run this Club, doesn't own this Club", and I said "what right have you to tell us to get out, and don't bring my father up" and stood my ground with him. I was a bit offended with his attitude the fact that he insinuated that I was staying there because my father was the manager. I had to go at this bloke, verbal argument, and one of the fellows I heard back later, said that I had changed because I was a copper now. It had made me aggressive.
- I. Since you joined up, have you wished you hadn't been a policeman?
- R. Yes. I think maybe the fact that if you go to a party or to a Club for a drink, people are aware that you are a policeman, that I do find annoying. People close up, the acquaintances, not the close friends. Maybe they think they can't relax because you might pinch them for something. Not that I ever would, they probably don't trust you so much. I have found

that trying, it has got me down. "Why can't it be like working in an office for 8 hours, and when you knock off, you knock off." If you worked in the Taxation Dept., and came down for a drink, nobody would say, "you work for the Taxation Dept.," but if you are a copper, you get introduced as a copper, very often. This is Morris Burton who is in the Police Force. You don't get people saying this is Morris Burton who is a milkman, or Bill Smith who is a paperboy."

This occupation founded identification, both in its focus and its pervasiveness, carries over from the inductee himself to his near relations in a contagion effect. I'd been discussing with one delightful respondent the fact that he'd incurred constant banter in his part-time position as a steward at the Club. We'd been joking about the effect of the draconian haircut, but he made a serious observation about his new emergent identity.

I might have told 2 or 3 people that I went into the Police Force, but the amount of people that know about it now, it has astounded me, everyone has been coming up to me or my sister and saying "I hear your brother is in the Police Force." I reckon it is a social stigma attached to the Police Force. It doesn't worry me in the least, I can honestly say I couldn't give a bugger one way or the other, but I was curious as to why it interested them so much. I think of it as just another job but they think a lot different of it.

It should be pointed out that not all such carry over was onerous.

- R. *My father-in-law he's always going "oink oink". You know he's a bit anti-copper.... My brother-in-law, you know, we went to school together. He always introduces me to his friends and the next thing he says "and he's with the Police Force": You know what I mean. So I think he's a little bit proud that I'm doing something a bit constructive you know.*

Another said of his children's reactions:

- I. *What do your 2 kids think about their Dad being a Policeman?*
- R. *They are wrapped in it. It's funny, we were talking yesterday going out to the range, I was talking to one of the Instructors and a couple of blokes from the Drill Staff and Bill was saying "my young bloke flattened a bloke at school yesterday, 13 year old", and I asked what it was all about, and he said, "it was because I was a copper". That's funny actually, with my kids, if I go to pick them up in uniform, all the kids know because he has told them or because they have seen me a couple of times in uniform, I dropped him to school one day in the paddy wagon and he thought that was fabulous. At 5 or 6 even in 3rd class they think it's fantastic if a kid has got a policeman father. But then as they get older, because they hear "the b. coppers have booked me today" or whatever, they change their attitude and the kids will get a bit of stick about it later on. I suppose you are just going to have to prepare them for it.*

In summary then, with those identified as close friends, the reactions ranged from one respondent reporting 'no reaction' through to the modal response by nearly one in two respondents of sustained but supportive banter which proved, in most cases, increasingly onerous. A very few respondents, all married men of stable, long established friendship patterns, reported serious support unaccompanied by anything but occasional banter. As illustrated, some few respondents reported outright hostility from close friends. Basically, however, the response from close friends is one of remarkability which, however, is fundamentally positive. When we turn to what I've somewhat arbitrarily classified as acquaintance i.e. people one is friendly with but whom one does not seek out for the intrinsic worth of the relationship, a different, more disturbing picture emerges. I include under the rubric of "acquaintances" a group ranging from those with whom the interactant was in daily contact with, say at work or weekly contact for another instrumental purpose, say, a cricket team, to those one meets incidentally at a favoured drinking spot and those one might encounter for the first time at a casual party. The sweep therefore is quite broad. Virtually all respondents could recall specific examples of outright verbal hostility from this broad group when their intended occupation was made known. Moreover, as we have seen, some recalled physical hostility, actual or threatened, when casual interactants discovered they were entering the police.

Although we are speaking of only a very few acquaintances in the inductees' interaction network the fact remains that the vast bulk of respondents could recall distinctly at least one hostile recognition of their decision to become a "cop". This recall, I will argue, adds credence to an institutional press at the Academy which says, in effect, "they don't understand".

The majority of respondents approach the police occupation with little understanding that the occupation entails something more than variety at the work face and the security of a government career. Their decision to enter if not casual is not generally premised on a serious detailed knowledge of either the occupational or occupation related demands entailed by one's being a "policeman". They join for a constellation of reasons which embrace, but only peripherally, the police contribution to social well being. By and large "the job" is something like any other job, but with shiftwork etc., posing some possible problems. Many of the trainees are "trying on" the occupational role. The decision to enter is not to most an irreversible one and they accrue, at least initially, only minor side bets. Yet the decision to enter whether taken "in desperation" or as the "doing something that matters" climax of long deliberation from a promotion position in a commercial firm gathers an

unsuspected momentum in the reaction of others. One fact emerges quite clearly - that the remarkability of the decision endures. We shall demonstrate below that this endurance is in many instances onerous - a characteristic which flows over in many instances to the family and which entails sometimes drastic escape techniques.

The reaction of kin, acquaintances etc. makes a vital input into the presenting perspective which trainees bring to the institutional press or the Academy and distills the variation in degree and kind of commitment they present with. In my view it distances them from the spiritual home group in a Goffman-like mortification ritual which makes fertile the ground on which the institutional press of the Academy and later the occupational press of the work face will be sown.

THE ACADEMY AND INTERACTION

"WELCOME TO THE BROTHERHOOD"

Nine thousand police have graduated from this parade ground. Do not walk across it. Treat it with the respect it deserves.

(Drill Instructor A, Day 1)

The redefinition of a piece of well-cared-for turf as something sacred is not an unusual event in those developmental institutions which are in the business of preparing people for the defence forces. In military training institutions such a procedure is just one example of the old socializing institutional ploy of redefining rights as privileges to be earned as one enters or approaches the professional threshold. Such ploys are an economical way of providing rewards yet they rest for their effectiveness on the commitment of the socializee.

The N.S.W. Police Academy cannot in my view assume the single purpose vocational commitment of, say, Kathryn Hulme's novice (1957), nor of Dornbusch's (1955) coast guard cadets, nor even of Becker's (1961) or McGrath's (1974) student physicians. The inductees who gather on Day 1 under the eastern gate of the N.S.W. Academy at 7.45 a.m. (many were there by 7.00 a.m.) none the less have accrued some considerable side bet commitment. As we have seen, they have all experienced rites of identification with the 'police' in running a gauntlet of readily recalled reactions ranging from warm familial support to outright hostility. Whatever the effect of such reaction there is no doubt that they have been identified as police trainees and see themselves as police trainees though not as policemen. (Those that may see themselves as "policemen" are very soon reminded that such self identification is premature.) They have all undergone, or will undergo that afternoon at the hands of a local tonsorial craftsman, a draconian haircut which gives to the assembled multitude a similarity of appearance which is patent and which serves a similar kind of function, though not to the same degree, as the officer cadets, rather menial dress, the novices' interim habit or the medical students' waiters coats (McGrath: 1974). All such devices telegraph the contingency of the inductee's position - they separate him from his former home world yet identify him as one who has not been granted full access to the new world of his chosen occupation. The effect of the haircut exacerbated by the unusual whiteness of many a nape, illustrating perhaps a last minute submission to this first visible institutional demand, is compounded by the multitude being dressed in "sports jackets and ties" which although of different hues and cuts, do have a uniforming effect and signify the submission of the collectivity. They are ready candidates for an institutional press, whose first manifestation comes in the person of the drill officer who calls them to parade.

We are the disciplinarians. We deal with the practical. Your goal is the passing out parade. From the rabble you are now we will present a passing out parade as good as Duntroon.

(Drill Instructor A, Day 1)

From the very first moments of their formal induction, the god of "discipline" is promoted on the premise, not of its ceremonial dramaturgical benefit but rather on the promise of its relevance to the street encounter. It is no accident that the same instructors who will prepare them for what is, in effect, a "Duntroon" standard parade are from the same section entrusted with Officer survival instruction.

On day 2 of their training the entire group of 130 are gathered in class to view a film "Ten Fatal Errors" and hear what turns out to be a dramatic lecture on Officer Survival by a member of the drill staff. Such lesson follows a day 1 introduction to police work which is punctuated by references to the perceived potential threat of the street.

Horrific things are on the increase. Things you've never been involved with. You wouldn't dream of such things. You will face some very nasty things.

The lesson I observed began with a physically huge constable with creases in trousers and shirt sharp enough to almost cut, addressing a rapt audience.

"You can go to sleep in the Dog and Goat Act, but our lessons will save your life"

The instructor's equally well turned out partner held aloft a shotgun:

This is a Remington Wingmaster Riot shotgun. This is exactly the same gun as killed Sgt. McGregor and Const. McFarlane (cocks the gun). If you hear that sign dive for cover. (Fires a blank round.) (Slowly recocks the gun.) If you hear that sound dive for cover.

The dramatic introduction complete with references to recent occupational folk heroes fatally wounded in police intervention in domestic crisis is followed by a film which opens with a scene of hundreds of uniformed policemen acting as a guard of honour in the funeral of a murdered colleague.

The pointed illustration of the togetherness of the brotherhood in a moment of collective sorrow for a fellow officer prefaces the detailed portrayal of ten possible dangers that police may make in the street encounter, dangers which have the common etiology of a breakdown of team action. One vivid example revolved around one character named Sam Reed who in sleeping on the job endangers his partner's life.

We've got the Sam Reeds in this job. Don't be alarmed at what you've seen. We'll prepare you.

(Drill Instructor, Day 1)

As a pedagogical exercise the lesson is a singular success.

- I. *What's your reaction to the idea of violence in the film and stuff generally?*
- R. *My first reaction to the first picture we had there was when they showed us a film on several officers, and where these officers got into serious trouble and were in fact killed, several of them. And to my way of thinking, I stopped and thought about why they got killed because - coming in on day 3 or 4 I was on top of the world. I had no real thought about getting killed or anything like this, and then all of a sudden I stopped myself and said, "Well, Christ, this is for real, y'know. This is what I should be bloody learning. Thank God they've brought it on when they have." Because I would have gone through this whole course thinking to myself, "It's the next bloke who's going to get it, it's not going to be me." And I put myself in that particular situation and from that time on I looked forward to those lectures for the simple fact that this is going to keep me alive. If I learn something from those lecturers, that'll keep me alive. ... that's the name of the game, staying alive.*

That it indeed "is for real" is the realization that acts as a singular catalyst in the readiness to accept an institutional press that stresses, in response to the danger of the street, the importance of team rather than individual action.

Talking about expected rivalries in the force one trainee said:

You have your bickerings in any job, I suppose, between blokes. (Yet in this job) I'm sure they come to your aid a lot better than a lot of people would be in other jobs. You call "Signal 1" or "urgent" and they're close to help you. They're laying their life on the line and I'd do the same I suppose. I'd lay down my life for a member of the public too.

Learning to take orders, to accept generally a discipline which is military is an explicit goal - a goal not beyond reach, it would appear - of the institution. One drizzling winter's day towards the end of the study I watched

from my office window on the eastern side of the parade ground a squad of new trainees drilling on the asphalt but uneven perimeter. I watched with interest as an instructor, much respected by the trainees, but known not altogether affectionately as "Blue Heeler" barked a succession of orders and insults at them and their indolent "slothful attitude". Intentionally or unintentionally the instructor had the squad mark time on a particularly convoluted section of the asphalt which had puddles over three or four centimetres deep. The squad dressed in their best clothes, slacks and personal leather shoes obediently marked time splashing themselves and their colleagues in a ritualistic illustration of military subordination. One drill instructor said to me on Day 4 of the observation segment:

"We really like the way the Army does things. You've got to have discipline".

Their military discipline is designed to bring about a mutuality of interests which is underscored in even more manifest ways. The most blatant claim of team membership as I've reported in other papers is the reference to the family (1980). A most obvious institutional input into the formation of what Waller (1965) would call a 'we feeling' was the opening lesson on day 1 cited on p.18.

"By the end of the day you'll realise you'll realise you're joining a big family. It's not just a job."

The same instructor referred to women trainees in the following terms:

"They're your sisters. We're one big family".

No obvious reaction came from the group but in watching this opening session with trainees straining for ramrod straightness with that peculiar chin retraction practice of the military inductee, I wondered what influence such seemingly grandiose rhetoric had on them:

- I. *What do you think about this "a big family" thing?*
- R. *I suppose it's good in one way. It's good in the fact that if you are ever in trouble and you need a hand you'll get help. As the instructor said, "If you are ever getting bashed up or shot up there is always someone as far away as the radio will come and help you." This is something you couldn't expect from the people out in the street. But the other way, I have a family and I don't want another one. I haven't got a real strong family, it's not a very emotional family, but it is close - a good family situation. I think they could pick a better word to call it than "family". A lot of people have different meanings for the word "family".*

(Initial Trainee)

As we have seen above (on pages 18/19) more divergent interpretations were presented:

- I. What about the "family" thing?
- R. I think it is a good idea. Because the public generally dislikes the Police I think it is good to have that bond. You know you have got mates. Whenever you get signalled, you know you will have 5 or 6 cars there in 1 or 2 minutes. It's a good feeling to have someone backing you up.

(Initial Trainee)

The more pragmatic view came from a rather jovial respondent whose reference to what I'll call "the Trade Price" is more than of passing interest:

- I. What about the talk when Sergeant said you were becoming a member of a family?
- R. I thought, good if I get pulled over and get a speeding fine, I've got Brother John here who's not going to book me!
- I. Do you think that would happen?
- R. I suppose in some cases it would happen. For a motoring offence they probably wouldn't book you, but if you got caught up on an assault offence they have to pick you up for that.

(Initial Trainee)

Yet a quite different interpretation came from one other trainee:

- I. What did you think about the opening talk about "You are in a family now"?
- R. I wasn't real impressed with that. I think, if we go for a beer after work, we have to go with other policemen, we can't go with our friends. I don't know if that was what the talk was intended to do. Like any outside interests, you have, if you have mates they should be policemen. I wasn't impressed with that speech. I don't know if that was the point that he was driving across, as if you are not to trust your old friends, not your friends anymore because if they give you a bit of stick about it then they are not friends. It didn't go down well with me.

(Initial Trainee)

One trainee rendered an interpretation which suggested another significant unifying force.

- I. What about "we are members of one big family"?
- R. That has come up an awful lot since then. To a point it's true because the comradeship within the police force, for the reason I think that we are a buffer between the community.

The Community don't really hold a very high opinion of the police force because of the bad publicity we get all the time. If anything goes wrong, it's the policeman's fault. Most of the community tend to believe what they hear or read in the papers and on the news. So the community don't like us and naturally the criminal element don't like us and we are stuck in the middle and we have to stick together.

- I. *Who has told you that cops have not got a real good image?*
- R. *It came up in one of the lectures, about an article in the newspaper a while back, "Acting Police - Commissioner murders his wife", in big bold letters on the front of a newspaper. It turns out that he hasn't been a Commissioner for 30 - 40 years, and when he was a Commissioner he was in Malta. These are the things that sell newspapers. Other than that, it is the general impression I have got of newspapers and the media in general. There are very few newspapers or news programmes I've come across who are really genuine, out to inform you of the facts.*

In this respondent's remarks we have an essential clue to the understanding of the institutional press. The "stuck in the middle" or "thin blue line" ethos interacts with the generally held belief that "they" the "public" don't understand nor care, that the policeman's lot is brought about by their honest efforts to protect them, the public, from the barely restrained savages of the hoodlum or criminal element.

The enclave potential of a generally held impression that "they don't understand", that "they don't care" is exacerbated dramatically by its interaction with the recalled reaction of friends and acquaintances to the decision of trainees to join the job. As I've illustrated in part it's a force which is generalised and considerably fuelled by tales of an occupationally related social isolation (to use Bruce Swanton's term), tales which are incorporated into the instructor's unfolding of the folk lore of the occupation. Initial trainees were wont to repeat the occupational joke regarding this social isolation.

- Q. *What's the last seat on the train to be taken?*
- A. *The one next to the policeman.*

It is important to note that I detected very little self pity in such observations. Rather such stories are related more in the nature of testimony to an heroic martyrdom than any feeling of subordinate ostracization. These examples which evidence the separateness of the police are contextualised within the overall backdrop of police having, not only to protect society, but to do for it those tasks which are so unpleasant or so tragic as to be beyond the capacity or inclination of other sections of the community. One trainee phrased it thus:

We deal with the shit of society. Its concentrated in one place and we're in it. It's us, nobody else will handle it.

(Secondary Trainee)

Included among the unpleasant service as distinct from specifically law enforcement responsibility (See Avery: 1981) is that of conveying death messages. It is interesting to note the occupational carapace ingredient of humour included in the instructor's presentation as well as a reference to that occupational rallying point, the Granville train disaster.

There are probably more qualified people but like other things, things which people don't like to do its the police that do it. Their first reaction is generally one of disbelief - that some mistake has been made or "what's to be done now?" People see police and they expect trouble. You're going out next Tuesday. You may have to do this. To tell someone that they've lost a loved one. You've got to face them directly. No use beating around the bush. There was a blue following the Granville disaster. One bloke asked a lady if she was the widow Jones?

I've discussed the matter of death messages with serving officers on a number of occasions. The standard blackhumour defence mechanism notwithstanding there is a remarkable sensitivity towards such social service coupled with a deep seated skepticism that anyone else could perform the task as capably as they do. This territorial imperative extends to a myriad of other matters associated with police work which underscore the exclusiveness of a brotherhood which at times almost revels in its separateness.

One unexpected illustration of this exclusiveness is the manifest attitude towards public servants working in associated police duties. Unexpected, because one would assume that of all people those working with police would be best able to appreciate the policeman's lot. Although I witnessed no animosity to individual public servants, there was a fairly constant theme propogated that public servants couldn't really be of much assistance in helping police. The police radio was a case in point. Sitting in a police bus bringing trainee's from the railway station to the relatively isolated driver training school we were listening attentively to V.K.G., the police radio, as a car chase was being broadcast. The instructor noting the attention of the trainees drew their attention to the female transmitter:

"She's a public servant probably - as it hots up they'll bring a man on. They always put a policeman on if there's a chase." They did.

The functionality of having an empathetic operator "who'd been there" was sheeted home by another instructor:

V.K.G. will sometimes describe a domestic just as a "domestic". Some little titter will say "domestic". Ask V.K.G. for more details. If you're not getting satisfaction ask the supervisor. Every shift has a police officer on duty.

In a specialist lecture to secondary trainees the import of having police deal with police matters was extended by implication to cover inside secrets generally:

We're short of staff. Our conversation is not private. Particularly remember this when you've got public servants on. The person you speak to may not be police - they're public servants.

From Day 1 the Initial Trainee is reminded that, although he is in the ante room, he himself is not yet a "policeman". The Great Sin is premature claim to full membership status which, if detected, debars him immediately and irrevocably from the brotherhood.

Be proud of the fact that you're going to become a police officer but until you take the oath of office you are a civilian. This warning is emphatic. It's one way of parting company. Some years ago some trainees gatecrashed a party claiming they were police officers. There was, naturally enough, a complaint. They were all dismissed.

The day one caution was repeated many times throughout the 55 days particularly on the day the uniform was issued:

Don't go out in car in uniform and try to big note yourself.

If denied the verification of office, there were some interesting manifestations of anticipatory socialization. On day 40, sitting with a group at the driving school, I noticed an unusual crop of moustaches. To my enquiry as to the reasons for this seemingly coincidental growth over five days away from the Academy, one trainee replied, "they make us look like coppers". Such ploys aside they are not yet police: a fact riveted home to one trainee on graduation day some three hours before the ceremony. Dressed in full uniform, though without "appointments" i.e. revolver etc., the trainee asked permission to walk the ten yards across the road to a grocery store for a particular brand of cigarettes. The fact of his asking was of interest enough though in keeping with the policy laid down on the first day of initial training.

Trainee: Just going across to the Greeks for some Mantillos, O.K.?

Instructor: Not in uniform you're not.

Trainee: Just across the road Constable - to the little shop.

Instructor: Doesn't matter - not allowed to wear uniform in public until you're sworn in. Just the day something would happen. Borrow a jacket and be careful.

I'd followed 161 from the time of their first entry to the passing out parade. Waiting with them in anxious anticipation behind the horse exercise yard prior to marching on, I listened with attention to their nervous banter. They, of course, looked like policemen though they'd lost the self-consciousness they'd manifested on the day of uniform issue. The notorious drill sergeant "the Blue Heeler" who was directing the parade on that day came down the ranks in the same uniform as his charges issuing conciliating words of encouragement. "You've worked hard - be proud". They had indeed, I thought, come a long way from the basically civilian assembly only eleven weeks before. As the order was given "Sgt. X march on the parade" the squad commander I was standing next to said in an unprecedented gesture of collegueship, "Here we go boys - good luck to us all".

It is probably straining the data somewhat to place any emphasis on the person and number of the pronoun yet it does remind us of the tangible collegueship they encounter when they march on to the parade ground to experience what is almost a quasi-ordination rite - the swearing in. In the presence of high ranking officers, they solemnly entone the oath of office with hands resting on bibles provided for the occasion. They are welcomed to the occupation with the following words:

Welcome to the police brotherhood. You are all members of the club - it's international.

These remarks of the Commissioner of Police lend weight to the view that the institutional press of the Academy has the latent byproduct of dividing the world of these young officers into a dichotomous "us" of the police world and the "they" of the civilian world.

The Institutional Press and Interaction

As the crowd began to disperse on graduation day I asked one new Probationary Constable how it felt. He replied, patting the holster at his hip, "We've got our guns now. It's for real now." These Probationers now enjoy the title

of "Constable" - no longer Mr. Jones but "Constable" Jones. They leave the Academy with a title with which they'd be addressed as a matter of course throughout their working day. The title and the uniform constitute a tangible indication of membership in a brotherhood which is founded upon the potential violence of those on the one side of the "thin blue line" and the inability or unwillingness to appreciate them or the part of those on the other side. All 130 of the graduating trainees have experienced an institutional press of considerable magnitude. Though they are skeptical of the "crime fighter" rhetoric of some of the more ardent "drillies"; they do, in my view, accept the view of the police as a brotherhood. The tantalizing nearness of their acceptance before graduation interacts with a distancing from acquaintances and sometimes friends to prepare them for an occupational enclave with few parallels in contemporary society. It is an enclave whose binding interest is fundamentally one of a personal survival which can only be reasonably guaranteed by team action in what is essentially an exercise of unappreciated heroic martyrdom.

THE WORK FACE EXPERIENCE

"Nobody listens to a Probationary Constable"

From the "high" of the Monday graduation exercise after fifty-five days of training, the inductee tumbles to the lowest status within the police hierarchy - that of Probationary Constable of Police or "Pro". Though of low status it is still within the brotherhood.

I waited for five of the new pros. to arrive at an inner city station on the Tuesday after graduation. Given they were scheduled to arrive at 7.30 a.m. I thought I'd be safe in arriving at 7.00 a.m. All five were already present when I entered the station. They'd all had the same fear that morning driving or travelling to work in uniform - that something would happen which would require their intervention. (One did in fact stumble across a serious assault on a railway station. Showing more discretion than valour he "looked the other way" not in fear that he'd be hurt but that he would do something wrong thus imperilling his probation before it really had begun.) Though their membership is not quite as contingent as the Academy staff would have them believe in the oft quoted paraphrase of the regulation "a pro can be dismissed without reason by the Commissioner", they see themselves as very vulnerable in this the first year of a new career.

They have acquired a considerable side-bet commitment which supplements what I saw as more vocational interest in making "good" at the station. Even those whom I've labelled economic conscripts had acquired a degree of commitment which went well beyond utilitarian considerations and entailed becoming a "good" policeman, not, I would contend, in the abstract notion of peace officer, but in being accepted as a "reasonable bloke" by their peers. They are, for whatever reason, ready candidates for the occupational press.

The probationer is, to a large extent, in the first weeks the responsibility of the Training and Induction sergeant and, in turn, to the officer selected by that sergeant as responsible for the new boy learning the ropes - the Buddy. After the initial induction exercises which extend over a heavily monitored period of six weeks the probationer must "keep his nose clean" until his appointment is confirmed some eleven months after his graduation exercise. Although the story of these months is compelling we will in this paper address only those with direct relevance to patterns of interaction.

Under the guidance of the buddy in particular, and within the ambience of the particular station they are posted to, they begin to learn the police way. Some were posted to "front line" stations, others to postings which were greeted

uniformly with groans by recipients and overtures of sympathy by witnesses. It is of interest to note that all

such stations are ones where there is little real police work i.e. arresting "hoodlums", traffic accidents etc. With the exception of a few unfortunate trainees posted to these stations the Probation year does introduce the young officer to real police work. The insight that police work affords into the structure and details of society is a privileged one shared by a few other occupations. The police officer, in the first instance, is one who goes backstage behind the metaphorical brick-veneer of suburbia and sees people in their private domain. For some, especially the younger ones, it's an awesome insight.

R. Well one of the wierdest things I've ever been to - this guy was a real nut. He tried to exorcise his girlfriend to get the devil out of her. All I know is we got this call to go to this little boarding house. It was real grotty. Well this woman had had boiling hot water thrown all over her. Well she comes up to me and says "Officer, he's been hearing these voices". No doubt in her mind about him actually hearing them, "He's been hearing those voices saying I've got the devil in me, but I haven't."

She goes through this list of things, fruit salad, coffee, water, and I'm trying to keep a straight face as she tells me all the things she has had chucked all over her in his efforts to exorcise. Well we walked into his room. It nearly turned my stomach. He had rats in a fish tank, no lid and next to it the frypan to cook his food and it had all gone mouldy. The smell, couldn't see the floor, junk everywhere. The room was a real pigsty. She didn't want to move in with him and that's how the fight started. It was really disgusting.

Another respondent recalled an equally impressive display of the aberrant.

Referring to a call re intoxicated man in a house with a firearm which, as it turned out, was not operating, this probationer continued:

R. One bloke was a queer and the other had been charged a few times. One bloke was queer 'cause he had a lot of dirty magazines and he had one of those blow-up dolls, very messy. You could tell what he'd been doing with it. The whole house was messy, shocking. The doll was deflated at the time and no one was going to go near it because it just looked messy. He had women's clothing in his drawers.

Every respondent could regale an audience with similar or more bizarre tales and acknowledge their aberrance at the same time claiming "you get used to it".

It is dealing not with the aberrant but the ordinary that has the most interesting impact. With the exception of two respondents based in an inner city station for the effective duration of their probationary year the domestic dispute provided a privileged walk to a backstage region previously inaccessible.

I. *What about the job itself - what was your first reaction to the area?*

R. *Pretty depressing area, I've seen worse before but I got into some really terrible domestic situations. This is what made me make the decision. I had a lot of time to, I was visiting people doing domestics and things like that, you come into contact with what people call "the other side of life", how the other half lives, type of thing. I knew how the other half lived, anyway, you always know it's there but you just try and put it out of your mind. But then you come in contact with it in the job and you might go to a home and Mrs. so-and-so's being beaten up by her habitually drunk husband all the time and the kids are laying on the floor screaming, the place is like a country shithouse.*

I. *Have you got a specific example?*

R. *Yes, I went down one day to, you know X (well known sportsman). Well, I went down to his parents' place one day - his old lady had a black eye and cut mouth and the old man was drunk and beating her up. It was unbelievable.*

That such incidents lose their impact could be expected.

I. *Do you tell your wife about (the domestic)?*

R. *Not - weapons produced or anything like that. With the bad ones, where a bloke's kicking his wife's car in and throwing rocks through windows, that sort of thing, sometimes when there's a lot of alcohol involved and he just wants to beat up his missus, or she wants to beat him up and there's a big old barney.*

I. *Has that sort of thing shocked you?*

R. *Yes, it has a bit. I've been brought up in a situation where my father never sort of came home belligerently drunk and knocked my mother around or had bit fights or barneys or anything. There's never been my parents fighting. So that sort of shook me a little bit, because I've never seen anything like that. People really mad with each other, husband and wife situation. It could flare up into something worse. It did shock me a little. But it's surprising how fast you become, probably adjusted, I don't think "adjusted" but tempered. What I'm trying to say is that when you've had one or two, they're probably new and exciting, you've virtually got to have the attitude "Oh, another domestic", you're not looking forward to it.*

Becoming "tempered" is of course part of the formation of a necessary occupational carapace yet, in the recall of some respondents, entailed a growing scepticism towards the public generally.

I was of the opinion, I think, a year ago that all people were basically good. I'm going to complete an about-face now. I think that all people are basically bad and when I say all, I don't mean every head of population, I mean people in general.

A major input into this estimation is the frequent interaction or more accurately encounter with the motorist:

- R. *One of the hardest things about the area (upper class Sydney suburb) is that the people give you a hard time, because they're a very superior race over there and they don't like being pulled up, they don't like being spoken to by policemen.*
- I. *Can you give me an example?*
- R. *One bloke went through a red light. I pulled him up. He was in a Jag - a big red Jag, it was. And he said to me "What's the problem, officer?" Didn't get out of the car, didn't turn it off. I said "Can you turn your ignition off, please?" And he said "No, I'll leave my ignition on." I said "If you don't turn your ignition off, sir, I'll turn it off myself." He turned it off and he said "What's the problem officer, why have I been pulled up?" - right into me didn't wait to be asked questions, he's taken the ball. He might have been a psychologist, because they know how to hit, and when to hit at the right times. He initiated the conversation straight away and almost belittled me. And I got upset at the end and I said, "You could kill people by going through red lights the way you've done." I wasn't very restrained in the end. "Person of your standing, don't know, you look pretty well off, you should know better." He came up and said to me, "Look, officer, I don't need lectures from the likes of you, you young constables come out, lay the law down." All power stuff, I let him ramble on then I gave him a ticket. But they do give you a hard time over there, they're not all as bad as that, but that's the general thing.*

In accompanying one probationer and a sergeant on a call to a minor traffic accident one evening we pulled round the corner to witness an animated discussion between two teams of adversaries who debated their innocence and the other's guilt in the presence of an audience of some ten to fifteen people. One of the vehicles involved was an ornately decorated pickup truck with 'mag' wheels. Directly behind the vehicle were wheel marks of some twenty to twenty-five metres. When asked how fast he was travelling the driver replied "25 mph". The sergeant who was "doing" the accident for the benefit of the probationer calmly wrote down the speed ignoring the evidently preposterous nature of the claim. I later quizzed him as to why he didn't challenge the claimed speed which was probably half of the actual speed. He replied, "Oh, they all say that. Interesting to see the total "write-offs" at 20 mph".

Another manifestation of the estimation of the public is the almost universal

recall of the ghoulish syndrome.

Two girls and a bloke and a girl in the back - they hit a car up the rear, a parked car. They hit a car up the back, concentrated about six cars pretty badly and they'd been trapped inside and I got there with the rescue bloke and the rescue fellas were doing all the work and we were helping them. Most of the girls were completely covered in blood. Me and another bloke grabbed hold of one girl, and we took her out to the back of the ambulance, because there were police cars everywhere. About 11.15 it was. We got the call about 10.55. Police cars everywhere, fire engines everywhere to wash the petrol away, ambulances everywhere, more rescue trucks coming up. Took a while to get everyone out and we were taking people to the ambulance to get treated but all the people that were standing round - the petrol was pouring out into the gutters, people standing right round these injured people. One bloke sort of moaning in agony, there's petrol everywhere, standing there smoking. First you'd ask them "Can you get back please?" nicely. After that there was that many people, that many coppers asking them to get back you'd yell at them, you'd have to really yell at them to get back out of the way, and other blokes would go up there and really up them, say "Look, there's a dead body, is that what you wanted to see, you want to see the mashed up body, is that what you come here for?" and they'd be driven back by those sorts of things.

One respondent echoed the sentiment in his recall of a similar situation where in this instance involved the mutilation and incineration of a young woman who'd been making inquiries at his station the day before the fatal accident.

- I. What did it feel like to arrive at the scene?
- R. Probably there was three people already out and bystanders had them out. Couple had broken legs and arms and that, and said bit hysterical, "There's one in the back seat." - Nothing you could do and it just kept exploding, and the fire brigade arrived and took half an hour to try and get her out. Pretty horrifying feeling, actually, shakes you up - still does a bit sometimes. But there's nothing you can do. You can't help. Fire extinguisher was bloody useless and fortunately for her she was unconscious at that stage.
- I. Geez, that must have set you back some?
- R. Yes, when they pulled her out, totally different look to what we saw the day before. Words don't describe it.
- I. What about the public standing round - the public watching?
- R. Had more trouble keeping them away from trying to look, than you could control. Pushed some back, next minute they'd be over beside you. They're just ghouls, half of them. You had the little cluster of genuine helpers to help get the people out of the car originally and try and give some first aid to them, but the others were just sightseers. When they were pulling out - they had to use crowbars to get the body out, they were just trying to get near, they had to take them back 100 feet and you'd push them back and they'd still creep around your perimeter.
- I. How would you speak to them?

- R. *First of all you talk to them nicely, push back, but then you had to get nasty for a while - sort of get very firm with them and tell them to stay there and no further because they just keep creeping. It's unbelievable, you'd have to see it to believe it, actually.*
- I. *What sort of people were they?*
- R. *Just average, middle class families. Even with the kids there. 12 and 15 years old kids trying to have a look too. Unbelievable. Cars everywhere, because it was a four car prang - one car shot across the road and hit two others coming the other way - cars and mess everywhere, and people just wanted to have a look.*

In an occupation which takes practitioners so regularly to the underworld of contemporary existence it is not surprising that some overflow into estimation of people generally occurs.

I have attempted to demonstrate forces of a distancing character. Arising from the stepping behind the respectable and albeit functional veneers we maintain in our collective presentation of self and which, by and large, we do not dispute, at least at the manifest level, in the mass of our fellows, (Goffman, 1959). The nett result of such is an emergent attitude which put the average officer more on his guard when dealing with people on and off duty.

It's not a matter so much of the vernacular concept of "trust" but rather differing definitions of what men, not "aberrant men", but men, are capable of. Police often in actuality but always in the occupational folk-lore have seen the decent family man behave indecently. They have witnessed the attentive parent being an equally attentive child abuser. They have seen the 'life of the party' cause injury and death on the road and they have heard the average bloke protest his innocence despite blatant breaches of the motor traffic law. The police world is replete with tales of societal paragons of virtue being caught in flagrante delicto, of wholesome entertainers who beat their wives, of men of the cloth who prey on young boys and of knights of the realm who manipulate the justice system, of leading politicians who launder money through book makers, of members of the criminal bar who are accessories after, and sometimes before the fact. There is in the recounting of these stories a congruence of detail which makes prima facie credibility to an outsider like myself. There is, however, no question of their authenticity in the eyes of the insiders I was associated with.

The police occupation provides privileged access to the inside, even dark secrets of our society. To the neophyte practitioners of the art their introduction entails

a carapace of skepticism which I argue is not situationally specific. Simply, they are more on guard than their age mates in other occupations.

Parallel to this force is another at first sight paradoxical force which also, I believe, separates the officer from society. It has its origins in the essential characteristics of the modern day office of constable - in the position of authority and power that the office gives to its holder vis-a-vis the ordinary man. I have argued in other arenas that this characteristic has assumed greater rather than less significance over the past 40 years for a myriad of reasons but which include the more ubiquitous nature of automobile ownership and the concomitant liability of Mr. Average to come under police scrutiny. Even though authority at the corporate level is under challenge of demonstration, it is part of our everyday reality, of the taken-for-granted assumptions of our society that a policeman is obeyed. Moreover, he is obeyed, not because of the Smith and Wesson displayed now so obviously in the officer's summer uniform, nor by the awesome power of law with the sanction of penal servitude. He is obeyed because he is a policeman - that is he exercises a form of social control which is deemed by those over whom it is exercised as legitimate. Generally those in the subordinate position ask not for persuasion but suspend their judgment in advance to the exercise of a control resting not in the individual personality of the office holder but in the office. Sociologists call such social control, authority (McGrath, 1980).

The notion of authority, i.e. global notion of a constable's authority, its origins and implications is simply not discussed nor in my attentive hearing even addressed in the curriculum of the Initial and Secondary Training segments of the N.S.W. Academy. Its taken for granted status leads to an almost total ignoring of the effect on an individual of the office he has assumed. The absence of systematic treatment of this central characteristic which above all else determines the interaction of a constable on duty with the new reality of "civilian population" is a glaring and dysfunctional omission from the police training curriculum.

One clear manifestation of the authority of the office of constable is the privileged treatment accorded to police in many arenas seemingly far removed from actual police activity. I can say at the outset that the nexus between such privileged treatment and its indisputable origin, the authority of the office of constable, is unrecognized by the bulk of trainees. It is as unappreciated as it is extensive. In the words of one respondent whom we shall

later see is somewhat more discerning than his colleagues:

"You get wonderful service in shops and stuff. Wonderful service. I've even had people offer me discounts (when I'm in uniform)..."

"The Discount Suit"

The "Discount Suit" is the name extended by officers to the phenomenon whereby a myriad of retailers proffer substantial discounts to police officers either literally in uniform or merely because they are identified or identify themselves as "police". There are two broad categories of such discounts - occasional and institutionalized. It must be stated at the outset that we are not here considering the issue of ethics of such discounts - discounts which in my view contribute to a climate of expectations in which the possibility of a serious ethical slide is made real indeed.

I monitored the full range of instruction at the Academy and heard only one lesson, of an hour's duration, devoted to ethics per se. In this instance the lesson was a brilliant pedagogical exercise with the most animated discussion I'd heard in any instructional period at the Academy. The lecturer concerned was an experienced officer of rigid ethical standards who quickly dimmed the enthusiastic reception by the class of the news that they were about to enter a world of unexpected "perks". His message was very clear - as a police officer not only should you refrain from accepting what I might call the occupationally specific perks but also the more normal tributes in business relationships, e.g. the Christmas bottle of Scotch. They were thoroughly impressed with this lesson which warned of the "two middle chucker out" syndrome. The instructor put the point of view that publicans did not fall readily under the label of "magnanimous" and that to act as one to clear the bar for a few free beers afterwards degraded the office of constable. I witnessed no other period devoted to the issue of ethics.

Such sentiments notwithstanding, there is just insufficient time devoted (or indeed available) to the issue of gratuities and its base in the authority of constable nor to the potentially distancing effects of such privileged treatment. That it should be more centrally recognized is evidenced in the following pages which testify to the extent of the privilege and its potential to further distinguish the police officer from his fellow man.

- R. In the suburb where I work you get into the pictures out there for nothing and the Drive-In.
- I. You mean police - all police?
- R. Yes. You just have to ask and just walk in. I don't see anything wrong.
- I. Is that in your own car?
- R. Oh yes. Cheap night out. If everyone else is doing it you may as well. Things like free travel on the trains. All comes in handy.
- I. Do you get free booze at the pubs, or do you pay for it?
- R. No, I've had a couple of free drinks, usually after hours you go down in night shift and just see what they're doing. I've never been by myself, there's always been a sergeant to say, "Come in here, this is what we do, close the place up and see the boss". He says "Do you want a beer?" and the sergeant says "OK, just one". "How much is that?" "Nothing" - he's got no money in his pocket. Or they go down after hours and say "Having a bit of a party at work, last day of night shift, we want a dozen cans." He brings them out, and says "How much is that?" "You're right". I've never done that, though I suppose if I knew where to get discount beer I'd go.
- I. I'm bloody sure I would though I'm on the outside of the situation.
- R. I know if you're shopping for anything, most blokes do it in their time and see if they get a discount. I had to buy a security door, one of those Luxaflex or one of those ones, and I went to a bloke, said "How much are these?" and got a few quotes around. I think it was \$199 and he said "You're right, you can have it for \$137, so I said "Alright."
- I. You in uniform then?
- R. Yes. I was in uniform then.

The rules for commercial exchange in our society though unwritten are quite explicit. Assuming the relationship between shopkeeper and customer is categorical i.e. one is not bound to the other by kinship or friendship bonds and assuming further that we are not talking about a situation mutually defined as a barter situation e.g. second hand car yard, the nominated price is the price expected by both participants. It is true that shopkeepers do make concessions to bulk purchasers in the way of a trade discount with the view to increasing future turnover. In the situations described by this respondent no such considerations pertain. This respondent is blissfully ignorant of any potential compromise flowing from such gratuities as he is unaware the unsolicited privilege extended to his plumes of office distinguishes him from the mass of customers patronizing the respective establishments he mentions. The point here is that in these non work situations his occupational identity is relevant. I have heard many references to the proprietors of such establishments as "friends of police". This unusual epithet refers not to someone having some individual police as

personal friends but to someone extending favours towards police in general. At one level the epithet is, I feel, symptomatic of a naivety which is more spread than I would like to think. Indeed if one considers the position of a police officer vis-a-vis a civilian there could be very good reasons why being a police officer should preclude the office holder from accepting any gratuity not generally advertised as available to members of the public, for fear of potential compromise. In the interview situation the above respondent came across as a pleasant family man, conscientious, if not altogether mature, in the execution of his duty. His problem is that he does not understand his new position relative to the public. However, not all respondents are quite as naive:

I. What about it, do people offer you discounts?

R. Yes, I think it's V (electrical firm) at Z. They've got a bit of a factory over there and you can get goods at list price.

I. What about small shops and stuff like that, do they offer you free cups of coffee?

R. Yes. Joe the Greek, and all that sort of thing. "Come in, mate come in. Nice cup of coffee?"

I. How do you react to that - do you find people a bit more deferential than they were? Bit more courteous than they would have been?

R. I don't know whether it's courtesy or scared, or they want to keep on the right side of the extreme, they want to try and bribe you into - they seem to have some kind of complex about you might be coming to get them one day. I don't know what it is. I've struck it a couple of times, like you go into a place and they offer you a cup of coffee, or a drink, a fruit drink or something.

I. When did that happen last time?

R. Probably about 2, 3 months ago I went down with a bloke to get some breakfast - day shift - to get a few toasted sandwiches and that. Down to this milk bar, never been there before but the bloke I was with had. And we walked in there.

I. Were you wearing "drinking" coats?

R. No, we were in uniform because we were in car crew, and we just parked the car and went into the milk bar, and we ordered our sandwiches and the next question was "Do you want one sugar or two?" He had expresso coffees made up on the counter. And I didn't know whether my mate had ordered them or whether he had just - apparently he'd just given them to us, no questions asked.

I. Did you pay for the sandwiches, though?

R. Yes.

I. Full price?

R. Yes, no worries at all. I don't know, sometimes I'm a bit dark on that, because I've known blokes that will go on the hunt for it. Maybe they're not putting pressure on people, but they're making it known that they're police and they want a discount. You strike that a fair bit.

- I. Do you remember a case, without any names?
- R. Yes, there's one particular case, one of the boys bought some stereo gear and we were in the car crew once again and we stopped at this place, and he walked in there and the bloke showed him a few bits and pieces of equipment. And the fella said "What kind a deal could you do for me?" which is a leading question, really, and the answer was the "Oh, I'll look after you" sort of bullshit.

It is not merely a question of the Academy not giving adequate recognition to the practices of the "discount suit" but rather the Academy failing to give any recognition to the attitudinal shift which inevitably comes about when trainees go on station duty - an arena, if my data is representative, characterised by a general but importantly not universal, expectation of a wide range of 'perks!' It is important to remember that the Probationer is extremely vulnerable in his first year of service and it would perhaps be an unusual trainee to resist or even question the idiosyncratic construction of mercantile reality which permits officers to accept and to sometimes seek extraordinary treatment from merchants. To an outsider such a construction of reality poses serious questions of the ethical slide mentioned - one founded upon considerations that police are somehow entitled to preferential consideration in commercial arenas. Some are more cautious than others when it comes to these occasional perks which may carry with them more than meets the eye.

- R. The "discount suit"? I got my colour tele for \$400. That was good value, \$200 off. But I'm not the sort of person to - I'm too proud to pursue it like to go begging, as I call it, to get discounts. If I had to go and get something and I was in my uniform, well and good. But I'm not particularly anxious to utilise the uniform to get things - it's not my cup of tea.

That such occasional "perks" raise some problems in the eyes of many young officers does not deny the widespread nature of the gratuity network. There is however another range of gratuities which is more systematic and pretty well totally office, rather than individual, dependent. These institutional perks come in two broad sub categories - those extended from outside the occupation and those extended from within the occupation - the "Big Mac" syndrome, and the "Trade Price" syndrome respectively.

I'd been discussing one respondent's off duty socializing when he introduced an institutionalised discount.

- R. If you're working afternoon shift they generally go to X (club) after work because they stay open until 2 or 3 in the morning and after it closes the beer is free, so they'll go up there.

- I. What time does the afternoon shift finish - 11, is it?
- R. Yes, 11 o'clock, and a lot of the blokes go up there for a drink - you'll probably get all the shift, the afternoon shift, they'll decide to go for a drink...
- I. And the X gives free drink?
- R. Well not to start off with, but you can say the coppers at Y (Sydney suburban station) take pretty good care - see, the Club's got a Disco night, and they get a fair bit of trouble out the front, so Y police have sort of taken it on themselves to patrol the car park, and if anything starts, they're there.

They get a fair few after the Disco, a few drinks in them, or a bloke's picked up the wrong bird who's got a 20 foot husband or something. You get your trouble out there at X. It's sort of just something that's - you could say, the X club rubs the police's back and the police rub the X Club's back. But they've got a pretty good thing going, you know, something rude to spoil. A lot of the licenced places around the area have been good towards the police, funnily enough.

From such occasional perks which have grown into a tradition, we might now look at virtually a universal phenomenon reported by all respondents.

We'd been discussing one firm's practice of discounting to police. (The firm's name is fictional.)

- R. You mean 50% off hamburgers. At the end of the night Ajax's send all the hamburgers, all the left over ones up to you anyway. They have a roster, there's a special car rostered - not at my station because there's no Ajaxs there but all the other suburban stations the car goes down at 9.30 and picks up all the left overs from every X restaurant in Sydney.
- I. I don't think much of the food myself.
- R. I don't mind it. Lot of blokes don't like it. Although if it's for nothing. I've seen a lot of blokes who say "I hate it" but if it's for nothing they eat it. But I've even been in off duty, gone to Ajaxs, said "I'm from the police - can I get 50% off my hamburger?"
- I. In plain clothes?
- R. Yes.
- I. Did they ask you to produce your warrant card?
- R. Some do, some don't. Sometimes I'd be embarrassed - I wouldn't do it in a long line, you'd be holding up the people, but if you're just there by yourself.

Verification of the extent of the phenomenon came in a general discussion with one trainee about the experiences he'd had in his probationary year.

- I. What would be the worst experience you've had in the job so far?
- R. It was good, it gave me a taste of what it's about, I had two weeks leave before I came here, I had night work before that, just before I came to the Academy, and we went up to Ajax's restaurant to get our food. I used to work for Ajax, so I found out that Y, the manager for Australia, has made an official memo through his stores to say that police are to get a 50% off because he loves police. He really does, and after closing you can get it all for nothing, all the left-over stuff. It's an official thing off Y. Everybody's getting shakey with all this stuff about greed and corruption, but they want to give it to us, I mean 50%, but after they're closed it's worthless to Ajax. They can't sell, after a certain time, 10, 9 minutes the hamburgers are thrown out usually in the normal day's running, so we get in there a half an hour later, it's still O.K. to eat. At night work you get the munchies, I tell you. Anyway, we picked it up, went back to the station and gave the Station Sergeant and us a bit of a feed. We walk in at 11 o'clock, first thing he says was "First job, get up there and get the food."

A variation on the theme was offered by another respondent.

- I. Have you found the shift work interferes with your social life?
- R. No, I like the shift work, the only thing that buggers up your social life is the night work when you do it for a week, but you save your money for going out, so that's a good point.
- I. Night work's 11 - 7 shift, eh? Does that go quickly, that time?
- R. Depends who you're working with. You might be working with a person who doesn't want to do nothing, except go round and pick up papers off the paper truck, or drive up and down the same old road all the time until you get a paper truck.
- I. Do you flag the paper truck over, do you?
- R. When they see a police car they just pull over, then they give you the papers - it's just a thing.
- I. Do they pay for the papers or do they just give them to you.
- R. They've got reject papers and they give them to us.
- I. How do you go at Ajax's? Do you get the free tucker from Ajax's?
- R. Yes, when you're on night shift they give you a ring, or sometimes you give them a ring, and they say to come up, they've got something for us. I've only been in there once to get a feed, you don't feel too good walking in there and saying "Oh, you got the food for us?"
- I. What sort of food is it?
- R. All their hamburgers they've got left, you might get a big bag of chicken one night, hamburgers, apple pies, all their hot food they've got left over.
- I. There wouldn't be any customers in the shop then?
- R. No. It'd be about a half hour after they close up.

- I. It makes you uncomfortable?
- R. Doesn't make me uncomfortable, because from what I've heard it's the bloke that owns it all, over in America they've done the same thing to cops over there, and whenever they came out to Australia they did the same here. I thought it's a rule, the bloke who owns Ajax's set a rule that all cops get food half price, and give the coppers the food at the end of the day if there's any left.
- I. You don't think that compromises you at all? The fact that you're taking half price food from Ajax's?
- R. I've only done it a couple of times when I haven't had a chance to eat tea, or something.
- I. How do they know you're a copper?
- R. If you want lunch or tea you go in your uniform.
- I. And they give you 50% off automatically.
- R. That's why I don't mind going there for tea, because it's cheap. \$2, you might get three pieces of chicken, a couple of hamburgers.
- I. And how do the plain clothes guys get on?
- R. I don't know. I went once with the plain clothes blokes, and they went up there and they'd been going for a little while, to Ajax's for tea, and that's all I felt like to eat. I got it half price because the girl recognised me, and the manager came over and talked to me - he knew I was with the other blokes, so he knew they were detectives, so they got it off too. I think it'd be harder for them.

What I see as a more discerning comment was given by one more worldly respondent:

We were just talking about it (discount suit) at dinner time, and a bloke said to me "If I had a shop and a copper came in to buy something, there's no way in the wide world I would give him any discount, I'd charge him bloody extra." And I thought, "Good on you, so would I." Why should they get anything on the cheap, rather than somebody else. Of course Ajax work on the theory if they give the coppers half price, they'll be there all the time. I suppose it's cheap security, really, isn't it, in that respect, because there's always a copper at Ajax's. Gees, I've noticed that- Everywhere I go, because you're working in a car crew and if the other bloke likes Ajax's you go there and there's always another car there. Jeas, I've struck that a lot of times. But I reckon it's shit, that food. I hate it.

It is of course difficult to estimate the effect on individuals of such discounting. Some, but in my view too few, saw the privilege in its true threatening light.

- I. Have you found the effects of the uniform flattering? Has it been advantageous to you?
- R. You get wonderful service in shops and stuff. Wonderful service. I've even had people offer me discounts, but I'm too aware of that, and again pride might come into it, I think to myself "The bastards wouldn't give it to me if I walked in here in a pair of stubbies and a t-shirt, and

all of a sudden I'm Mr. Superhero because I'm in a uniform" and that upsets me, because people are so bloody two-faced. They wouldn't do it for you just out of the goodness of their hearts, and therefore I think they might be doing it for possibly protection or to look better in police eyes. Not for the public in general, I mean the same courtesy should be offered to all members of the public, that's the whole problem with the system and the things that are going on today. They just don't give a stuff.

Whatever the reaction of individuals is, there can be little doubt that the practice does exist. My view is that it constitutes a force which further distinguishes the individual and those in the organisation he represents from the general public. That a significant section of police officers do habitually benefit from such practices in seeming contravention of an express police regulation must be considered in the context of an Academy and work face attitudinal moulding force which has a dominant theme, a view of police as a thin blue line of missionaries labouring in territory whose inhabitants, by personal experience and detailed folklore, are unappreciative of their efforts. The gratuities from "friends of police" are seen, I would argue, as a perk legitimated as an act of compensation for the misunderstanding or plain hostility of those whom they are sworn to protect. It is important to point out that the "perks" mentioned do not constitute the tip of an iceberg of a general cynicism towards the law. Though police by and large are critical of the law makers - the politicians - this was brought home particularly in regard to two pieces of legislation being considered for introduction during the study period concerning bail procedures and summary offences - they hold firmly at the manifest level to a belief in the law.

Many police, for instance, regarded the Prescribed Concentration of Alcohol law as unduly harsh at the .08 level. I've heard members of the Breath Analysis Squad openly criticise the level as not entailing dysfunctional insobriety yet they'll say to end the debate, "the laws the law".

The riddle of people who do, I accept, believe in what they are doing, tolerating or engaging in practices which seem to contravene the ethos of what they are doing cannot be solved by the "expectation of observance in others" argument. The police I encountered were not cynical about their primary task. The regulation prohibiting gratuities is, I feel, dismissed as not applying to the sort of discounts I've mentioned and as one more manifestation of the machinations of a "they" at headquarters in College Street, Sydney who, like the public, don't understand either.

A crystallization of this attitude was presented in a devious reference I heard to the "Gurkhas" of College St. It was not the fabled heroism of the famous regiments that was being underscored but rather the fact that the Gurkhas didn't take prisoners. With some important exceptions the "they" of College St. were dismissed because they had not arrested "angry men". Once again we see the emergence of the combat ethos. It's an ethos which field police use in distinguishing themselves from the others of the College and in dismissing their machinations. It's an attitude which is strongly reminiscent of those of front line soldiers towards their headquarters' masters. This "trench perspective" leads to a clear dismissal of the gratuity regulation as it affects the sort of perks I've addressed. Such an interpretation in excluding one more section of society from appreciating the policeman has the concomitant function of tightening the net of exclusiveness of the brotherhood.

During the study period one of the periodic corruption scandals associated with police burst on to the front page in the form of the "tow truck" scandal. Apparently in one area of Sydney police attending to motor accidents were being rewarded by tow truck operators who "got the hook" to the tune of \$25 to \$30. It had been a time honoured "spotting fee" arrangement entered into by vehicle repairers with a view to increasing the volume of their trade. The subsequent scandal had many effects not the least of which was on the lives of policemen dismissed from the department for their involvement in an exercise which, in another occupational arena lacking the disequilibrium of the police/civilian relationship, would be regarded as good business practice.

- I. *The force has got some pretty bad publicity - what do you feel about that? Does it have any effect on you?*
- R. *Doesn't have any effect on me at all. It's best not to try and get bad publicity. That's for everyone, if you get a bad name, hit the papers or something you're putting down all the other people in the police force.*

Whatever the ethics of the practice were, the "departments" response which was immediate and enduring contributed in a real way to the trench perspective.

- R. *There is a bloke out there I met last Easter, Y, and he was a nice bloke geez he was a top bloke I never met him before. I just met him and he just clicked with me so nice just a top bloke. He got busted for that tow truck business and he said to me a few months ago I went over there he was havin' a picnic over there and he's nearly in tears talkin' to me about it. Geez I felt sorry for him he just said "bloody twelve bloody years in the job" he said "and they drop you like a hot bloody spud over three or four hundred dollars". I just felt sorry for him. I thought twelve years. He had two stripes just*

about due for his third stripe in another few years doin' his exam. Finished just like that. I thought what a waste and he was a good policeman and a lotta blokes have told me about him. He was a really good policeman. He was honest he was a good policeman and just gone like that and it's so unfair you know it's so unfair because you know. You gotta be tough with the towies. They're bastards. They're real cockroaches that's the only word you can use to describe 'em you know. The next step for 'em is in jail or they've just got out of it that's the impression they give you. A lot of 'em you know they're so sleezy and they're like blood suckers, you go to an accident and someone's that upset. All they're interested in is the tow.

The tow truck incident acquired unique momentum because the operators, "the towies", constitute one of the symbolic enemies of the working police officer, because of their alleged mercenary attitude to distressed motorists, particularly female motorists in accident situations. The fact that many tow truck operators allegedly have radios capable of listening to V.K.G. broadcasts, thereby invading the privacy of the extended brotherhood's conversations, merely exacerbates the issue.

They're waitin' for the prangs. I don't usually even speak to 'em you know. I've spoken to 'em a coupla times told 'em to piss off and leave people alone and they've jacked up a bit. I've just said well "Where's your licence? Where's your authority." You give 'em the heavy and just say to 'em "Who's in the truck with you?" It was on the way home and I rang up Headquarters 20966 reported an accident ... I'd been there an hour waiting for the car so I went over to the towie and I said, "Are the police comin' to this?" He said, "I wouldn't know". I said "Oh for Chrissake," I said, "Just bloody tell me whether your bloody radio says they're comin' or not". I said, "Don't bullshit to me", I said "I've been standin' around here for an hour and I'm not in the mood for you blokes so just tell me whether they're comin' or not", and I walked away and I said to this bloke and his mate, "You just go over to your mate and find out if the bloody police are comin' or not. I know you got a radio in there". He come over and he said "Yeah they'll be here in about five minutes."

The attention given to the tow truck scandal exacerbated a dormant suspicion of the department as "Big Brother" waiting for the copper in the street to make a mistake.

- I. What were the general reactions over the tow truck allegations/revelations? I mean the reaction of police officers generally to the revelations. Was there much discussion around the station?
- R. This is what I've heard - I think it was night shift and Internal Affairs had made a phone call to police station - they said there was an accident at so-and-so. About five minutes later about six tow trucks turned up at the accident - it hadn't gone over the air, so someone at the station must have rung up the tow trucks to go to the accident. One of the blokes left after a while - he was on the phone when they came storming in the police station, but he was talking to his grandmother, and they took the phone off him and spoke to his

grandmother. They sound a pretty heavy mob. I haven't come in contact with them myself - general opinion is that no-one likes them.

Indeed an unexpectedly high number of respondents had been subjected to the departmental ritual of "qs and as" - questions and answers in response to a complaint about the conduct of the officer concerned.

There were many examples of the "department's" harshness in dealing with those who'd failed despite their best efforts and were subject to complaint from the member of the public resulting in the enforced submission to "qs and as". It is against this backdrop of a basically malevolent paternalism that the third manifestation of the discount suit must be evaluated.

"The Trade Price"

As a direct result of a department which is seen as not only not understanding, but being not caring in its treatment of human error there has arisen in the eyes of the respondents a comprehensive but by no means complete degree of immunity from police action. It is my contention that this degree of immunity which I call "Trade Price" further contributes to the exclusiveness of the brotherhood of police officers. As I shall illustrate it is part of a clearly articulated strength in unity ethos which in turn is buttressed on the thin blue line combat perspective.

The Trade Price is, in the report of my respondents, confined almost exclusively to traffic matters. Although widespread, it is not universally adhered to. However, those who break the code incur scorn. On the other hand those who would flagrantly abuse the code risk retribution. The police officer in N.S.W. endures a position of double or even triple jeopardy. If convicted, say, of a serious driving offence, say driving in a manner dangerous to the public, in police parlance "drive manner dangerous", he incurs the normal sanctions of the courts but is likely to incur in the same judicial arena an extra penalty as one who's entrusted to uphold the law. He is then likely to incur departmental action as a person likely to discredit the force. In direct response to these specific potential sanctions as well as in response to an unnecessarily harsh department there has arisen the "trade price" - a phenomenon as the analagous name suggests common to many, indeed most occupations.

- R. *All the signs you see, "No right turn", "No left turn", in fine print under that they've got "Police vehicles excepted". You've got to get right up close to see. The normal driver wouldn't pick it up.*

I should point out that in the thousands of miles that I have travelled in police vehicles the only recurring infringement that I've encountered is a propensity, sometimes a heart stopping propensity, to "run the amber" light. Police drivers, even those with whom I've worked for a period of months border on the incredibly cautious. I can well recall travelling across Sydney at 3.00 a.m. one morning sitting on 65 km with a procession of motorists tagging behind on otherwise deserted streets. I quizzed the young highway patrolman driving as to his speed. He replied, "You've got to set an example."

On the occasions when such sentiments are forgotten in the recall of my respondents there is a reasonably well founded expectation, though not certain, that the trade price will operate.

- I. *You said last year you were driving more cautiously (since you entered the Academy) - are you still driving more cautiously?*
- R. *Well I slacked off. I don't wear seat belts. It's a thing now, "you're in the police force" and you know that they won't book you unless it's a real mongrel Highway Patrolman. It's really slack, like a "you own the road" attitude. It's bad but you can't help it because you know you won't get pulled up.*

I've little doubt that this respondent will certainly change his views if pulled up. Police become very annoyed with those of their fellows who abuse the privilege discount. One senior officer recounted just such abuse. (Reconstructed conversation.)

We were on the Heathcote road. This maniac in a Mini flies by as we've got a bloke on the side of the road. Must've seen us. We jumped in and eventually pulled the bastard up. Doing near the ton. I walk up to the driver's side and he lowers the window an inch and pushes out his warrant card. Doesn't even get out. Well bugger that for a joke. I grab the card, tear it in half and chuck it to the shithouse. I scream "Get out of your car". Should've seen the bastard. Damn near died. Young bastard. Booked him for speeding - checked the Mini for defects. Young lair!

One final, potentially more serious example was presented by one respondent who indicated that the discount was more influential than he had thought. His

attitude is, I feel, much more representative of the general feeling than the "you own the road" respondent above. We'd been discussing the possibility of entry to the force eroding friendship.

- R. Not at all. A couple of occasions it's actually strengthened it. Got us out of a bit of trouble.
- I. What sort of trouble?
- R. Mainly a traffic matter. We'd been to a football meeting one night, and I'd only had a couple of beers but my mate was a little bit under it, and he cut me off at an intersection so I went to catch him up and tick him off about it and he thought I was trying to race him, so he took off and finally we had two Highway Patrol bikes pulling us over, I don't know how he hasn't been booked, he drove up the gutter and almost into a telegraph pole which made it look all the worse. He had a bit of an argument with one of the fellas and the Senior Constable had a talk with me. I said I was in the job and pacified the first class constable and he told us if he saw us again that night he'd lock us up. He told us, "No trouble, on your way home" and he went and told my mate, "If it wasn't for your friend there in the job you'd be getting a night in the cells tonight." Thank heavens, because they had me worried enough as it was -- I could see the job and everything going up -- as it was the fella wasn't too bad about it.
- I. Were they in cars?
- R. No, they were both on bikes, around 11 o'clock at night which surprised me. I'm normally very aware - I usually drive over the speed limit but that's about the only road rule I continually break. I generally drive quicker, but things like that make it awkward for police having to pull me up and let me off - if I see a policeman I'll slow down and wait until they're out of the way before I start choofing off again. Don't like to attract attention to the fact that - because it can make it awkward for them, if they get seen letting me off and not getting booked, it can make it awkward for them as well, that being the way the brotherhood works. I reckon 90 percent of the police, if anything happens, unless it's something serious that they all work together to try and help each other. It might be the way most of the other fellas view it as well, that if they could help a bloke in trouble in the job, they do what they can. Within limitations. There would be certain aspects that you wouldn't do anything about as we had with Internal Affairs. If I saw anything to do with drugs, or maybe crime or something like that, or driving under the influence and having a serious accident - you'd have to do something about it because you just couldn't get out of it. But only minor things, like traffic offences and stuff. Like, it shouldn't be done, as the police instructors say "no favouritism" but if you got to a stage like that you'd have policemen back-stabbing themselves all the time, there'd be no unification and the police force just wouldn't work, because you wouldn't have faith in your partner. If something tricky came up you just wouldn't know if you could trust him to help you, if something dicey came up involving violence etc. Where you're in a particular situation you've got to count on the bloke to know that when you step in he's going to be half a step behind you, walking in your tracks. As soon as something happens, you've got a back up. You tie that in with this? If you get to the stage where you know guys for simple speeding offences, parking offences etc.

that he's going to think "you're a bastard and you're in the car one day and something happens and he's going to be standing away and couldn't give a stuff if you get a kick in the nuts or something like that. That's the attitude I see. Where if he knows you'll back him up in one thing, he'll back you up in something else.

It is the threat of danger in the street confrontation, a danger which can only be met satisfactorily by a united response that buttresses the "trade price" practice. The fact remains that the sort of privilege we are speaking of carries over to casual interactions with those outside the brotherhood in a double edged allegation of hypocrisy - that they'll prosecute people for doing something they themselves do but do with relative impunity.

Moreover, it is something which many members of the public who occasionally speed, run a light, park illegally or drive after drinking do. As I've said above, it is these "somethings" which puts the position of police in society in an unprecedented sociological configuration which enhances the separation from society potential of the occupation of police.

The Work Face Experience and Interaction

We cannot yet understand the forces I've outlined unless we appreciate the central belief of the work face and indeed the academy environment. The job of policing in the eyes of respondents is an important job.

Most police would chuckle at the training rhetoric of "crime fighting machines" and "the thin blue line" as being Starsky and Hutch rhetoric to be reserved for passing out parades. Indeed as anyone who knows "police" there is a veneer of satire in their statements about the "street". "It's a jungle mate, it's a jungle" was one trainee's encapsulation to my question "how goes it?" There is within the police force as within most occupations, groups which draw on low middle and working class people an elaborate and, in my view, very sophisticated ritual of humorous self derision. The police occupation is one such occupation where being serious and being solemn are seen as quite separate processes. Humour in the police force is of such a stage of development that it has to be experienced to be appreciated. It has, in addition to the intrinsic mirth-making function, an important latent contribution to the development of an occupational carapace. Beneath this carapace is a fundamental belief which leads police to distinguish themselves from many of their fellows - their job

matters. It matters to society and it matters to them. The work face solidifies their commitment to the enterprise of policing. In this solidification there are ingredients which close in the occupational enclave in a way that few anticipated. In the main it is a closing which is not onerous - nearly all respondents declared after eleven months "they'd made the right decision" in joining but within that majority estimation that "the job" was good for them and good for the community were included ingredients which were personally stressful and which have their etiology in the sort of distinctiveness of occupation I've demonstrated in this chapter.

THE ESSENTIAL JOB: THE POLICE OCCUPATION AND INTERACTION

"....there were two blokes trapped in a car wrapped around a telephone post. The first thing that came into my mind was not running away and vomiting, but to get them out of the bloody thing, to make sure they are alive."

The Police Occupation and Interaction

The detailed complexity of interactions in the police occupation should be contextualized in a working environment dominated by one single factor with the potential for the singling out members of the occupation from the public but to be so obvious as to be missed. Simply, the police deal with things which to individuals are important. It is an occupation whose stock and trade is the principal life event of the individuals and families who constitute the community. Although we, as members of the laity, do not regard the application for a shooter's licence or the settling of a parking violation as being important, we nonetheless can probably remember each of our 'moving violations', each of the summonses served by police, each incident of lost property being reported. Such matters are examples from the police perspective of clerical interactions and though they may constitute the most frequent interactions they are not characteristic of the police civilian encounter. The mutuality of the definition of mundane evaporates when we move beyond such clerical interactions.

Incidents of a more serious nature, regarded as mundane by police are clearly not mundane in the eyes of the affected laity. The very common charge of P.C.A. (Prescribed Concentration of Alcohol) is a taken for granted reality in every suburban police station yet for the accused it is undoubtedly a principal life event entailing his being fingerprinted in the manner of the criminal which he technically is. P.C.A.'s, however, are "small beer" (to coin a phrase) indeed in the police world but so also are more major events. In a suburban police station one evening I overheard two Probationary Constables discussing "deceased persons". It was a suburb, in the words of the station sergeant, where,

We get a lot of 'dead uns'. Lot of retired people here. Live here alone. First we know about it is the neighbour calls, or the milko notices they haven't got their milk or the smell (of decomposition).

The two officers concerned were discussing an administrative issue arising from just such a deceased person matter:

P.C.1 *You had trouble with your dead un eh?*

P.C.2 *No mate, not my dead un. George's dead un. Mine was O.K. mate. Not mine, George's mate. He bugged his up - mine was a good dead un.*

This jovial exchange between men who six months earlier had encountered in their employment in white collar occupations little of anything of interest let alone excitement impressed me not just as evidence of a functional carapace but also that the extraordinary had become ordinary - had become part of the taken for

granted reality. Behind that reality lay relatives and friends to whom the demise of a friend constituted an important, probably central life event. Of course, the same carapace operates, but not without exception, in the handling of tragedy of the road.

I. David, do you think you've changed much since being in the force?

R. Yes.

I. In what ways?

R. Certain situations I've come to treat with a rather casual attitude that I never would have previously. Things like injuries to people, that's the main one, particularly car accidents and things like that. Previously you'd see someone with their head off or something like that and you'd think, "Jesus, I can't stand that!" but now, you go to an accident and you see something like that and you think, "Oh, jee, that's a good one", that's the sort of professional attitude that's there "That's a good smash, that one." It's a facet that you wouldn't come across in any other sort of occupation. Maybe ambulance officers would. They'd be the only other fellows that would be comparable in this situation.

I. Can you give me an example where "That's a good one!" may be used?

R. Well, you know, if someone's really written their vehicle off in such a manner that there might be several dead people or something in the vehicle, arms and limbs lying around the place and the vehicle's red, even though it's painted white, and when we're discussing making out a report and things like that, "Gee, that was a good one." Not to the degree of saying "Good, those people are dead" - don't get me wrong - but it's a fact that having done so many that it becomes an attitude now of "That's a two-bob one!" or "That's a good one!" It gets you to the stage of casualness about it. Don't get me wrong, when we go to the accident scene the first thing we do is look for possible injuries and things like that. But you tend to get a blase sort of attitude towards it. And you tend to take your time a bit more with it. Where before I'd rush in to do things, you tend to think before you do something now, slightly more than I would before. Because from experience you learn that if you rush into anything you're going to make an error, either in judgement or in material things. So if it's an injury or something you're going to try and bend his arm back to relieve his suffering and you might bend it the wrong way and break another bone, or something like that. So while he's screaming you look at him, and make up your own mind, you might take 30 seconds to work out what's wrong with him from your observation rather than from him telling you to twist his arm back. Things of that nature.

I. What about kids, did you see kids in an accident?

R. Yes. Had a fatal up at Old Windsor road and some other road, at the corner there. 11 year old boy got thrown out of the vehicle. There was a 14 year old and that 11 year old girl at Baulkham Hills that got run over by a car - she was coming up from in front of a bus and got run over, not so very long ago, only about 8 weeks ago. I went to that one.

I. What do you feel afterwards?

- R. Kids are different, you feel a bit drained emotionally after it. When you go there you haven't got much time to think about it. You don't think about blood or bits and pieces of limbs and things like this. This is where it differs from what I was saying before. In that circumstance I would have been rather hesitant to do anything about it, because I wouldn't have known what to do in things of that nature, but now that I've got to do it, I do know what to do. You say "Alright, there's a piece over there. I'd better keep that in case they want to sew the finger back on," and things like that. Previously you wouldn't have thought about things like that. You would have gone straight to them and said "Look, what can I do for you?" Things like that.
- I. How do you get over that?
- R. You don't.

Another trainee phrased it thus after 12 months on the road.

You do tend to develop this hard outer casing. My wife, mother and family have said it about me and I hadn't noticed it to that great an extent, but I had noticed it. I got two real bad accidents in two nights on night shift. One while at work and one while I was on my way to work. Two young blokes got their legs chopped off in a motorbike accident. I was the first bloke on the scene. It happened 20 seconds before I got there and these two blokes had had a head-on with a motor car. It is unfortunate but you can't let it give you an ulcer. They are going to live and are bloody lucky to be alive and while it was unfortunate and gory I have still got to go to work and have still got to have my tea at 3 o'clock in the morning and still got to be able to lead a normal life and take that. It is only your own personal make up that will teach you how to deal with those sorts of situations the same as when people have a shot at you. I was prepared for that. I had had bad accidents before and I knew when I came into the job that I would get some gory jobs, but no amount of preparation can prepare you for that first one. And that first one I didn't feel sick. The first one that I got, there were two blokes trapped in a car wrapped around a telephone post. The first thing that came into my mind was not running away and vomiting but to get them out of the bloody thing, to make sure they are alive.

The involvement with principal life events serves to underscore the widespread opinion that the job is important but not appreciated by the very public whose interests are being served. During the latter stages of the research the Star hotel incident occurred in Newcastle. It was taken as patent testimony to the folk lore belief that police are under systematic psychological and in this instance physical seige. Such illustrations of hostility, although clearly aberrant in their peculiar manifestation, are taken and presented as evidence of a generalised hostility or community resentment of police which is evident in many interactional arenas.

- R. I had to laugh one day. I was travelling to work by train in the peak hour in the morning about 9. I was in the carriage sitting down. There was a space just near me. Nobody would sit down.

The train must have travelled for about ten stations and was completely full. Nobody wanted to sit down.

- I. *People were standing then?*
- R. *Yes, people were standing.*

The story as told ties in neatly with the abundance of folk lore regarding similar incidents in all modes of public transport - the public are wary of police until they need them. I witnessed one minor illustration of the development of the estimated public attitude.

During one particularly oppressive Sydney afternoon, we were travelling in a middle to upper middle suburb of Sydney and received a call to investigate a suspected stolen vehicle which had been "dumped" in the parking lot of a large block of home units. Arriving at the scene we were met by an elderly man with his young grandson of four or five years of age. During the discussion on the stolen car the boy started to wander off tired of the grown-up conversation. The grandfather called the boy back with the words "You go off and the police here will take you away!"

The youngster looked at the police towering over them and was, I felt, genuinely afraid. I asked the two officers concerned what they thought about the incident:

- I. *That remark the old bloke made to the boy - bother you?*
- R. *What remark?*
- I. *You know, the one about your taking him away.*
- R. *Oh that - get it all the time. Don't know why they do it.*

The fact they are used as an instrument of intimidation was unremarkable. On another front it occurred to me that this comment without adornment contributes substantially to the isolation of police but more importantly it testified to a characteristic of their occupation - namely that in interactions, they enjoy or endure what are basically categorical relationships, i.e. they are treated not as individuals but as office holders.

The office of police constable does entail a myriad of forces which I feel do contribute to the incumbent being made to stand apart. The root cause of this is without a doubt the authority the constable is invested with over his fellow citizens. I have attempted to illustrate that this apartness had differing

manifestations. It should not be assumed that it is entirely onerous - some obviously exploit the characteristics in the use of the discount suit. Yet for most it is an onerous byproduct of their occupational identity.

Vollmer and Mills have addressed the phenomenon eloquently.

A man can be many things, depending upon how you look at him. To his wife he is a husband, and to his children, a father. To his physician he is a patient, and is perhaps also a client for some attorney. In the context, he may be regarded as a child of God. Typically, he may think of himself as all of these things; taken together, they can be considered to define much of the human condition.

Thus man differs from the primates and other higher forms of animal life in that man is a player of many roles. Basic to all of these roles, however, is the fact that man is a worker. Although it may have occurred relatively late in the process of evolution, man, in a degree uncommon to other forms of animal life, became a "drawer of water and a hewer of wood". He does not accept his environment as he finds it; he attempts to change it through his own efforts in directions supposedly more conducive to human happiness. Hence work activities have become fundamental to all aspects of the human condition, and the kind of work that a man does has come to affect all significant aspects of his life and how he views himself. To understand men and their relations with one another, we must seek to understand their work. (1966: PV).

Men carry round with them their occupational identity. As Vollmer and Mills argued it is one of the main locating devices or "sign vehicles" by which the interactional situation is defined in contemporary society. Inevitably even casual interactants find out what "we do". In the case of the sample of this study "what they did" was so onerous that fully half of the respondents acknowledged that they had in the past twelve months deliberately disguised the fact that they were police officers.

- I. *Have you ever told anyone that you're anything other than a policeman?*
- R. *One guy asked me once what I did. This is the only time I've done it. I was with my cousin at the time. I said something like "Security". I can't remember what I told him. He didn't cotton on that I was a cop. I told him afterwards. I just twisted it round a bit. Cousin just looked and said, "That's one way of putting it." Most times I tell them I work for the Police Department and if they don't want to have anything to do with me, that's their problem.*

Another respondent formerly a technician was equally aware of how "they'd respond", and broached the matter when we were discussing his wife's attitude towards shift work.

- R. I don't think that going into shift work worries her at all. The thing that worries her (his wife) most of all is when you go somewhere you're mostly confined to police social life, which I try not to do. I try not to associate just with police. I don't go out of my way not to have a beer with the fellas, or not to go out with them when they go out, or anything like that, but I don't think you should confine yourself just to police friends. I just don't agree with it. But on the other hand you might go out, you might be drinking with someone, or be introduced to someone, or go out to dinner like we went the other night, and once people find out you're a policeman their attitude changes, just slightly, and you see them - it's just like a little shock they get when they find out, they change a bit, you know.
- I. Can you give me the circumstances?
- R. I don't think it's anything you can really put your finger on.
- I. Well, what was the occasion - a restaurant dinner or was it with friends you knew, or what?
- R. It's happened on a couple of occasions - like if we go out to dinner with people who don't know, Margaret always says "Don't talk about your work!" - that's how it affects her. Like it could usually get people upset. Everyone's got a gripe, they've been booked and it's not been fair. I've been out with friends with Margaret from work, where she works, from the district - all the girls get together and decide to go out for tea and all the girls know each other and all the blokes don't. Get out there and everything's going well, for about an hour or two, three hours, having dinner, having a nice evening. Then it comes to what everyone does. One bloke says insurance salesman - (I say) "I'm a policeman". And as soon as you mention it, everyone just looks, if they don't know what to do. Then, it might be for a split second - I really can't put my finger on it, but I'm sure I'm not paranoid because I'm not about these things and I don't go round to people and tell them I'm a gravedigger or something, tell them something I'm not. I'm quite proud of what I do.
- I. You do have to tell them something other than that you're a policeman?
- R. Not people that I've been introduced to formally.
- I. What about other people?
- R. Only just recently, when I go to the hotel by myself you want to be left alone. If you tell people you're a policeman they'll want to know something, and they'll want to know what they can do about something, asking your advice all the time. And the quiet atmosphere is completely gone. So if it's only a case of meeting someone and you're only going to be talking to them for an hour or so, I'll tell them I'm an insurance salesman, or tell them I'm a technician or something, so if they want to know something about my work I can still tell them what I do.

The wish to escape the stereotyped conversation, the "ear bash" about the Highway Patrol, the requests for advice, the litany of "do you know Sgt. X or Constable Y?", was one clear motivation of those respondents who had, on occasions, concealed their occupational identity.

- I. Do you ever get asked to give advice off duty?
- R. Yeah, you always do.
- I. Do you remember last time that happened?
- R. Yeah, it happens heaps of times. Every time I go to a party, you know, somebody knows I'm a copper.
- I. Do you ever disguise the fact that you're a copper?
- R. I don't say nothing, about being a copper.
- I. O.K., so what do you do?
- R. I work "for the government". I don't go in and tell them I'm a copper unless they specifically say, "Are you a copper?" I don't tell them. If they say to you "What do you do?" "I work for the government." Everybody works for the government, clerk, everybody. Then they leave you alone for the rest of the night and you can talk about things, talk family, talk outings, talk fishing, talk sheep, talk about whatever the hell you like, but not traffic. "I was coming home the other night and this copper pulled me up and booked me for doing 2K over the speed limit" which you know is crap, because the commissioner has agreed that they will not book people, unless, on the radar, they are doing 15K over the speed limit.

On the other hand 50% of respondents were adamant that they refused to disguise their occupation. Some revelled in their 24 hour occupational identity.

- I. You ever told anyone you do something other than being a policeman?
- R. No, I'm very proud of being a policeman. Yeah, I think there's a lot to be proud of. I'm not ashamed of tellin' people I'm a policeman. I'm not ashamed of doin' me work after hours either. I've been chipped a few times about gettin' involved with things after hours and I'm not ashamed to get involved.
- I. How do you mean?
- R. Oh pullin' people over chippin' 'em for doin' really stupid things. You don't do stupid things. You don't pull people over for ridiculous little things. I've pulled over a couple and spoken to 'em very sternly given 'em my I.D. I've just said "Well you know I can easily arrange for you to be breached. Doesn't worry me at all."
- I. When was the last time that ever happened?
- R. Yeah, I was drivin' with the wife somewhere and a bloke nearly run me off the road. Him and his mate were havin' a drag down King George's Road at Beverley Hills and they nearly side swiped me. I went into the gravel.

- I. Coming towards you were they?
- R. No, they were going the same way. Went into the gravel and I was gonna ignore it and we pulled up in the same parkin' lot. They were yahoooin' a bit and that, so I thought "Bugger it" I'll go over and I'll speak to 'em. They were in and out like this you know (weaving gesture).
- I. What'd your wife say?
- R. She usually says "Oh don't say anythin', don't get involved," you know, but you gotta get involved, you know, I feel you have to. You can't close your eyes to that sorta thing you don't have to book 'em you don't have to give 'em a pill. It's not necessary to do that but as long as people are aware that you're there. And not only that, you can help 'em as well as anythin' else, you know, and I don't mind gettin' involved. I like to think that I wouldn't in some circumstances. I don't get involved like at home with piddly little things you just say, "I'm sorry I can't help you and that, but with situations like that you just got to".

A more frequent response was to acknowledge the fact of being "in the job" but play it down as much as possible.

- I. Mike have you ever told anybody, when you're off duty, that you're something other than a policeman?
- R. No, never. I've kept it fairly quiet, this mate of mine - I've got two or three mates that work up the Cross at the Commonwealth Bank there, and I go up there very often and drink in a couple of bars up there, and it's usually a collection of Maoris etc. that's up there. So there's been a couple of fights break out and we've just sat back and let things go. If it gets a bit serious we just get up and walk out. Never got in trouble by the fact that I've been a policeman, in like a social situation. Go to a lot of places where people say, "Whaddya do?" - I say "I'm a copper". I don't try and hide the fact if I'm confronted by it, but I don't go walking into places, "Look, I'm a policeman etc." unless it's with a group of friends, especially on night work. I've had a couple of parties to go to, 21st etc. and I've had to go straight from the party to work. So I've gone in part uniform; pants, shoes, shirt with a jacket over it. But it's been with a group of people that all know that I'm in the job, so we're very good friends. Once I went like that, and this good friend of mine said, "Did you realise it wasn't a fancy dress party?" Stuff like this. That's very easy to go by, because I have a chuckle and everybody else has a laugh about it.

Yet a number of respondents are fiercely proud of their occupational identity. That it causes some separation from the circle of friends who, to paraphrase the folk lore rationalization, aren't probably real friends anyway is just too bad.

- I. Talking about acquaintances, their attitude towards you? Any barter in the pubs?

- R. Yes, you get it, it tends to go in one ear and out the other. It doesn't worry me. Occasionally it has an edge to it. "Don't go and have a beer with this bastard, he's a copper." It is said in fun but you can say things that you really mean in fun but how often do you do something like that in fun, something that you mean but it is hurtful when you say it like a joke, but you really mean it to be hurtful. It is easy enough to do. It tends to indicate who your friends are. They are probably all still mates but you find blokes that take that attitude just because you have joined the police force. I am not a different person. Possibly some of my attitudes have changed but I am not a different person. I still drink as much beer as I used to and I still tell the same jokes that I used to, everything else is basically the same. I haven't changed. If they don't want to associate with me, I don't hold it as a slur on the uniform. You can't let it get under your skin. If you are going to worry about what people are going to think about you because you have got the uniform on, you are not worth anything. I joined the Force because I thought there were things that needed to be done that the Police should be doing and I thought, "Well I can do it as well as anyone else." I was prepared to join up for what I believed was right. Once you join up, if you are not prepared to stand up for what you believe is right then it has been a waste of time joining.

I'd been talking to two other trainees about the incidental labelling they'd experienced - labels seemingly grossly offensive but which they'd learnt to handle.

- I. Does the "pig" business upset you?
- R. No, because it's said and it's gone. But when it's hammered at you time and time again. If you go to a party - something about "Pigs" anyway and I said "Yes, as Miss Piggy says 'Pig Power' and I just took it. It does wear, but I don't know whether it's pride or what, you don't let it show. You ride it out and whatever they're saying, you laugh as if it's against yourself.

The second respondent presented what I saw as a most persuasive hypothesis.

- R. A lot of people make insinuations where they haven't really got the guts to come out and say what they want to say because they're not real sure of themselves, but they don't like the idea of, I can liken it to myself, having an authority around that doesn't actually say anything to you but it restricts you. And you want to rebel against it, but you're not quite game to go all out, because, after all, that authority might be benevolent or indifferent or whatever to what you're screaming about.
- I. Are you talking about authority of the department, or what?
- R. No, it could be anything. Authority might be the wrong word, but it's something I feel is restricting me and I know it's bigger than me. It makes me fight against it because I just don't like the idea of being restricted. Just for the sheer shit of it all. I just don't like having it standing over me. And some people feel that way about police. As soon as they come in close contact with the police, even though he's not doing anything or saying anything, they feel they've got to make themselves look unafraid.

The Four Questions

The original proposal for this study asked four specific questions which I have sought to answer by utilising primarily a qualitative approach. It is appropriate at this point to address each of those four questions summarising the material gained from the hundreds of hours of interview and observation and to address that material with data available from the supplementary quantitative instruments introduced in the methodology chapter.

Q. To what extent do trainee and probationary officers perceive changes in interactions both on and off duty, between themselves and others as they undergo induction into police training and police work?

All trainees in the target class were asked to complete, among a battery of instruments, a social distance scale designed to tap perceived changes in interaction with 12 categories of interactants. On a five point scale ranging from "Interacts with you like other members of the community" down to "Interacts with a great deal of reserve" respondents were asked to assess their present interactional status. As Table 6.1 indicates there was a general distancing phenomenon between the time of the pre-test conducted on their arrival at the Academy as Initial Trainees and the post-test conducted at some time in the six week secondary training programme some twelve months later. Statistically significant differences in relationships with "labourers", "professional men", "business men" and "adolescents" were revealed in the direction of increasing social distance. In the overall context a general distancing from ten of the twelve categories we do find, somewhat perplexingly, evidence of distancing from the category of "policemen".

(Factor analysis of the data revealed that "policemen" was grouped not with the other occupational groups but with terms such as "child", "adolescent" "woman" and "man" - which fact further compounds the mystery.) We can however have confidence, at the .05 level anyway, that with four categories of interactants a material distancing is perceived which supports the qualitative thesis of a significant change in relationships but only in terms of the "from" rather than the "to" certain categories of interactants.

Summary of Means and Standard Deviations:
Social Distance Ratings (N = 101)

	Test 1		Test 2		P.
	\bar{x}	s.d.	\bar{x}	s.d.	
Neighbours	1.95	0.96	2.00	1.05	
Friends	1.54	0.91	1.54	0.83	
Party Goers	2.94	1.12	3.05	1.15	
Policemen	1.45	0.87	1.57	1.03	
Family	1.35	0.88	1.34	0.74	
Labourers	3.03	1.23	3.32	1.07	*
Professional Men	2.43	1.13	2.80	1.12	*
Business Men	2.19	0.97	2.72	1.03	**
Children	2.37	1.29	2.33	1.32	
Adolescents	3.02	1.30	3.33	1.19	*
Women	1.97	0.99	2.08	1.01	
Men	2.51	1.05	2.72	1.06	

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ one tailed t-tests

Direction of Friendship Choice: Initial Versus Secondary Trainees

	Highest proportion within	Highest proportion without
Initial Trainees	75	112
Secondary Trainees	23	17

$$\chi^2 = 4.86, 1 \text{ df}, p < .05$$

The qualitative data firmly buttresses a perception of general distancing from those more socially removed from the inductee, most notably those I've labelled "acquaintances". There can be little doubt that entering the police force entails a fundamental change in one's social identity - a change which has, in the case of distant acquaintances, an enduring remarkability which at least one in two trainees find sufficiently onerous to occasionally disguise their identity as police officers.

The initial remarkability of the decision to join the police interacts, I have argued, with a manifest training arena input which extends to inductees admission to an articulated brotherhood. Following the techniques developed by Moreno my colleague asked trainees to write down the initials and occupation of their "best friends". A significant change towards members of the police force as candidates for "best friend" status was revealed over the induction period.

After entering a police training course, Trainees began to select as best friends those persons who belong to the police force. This tendency becomes evident at the end of the initial training period and more pronounced during the secondary training period. (Kafer & McGrath 1981, p.5)

Given the resources of the study and the time demands on the team as full time members of the academic staff of their respective universities, it was not possible to monitor the changes in a control group entering another occupation of similar status and configuration to that of the police. (Probably "ambulance driver", "fireman", would constitute tolerable but clearly imperfect parallels.) We can say, however, that the quantitative data neatly meshes with the qualitative material which reveals a strong attraction force to a basically and sometimes near exclusively police friendship group.

The etiology of this change is much more complex than that generated in large part by mere propinquity in other occupations. Becoming a "policeman" entails the inductee being subject to such a distinctive configuration of forces which distinguish him from the remainder of the community as to enable us to characterise the occupation of police as generally different from the mass of contemporary occupations - it is, to paraphrase Coser, a "greedy occupation" (1974).

2. What impact on trainee and probationary officers do such changes have?

Though the quantitative segment of the project did not address the impact of perceived changes in interaction patterns, we can muster some data from the qualitative material.

Most centrally one half of respondents had disguised their occupational identity in the previous twelve months. This prima facie suggests that for at least one in two the occupational identity of "cop" is stressful. We can, I feel, acknowledge that it is stressful on occasions, but by way of significant compensation, even over compensation, is the support of the brotherhood of field police. It would in my view on the basis of the data in this study of the induction process, be quite wrong to label the occupation as being unusually stressful. Sure enough there are unusual stresses in abundance but there are unusual compensations. I am not here talking about peripheral matters such as the "Big Mac" or "Trade Price" syndrome but rather of the compensation of belonging in a collective enterprise, of doing something that matters in a work arena which is constantly varying and which is amply financially rewarded. Of all respondents only one had resigned because he found the job onerous vis-a-vis his previous occupation in what most people would assess as a glamour job in the travel industry. The one further resignation was a result of a departmental inquiry into liaison with undesirables in the community. With the exception of the resignees, all were sure that they'd made the right decision. Generally unhappy with the sedentary life of a Secondary Trainee, they were all to a man anxious to get "back out there".

That the changes in interaction patterns is not fundamentally stress producing does not deny their impact. Throughout the qualitative data is a pervasive theme of invited, almost sponsored, retreat to a, if not gilded, at least not leaden occupational enclave, whose raison d'etre is the protection of an unappreciative community by providing in a unity of action a thin blue line against hoodlum and criminal barbarism.

3. Do training procedures address such changes?

I have demonstrated that training procedures largely ignore such changes and proceed, in my view, as if the police occupation was merely a sum of various identifiable competencies such as the identification of unroadworthy vehicles and the knowledge of the legislation and application of police powers of entry. This should not be taken as a central indictment of the intentions of those responsible for the present Initial and

Secondary curricula. In the space of a ludicrously short Academy training period of 11 and 6 weeks respectively, there is barely sufficient time to cover, or more accurately address, the minimally necessary skills a probationer or constable must have if he is to survive legally and physically on the streets. In a jam packed curriculum in which any spasmodic leeway is taken up with what I've labelled political-theatrical inclusion, there is simply no time to address the wider issues this paper has raised (McGrath, 1980).

The fact remains however that the formal training programme for trainees and police fails to recognise that the induction into the office of police constable entails anything more or anything generically different to induction into the ranks of ticket collector or car salesman.

4. How might training procedures be altered with a view to accommodation of such changes and the minimization of their stress potential?

In July, 1980 I was invited to present the keynote address to the National Police Training Officers' Seminar in Brisbane. I entitled that address "The Vocational Adult Education: on Putting Humpty Together Again". Although the title was somewhat facetious, I sought to present to the assembly of senior police officers a serious view which I had formed of the training enterprise at the N.S.W. Academy.

I introduced that talk with the premise that curriculum planners in many professional and semi professional adult training institutions often look ahead, if they are doing their job, as accurately as they can, to the general and specific demands of the workforce. They are less inclined to look from whence those whom they're trying to prepare for such demands came. Moreover, they're less likely to look beyond the workplace and see the person they're trying to change in the wider world in which he lives. They are unlikely to give any adequate consideration to the impact of the expectations, not just of workmates, but of that constellation of people, immediate and remote, with whom the occupational member interacts. In short, they fail to contextualise the curriculum. In transmitting the facts they forget the whole, and the whole in the case of police is a singularly distinctive entity.

There is not one single lesson in Initial or Secondary training at the N.S.W. Police Academy which discusses the notion of police authority. There is not

one single lesson devoted to the history of police in this state. There is not one single lesson which deals with the psychological or social psychological effects of entry into the police occupation on the members of that occupation. There is not one lesson devoted to the sociology of policing. There are virtually no lessons at all on a systematized basis regarding the ethical issues associated with the exercise of the authority on which policing is premised.

What I am arguing here is such matters as the ability to handle the totality of the police occupation are as essential a feature of the police work as the ability to separate two fighting drunks or the ability to distinguish between "neg. driving".or "culpable driver". That totality rests on public estimation of the police and operates in the work face and carries over beyond the work face. It is the backdrop behind the policeman in action both on and off duty.

Precisely the same point has been made in other examinations of the police training programmes in N.S.W. In responding to one examination, namely that carried out by Mr. Justice Lusher, I applauded the general sentiment running through the evaluation of training in that preparation for the police occupation should adopt a semi-professional approach rather than the semi skilled vernacular trade approach which is reflected, I feel, in present collection of ad hoc inclusions of the Initial and Secondary curricula. Police training should I argue be premised on a view I offered to the 1982 Working Party on the new N.S.W. Academy on 1st April of the police occupation as "one which characteristically demands on the part of operational police the exercise of a wide discretion in a relatively independent workplace setting on matters which can best be described as of vital importance in the lives of involved citizens" (1982).

On this estimation of the police occupation I identified the central objective of a future police curriculum:

To have constables of police understand and appreciate the origins, extent, limitations, privileges and obligations of the authority entailed by the office of constable of police in contemporary Australian society.

That there is a need for a fundamental remodelling of the curriculum and a drastic expansion of the training programme is by no means a novel diagnosis. As early as 77, senior police officers responsible for the development of training were making exactly the same point as Mr. Justice Lusher some three years later -

that being a police officer is not like another job essentially reducible to the parts. It is a distinctive whole. That that whole should be recognized by politicians is not a new plea, merely a more urgent one namely to bring about change not through a more comprehensive taxonomy of penal sanctions but through a pre and inservice educational programme which recognises the challenge of being a police officer.

Throughout this study which has entailed almost daily contact with police over some three hundred days, I have been accused by my colleagues of going "native" of being "taken in" by the organization. Paraphrasing Rubinstein I can only point to what I have written. I entered the study with a skepticism towards police and policemen. I leave the study with an enhanced attitude of the individuals and the collectivity of police. It is a revision based on what I hope is a disciplined though inevitably subjective assessment of the activities of men many of whom I'm proud to call friends.

I get a little bit jacked off about people takin' the mickey outa things. I have a really good friend and he said to me, "Oh here's Dave; he's a walloper, he's a pig." Ha - Ha - Ha. It ended up he said "The reason I'm changin' at all is cause you're makin' me change because you're forcing me into changin'. You're not treatin' me the same as you did before." He's expecting me to do different things.

(Secondary Trainee, 1979).

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APPENDIX A

- (i) Premises adopted by the Working Party on the N.S.W. Academy.

- (ii) Position paper from project to the Chairman of the Working Party on the N.S.W. Academy.

Police Department**POLICE HEADQUARTERS**

14-24 Collage Street
 Sydney,
 Box 45, G.P.O.
 Sydney, N.S.W. 2001
 Telegrams and Cables:
 "Nemesis" Sydney



Our reference:

Your reference:

Telephone: ~~339-0277~~
 Extension: 5626

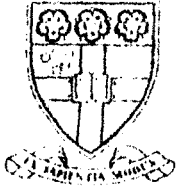
14th May, 1982

**FIRM PROPOSITIONS ADOPTED BY WORKING PARTY
 ON THE POLICE ACADEMY**

After lengthy discussion the Working Party adopted the following substantive premises :-

- (1) The police occupation in its present and future configuration is a semi-professional occupation which demands that a central goal of the pre and in-service training programmes is the implanting and incubation of the attitudinal set necessary for the effective and honourable conduct in an independent work setting. As a consequence, training programmes should have the overall objective of having police officers understand and appreciate the origins, extent, limitations, privileges and obligations of the authority entailed by their office. Such a primary objective requires basically "educational" rather than "training" preparation programmes. Education places the skill acquisition of training in the context of the development of appropriate attitudes.
- (2) That the present training programme constitutes an effective foundation on which an evolutionary model of training and development could be built over a period of years, to substantially accommodate the spirit of the 1978 Review of Police Training and chapter 13 of the Report of Mr. Justice Lusher (1981).
- (3) That the acceptance of an evolutionary mode of training would entail the progression from a foundation phase which would have as its guiding thesis the forging of an integrated model of education-training in close co-operation with an existing tertiary institution. The training programme of the foundation phase would be represented by the retention of a recruit induction programme based within the present time allocation of twelve weeks and six weeks for Initial and Secondary Training, respectively, in a non-residential urban setting at Bourke Street.

- (4) That the present Constables' 1st Class Course, the present Sergeants' Course, the present Sergeants' 1st Class Course and the present Inspectors' Course would be transferred to a residential facility in keeping with the recommendations of the reports alluded to herein. The Working Party accepted the likelihood of such a residential facility being a fee-for service rural facility which would serve as an experimental arena in the determining of the details of the facility for future development.
- (5) That the Working Party was firmly of the opinion that the ultimate aim was an educational facility which was urban and residential.



THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW ENGLAND

ARMIDALE, N.S.W. 2351, AUSTRALIA

Centre for Social and Cultural Studies in Education

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

TELEPHONE (067) 72

TELEX 88050

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE

1st April, 1982

Senior Superintendent M. Gruggan,
Chairman,
Working Party on Police Academy,
C/- The New South Wales Police Academy,
Box 45, G.P.O.,
SYDNEY. N.S.W. 2001.

Dear Superintendent Gruggan,

I have now had the opportunity to frame some thoughts regarding the future direction of police training in New South Wales and in particular the role in that training of the N.S.W. Academy. In approaching the specific sections of Mr. Holliday's letter of 25th February, 1982 I thought that we would be best served by identifying the principal objective of future police training programmes and then addressing in broad terms the means by which such objectives might be achieved.

I have premised my discussion on a view of the police occupation as one which characteristically demands on the part of operational police the exercise of a wide discretion in a relatively independent workplace setting on matters which can best be described as vital importance in the lives of involved citizens.

The typical police-civilian interaction takes place in a locale where the constable of whatever rank is removed from immediate supervision of his superior officers. It is my considered view that traditional police training has not adequately recognized the relative independence of the typical police work situation but has accepted a model based on other-initiated sanctions to regulate police behaviour. The urgency of the street encounter and the necessary immediacy of police action demands that the driving force behind such action be a function of the individual constable's "wanting to" rather than being "forced to". In many ways the control of police action in this state is a legacy of "the ticket-of-leave" era when constables could not be trusted to perform their duties honourably. My argument here is for a recognition that the police occupation in its present and future configuration is a semi-professional occupation which demands that a central goal of the pre and inservice training programmes be the implanting and incubation of the attitudinal set necessary for effective and honourable conduct in an independent work setting.

Flowing from this consideration the overall objective of the pre service and inservice training programme can be phrased in the following terms:

To have constables of police understand and appreciate the origins, extent, limitations, privileges and obligations of the authority entailed by the office of constable of police in contemporary Australian society.

Following from the acceptance of such a primary objective is the acceptance of a pre and in-service preparation model which is basically "educational" rather than merely "training". "Education" embraces the skill acquisition function of "training", the "how to" if you like, but places such in a vital and pervasive context of an attitudinal shift which deals with the "wanting to". I am in this paper largely concerned with the overall educational context in which the specific training tasks can be located.

The distinction between "training", and "education" is not merely of semantic interest. Rather it constitutes the fundamental buttressing premise of this paper. If we assume that the future police officer is governed in his street behaviour by externally imposed sanctions then we can opt for the present purely training model of pre service preparation. If we believe that in the increasing complexity of Australian society that the N.S.W. community and the N.S.W. Police will be better served by officers whose behaviour is fundamentally self directed and founded upon an attitude of respect for the *commonweal* then we must choose an educational model. The choice in other words is between a view of the police occupation as a vernacular sub-craft which assumes eternal vigilance on the part of superordinates or a view of the occupation as one in which the practitioner is self-directed. This paper is premised on the latter view.

Although the acquisition of specific field competencies is not a sufficient condition for the satisfactory preparation for semi-professional practice, it is of course a necessary condition. Thus a second broad objective of the programme of preparation for police practice can be phrased in terms of Mr. Justice Lusher's reporting of the '78 review.

*To thoroughly train police in the fundamental skills
of their calling.*

This objective can be best served by a modified Competency Based Approach which reduces wherever possible the fundamental skills of policing to a series of objectives amenable to translation into behavioural terms. However, it is the educational context in which such competencies can be fostered that is of central concern in this paper.

Training institutions devoted to preparing inductees for a work face environment which is largely independent assume a clear mandate for the implanting and incubation of a distinctive attitudinal set. Such developmental institutions as schools of nursing, seminaries and military officer schools devote considerable institutional energy to the formation and monitoring of attitudes of the inductee. Thus the training institution serves a vital gate keeping function which rests on the belief that once an inductee is allowed full entry to the occupation, it is very difficult given the degree of independence of the work setting to detect and remove those who prove unworthy of the responsibility entrusted to them. I use the word "entrusted" advisedly. Nurses, ministers of religion and military officers function in an environment which assumes they can be trusted to perform their duties satisfactorily without the threat of external sanctions. Indeed the work setting, the Intensive Care Ward, the missionary post, or the patrol situation dictate that the motivation to perform the various occupational tasks in a professional manner come from within. The work setting of the police officer is typically a similar situation where the motivation to perform in a professional manner must come from within. The Highway Patrol officer on the Heathcote Road, the constable attending the domestic in Mt. Druitt, the Drug Squad man in the unmarked panel van are all practitioners pursuing their occupation free from the immediate and often remote supervision of their supervisors. It is time that the independence of this work setting was formally recognized in the pre service preparation programmes and that the meeting of the responsibilities entailed by such independence be no longer left to the remote and often ineffective external sanction or to

'mere chance' of the occupational socialization after "passing out". As the demands on police change from a "force" to a "service" function, as the issues troubling Australian society assume more greyness than dichotomous black and white, as the temptation for abuse of authority geometrically progresses, it is no longer feasible to leave such matters to chance.

Such considerations clearly point to a pre and inservice preparation facility which assumes an "educational" rather than a mere "training" mandate - to a facility with the potential for significant attitude formation and with the potential for systematic on-going evaluation of that attitude formation in the case of individual inductees. Specifically the training institution must explicitly assume as part of its gate keeping function the assessment of the attitudes of individual inductees in the form of applying to each the question "Has this young man or woman demonstrated the attitudes which we, as experienced field officers entrusted with his or her induction, see as necessary for a professional performance in the police occupation?"

Such considerations point to a pre-service induction establishment with the facility for significant attitude formation and comprehensive attitudinal evaluation. The only establishment which can provide such, is a residential facility.

Having said this I must make myself perfectly clear on one issue. It is quite futile to provide a residential academy if the residential component is merely an exercise in accommodation appended to a 9 - 5 training programme. Inductees entering a genuine residential "educational" facility must be made aware that their performance in lecture theatres, in formal examinations, in range and drill exercises will be assessed in the context of their overall conduct as a person living within the induction institution. The inductee's ability and willingness to assume responsibility both as a subordinate and superordinate and the detailed exercising of that responsibility will serve as important testimony to his suitability to assume the office of constable of police.

In recommending a residential facility with a genuine "education" mandate I envision a distinctive infrastructure essential for the purposes of the institution. Such an infrastructure is distinguished by what sociologists call a "collective-serial" characteristic. "Collective" refers to the fact of having inductees enter and being identified as a group in the manner of most training and educational institutions. The social psychological capital in such a suggestion is surpassed by its obvious administrative appeal. The "serial" characteristic is of more central import.

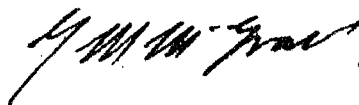
In almost all successful "developmental" institutions the inductees themselves are given a central role in the induction of their immediate successors. Duntroon, Portsea, St. Patrick's College, Manly, and Royal Prince Henry Hospital delegate a significant part of their training responsibility to senior trainees. Thus those who are senior trainees assume a responsibility in the induction of junior or to use the U.S. term "freshmen" inductees. In this way the institution places inductees in positions of subordination and superordination which are easily monitored and which, most importantly, reflect the demands of the actual work face which inductees will encounter upon graduation. In recommending that the N.S.W. Academy be a residential facility I envision a staggered intake where, for example, the initial class by whatever name is divided into a Senior and Junior segment with the former assuming much responsibility in the induction of the latter who in turn will assume a similar responsibility for their immediate successors. Such an infrastructure has been demonstrated as very effective educationally and has obvious administrative benefits.

In summary then, I recommend that the induction programme for N.S.W. Police reflect the work face reality of the daily operation of the police. This reflection entails the assumption of an attitudinal responsibility in the

training programme both in incubation and systematic on-going evaluation and entails the acceptance of a training establishment which is residential and has a collective-serial infrastructure. We cannot afford, even in these times of financial stringency, to miss this opportunity to afford police induction the recognition that is demanded by the characteristics of the work face.

There can be no alternative to the establishment of a residential academy which, whilst serving as a symbol of the police organisation, embraces the responsibility of preparing young officers for a work situation of unprecedented complexity.

Yours sincerely



G. M. McGrath
Academic Advisor
N.S.W. Police Force

APPENDIX B

- (i) Curriculum material arising from project for senior officers' course.
- (ii) List of police training arenas in which project generated material employed.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH OFFICERS' COURSE

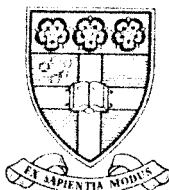
AUSTRALIAN POLICE COLLEGE

POLICE: EDUCATION AND TRAINING

THURSDAY 29TH APRIL, 1982

Dr. G. M. McGrath
Academic Advisor
N.S.W. Police Force
University of New England
ARMIDALE N.S.W. 2351

Supt. J. Avery
O/C Police Training &
Development Branch
Police Headquarters
Box 45, G.P.O.
SYDNEY N.S.W. 2001



Acknowledgment is made of the
Criminology Research Council

On Thursday 29th April, 1982 John Avery and I will present a dialogue entitled "Police: Training and Education". In the afternoon of 29th we will divide the group into eight syndicates and present each group of syndicates with one of the case studies enclosed herein. Each team will be given one side of one case study to prepare for a ten minute presentation to the group after a 30 minute preparation period and to reflect on all the case studies. This exercise will involve case studies 1, 2, 3, and 4.

We realise that you or members of the team may not agree with the particular point of view you're asked to champion. However, we believe that the mark of a good executive is the balanced judgment arrived at after as full as possible consideration of both sides of the case.

The "Pro" side will begin the presentation under their leader being given a maximum of ten minutes to make their address. The "Con" side will be given a similar opportunity to present their side of the case.

The discussion will then be opened to the group for a short period with both team leaders being invited to speak. The meeting will close with all members addressing case study No. 5 as individuals. Case study No. 5 deals with the fundamental issue raised in the morning session and addressed directly and indirectly in the cases 1 - 4.

Gerry McGrath

John Avery

CASE STUDY 1

A report has been forwarded to the Commissioner's office regarding the off-duty behaviour of three young constables. The Internal Affairs Division had investigated the incident which took place in licensed social club in a country town of some thirty five thousand people. It would appear that the local golf club had been running a much publicised disco on a Saturday evening for the past two years. The disco had attracted large numbers of eighteen to twenty five year olds and was in the words of the club manager 'an excellent money spinner'. Periodically a percentage of the proceeds were channelled, not without publicity, to local charities.

Given the age bracket of the attendants and the availability of alcohol it was not surprising that the event sometimes lost its festive flavour with the occasional nasty incident flaring up. Such incidents had all the potential for ugly violence and indeed in the early days of the disco a call to the golf club was a regular feature for on-duty police teams.

The manager of the golf club had been told to 'quieten things down', particularly in view of complaints from neighbours living opposite the club about the rowdy and sometimes obscene behaviour of some of the disco's patronage. The manager after discussion with his board had decided to hire off-duty police from the town to act as bouncers or as he euphemistically called them 'supervisors'. The wages offered to off-duty police were fifty dollars and 'staffies' the privilege of free drinks for an hour or so after the show was over.

In defiance of the letter of a police regulation which required 'police personnel wishing to engage in gainful employment outside of their police duty shall make a written request through

their district officer to the Commissioner etc.'. A number of young constables had jumped at the chance. With the co-operation of the roster clerk and the station Sergeant the business was arranged on a rotating basis. The effect of having the off-duty police as supervisors was dramatic. The incidents stopped almost overnight, the police weren't called at all and the neighbours complaints ceased.

The new supervisors were well known as police by the local 'toughs'. This fact probably had as much to do with the decreasing activity as the very real physical bulk and ability of the attending off-duty police.

Some twelve months after the introduction an ugly situation developed in a corner of the disco over an alleged misdirected romantic overture. The bluntness of the overture provoked an incident between two tables and in short time a vicious melee was in progress. The supervisors who at this time of night were a little under the weather (QS and AS' read 'six or seven middies') attempted to placate the situation by the time honoured method of ejection. However two of the combatants turned on the three supervisors shouting 'Don't give a shit who you are - those pricks insulted our birds.' One supervisor was 'king hit' losing a denture and a tooth in the process - one received a deep cut over one eye and the third merely administered rather than received. The battle lasted some five or so minutes with the on-duty police rushing to the assistance of their off-duty colleagues. The two civilian combatants were arrested and though not putting up any resistance to the uniformed police were taken to the station and charged with 'assault police'.

At the subsequent hearing the 'assault police' charge was rejected by the magistrate who without making any comment fined the civilians for assault. As both were 'clean skins' of the

traditional 'good family' the magistrate settled for a hefty fine and an order of compensation for dental and medical expenses.

No mention of the occupational status of the supervisors was made in the court yet the father of the two convicted boys had written to his local M.P. complaining that his boys had been harshly dealt with because the supervisors were 'off-duty' police. Moreover he claimed that the incident would not have happened at all if the 'supervisors' had asked the lads to leave rather than attempting to manhandle them as they did.

As a result of this incident coming to the attention of the Commissioner of Police by way of the Ombudsman's office, he has asked your committee to advise him on the practice of police "moonlighting" on such occasions as mentioned in the incident.

Pro

Construct a case which allows police officers to "moonlight" when and where they please subject to obvious rules that such must not affect their efficiency in police work. Suggest other possible guidelines to regulate the practice.

Con

Construct a case which basically restricts the right of officers to "moonlight".

Team Leader: _____ Team Leader: _____

Team Member 2: _____ Team Member 2: _____

Team Member 3: _____ Team Member 3: _____

CASE STUDY 2

A certain fast food chain has approached your department regarding discounts for members of the force purchasing food in their restaurants. The General Manager of the firm notes in his letter that 'it has traditionally been the practice of the X corporation to recognize the contribution made by police to the community by providing the corporation's products at a discount of 50%.' The general manager further states that his letter seeks to 'formalise the status quo in that the practice of giving such discounts to the force is observed by all the corporation's restaurant staff and seemingly expected by police officers either in or out of uniform.'

The general manager closes his letter by requesting that in the 'event of a positive adjudication to my request perhaps such adjudication could be noted in the department's official monthly newsletter Justice Today.'

The Commissioner of Police has turned to your three man working party asking for advice.

Pro

Present a case supporting in detail the principle and detail of the General Manager's request.

Con

Present a case which rejects in detail the General Manager's request and which rejects the principle of such dishonesty.

Team Leader: _____ Team Leader: _____

Team Member 2: _____ Team Member 2: _____

Team Member 3: _____ Team Member 3: _____

CASE STUDY 3

The Department of Youth and Community Affairs has suggested to the Commissioner that it assume principal responsibility for some of the "social services" rendered by police. Two services that the department would like to assume responsibility for are the conveyance of bereavement messages and the attending to domestic calls. The Department has assured the Police Department that it will co-operate with police particularly in the matter of violent domestics.

Knowing what you do about the matters mentioned

Pro

Con

Prepare a case basically supporting the request.

Prepare a case basically opposing the request.

Team Leader: _____ Team Leader: _____

Team Member 2: _____ Team Member 2: _____

Team Member 3: _____ Team Member 3: _____

CASE STUDY 4

A letter from the "Gay Liberation Front" has been forwarded to your Commissioner from your State Bureau of Anti-Discrimination. The letter reads as follows:

The Secretary,
The Bureau of Anti-Discrimination,
12 McLachlan Place,
Tweedsmuir. 2621.

12 Avondale Place,
Paddington.
5/4/82

Dear Sir,

As you will no doubt have read a serious confrontation between members of the homosexual community and police officers took place on the evening of 6/3/82 in Oxford Street. A peaceful demonstration addressing a repeal of criminal sanctions against sexual acts by consenting male adult homosexuals was marred by police intervention which can only be described as "brutal".

In making this charge I should add that I deplore the activities of some of the demonstrators who were provocative in their remarks to police. Yet such provocation aside I must voice my serious concern at the behaviour of some police officers. Reports of verbal provocation to members of our group are numerous and well documented and are currently under investigation by the Commissioner of Police.

The behaviour of this minority of police officers is to be deplored. It is, I feel, symptomatic of a prejudice at large in the wider community. Undoubtedly the police authorities will pursue the matter of discriminatory conduct with vigour but even if justice is done in this instance the matter of a general prejudice against homosexuals will not be altered by the censure of a few individual officers. Measures of wider significance are called for.

Specifically I would request that representatives of my organisation be afforded the opportunity to speak to trainee officers at the Police Academy. We would welcome the opportunity to present a short lecture and answer questions from the group.

Homosexuals come from all walks of life. They are by and large upright members of the community who wish to go about their life free from harassment. We would welcome your bringing this request to the attention of the Commissioner of Police and your support of a programme which though limited in time demands promises to make a real step forward in the combating of discrimination.

Yours



Roger R. Methuen
Secretary
Gay Liberation Front

That a number of nasty incidents have occurred between police and organisations representing the Gay Liberation Movement cannot be denied within the context of this observation:-

Pro

Construct a case for the Commissioner supporting Mr. Methuen's request.

Con

Construct a case for the Commissioner denying Mr. Methuen's request.

Team Leader: _____ Team Leader: _____

Team Member 2: _____ Team Member 2: _____

Team Member 3: _____ Team Member 3: _____

CASE STUDY 5

A request has been placed before the Commissioner from a highly regarded College of Advanced Education for the recognition of a College of Advanced Education course called a Diploma in General Studies as contributing towards promotion points. The existing policy of the department is to grant up to ten points on a hundred point scale in merit ratings of senior non-commissioned officers for completion of an 'approved university qualification or other tertiary qualification considered by the Commissioner to be directly related to the applicant's police work.' In effect any university degree with even one unit in criminology, psychology or sociology has been accredited as, of course, have been any law degrees. C.A.E. courses have attracted less enthusiastic attention with only two being so accredited both labelled Diploma in Police Studies and dealing, at least at the level of course description, with police related matters. The proposed Diploma in general studies is of similar duration to the Diploma of Police Studies, i.e. approximately half that required to complete a uni. degree. Also it too will be offered by correspondence and can be completed in four years or one year full-time and one half year part-time.

The Diploma in General Studies, Dip.G.S. is in effect a junior Bachelor of Arts. Students can elect from a number of strands including Archaeology, Anthropology, History, Ancient and Modern Politics and Sociology etc.

The college makes no claim for specific job relatedness but couches its proposal in terms of general benefit accruing to the 'Department in both real terms and in general reputation from a more sophisticated work force'. The College has already

'sounded out' the Police Association for their views on a programme of study which 'will bring students who are police officers into close contact with students from all walks of life during compulsory residential schools and weekend schools'. The Association is supportive but not overly so.

The Commissioner of Police has asked your committee for advice on this matter. Consider both the Pros and Cons of the case.

Pro

Con

Prepare a case which gives the Dip. G.S. the same status as the Diploma of Police Studies.

Prepare a case which rejects the Dip. G. S. as warranting recognition in the way mentioned. You may extend your discussion to the Diploma of Police Studies and to the question of formal educational credentials generally being recognised in police promotion.

Team Leader: _____

Team Leader: _____

Team Member 2: _____

Team Member 2: _____

Team Member 3: _____

Team Member 3: _____

(ii) List of police training arenas in which project generated material employed.

- "Police in Society" a) Australian Police College, Barton, A.C.T.
Inspector courses (three occasions).
- "Putting Humpty Dumpty Together Again: A Plea for Integrated Police Training" b) Keynote address to the National Police Training Officers Seminar. Brisbane, 1980.
- "Police as Adult Learners" c) Australian Police College Senior Executives Course, Manly, 1981.
- "Police in Society: Reflections for a Developing Society" d) Australian Police College Inspectors Course
Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary, 1981.
- "Police: Education and Training" e) Australian Police College Manly
The Twenty-Fourth Officers' Course, 1982.

APPENDIX C

- (i) "Meet the Police World" seminar programme outline
- (ii) Summary of case studies arising from project and utilised in the "Meet the Police World" seminars
- (iii) Composite respondent evaluation of three of seven seminars conducted.

POLICE HEADQUARTERS

129

(i)

* PROGRAMME.

Reference:

Telephone: 31 0277 ext

"MEET THE POLICE WORLD" SEMINAR.
New South Wales Police Academy
719 Bourke Street, Redfern.

5th November, 1980

- 8am Registration of Guests in Classroom 8 above canteen.
- 8.05-8.10 Introduction to Programme- Outline of days activities
P/W Conl/c J.O'Loughlin.
- 8.10-8.25 Role of the Probationary Constable -Sgtl/c B.Brown
Barrack Sergeant.
- 8.25-8.40 Introduction to the Police Association-.
- 8.40-10.15 Living with the Job- Part 1. Dr Gerry McGrath.
- 10.15-10.30 Morning Tea served in the Canteen.
- 10.30-11.35 Living with the Job- Part 2. Dr Gerry McGrath.
- 11.35-12md Overview of formal Law Training - Sgt Newman
Law Instructor Initial Training.
- 12-1.00pm Lunch served in canteen.
- 1.05-2.45 Overview of Drill, physical, weapons and self defence
training -
- 2.45-3.00 Afternoon Tea.
- 3.00-4.00 Panel Discussion-Chairman P/W Conl/c J.O'Loughlin.
Panel-: Sgt Newman
Sgt Elliot
Dr McGrath
Sgt Walton.
Mrs Lauer.

* Seven seminars have been conducted and are a continuing part of
recruit training programme.

Meet the Police World Case Studies

	Page	Details in Brief	Principal Focus
Case Study 1	1	Jan and Greg newly sworn in probationer cancel regular squash game. Greg home late. Jan debates whether to ring from lonely home. Greg arrives late forgetting that wife has life to lead.	Spouse's social life and individual interests submerged in husband's occupation
Case Study 2	2	Jim living in outer suburb where he and wife and two children are well settled receives a transfer to a distant station necessitating a move of house.	Neighborhood friendship groups, kids schooling and wife's part-time job affected by seemingly senseless transfer.
Case Study 3	3	Policeman's wife takes car to garage for pre roadworthiness check repairs. Proprietor, finding out the car belongs to a local police officer offers discounted repairs and the possibility of 'bending the rules' regarding the safety check.	Special privileges regarding discount and marginal illegality offered to officer's wife because she is an officer's wife.
Case Study 4	4	Wife and police husband returning home after evening out - witness a blatant and potentially dangerous traffic offence by teenagers. Husband who is insulted by the youths' behaviour decides to put himself back on duty to admonish offenders.	Issue here is the young officer's perception of 24 hour duty phenomenon.
Case Study 5	5	At a celebration barbecue to mark graduation from Academy some civilian youths criticise police present for taking excessive alcohol. A 'chug a lug' brings a cry of hypocrisy from a sarcastic youth. Nastiness averted only by host's intervention.	The visibility of the occupation and the expectation of exemplary conduct off duty are the central features.
Case Study 6	6	Young police officer and his family move into new suburb entailing a move of school for the children. Under financial strain new uniforms had been purchased etc. The couples' 13 year old son in junior high incurs sarcasm re dad's occupation. As father is on shift work the mother must handle the immediate situation herself.	Negative carry-over of the occupational identity to children is central issue. A secondary issue is the wife being left alone to handle the matter.

MEET THE POLICE WORLDCOMPOSITE EVALUATION OF SESSIONS I, II AND III

1. The seminar in general was: (N57)

Very worthwhile	93%	Of quite limited value	0%
Worthwhile for the most part	7%	Not worthwhile	0%

2. The short address by (the representative of the Academy) was: (Speaker varied from seminar to seminar.) (N55)

Very worthwhile	60%	Of quite limited value	9%
Worthwhile for the most part	32%	Not worthwhile	0%

3. The address by the Police Association was: (N55)

Very worthwhile	67%	Of quite limited value	7%
Worthwhile for the most part	25%	Not worthwhile	2%

4. The 'Overview of Training', the drill, P.T., etc. was: (N56)

Very worthwhile	89%	Of quite limited value	7%
Worthwhile for the most part	4%	Not worthwhile	0%

5. The first 'Living with the Job' lecture by Dr. McGrath was: (N56)

Very worthwhile	93%	Of quite limited value	2%
Worthwhile for the most part	5%	Not worthwhile	0%

6. a) The film was generally: (Films replaced in Session III by overview of law training.) (N39)

Very worthwhile	41%	Of quite limited value	13%
Worthwhile for the most part	43%	Not worthwhile	3%

 b) The Overview of Law Training was: (N14)

Very worthwhile	72% (10)	Of quite limited value	7% (1)
Worthwhile for the most part	22% (3)	Not worthwhile	0% (0)

(* Results reported in rounded percentages adjusted for non response. The author recognizes the violation of statistical tradition in reporting results for the small N in percentages.)

7. The second 'Living with the Job' discussion in groups was:
(N57)

Very worthwhile	82%	Of quite limited value	4%
Worthwhile for the most part	14%	Not worthwhile	0%

8. The final panel question and answer session was: (N57)

Very worthwhile	61%	Of quite limited value	7%
Worthwhile for the most part	32%	Not worthwhile	0%

9. The idea of having experienced Police wives present was: (N57)

Very worthwhile	79%	Of quite limited value	11%
Worthwhile for the most part	11%	Not worthwhile	0%

10. The idea of having a similar programme for spouses (fiances etc.)
near the completion of the probation period is:

Very worthwhile	89%	Of quite limited value	2%
Worthwhile for the most part	2%	Not worthwhile	5%

11. If you were asked by a spouse or fi. cee etc. of a future
Initial Trainee whether she should attend a similar session
or not, what would you say? (N53)

Yes	100%	No	0%
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12. Are you glad you came? (N57)

Yes	100%	No	0%
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13. The idea of having some lectures for the trainee officers on
a similar line to the seminar is: (N57)

Very worthwhile	81%	Of quite limited value	2%
Worthwhile in the most part	16%	Not worthwhile	2%