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AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF GENDERED POLICING

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LOUISE WESTMARLAND

ABSTRACT. It has been suggested that male police officers are the purveyors of a unique form of occupational masculinity. Publicised cases of sexual harassment and discrimination, which have come to light in the past few years, tend to support this assumption. Substantial out of court settlements seem to suggest that despite numerous attempts to reform what has been described as police 'canteen culture', a solution appears elusive. In this thesis therefore, evidence will be presented from fieldwork with two northern police forces to explore this supposedly masculinist culture. Various ways of explaining the interrelationships between men, power and identities will be analysed by theorising about certain aspects of policework which lend themselves to the maintenance of masculinities. Throughout this discussion the way occupational cultures, within male dominated environments, are believed to perpetuate and reinforce certain ways of 'being a man', will be considered. In the course of the analysis, status, sexuality, competence and heroism will be used to look at the way masculinist ways of working may have informed our ideas about the police.

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Police officers embody the authority of the state and are afforded certain powers with which they are expected to preserve the peace, maintain social and public order, and fight crime. In order to carry out these functions they wear a uniform and carry certain 'tools of the trade', such as handcuffs and truncheons, which symbolise their legitimate right to use force. In the course of their duties it is expected that bodily strength may have to be used to facilitate certain tasks. However, despite the potentially physical nature of these activities and some of the new approaches to the study of 'the human self as an embodied agent' (Turner 1996:6), it seems that the police have not been analysed in terms of the body. Indeed, there appears to be a lack of empirical research to complement the growing number of theoretical studies concerned with embodiment and gender (Bordo 1997, Davis 1996, Hausman 1995, Mackenzie 1998, Scott 1997). In particular, the lived experiences of men and women in the police, which acknowledges differences in the ways they are embodied, have been ignored.

In this thesis there will be an exploration of police culture and the significance of gendered bodies on the street, in the boardroom and throughout various specialist departments. To support this analysis, extensive ethnographic data is provided which illustrate the way force and strength are used as officers 'contract in' with their bodies, or choose to withdraw from certain encounters. Indeed, as personal and professional status in the police is largely dependent upon showing 'bottle', choices concerning the use of their physicality are especially significant to our understanding of police culture. In effect, the way gendered bodies create a situation which perpetuates beliefs about certain occupational roles being designated either 'male' or 'female', is explored throughout the analysis. Similarly, gendered identities, which take 'genitalia to be the definitive "sign" of sex...essential to the symbolisation of reproductive sexuality' (Butler 1990:109-110) and make 'masculinity' and 'femininity' a requirement in different fields of policing, will be analysed by examining how the police deal with child abuse and sexual offences.

As a result of 'bringing the body back in' (Frank 1990), therefore, this thesis will analyse two interdependent areas of contention, the first of which is the

debate surrounding differential deployment and gender. Since the official integration of women officers into the main police organisation there have been discussions about what they are actually doing in the police, what they should be doing, and how efficiently they are doing it. In the past this discussion has tended to be within the context of the 'is it working' framework (Heidenschon 1992:104), which has examined the often fragmented and ineffectual organisational policies designed to create 'equality of opportunity' for women officers (see for example, Jones 1986, Brown et al 1993). In terms of the force and strength element of this debate however, which usually reflects upon whether women are physically capable of carrying out the policing mandate, personal autonomy and the body as a representation of the gendered self have been disregarded. With reference to the question of whether women are 'ghettoised' (Walklate 1995:119) in the police due to social and cultural expectations, the issue of embodiment has been ignored here too, although many of the tasks officers are required to carry out in their specialisms are linked to gendered bodies and their erotic and sexual identities. As recent literature on the body and sexuality have suggested, these two issues are now believed to be more intimately connected than previously assumed (Pringle 1992, Butler 1997). In examining the ways occupational roles are constructed due to assumptions about embodied expertise, such as the ability to care for children, therefore, this thesis will use the gendered body to illustrate the way force and anatomy are determinants of competence in the police.

A second area of contention which this thesis will examine, in addition to the debate about differential deployment, is the way men and women experience their bodies in a gendered social order, 'under the constant critical surveillance of others' (Davis 1996:115). Empirical evidence from field observations of the reality of 'lived' policing will be used to reflect upon various theoretical studies which are concerned with the 'problem of the body in social life' (Turner 1992:31). As the analysis contributes to the debate about the need for a social theory of the body, it considers the effect of gendered bodies on the street, in the patrol car and at the station. Consequently, as part of the ethnographic tradition it interprets not only the actions, but also the shared meanings, of police officers by reflecting upon their 'world view', motives, values and beliefs, to examine the various gendered ways of enacting policing. In addition, in terms of participant observation and the analysis of police culture, it will provide the first British study of its type, concentrating on gender as a central focus.

Embodying the Police.

As indicated above, previous studies which have described the daily activities of the police have tended to ignore the importance of the body (Holdaway 1983, Reiner 1992, Fielding 1994), whilst theoretical discussions (Butler 1990, Seidler 1997, Shilling 1993) have not been tested empirically. Given the emphasis on various aspects of physicality and the apparent significance of personal strength in debates about gender and policing, it seems that this a serious omission. It has been recognised for some time, however, in fictional representations of police activities, that upon arrest suspects become 'bodies' as they enter the domain of the police car, van or cell. In this transitional process, which Young describes from an anthropological perspective as being based upon binary opposites, officers distance themselves from the 'prisoners' by giving them derogatory titles such as 'prigs' (Young 1991:111). Furthermore, in order to manage their workload whilst abiding by certain 'rules' (Smith & Gray 1983:171), suspects are dehumanised, slotted into coded offence categories and treated with reference to culturally accepted biases. In terms of normal practice this means that 'drunks' picked up by the police may be classified as 'incapable', or alternatively capable and hence 'disorderly', depending upon their behaviour as a result of the amount of alcohol they have consumed. Arrested 'bodies' are usually assigned a certain status along a continuum of passivity and danger. In addition, dirty and 'disgusting' bodies, in the case of sex or drug offenders, are in diametric opposition to the bodies of women and children, who are seen as being in need of moral or physical protection. Gendered bodies are also significant, as this thesis will show, because the 'stripped' body, in the conducting of searches, and the contained body, in the event of imprisonment, requires special attention to prevent allegations of sexual impropriety.

As Stanley and Wise argue, within sociology, feminism has had an impact upon various topic areas, including 'crimes of violence towards women and children' (1993:186-7). In addition, some feminists have concerned themselves with epistemological questions such as the 'rejection of Cartesian binary or dichotomous categories as supposed descriptions of social life' (ibid 187). Indeed, due to dissatisfaction with 'both biologically essentialist and social constructionist analyses of the body', Scott (1997), amongst others, has argued for the establishment of the body as 'an agent in its own right, rather than as unintelligent, static and passive' (Maynard 1997:9). Furthermore, as a result of new critiques of certain anti-essentialist approaches to the study of gender, it

has been suggested that social constructivism has ignored the body, leading to problems with explaining any connection whatsoever between biology and the social. As McNay argues though, it is important to analyse differences within 'monolithic sexual differences' because 'the female body and the feminine gender are not radically discontinuous as the sex/gender distinction implies' (McNay 1992:23). Similarly, in his discussion of embodiment and social theory, Turner reviews theoretical approaches to the body and acknowledges the previously mentioned lack of productive empirical research in the area (Turner 1996:1). His description of the history of the sociology of the body claims certain changes in Western industrial societies have led to new directions in the nature of labour and consumption. He argues that the machismo of young, working class men, which 'no longer has a direct functional relevance' has meant that what was once the 'labouring body' has now become the 'desiring' body (Turner 1996:2). As Hobbs suggests however, 'violence is an enduring, emphatically masculine resource' (1995:29), and policing, particularly for young men, may be regarded as one of the few remaining non military occupations with a requirement for physical, bodily power and the possibility of mortal danger.

It seems that policing has traditionally been an occupation where physical, violent labour has been accepted, required and valued. Numerous studies have illustrated the importance of participants being perceived as being able to 'handle themselves' (see for example, Fielding 1988, Uildriks & Mastrigt 1991, Heidensohn 1994). Just as the growing consumer interest in 'keeping fit' is said to be relational to class and gender, in terms of an indication of financial status and availability of leisure, in the police the body as 'physical capital – a possessor of power, status and distinctive symbolic forms' (Shilling 1997:88) is connected to being able to effect difficult, violent arrests. Consequently, as policing is largely dependent upon physical abilities such as running, climbing and fighting and potentially a legitimate outlet for aggression at work, it could be seen as an example of what Turner describes as the 'culture which recognises the body is a project' (1996:4). In a discussion of the changing styles of the female figure across time and cultures however, Bartky argues that although both men and women exercise, '(T)oday, massiveness, power, or abundance in a woman's body is met with distaste. The current body of fashion is taut, small breasted, narrow hiped and of a slimness bordering on emaciation' (1997:132-3). Similarly, in terms of his thesis of the body as a consuming self and representational being, Turner highlights the process

whereby bodies are disciplined by consumerist desire, whilst emerging medical technologies provide 'new opportunities for democratisation and authoritarian control of the human self as an embodied agent' (1996:6-7). Once again however, it could be argued that this process is linked to gendered bodies as Young argues that women are not judged in terms of their physical fitness. She is critical of the traditional approach which suggests that although most men are by no means superior athletes, '(T)he relatively untrained man nevertheless engages in sport generally with more free motion and open reach than does his female counterpart' (Young 1990:146). Furthermore, the assumption that women 'often approach a physical engagement with things with timidity, uncertainty and hesitancy' (ibid) as they lack confidence and trust in their bodily abilities is critically evaluated by Young, who says that this is due to a certain self-consciousness in women due to an 'objectified bodily existence' meaning that '(t)o open her body in free, active open extension and bold outward directedness is for a woman to invite objectification' (Young 1990:155).

Agency and Structure

To combine these theories of embodiment with the study of gendered roles and identities in the police it is necessary to include references to control and autonomy. If the body can be a representation of the self, through which 'value and meaning is ascribed to the individual by the shape and image of their external body' (Turner 1996:23), it could be argued that an occupational culture which emphasises the need to produce quantifiable results and 'confront the threat of sudden attack from another person' (Reiner 1992:110), will be especially dependent upon outward appearance of the body. As police officers' uniformed bodies are used as the signifier of the legitimate power to stop and detain suspects and the means by which the arrest is effected, even in non-violent situations, this is of special relevance to individual status and sense of self. Studies which have examined police culture and competence such as Holdaway (1983), Smith and Gray (1983), and Fielding (1994) have described tests of manhood relating to arrests, which in turn lead to peer admiration. Where arrests are classified as dangerous or requiring athleticism, it is apparent that there are important qualitative judgements being made about men's bodies as powerful agents capable of physical intervention. On the other hand, women's bodies are generally disregarded as enforcers in police cultural analyses (with the exception of Young 1991), but as this thesis will show,

they are of great significance to the police as topics of erotic interest. Existing studies of the police, with a few exceptions where reference is made to unusually 'manly' women, their bodies are ignored, which is in contrast to the general interest in the female body as in the literature on anorexia, 'looking good' (Turner 1996:23) and medical technologies.

As noted earlier, Heidensohn classifies some of the previous studies focusing on women in the police as the 'is it working' research (1992). She describes the ways in which women officers have been alleged to be 'ghettoised' as Walklate suggests (1995), leading to their skills being undervalued, and their prospects for promotion blocked. One of the questions this thesis addresses therefore, is the accepted wisdom of 'differential deployment' by challenging the notion that women are unable to choose certain specialities, whilst being manipulated into areas concerned with caring, families and sexual offences. Just as it is acknowledged that women and men cannot leave their bodies, and that their uniforms cannot fully disguise or negate their gender, evidence will be presented in this thesis that although certain 'roles' are designated male or female, due to the gendered body being regarded as a qualification, the situation regarding human agency is rather more ambiguous. It could be argued, for example, that some police roles are gender neutral—as physical attributes such as muscular strength are not required for the tasks involved. Women officers, once promoted to managerial positions, might be regarded as an example of this phenomenon. In the thesis a number senior women are interviewed and they generally seem to hold the opinion that their gender, and more especially their bodies, are of no concern at senior levels in the organisation. In these conversations however, references to operational careers, experience of running murder squads and when to wear their uniforms with trousers to present the right 'image' of themselves, are evident.

Similarly, Davis argues throughout her discussion of the 'objectified body' and cosmetic surgery that women are 'agents...knowledgeable and active subjects who attempt to overcome their alienation, to act upon the world themselves instead of being acted upon by others' (1996:115). In another debate about the way women are 'alienated' from their bodies, Young suggests that despite the effects of a male dominated culture 'many women identify their breasts as themselves' (1990:192). Furthermore, due to the possibilities of the 'plastic body' she asks, 'Why shouldn't a woman "choose" perfect breasts' (ibid:201). As Martin points out however, it is debatable to what extent women can escape

their 'bodily mode' (1989:199), especially within an environment such as the police where men are 'rude and physical' and women are regarded as 'dumb sex objects' (Smith & Gray 1983:96) by their male colleagues.

In a similar discussion grounded in Cartesian dualism, Church outlines the debate which she narrows to two 'problematic alternatives' - a conception of ourselves as something wholly distinct from our bodies...and a conception of ourselves as identical to our bodies' (1997:86 original emphasis). She uses the ownership and selling of bodies to illustrate her argument that it is perfectly possible to sell 'parts of our bodies-organs, parts of organs, skin, hair and so on' and in the case of prostitution and paid pregnancy, which she alleges, poses the notion of is the selling of 'more of oneself', which leads to the supposition that our bodies are ours to sell and that 'we do not have the right to prostitute ourselves' (Church 1997:96). As Edwards observes, prostitute women 'demarcate and rigidly define quite precisely...thereby placing boundaries around certain parts of the body' (1993:89). She discusses the exploitative nature of prostitution in the light of evidence that these women claim to 'retain their autonomy and private space' whilst 'segmenting and selling parts of their bodies as commodities' (ibid) which highlights the issue of autonomous agency and women's embodiment (Mackenzie 1998:122).

It could be argued therefore that the 'absent body' as Turner describes it, in terms of the problem of structure and agency (Turner 1992:67), are central to the debate about gender and differential deployment in the police. As he says, if the idea of sociology is regarded as a study of action, a social theory of the body is necessary because 'human agency and interaction involve far more than mere knowledgeability, intentionality and consciousness' (Turner 1992:35). In a similar vein, Connell suggests that 'the concern with force and skill becomes a statement embedded in the body' due not only to the structure of class relations, but also the structure of power in gender relations (1987:85). Furthermore, as Giddens has argued, understanding the individualised agent in embodied terms is vital in relation to competence because 'routine control of the body is integral to the very nature both of agency and of being accepted (trusted) by others as competent' (Giddens 1991:57). One of the reasons this type of approach has been absent, however, according to Turner, is that structuration theory has ignored the 'nature of the agent in agency' (1992:67), simply treating the body as a subject for the natural sciences, and as a 'rational choosing disembodied 'man' they have ignored the importance of feeling and

emotion in social action' (ibid:68). Consequently, sociological views of the body have tended to view the 'meaningful character of social action from the standpoint of the social actor', and thus avoiding the 'corporeal side of human action' (Turner 1996:36).

To summarise, therefore, it could be suggested that policing, as in other occupations which may or may not require physical strength, such as agriculture and medicine, there is a 'between-men culture' which has been structured to exclude women (Irigaray 1993:45). Irigaray argues that to demand equality is a 'mistaken objective' however (ibid:12), because men and women are not equal and differences should be recognised (ibid:84). In order to move on from traditional epistemologies, therefore, which regarded emotions as 'disruptive and subversive of knowledge' (Stanley and Wise 1993)- 'inimical to the production of reliable and rational knowledge' (Scott 1997:115) it has been suggested that empiricism should be discarded. In their rejection of the value of 'objective scientific' observations, Stanley and Wise suggest that feminist ontologies should 'include emotionality as the product of culture' rejecting 'Cartesian binary ways of polarising reason and emotion' (Stanley & Wise 1993:193). As a result, there could be analyses in which 'the body can be a source of the alternative perspective which leads to a more complete and adequate understanding' (Scott 1997:115).

Organisation and Structure of the Thesis.

In the thesis, chapter two begins by examining this debate about the significance of bodily power and strength in terms of career choices and the irresolvable tension between discrimination and difference. Four senior women officers, two of whom have now been promoted to chief constable, are interviewed about their experiences in the police. In the course of the conversations each is asked what they thought led to their promotion, how they managed to survive in a male dominated environment, and the 'secret' of their success. Of course, each woman had a different story to tell, and the only two common factors which they all mentioned were first, being 'lucky' and a 'nice person' to work for and second, that they had had some important operational experience, such as in the CID, providing a certain aura of occupational status and credibility. It seemed that they thought however, that their male colleagues, had on the whole experienced similar career patterns to theirs, although they

thought that 'being a woman' was a definite advantage.

Dilemmas which face ambitious officers are woven into this discussion about 'successful' women in the police and the role of masculinity, due to certain tasks which are necessitated by a management post, is explored. One of the issues which was raised in the interviews was the way their 'style' might differ from that of male predecessors. Similarities are evident in relation to Reiner's study of male chief constables (1991) here, although the very small number of women who have reached this senior level in the police prevent direct comparisons being drawn. Evidence from other studies of management techniques are used in this chapter to compare the experiences of women moving into high powered male worlds to analyse whether there is anything special about managing in the police.

In chapter three, which is a wide ranging discussion of women in specialist posts, several areas which are known to be classed as 'women's work' in the police are examined. As the analysis challenges the accepted wisdom that women are subjected to 'differential deployment practices' (Brown et al 1993) as 'policemen are overtly and consistently hostile towards women in "the job"' (Young 1991:193), two questions are posed. First, whether there is any evidence that women are working in specialist departments due to their gender, as national statistics suggest (HMI 1995), and second; to what extent is the existence of 'macho cop' culture in the police supported by evidence.

As there are three separate sections in the chapter, the first is devoted to women both as offenders and the victims of crime, and the way the police deal with domestic violence. In the second section cases involving children and juveniles are examined for evidence of differential deployment and in the third section the way sexual offences are processed is analysed. In this final section an in-depth examination is conducted of the way child sex abuse is regarded as an area of expertise which women are 'natural' experts. An investigation of some of the mistakes which were made in the Cleveland Inquiry highlights the very special, and potentially alienating levels of knowledge which are required to conduct investigations involving children and sexual offences. It seems that due to the tendency of providing sexual offences courses to women only, male detectives may find themselves ill equipped to deal with child victims of sexual abuse. As children are often referred to the Family Protection Units for this reason, and much of the work involves sexual offences, only women officers

in these specialist teams gain the necessary skills and expertise. On the other hand, the limited number of men in these departments find themselves dealing with the perpetrators, the 'husbands and boyfriends' and hence the role of enforcer, making the arrest, but leaving the skilled, 'emotion' work to women colleagues.

Chapter three also provides evidence of the way women officers choose to join the Child and Family Protection Units to gain investigative experience. In some of the taped discussions which are analysed, they indicate that supervisors often tell them that an attachment to the CID might be forthcoming after they complete their period of duty in the FPU. Ambitious women, tempted by the chance to get out of uniform and into some sort of specialism, or simply wishing to escape anti-social shifts, state in chapter three, that the work is undervalued and that some of their male colleagues regard them as 'social workers'. Despite this lack of regard and acknowledgement of dedication expressed by the women in these interviews, it is clear that they find the work stressful in terms of caseload and content. As the work is dependent upon confidentiality it is not discussed with colleagues from outside the Units. Uniformed patrol officers and those working in specialties such as the CID are therefore largely unaware of the work the FPU conduct and the load they maintain. In addition, some general patrol work is also discussed in this chapter with reference to the way men and women gain the necessary experience to join specialist departments and the opinions of male officers towards female supervisors is explored.

A slight change of focus which leads into chapter four is concerned with the way uniformed patrol or 'beat' work is carried out on a daily basis. One of the aims of this chapter is to explore the status of certain tasks in general policing activities. In the main, patrol work is not regarded as very valuable by officers on the ground despite being regarded as one of the core activities with which the rank and file are engaged. Patrol work, often on foot, is the place all police officers begin their working lives, and the crux of the differential deployment debate can be illustrated here. As a lower status activity, it can be used as a marker within the hierarchy of tasks, in order to place women and men along a continuum of skill and professional regard. Women's promotion has said to have been blocked in the past due to prejudice and discrimination by supervisors. As they fail to gain experience and a good 'arrest portfolio', their achievements are viewed as inferior by interview panels. As these panels are often composed of

men, working by male rules in a masculine organisation, it has been suggested that women are disadvantaged.

In order to test these allegations empirically this thesis asks two questions at the beginning of chapter four; first, whether women are deployed differently on patrol, and second; if women constrained by their gender in the police, to what extent could it prevent them from making arrests. One of the forces which was researched for this thesis, has three contrasting divisional areas which were selected for in-depth ethnographic field observations. In each area the officers were accompanied on patrol for extensive periods, their actions analysed, and their arrest patterns collated. Qualitative data are supported in this chapter by a small scale comparison with quantitative material which reveals the arrest patterns of men and women in one of the sub-divisions. Officers' daily working lives are observed, which led to some interesting and often disturbing events as they were patrolling one of the busiest and supposedly most dangerous areas in mainland Britain. Attitudes towards danger are explored in this chapter with reference to the way supervisors may be deploying men and women differently. Evidence is evaluated in the course of the analysis which considers this supposition and the way technology might negate this process.

In chapter five this focus upon gender is moved to masculinities through an examination of certain specialist posts which are usually occupied by men, such as those concerned with cars, guns and horses. As the discussion is about officers in 'rarefied' posts, which enables their removal from low status patrol work, allowing them to act 'as men', as opposed to an increasingly 'feminised' version of the police, they have the right to use force as a strategy. In the case of the mounted branch, this involves using their elevated position on top of 'two tons of horseflesh' to move crowds. Firearms officers have the ultimate in terms of power and lethal force, and the men in cars, calling themselves the 'cruisers', have high powered vehicles which are constantly updated in an attempt to be as fast as the 'scumbags'.

In this penultimate chapter, certain categories of masculine behaviour are examined, the first being the way the concept of professionalism is used by police managers to encourage certain behaviour within the subordinate ranks. In certain circumstances this is used by these officers to justify or excuse their behaviour when it is less satisfactory than could be normally expected. In the next category, which is competency, the way men attempt to be adequate, if

not necessarily perfect police officers, is discussed. In the third category, examining sexuality and power, the way men bolster their heterosexual image by discussing women's bodies, pornography and their sexual activities, compared with their inability to deal with cases of sexual assault or 'perversion' is analysed. In the final category, the concept of heroism is used to examine the way men in the police behave towards women, children and victims of accidents and brutality whilst maintaining their front of masculinity.

As a result of examining the way gendered bodies are regarded as being so significant in policing, this thesis compares theoretical approaches with the 'lived experience' of the participants. Indeed, as the material which is to follow is primarily ethnographic data, it begins where other studies mentioned earlier, such as Turner, (1996) Mackenzie (1998) and Scott (1997) have ended. By emphasising the importance of the gendered body and recognising that men and women, even as neutered police 'officers' cannot leave their bodies, the analysis develops a number of key themes in the existing 'cop culture' literature. It differs in comparison to those by 'malesteam' writers such as Reiner (1992), Young (1991) and Hobbs (1988) because gender is placed at the centre of the analysis. In addition, it is an extension of work by feminist writers on the police such as Heidensohn (1992), and those who have examined equality of opportunity in the police such as Brown et al (1993) and Jones (1986) as it highlights the importance of the hitherto 'absent body' (Turner 1992:67). In summary, the thesis provides a 'dirty fingernails...and battle-scarred' (Hobbs 1993:49), empirical examination of various approaches to the study of embodiment and police culture which have previously been discussed without the benefit of ethnographic observation or analysis.

Introduction.

In this chapter the careers of four senior ranking women officers are analysed, using data from a series of interviews which were conducted for this study. Issues raised in the previous chapter, about the significance of gendered bodies, the role of women in the police and the influence of 'cop culture' will be reviewed here. Indeed, in the light of the recounted experiences of these 'successful' female police officers, a number of key themes will be addressed surrounding gender and embodiment. In addition, evidence will be presented on promotion and access to specialist posts, in order to examine the contention that women appear to suffer from particular types of discrimination in the police. By exploring certain aspects of these women's career paths, the idea that they encounter specific types of barrier, at certain points in the rank structure, which could prevent them from achieving positions of power, will be discussed. Finally, the effect of masculine 'boardroom' culture will be used to examine the role of occupational credibility, linked to the capacity for strength, force and 'bottle', even in posts requiring little or no physical 'action'.

As this discussion of these high ranking women is similar to Reiner's study of the lives and careers of chief constables, which analyses 'an unchartered group of men who form a powerful elite of increasing importance' (1991:3) a number of comparisons will be made. In his analysis of the interviews he conducted, for example, Reiner suggests that perceptions of senior male officers vary from 'members of a state conspiracy to almost omnipotent deities'; yet despite their power, prestige and significance, little has been written about ACPO members and virtually nothing is known about the 'life of the men at the top' (ibid:6). In his discussion of this omission, Reiner makes few references to gender except to note that all chief constables are male and white. He does mention however, that at the time of writing (1991), Alison Halford, the most senior ranking woman officer in Britain, was commencing legal proceedings against her chief constable, and as Heidensohn notes, although women had reached every position except chief constable by 1992, the 'careers of senior police officers are not very well researched' and the ones she had interviewed '(N)one had found it easy to achieve her present status' (Heidensohn 1992:154).

ELITE WOMEN

As an example of the exclusion of women from positions of power, the managerial ranks of the police are of particular interest due to the way the organisation is alleged to be going through a process of 'feminisation' (Heidensohn 1992:103). Indeed, in the light of purely statistical data, which is analysed later in this chapter, it seems fairly uncontentious to say that they appear to be being systematically excluded from senior posts. However, as one of the officers who was interviewed for this chapter suggested, there were 'only sixteen women in the country who were near to executive rank' (Female ACC 1995), pointing out that the small numbers in the available pool of personnel had inhibited promotion. Until more women were in higher positions, she argued, it would be impossible for the situation to change significantly. Throughout this chapter a number of comments such as this will be used to evaluate commonly assumptions held about the police as a masculinist and exclusionary organisation. In order to situate the managerial style of these women who have recently entered this elite group of men, their attitudes towards 'traditional' masculinities, gendered roles and forms of 'feminine' behaviour are discussed. In the course of the interviews, the women officers said they were able to choose to be located at any point on this gendered continuum whilst carrying out operational duties earlier in their careers. It is significant, however, that they all insisted that as they climbed to the higher ranks and into management posts, these differences and indicators of masculinity and femininity become less evident.

As the subsequent chapters of this thesis will show, operational policing is an activity in which the gender of participants is accentuated. Cultural beliefs create an atmosphere where respect from peers and supervisors is often based upon the ability to use physical force to resolve conflict. 'On the street' this is often a literal and practical necessity because the likelihood of having to arrest the unwilling is always a possibility. Even where compliance is achieved without physical coercion, the probability of having to resort to violence exists. Due to the emphasis given to the physical nature of street level policing, activities carried out by those occupying higher ranks tends to have been ignored in discussions about gender. It is probably because these officers are regarded as 'managers', removed from danger and therefore not especially relevant in terms of difference and occupational culture. Perceptions of 'office' workers in the police tend to be sedentary 'feminised' posts and therefore not subject to

distinctions of police and non-police in the same way as 'operational' officers. Indeed, even though full police uniforms are worn by the 'office cops', it is not regarded as strictly necessary for the more senior ranks. Meetings with people from outside the organisation are often conducted in 'civvies' and functions which they attend outside police headquarters are often scrutinised for the suitability of uniform wearing. One of the senior women officers I interviewed was going to a reception given in honour of a local dignitary later that evening and she asked her secretary;

'Do we normally go in uniform for this type of thing? Can you ask Bill if he's wearing his? It's so much easier for men, they can just turn up in a suit' (Female ACC 1995).

As this remark suggests, this woman officer felt it necessary to fit in with the way her male colleagues and predecessors have behaved, and yet she is conscious that for her, certain gendered constraints apply. Indeed, it is interesting to examine the ways women perceive themselves to differ in certain aspects from their male colleagues' management styles and yet continue to uphold tradition. It was important, therefore, to ask about their approach to this aspect of their work because of the allegations made by Alison Halford about the discrimination she suffered being the result of her gender. Several examples of exclusionary behaviour are given in Halford's book about her life as a senior woman officer. As she reflects upon the actions of an appointing committee and one of her unsuccessful bids for promotion, in the period leading up to her equality action she remarks;

And the qualities I would have brought to the deputy's job would have been a woman's qualities—no better nor worse than a man's, just different...Let a woman be given the chance to prove herself and see what new dimensions could be explored (Halford 1993:94).

Whether or not gendered management techniques exist and the ways in which the officers interviewed thought they possessed 'women's qualities', were topics which were explored. Each officer was asked about her perceptions of whether they she was behaving in any way which reflected their gender. Opinions varied, as the following discussion with one of the DCCs shows;

'Yes, I am sure I'm doing it differently- indeed that I'm bringing certain ways of doing things in. For example the management meetings used to be just certain senior officers, now it's all the heads of department, but because this has now become so unwieldy, I have had to introduce a certain amount of autocracy to get done the business we must do' (Female DCC 1995).

From this remark it seemed possible that she thought her colleagues felt she was less authoritative than a man might be, and therefore lacking in some essential skills. In the interview she was perfectly happy to consider this possibility, but seemed quite certain that it was not the case.

'I am not aware of anyone thinking of me as a soft touch because of my gender, but I must do things in a different way to my predecessor, but how much of this is because of my gender is impossible to say' (Female DCC 1995).

Another officer, when asked whether she thought she used a different approach to management 'as a woman', remarked;

'Not really, it's more to do with your own personality, rather than whether you are a male or female. I think my personality influences my management style and vice versa. I'm more conscious of that than I am of being a woman. I don't think there are many instances when you're aware you're a female' (Female DCC 1995).

In terms of the new 'feminised' approach to policing in the 1990s, this attitude appears to be perfectly compatible with current organisational objectives. Officers of this rank are aware of the political retreat from a traditionally 'masculine' image as forceful controllers of public order to a more service orientated role which encourages the consent of the community. Assumptions about these supposed feminine characteristics such as peace keeping and reconciliation, combined with visible evidence of equality of opportunity, however, make women officers with management potential especially attractive for the organisation to promote. In addition, it allows the particular police force employing a high ranking woman to proclaim;

'Look! We've got one of *these* !' (Female Chief Inspector 1995).

Senior women officers with ambition, ability and common sense, have presumably realised that their gender and 'femininity', even if temporarily

denied and masked, could be an asset. Indeed, all the women interviewed for this chapter acknowledged this in relation to their promotion, although as one observed, there are still significant barriers erected by the majority male hierarchy. Indeed, whilst apparently revelling in the awkwardness she has caused some of her senior officers one of the women said;

'...I had to challenge and fight and almost felt like punching a commanding officer in the mouth when he referred to me as 'our most senior ranking policewoman' rather than my position as Chief Superintendent in charge of Management Services. All the men had been introduced by the title of their post (Female DCC 1995).

As this officer's irritation at being classed as 'different' shows, she was not acknowledged as holding the full status of being head of a department in the same way as her male colleagues. It has been suggested in studies which have examined male management structures that organisational norms and practices remain the same, whilst women 'who desire success have to recast their gender identities' (Roper 1994:191). In his study of masculinity in organisations, Roper suggests that women are often viewed 'in family terms' and that the 'lady manager' has an 'increasingly important role in management because of their "people handling" skills' (ibid:191-2). Rather than the organisation becoming 'feminised', therefore, as the following quote illustrates, working in a 'macho cop' environment also involves 'handling' senior officers' feelings diplomatically.

'I was 'negotiated down' to the position of superintendent for six years by a chief constable who could have made my life hell if I hadn't agreed. He wanted me where I would be 'safe' and he would feel comfortable. How many men would have agreed to such a move, which they would have regarded as demotion?' (Female DCC 1995).

MANAGING GENDER

In a discussion about the way women officers 'handle' violence on the street Heidensohn (1994) argues they have developed successful strategies to manage certain situations which would normally have been regarded as 'unfeminine'. As there are very few women serving as high ranking police officers, it is interesting to reflect upon similar strategies which they might have to use in order to cope. In this section there is an account of the experiences of four

senior women police officers of assistant and deputy chief constable rank, one of whom has subsequently been appointed the first woman chief constable.

As the first woman to be appointed chief constable, Pauline Clare followed the trend set by Susan Davies, Britain's first deputy chief constable, who was promoted just over a year previously. Successful at interview on 15th June 1995, Clare became Britain's first woman chief constable on the 1st of January 1996, having previously been a deputy for only ten months. Approximately one year previously Davies had been appointed Britain's first deputy chief on the 12th of March, 1994. When Clare was appointed the four other candidates who were shortlisted for the post were men, and at 48 she succeeded a retiring male chief constable aged 62. Prior to their appointment however, as the following table shows, these women and their senior colleagues represented a tiny minority of the police hierarchy.

Table 1 Senior Ranking Women Officers(England & Wales), Home Office Data

	31.12.90	31.11.93
Chief Constable	0	0
Deputy CC	0	0
Assistant CC	1	3
Ch.Superintendent	6	6
Superintendent	13	8
Chief Inspector	8	12
Inspector	11	12

Table 2 Rank Structure by Gender at 31.8.94: Home Office Data.

	Men	Women	Women as %
Chief Constable	47	0	0%
Dep Chief Constable	49	0	0%
Asst Chief Constable	103	3	2.91%
Chief Superintendent	356	10	2.81%
Superintendent	1192	32	2.68%
Chief Inspector	1902	52	2.73%
Inspector	6305	241	3.82%
Sergeant	18214	1104	6.06%
Constable	80120	15599	19.47%

In effect, the four women interviewed for this chapter, as a sample of the six who are currently occupying senior posts, could represent a new, radical version of gendered policing. As Reiner observed, to be promoted to very high rank in the police it is necessary to be exceptional. In his study of chief constables (1991) he noted that most had been the first to do something, or had risen very quickly in a certain department which marked them out from their rivals. Indeed, as there were still only six women at assistant or deputy chief constable rank, at the time the research for this chapter was conducted, they represented a tiny minority, compared with the total of around one hundred and fifty men at the same level. In this way they tend to be the first woman to occupy the posts they hold and each claimed they had certain aspects of their career and management style which were fairly novel, although ungendered. As they had all been promoted fairly recently, most agreed that they might be operating differently from their male counterparts. On the other hand they countered allegations of sexual discrimination by claiming that it is difficult for

women to be promoted, but then it is equally hard for men. An 'equal but different' approach seemed to be the consensus, with comparisons between the women being complicated by numerous variables. In turn this led to discussions about the difficulties with making judgements about their managerial style and promotion history in order to assess the significance of gender. As one of the relatively recent female appointees told me, she saw her role as being 'part of the corporate management board', comprising the assistant, deputy and chief constable. As a team they were responsible for 'strategic policy and overall running of the Force'. As the other two members of the team were men, she was asked whether she thought she was taking the same approach as her colleagues and she replied;

'I'm not sure, at this level- I am sure that I do it quite differently from the way the men do it further down a much more *consultative* sort of style really. If you had a problem the thing I'd be most likely to say would be "What should we do now?" We could do this, or we could do that, and then just what we'll do; but most men wouldn't start off like that probably' (Female DCC 1995).

As she went on to explain, in general she was now in a position to send heads of departments away to find solutions to problems, leaving her to decide on the best option, which had sometimes caused difficulties. Although she felt she had been very open to suggestions, decisions were hers to make and as she pointed out;

'...sometimes I give quite strong lines of direction, such as during operational things. In the planning stage you can say "How should we do this?" but when things are actually happening there's no time for consultation, such as in firearms operations' (Female DCC 1995).

In a similar way, one of the women business managers interviewed by Roper for his study said that she had described her 'gentler tactics in the phallic terms favoured by men' (Roper 1994:197). She explained that she had learnt how to 'concentrate one's fire where it is really important' and the necessity of developing a 'consensual management style' (ibid). One of the DCCs told me she operated in a similar way, using tact and diplomacy in order to enlist the support and cooperation of male officers;

'I've always tried to make use of their expertise by asking them to help, and I've always found that if you *ask* people that they'll respond. If you ask a firearms specialist about something, he'll tell you and then you make your own judgement, but very often I watch people *not* doing that- and coming in as if they know everything, and then you discover they don't know anything at all, they're just pretending' (Female DCC 1995).

One of the other DCCs explained that it was unlikely that she would have to make operational decisions because at her level in the management structure. Heads of departments would be expected to report to her with various problems, prepare a set of options and ask her which she preferred, rather than saying 'What should we do now?' This officer was asked whether she thought it was easier for a woman to take a considered, consensual approach, because as Collinson and Hearn have argued, the 'authority and status of manager can signify "men"' (Collinson & Hearn 1996:11) and expectations of a less aggressive approach might be beneficial and conducive to cooperative methods of decision making. She agreed that her style was based on the premise that they should work out the possible solutions to organisational problems before approaching her, as she argued;

'It's their job to find out how to do it, it's my job to identify things- and that's how it should be; but sometimes I have firmer ideas. "Go away and think about how we might do it, or you can come back and tell me you really don't think it's feasible to do it that way"' (Female ACC 1995).

In this way she felt her suggestions would be considered, the final say remained with her, and she could impose her ideas, but the effort involved with mundane decisions was delegated. As Collinson and Hearn note, it is usually paternalism which reinforces the power of managers, 'but also confirm the rights of management and men to manage' (Collinson & Hearn 1996:11). For this woman, another 'trick' of her management technique, she explained, was to pretend not to know anything about the topic of the conversation, in order to discover information which officers lower down the rank structure would normally be expected to keep from her. She said;

'I'm astonished at the things people tell me sometimes, I think, "If I were you I wouldn't be telling me this!" But I really can't say that what I do is really that different from what the men do, at this level, because it's incredible but it's not a very clear cut business' (Female ACC 1995).

It could be argued that this woman manager can use her gender, despite her protestations of not doing things differently, to obtain trust by presenting a less threatening image of 'manager' and therefore 'superior officer'. Again, Collinson and Hearn suggest that this is a feature of office life, arguing that;

In practice, both managers and men frequently seem to take for granted these asymmetrical power relations, often disregarding the hierarchical nature of organisational life and/or neglecting its gendered character (Collinson & Hearn 1996:11).

A FEMALE FIRST

Difficulties facing women who reach executive rank in the police appear to be similar to those in other male managed occupations such as education, health and social services. Various studies have shown that women managers in these areas tend to be disadvantaged in at least two ways when they reach the boardroom. First, promotion is often an isolating experience; women are removed from existing support systems and placed into an exclusively masculine environment, populated by homosocial 'men in suits'; and second, women face the added difficulty of being a manager drawn from a minority group which is sometimes regarded as 'second best' (Delamont 1989, Cockburn 1991, Proctor & Jackson 1994). As several studies have established, occupational competence and expertise in the police is of paramount importance, and is usually based upon operational experience (see for example Holdaway 1983, Fielding 1988, Reiner 1991). It is likely therefore, that even in very senior posts, police officers need to maintain a high level of policing credibility. As this is presumably based upon operational reputations gained earlier in their careers, one of the issues I intend to consider is the influence of occupational experience gained in various specialisms such as the CID.

Several of the high ranking female officers interviewed for this chapter referred positively to their time in the CID, which supports Reiner's assertion

that many high fliers regard the department as a vital aid to promotion. He also argues that contrary to previous assumptions, 'specialists', including those with extensive detective experience throughout their careers, were not at a disadvantage; approximately one third of the male chief constables in his study had worked for significant periods in crime departments (Reiner 1991:99-100). As Young has shown however, at lower levels in the police hierarchy women are not always regarded as being capable of being 'thief catchers' (Young 1991) leading to their exclusion from crime fighting activities. Access to 'real' crime and credibility for women officers may still be limited and in turn could be affecting perceptions of occupational competence. Indeed, as Home Office Inspectors stated in a report recently, some specialist departments might be regarded as 'unfriendly to women' and 'dominated by white male culture' (HMI 1995:41). However, as a transfer from uniformed patrol work 'into clothes...marks an escalation of the police officer's power and represents a deliberate switch in his function...from the maintenance of order to thief-taking' (Hobbs 1988:210), it is an area which ambitious officers realise could provide valuable experience.

As it has been suggested in the past that the police hierarchy has tended to promote on the basis of this 'thief taking' ability, the CID is an obvious place for officers to target if they wish to improve their prospects. On the other hand, as Young observes, women are 'structural intruders', only admitted to the world of 'real polises' under sufferance (Young 1991:251). It is significant therefore, that an increasing percentage of the female workforce have been moving into the CID. Home Office statistics show that 14% of all serving women officers are working in this department, which is remarkable because it exceeds their ratio of 13.7% in the organisation overall. In other words, the rate at which women are being admitted to a high status specialism exceeds their overall percentage as an occupational minority. It represents an increase of 3.5% for the period between 1990 and 1994 (HMI 1995), and shows women are encroaching upon the traditional 'men only' area of crime investigation.

At the time the senior women interviewed here were working their way up the ranks however, the CID was still considered to be a male domain, not subject to the normal rules regarding tenure, 'with many posts filled by invitation only' (Young 1991:204). To a certain extent this may still be happening now, with the statistics showing the number of women in the departments masking the type of cases they are assigned. As one of the ACCs explained;

'I think the problem that women often find is that they can't get into mainstream CID so easily and when they do, they get all the sexual offences. They have a difficulty making the supervisors give them a proper balanced caseload' (Female ACC 1995).

In describing her own career however, she asserted that she had never suffered from this type of discrimination but she acknowledged that women are under represented in most specialist departments and the promotion stakes. She also pointed out that she knew of 'lots of able women' with a good chance of being promoted. In fact she stated that when women appear at promotion boards their chances of success are better than the men. In recruiting for her force, she pointed out that approximately 20 per cent of the recruits are women representing 40 per cent of all the successful applicants. Women who apply are twice as likely to get in as the men and exactly the same thing happens on promotion boards; so while women may fear discrimination and prejudice, according to this ACC, it is not the case. Indeed, the problem, she argued, was that 'They don't put themselves forward' (Female ACC 1995). She had a number of reasons for this, as she explained;

'Now I understand a bit about the specialist departments because often the hours are very irregular- more difficult if you've got children; also, in a specialist department you're often the only woman and some people just don't want to be there. So I understand that as well. It's a question of critical mass, of having more women everywhere and that stops the problem' (Female ACC 1995).

In this way she argues, as more women are appointed to certain specialist posts such as surveillance units for example, more will follow because it will be regarded as 'normal' and acceptable. In addition to there being other women for support, newer recruits would think it possible for them to be appointed in time. One of the interviewees however, faced not only being the first woman in charge of a large group of male detectives, but also a new area of policing as she was promoted into the CID.

'I went into the crime side because that was where the vacancy was at that particular time, but it was a very interesting appointment because I didn't have a CID background and comments were made. "How can this *woman* who's never been a detective actually take charge of crime?" I pointed out to them that crime is actually the responsibility of *all* members of the organisation, not just the CID' (Female DCC 1995).

She also argued that she thought there is an advantage in having someone in charge of a department who has no previous experience of detective work, because they can ask really searching questions such as 'Why do we do it this way-why do we do it at all?'(Woman DCC 1995). Problems which were discussed earlier, concerning women's perceptions of specialist departments such as the CID, were also raised by one of the other women, an ACC who said that;

'I think that there is a reluctance amongst women to get involved in some of the squads- the crime squads, probably because of the uncertainty. If you are on a surveillance or following a target criminal, it's very difficult to say, "Right, I have to go and pick my children up, or go home", which a lot of men seem to manage. I think there would be some women put off by the fact that those groups will be very male dominated' (Female ACC 1995).

If some women find the prospect of joining a department such as the CID daunting, then to be given ultimate responsibility for it, as a superintendent, coming from an uniformed operational background must have been daunting. As an indicator of prestige and trust, to be in charge of a large metropolitan force's 'crime busting' department, is perhaps without parallel in the world outside policing. Within a male dominated hierarchy, in the fight against serious crime, the front line is the CID and the regional crime squads. For senior women officers, who are placed in charge of these groups of men, certain role contradictions must arise. One of the women was quick to acknowledge the difficulties some of her subordinates felt due to her gender. It seemed however, that she had not faced any overt opposition or 'insubordination', as she explained;

'Certainly not to my face, and perhaps when I was made a detective superintendent is a good example. Some of my colleagues who are detective superintendents, who've been career detectives for 30 years, thought that somebody with *no* CID experience shouldn't come in and run a murder inquiry' (Female DCC 1995).

On the other hand it would be unusual for an incoming supervisor not to be challenged and assessed in any way, and this officer compared her experiences with those of a male colleague who had been in a similar position. He had faced difficulties comparable to her own regarding a lack of 'crime'

Similarly, when the senior policewomen were asked about reasons for their own success, this was also one of their explanations. Luck, they insisted, had been a major factor aiding their promotion. However, when pressed to qualify this judgement, they conceded that there were other, more concrete aids, such as being liked, having a male mentor, and, most significantly, being able to cope when thrown in at the deep end. A sink or swim test seems to characterise the early careers of the women officers interviewed and this can only be partly explained by the specific nature of policework. One young female officer had to cope with a series of supervisors who became mentally incapable and left her in totally in charge of policing the division. She explained;

'We used to tell him to stay in the office until it was time to go home' (Female ACC 1995).

Others had to challenge senior officers for the right to take part in 'dangerous' public order squads and firearms operations. As quoted earlier, one of the women had to agree to accept a technical demotion to allow her to be kept in a 'safe' area of policework to allow the men to feel 'comfortable'. Most notably, one of the officers interviewed was placed in charge of murder investigations, having had no previous experience of CID work.

Another woman, reaching ACC with only eighteen years' service, said her progress, was '...Quite good...not as quick as some', went on to tell how she too had been given an unusual opportunity at one stage in her career;

'...at that stage, in (...), they were looking at opportunities for those who were considered of high potential...looking to give them CID experience...and in turn bring a fresh approach to crime management' (Female ACC 1995).

Another officer explained about her rise through the police ranks, reflecting upon the 'first to...' syndrome which Reiner identified in his study of chief constables (Reiner 1991:91), saying;

'I wasn't the youngest DCC ever, but I was the youngest (woman) to achieve certain ranks at some stages. That's not to do with being a woman, even if I were a man, I would still be very young to get where I was' (Female DCC 1995).

Another woman who was interviewed talked of simply finding being a police officer 'great fun' and not particularly aiming for promotion, although she was 'provided' with opportunities of which she took advantage. One of these was being targeted by senior, male officers, as she explained;

'I've had a number of people, perhaps virtually mentors—who have felt that they wanted to see women develop, and have taken a particular interest in me, having shown some talent they thought they'd try to give me some opportunities' (Female DCC 1995).

It is noticeable that the women recognise that in a male environment they are dependent upon men to provide them with chances for career advancement. As another stated;

'...there were people every now and then who stepped in and took an interest in helping a bit...and some of these men are chief constables now...they were more enlightened senior officers so they were quite pro-women' (Female ACC 1995).

However, a chance encounter seemed to be the factor which they identified as being most significant, as the following statement illustrates;

'After that, really, it was down to me and the Force as to what happened next and opportunities were either provided arose or I went for' (Female DCC 1995).

In other words, it was 'lucky' that they were women as one of them said;

'Yes, well, what helped me to get on in the first instance was the fact that I was a woman. When I joined the police service, the policewomen had a separate department, so the pool I was competing with was smaller ...if you have some ability and are hardworking, then there is a chance you could stand out as a woman because you're in a minority' (Female DCC 1995).

BEING 'NICE' COPS

Due to the existence of such an entrenched an anti-women culture, the feminisation of the police could present a problem for some male officers in terms of promotion, high status specialisms and police management. In general, power is not usually relinquished without a struggle and if 'control is a central characteristic of men and dominant masculine identities' as Collinson & Hearn suggest (1996:14), it follows that male police managers might create barriers for women colleagues. In addition, 'macho cop' cultural perceptions of the policing task have perpetuated the role of the police as the official guardians of social and public order and there were many opportunities for men to *do* masculinity(ies) in the course of *doing* work (Martin 1996:189 original emphasis). On the other hand it has been suggested recently that women have been regarded as the 'solution to the crises in modern policing', although the care or control, and 'service' replacing 'force' debate has not taken account of gendered policing (Heidensohn 1992:103). Rather, the discussion has been about what the police do, rather than how it should be done, with debates concentrating upon the more general issue of police accountability. In his description of a move towards a synthesis of the caring and controlling elements of the police role, Reiner, for example, discusses the way the police have to provide the service of protecting the public by the appropriate use of legitimate force (Reiner 1994:).

As the organisational rhetoric of 'force' is gradually converted to a more realistic 'service' ethos, change is inextricably linked to the role of women in the police, through the influence of their 'feminisation'. An example of this is the new approach to the 'old' problem of violence within families. Women officers are often specialists in the field of domestic disputes and they have been involved in the development of radical practices within family protection units. Studies conducted throughout the 1980s illustrated the shortcomings of the old 'macho cop' approach and organisational misogyny was shown to be prejudicial both inside and outside the police station. Indeed, as police discretion and women's access to justice appeared to be affected by gendered assumptions, one of the main crises of policing appeared to be the men employed to solve the problem (Heidensohn 1985, Dunhill 1989, Dobash & Dobash 1992). Feminists and criminal justice activists campaigned throughout this period to reveal how institutionalised masculinities had permitted, and even encouraged, police officers to treat women victims inappropriately. Male

officers were demonstrated to be unsympathetic towards rape victims in numerous studies (Stanko 1985, Graef 1989, Edwards 1989) and men hitting their partners was shown to be condoned by some officers attending the incident. More recently however, research suggests that force policies and training programmes are beginning to change police officers' attitudes towards these crimes (see for example Bourlet 1990, Sheptycki 1993, Edwards 1994, Wright 1995). At the same time, awareness of child sexual abuse has been raised and practices which are more caring, supportive and sympathetic have been introduced which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Evidence will also be provided later of women officers' involvement in the treatment of victims of rape and domestic violence, and whilst this role is crucial, their feminising influence extends beyond these specialisms. It is symptomatic of a process which suggests that successful women in the modern police service are realising that gender can work in their favour in many areas of their work. Rather than adopting a surrogate male role style, the women officers interviewed for this chapter, seemed to believe in maintaining an occupational identity which is partly dependent upon 'acting like a woman' (Spradley & Mann 1975:6). Some American studies which have examined gendered work roles, including policing, explore whether the reasons men and women join the police differ, and why, subsequently, women are excluded from 'Dirty Harry' policework (Meager & Yentes 1986). Self-reported reasons for women joining the police were predominantly of the 'help and serve the community' type, whilst men stated the 'excitement of the job' to be the main reason for joining (Meager & Yentes 1986:326). Another study examined the way women differ from men and each other in their approach to patrol work, and classified their occupational styles along a continuum from neutral, to semi-masculine, feminine and mixed (Wexler 1985:752). In a third American study it was argued that everyday occupational interactions create a series of role dilemmas for women officers which they resolve by restricting themselves in tasks involving the service and nurturance of others. Role conflicts are solved for women in this way, because once again they are subordinate to men, either as colleagues, or as 'consumers' of police service (Martin 1980:17).

As some of the earlier quotes about male mentors illustrate however, the senior woman seemed to suggest that their gender was far from a negative aspect, but could be viewed as an aid to promotion. To be noticed

as someone with potential, but also an added element of 'difference' seemed to mark them out to be 'developed' by unofficial male mentors. One of the women said several men had 'gone out of their way' to do this; all her senior officers had been men, as she had 'never worked with a woman', and they had helped to 'progress' her because they 'thought I was a nice person' (Female ACC 1995). It is quite surprising that several of the women cited personal likeability as one of the things which they felt had aided their progress up the police hierarchy. One of them added that a result of this personal attribute, people were keen to 'do their best for me', which led to her being assessed as a good leader. Another woman insisted that she was not trying to present a 'masculine' image, and pointed out that she thought it was important to 'be yourself' in an open and approachable way. She stated;

'I don't think I've pretended to be anything else; I haven't thought I should be like this or like that. I've just been how I feel and I'm wearing this today (police uniform with trousers) because I went out on patrol today. I always wear trousers if I'm doing anything...but at other times I wear a skirt, because I don't want people to think I'm pretending to be operational when actually I'm not' (Female ACC 1995).

In his study of managers Roper also cites evidence of women he interviewed emphasising how important 'being nice' was in terms of promotion. Women managers also said that stressing 'their femininity had sometimes proven to be a useful tactic for getting what they wanted from men' (Roper 1994:196). In the business sector, for example he quotes a woman who claimed to use her 'charm' to speed up the delivery of orders they needed urgently (ibid). In an organisation concerned with policing society, 'being nice' could be synonymous with 'caring', as the opposite of the traditional male activity of 'control'. Some of the women officers talked about seeing their role as a supervisor to make their workers feel 'valued', using interpersonal skills, or being 'ethical' but not necessarily more sympathetic than male colleagues. As one woman pointed out, comparisons based solely on gender are difficult;

'...others have said I'm very caring, but then I've met men who are...my Chief would say, I think, that I look at values and ethics more, but then he himself is interested in ethics, so I can't put that down to being a woman' (Female DCC 1995).

Another officer said she thought that if her colleagues were asked whether she was different to the men;

'I don't suppose they'd really say, if they had the opportunity, they might say I was caring because I was a woman. It's not that at all—that's the way I am, and I've always been' (Female DCC 1995).

It seems that women do not see themselves as becoming surrogate males or adopting 'masculinities', in order to be successful in the police. Women have colonised their own areas of expertise, rather than been forced into 'ghettos', and problems of role conflict are left for men who fear a challenge to their masculinity through the rise of 'new women'. To support this argument it could be suggested that policing has not changed significantly to accommodate women, but like the executives in Wright Mills' study, women officers create their own 'luck' by becoming gender specialists. In this way they make themselves vital to the implementation of the new objectives of the organisation, and then proceed to change it from within.

Senior women managers interviewed here claimed that they had made differences to the executive team, but to what extent their gender was responsible was impossible for them to quantify. Several officers referred to a more consultative style, which differed from the former postholder, all of whom were invariably male. In general their approach seemed to be based upon a method which did not pretend to know all the answers but was willing to listen, learn and then make informed decisions. As the women mentioned earlier who found herself in charge of a murder squad said, it was a matter of asking for help, but not playing the 'poor little woman'.

Day to day policework does seem to be gradually changing from force to service, from cop culture to empowering consumers. One senior women manager illustrated this by explaining that the days when senior male officers acted as if they were ready for 'operational duties were gone. She explained;

'I always remember having a superintendent who always kept his hat and gloves on the side there, as if he was about to 'go out', but he never went anywhere, and I used to think; "Why doesn't he put his hat and gloves in the cupboard like everyone else?" It was his way of showing he was a *real* police officer' (Female ACC 1995).

Female police executives are obviously realising that their vital contribution to the police and society is the continuing feminisation of the organisation,

which in turn will have an important effect upon public accountability. Male and female officers of all ranks know that calls by women victims of crimes which have traditionally been regarded as 'rubbish', including violence in the home, allegations of rape by intimates and 'family disputes', have to be seen to be managed professionally. Force policies and training have alerted officers to the consequences for the victims and themselves if they fail to take necessary and appropriate action to protect anyone requiring assistance. Supervisors and work colleagues are now less likely to support and collude with other officers' 'problem' masculinities as an increasing number of them are women and canteen culture may be becoming feminised. As Heidensohn has argued, 'female cop culture' seems a curious concept (Heidensohn 1992:152) because alternative subcultures or networks have not existed due to the way women tend to be isolated on shifts or in departments. With the exception of child and family protection units it seems that women have to enter the male canteen or remain cultural outsiders. Some of the women Heidensohn interviewed suggested that they would be branded 'a bunch of libbers' if they were seen to be overtly supportive of each other (Heidensohn 1992:153). On the other hand, as she acknowledges, the policing task is becoming 'softer' in terms of force with "'masculine" traits no longer particularly functional for much modern police work' (Heidensohn 1992: 221).

In conclusion therefore, perceptions of the existence of barriers preventing the promotion of women officers may have to be revised. As more women transfer into operational areas which are considered 'dangerous' or high status, such as the CID, attitudes towards their role must alter. In the past, as new policing priorities have emerged, it was alleged that female officers were systematically excluded from specialising within 'crime'. As organisation theorists such as Mills (1992) have suggested, equality of opportunity can only begin when an occupational minority, such as women in the police, represent at least 25 per cent of the overall workforce. However, as several authors have argued, it is likely to be many years, at current recruitment levels, before this occurs in the police (Jones 1986, Walklate 1995, Heidensohn 1992).

Nevertheless, even as this rather bleak picture emerges, it is possible to consolidate the argument that *some* women are achieving career success in the police. Evidence suggests that they realise that the police machine is being feminised and are taking part in it, rather than becoming a surrogate males. In addition, police literature, reports and policies now refer to the 'Service' and

claim to be concerned with 'developing diversity' (HMI 1995), and whilst little reference to the role of women in this process is made, some evidence of their progress has been analysed in this chapter.

Indeed, throughout this discussion it is argued that women are succeeding in an environment ruled by male values and standards without adopting the problems associated with the organisational masculinities of the past. It remains to be seen whether they have made a significant contribution to the development of the police, in terms of their influence upon the ethos, policies and practices of the cultural environment. In turn, these changes will continue to have an increasing effect upon the development of access to justice for women, their status in the workplace and their position in society in general.

Introduction.

As demonstrated in the first two chapters of this thesis, studies which have analysed the position of women in the police have often portrayed them as being occupationally segregated and marginalised. Existing literature, such as Brown et al (1993), Jones (1986) and Young (1991) which were discussed in Chapter 1, suggest that female officers are restricted to low status departments concerned with women and children. Due to certain traditional structures the organisation appears to be denying female officers the experience necessary to achieve promotion. In addition, the existence of certain expectations due to the importance of the gendered body in the police perpetuates the debate surrounding differential deployment. Similarly, in Chapter 2, the senior women officers who were interviewed spoke about the strategies they had needed to employ to counteract the negative effects of police culture throughout their own careers. It seemed that despite the non-operational aspect of their work as managers, certain 'masculine' ideals had to be respected to gain the acceptance of their senior colleagues.

In this way, gendered power relations and the maintenance of a 'cult of masculinity' (Smith & Gray 1983:91) have been apparent at the highest levels of the organisation and in this chapter, the more general, operational duties will be the focus of analysis. As explained previously, this has been explored in the past through 'insider' accounts such as those by Holdaway (1983), Young (1991) and Halford (1993). These have been supported by 'outsider' studies conducted by Brown et al (1993), Heidensohn (1992) and Jones (1986), who have all concluded that female officers are subjected to 'differential deployment practices', resulting in women being limited in the type of work experience they can achieve. In turn, according to Brown et al, this affects their job satisfaction and may inhibit their promotion prospects (1993:11). Even 'official' insiders such as the HMIC concurred with these findings recently; equality of opportunity was evaluated throughout thirteen forces in England and Wales and it was found that although there was evidence of some progress, 'scepticism, tokenism and indifference' were still evident. Entrenched attitudes,

and a rising incidence of oppressive bullying were also reported to the Inspectorate (HMIC 1995:9). Several authors have reported the existence of what Heidensohn describes as the strongly cohesive masculine ethos of policing (1991:108) and this is confirmed by research which has viewed gender, not as the main component of police culture, but as part of the general picture (see for example, Hobbs 1988, Young 1991, Fielding 1988, Stanko 1994).

In this third chapter therefore, an evaluation of the evidence collected during fieldwork observations will be used to compare structural elements such as policies, statistics and the literature on promotion and deployment, with what actually happening on the ground, and second; to analyse the fieldwork data to see whether it supports the commonly held belief that as the organisational majority is male, policing is dominated by masculine ideologies, creating an oppressive 'macho cop' culture. In essence therefore, this chapter will be concerned with two main issues;

- a comparison of policies and statistics with what happens on the ground- is there evidence to support the notion that organisational structures are gender specific?

- an evaluation of the evidence supporting the existence of a 'macho cop' culture and an analysis of the effects of subtle nuances of police behaviour upon 'gendered' policing.

In the course of this discussion evidence will be drawn from observations of operational patrol officers and those engaged in specialist departments such as Child Protection and the CID. It will begin by addressing three questions which are often raised in the literature on gender and the police; namely, differential deployment, physical strength and tokenism, moving from the more general type of policework to the specialised. In the first part of this section on structure, the validity of assumptions about the 'proper place' for women in the police, will be examined by analysing their traditionally accepted role as gendered experts on women, children and sexual matters. As the second part of the section is about physical strength, the reason this issue seems to have claimed such an important position in the literature will be evaluated, using field observations. In the final part of this section, assumptions about the way masculine structures have been said to gender certain types of work will be compared with what

seems to happen 'on the ground', raising the question of the illusion of equality and organisational image.

STRUCTURAL MATTERS.

In the following discussion it is intended to focus upon certain aspects of organisational structure in order to form a basis for the the second half of the chapter where gender and police culture will be addressed. Structure will be differentiated from culture as the former is more concerned with how the organisation operates regulations or controls, which attempt to direct how working arrangements are enacted. Aspects of these rules are then adopted by other members of the organisation, converting them into policies, practices and 'ways of working', subject of course, to the influence of occupational culture—examples of this in the police would include promotion procedures, the rank system and equal opportunities policies. Organisational structures, therefore, create a framework for the way people behave, although this is often subverted by individual actors. On the other hand, so called 'canteen' culture, refers to the 'values, norms, perspectives and craft rules' (Reiner 1985:86) which are said to be perpetuated in the police due the the specificity of their function. It is also possible to view structures in a more abstract way; for example, Young talks about women in the police as being 'structurally marginalised' (1991:191), using the term to describe the way male hierarchies in the police create oppositional categories, with women situated quite firmly outside the male cultural domain. Indeed, throughout his discussion of gender, Young attributes great importance to 'prestige structures'; he uses them to support field observations that men are hostile to women in the police and that women can never compete equally or achieve full parity in the organisation.

In this first part of Chapter 3, therefore, the discussion will start by looking at the more tangible elements of police structure, such as working practices, policies, the way departments are organised, promotion arrangements and training. These are examined first, in order to look at the way the ideological element of organisational structure seems not only to perpetuate and but also supply justification for practice. However, as the structural and cultural aspects of these practices and policies are so closely linked, constantly informing and reproducing each other, some of the evidence will seem applicable to both aspects of this analysis. Indeed, as has Mills argued, structured sets of rules about behaviour inform organisational culture and the way they are arranged

creates an identity which is specific to a particular group of employees (Mills 1989:29-30). It will be argued towards the end of this chapter therefore, that although they are addressed separately, cultural and structural effects cannot be satisfactorily differentiated in many cases. This is because in the past it has been suggested that organisational structures, which are supposedly informed and controlled by masculinist cultural ideals, continue to sustain certain barriers in the police, affecting the progress of women officers. Even the most recent studies have asserted that they are subjected to differential treatment, despite equal opportunities legislation (Brown et al 1993, Heidenschm 1994, Home Office 1995). Existing evidence therefore, seems to make it difficult to deny that a range of problems and difficulties may exist for women in the police.

Indeed, organisational structures have been alleged to encourage a supposed system of differential deployment, and partly contribute to their position as an occupational minority. A supposed set of 'unwritten selection criteria' (Jones 1986:129) have been in operation, which has limited the number of serving women officers to a level which is acceptable to the male hierarchy and believed to be operationally viable. As a percentage of the current police workforce, women represent less than 14% of the total number of officers in England and Wales and although there were almost 12,000 female officers serving throughout the provincial forces in 1994, they appear to have failed to gain access to high profile police work such as public order incidents and the detection of serious crime.

Until quite recently occupational segregation was perfectly legitimate, with female officers having a separate rank structure within their own departments, prior to the equality legislation of the 1970s (1). It is alleged however, that these practices are still being imposed upon women in the police and they persist due to the 'ghettoisation' of departments dealing with domestic violence and child and family protection (Walklate 1995:119).

As these traditionally gendered areas of policing suggest, women are confirmed as a structurally marginalised group of workers, segregated from

1. Before integration, opinion polls were carried out and in one of the police forces where I conducted my fieldwork, employing approximately 1,200 officers, I was told only one person voted in favour of the changes. Throughout the 1980s, the Police Federation campaigned nationally for the reversal of the inclusion of the police in the clauses of the Act.

'real' policework. Due to their prominence in certain specialist departments, it has been argued that women have been returned to their 'rightful' place—away from 'danger' on the streets fighting crime, back to the 'safe' environment of familial violence and sexual abuse. It has been alleged that this is a backward step as it represents a reconstruction of the former policewomen's departments, and the old debate concerning the public/private nature of women's skills has resurfaced. Indeed, in her discussion of gender and crime, Walklate has suggested that a series of complex organisational mechanisms allow police forces to maintain that they are an equal opportunities employer whilst specialist posts in areas such as domestic violence are usually occupied by women. She goes on to argue that processes which are controlled by 'cop culturist' definitions of what counts as "proper policing", (1995:118) keep women in symbolic locations which are supposed to require sympathetic, supportive listening and communication skills.

Given the uniformity of this literature written by feminists such as Jones(1986), Walklate(1995) and Heidensohn(1992), which repeatedly informs us of the depressingly misogynist treatment of women in the police, and the regularity of press reports of cases of sexual harassment in the police, some of the remarks made by the senior women in Chapter 2 seem rather incongruous. As they recounted the way they had achieved promotion, being encouraged to gain experience and 'be developed' *because they were women*, it is difficult to reconcile assumptions about the treatment of women in the police by their colleagues and managers. It might be expected that they would have described the various battles they had fought to gain acceptance, but instead they generally gave accounts of the advantages they had enjoyed due to their gender.

In the literature on gender and the police there are brief references to women using their femininity to gain certain advantages, (see for example Jones 1986:146), although this is discussed in the context of male officers' opinions of women working in the police, using examples given by men. It was thought that it may be feasible to investigate whether women officers regard their gender and sexuality an advantage at other levels in the organisation in various areas of policework. Even so, it came as a surprise to find that, contrary to common sense assumptions, in the two forces investigated for this thesis, the police managers and personnel officers appeared to be acting in ways which were contrary to the statistics on women's promotion and specialisms would suggest.

Examples of their efforts to improve the situation will be elaborated upon in later this chapter, but they include nationally researched thematic reports, career development for women, equal opportunities monitoring, Inspectorate directives, and positive action campaigns aimed at facilitating movement to departments not normally recruiting women. Special considerations women officers receive when they are pregnant, and part-time returners being guaranteed flexibility to accommodate their change of circumstances, were policies I saw enacted, which will also be discussed later in this section.

Another issue linked to structure, which contradicts the traditional view of oppressive practices in the police, are the most recent national statistics which show that women are achieving significantly higher rates of success in recruitment and promotion than men. Home Office figures show that although the overwhelming majority of applicants are men, women are much more likely to be appointed (2). In the past, although the number of women joining the organisation was increasing significantly, from 4.2% in 1971, to 8.6% in 1981 and 13.2% in 1993 (HMIC 1995), women's promotion, particularly to the more senior ranks, did not keep pace in relative terms.

It has also been reported that even prior to the integration of women's departments into the main police organisation, proportionately less women were being promoted to supervisory positions. As increasing numbers of women constables were recruited during the second half of the 1970s and early 1980s, promotions for women continued to wane; for example, there were fewer women inspectors in 1982 (129) than ten years earlier in 1971 (134) according to Jones (1986:101). As the most recent Home Office figures show however, there has been an overall increase in the number of women in all promoted ranks since 1990, and the percentage of women sergeants currently serving in forces in England and Wales (excluding the Metropolitan Police) has almost *doubled*, rising from 3.7% to 6.9% in the last four years (HMIC 1995). Perhaps most significantly, in the highest ranks, the promotion of women officers has been gaining speed, as the recent appointment of the first female chief constables illustrate; and, in addition, there are women occupying ranks of assistant, or deputy chief constable in various police forces across England and Wales.

2. In 1994, 77.6% of applicants were male and 22.4% were female; from this group, however, only 7.86% of the men were appointed, compared with 11.7% of the women. (Figures from HMIC, 1995).

At lower levels in the occupational structure, statistics reported by HMIC in 1995 provide evidence which shows that once women begin to compete for supervisory posts they are now achieving promotion more quickly than men. For example, if the 637 women who were serving as first line supervisors in provincial forces in 1994, progress through the rank structure at the same pace as their promotion to sergeant, gender ratios in the police hierarchy will soon be radically transformed. There is some evidence that this is happening already, with a 24% increase in the number of women inspectors over the past four years, rising from 153 in 1990, to 200 in 1994 (HMIC 1995). Some of the early findings of this study support the reported HMIC statistical trend; during 1994, in one of the provincial forces studied, two female officers were promoted to sergeant, from a pool of approximately 150 women. At the same time, three men were promoted, from an establishment of about 1,200 male officers. As only these two women were qualified to apply, having passed the requisite exam, this represents a 100% success rate. On the other hand, the three men who became sergeants at the same time were drawn from a pool of 124 who were similarly qualified. All the women officers serving in the force had been promoted to sergeant earlier in their careers and at a younger age than those from their male cohort (see Westmarland 1995).

In the past however, it has been suggested that women have not achieved promotion because they were prevented from gaining experience in certain key departments which are considered to be essential for success. It has also been argued that policing is a gendered activity which tends to discriminate against women, despite the Home Office assertion that women officers are deployed on the full range of police duties and 'further, specialised training' is related to the duties on which the officer may be employed. In addition, official Home Office policy states that within individual police forces, women may receive specialist training in subjects such as domestic violence, child abuse and sexual assault. (HMSO 1991:65)

In reality of course, this utopian view of sexual equality may not be supported by evidence, and within the literature on differential deployment of women police officers, there are three main questions which are usually posed in response to the published policy. First, why does there seem to be an assumption that dealing with sexual matters or those concerning children is 'women's work'; second, whether perceptions surrounding weight and body strength defines the type of work in which women are deployed, and third;

whether women are being permitted to enter certain areas of policing on a quota basis, in order to present the illusion of equality. Regarding operational deployment, however, it must be kept in mind that in general patrol work, statistics show that women officers are still relatively uncommon. Of the three groups I accompanied regularly during my fieldwork, a large shift of twenty-five people had three women officers, another had two and a third, smaller team, had only one. This means that with the exception of the first, where two of the three women were partners, female officers were usually working with men. It is difficult to confirm or deny therefore, that they were being sent to particular jobs due to their gender. On the occasions I accompanied the two female officers who worked together, I could not differentiate the types of jobs they were allocated from the 'normal' tasks I had seen the men doing. In Chapter 4 of this thesis I will expand upon this issue of deployment on patrol.

As police personnel resources appear to become scarcer in the face of demands for attention by the public therefore (3), the assertion that women may be 'differentially deployed' (Brown 1993:11) becomes harder to support. Furthermore, as the 'Dock Green' image of police patrol work is replaced by the reality of officers being sent to their various calls by relatively anonymous central communications operators, the view that certain officers may be being discriminated against, or directed to certain types of work, diminishes. In general, officers work in pairs in the evenings and organise themselves and the vehicles they will use independently of the shift supervisor. In my experience, very little reference is made to which type of jobs will be attended to by men or women, and the control room simply allocate on the basis of who is free, in the area, and replies to the call. On this basis, at a very simple level, it would seem that policing could not be classed as a 'notably gendered activity', as Heidensohn suggests (1991:83).

However, as Shapland and Hobbs (1987) and Young (1991), amongst others, have shown, due to the variety of work carried out by the police, certain aspects of it are very clearly differentiated by status and there are occasions where supervisors will choose to direct certain officers to deal with a particular incident. Another factor controlling deployment, particularly on weekend

3. In the 1996 Audit Commission report 'Streetwise', it was shown that only 5% of the police officers from an average sized force of 2,500 would be 'actually out on patrol at any given time. In other words, 125 officers to serve a local population of around one million' (Audit Commission, 1996:10).

evenings, is the allocation of officers to a 'Task Force' (4) van which involves spending the evening on a crewbus, commonly referred to as the 'carrier', or a windowless box-type 'panel van'. Such vehicles usually have a 'cage' in the back— a wire mesh enclosed and lockable compartment into which several 'prisoners' can be placed on the way to the cells at the police station, keeping them separate from the police officers occupying the front seats. Officers identified as task force personnel to the control room are more likely to be sent to areas or incidents where people are commonly arrested for disturbances in public places, or to calls for assistance from panda crews, for two reasons; first, they have the capacity to transport a greater number of people, and those more likely to be violent can be placed in the cage, and second; the task force will not normally be allocated to answer routine calls from the public from the list the control room has waiting—these will be attended to by patrol officers in panda cars.

As mentioned in the introduction, the aim of this first part of Chapter 3 is to look at the evidence which supports the notion that there are structures within the police which perpetuate certain gendered practices regarding deployment. It has been suggested in the literature that these structures which are said to control women officers come from two sources. First, the 'management', —a traditional, patriarchal, quasi—military group of men, hostile to women, which strives to perpetuate clearly drawn lines dividing masculine and feminine, and second; men who are encountered on a daily basis by policewomen during their working lives, either as colleagues or 'customers'. Male colleagues being resentful of encroachment into their exclusive power domain has been examined elsewhere, but with the exception of Dunhill (1989), Heidensohn (1992) and Stanko (1994) very few studies have looked at power differentials between women officers and 'service users'. Studies of this latter type have tended to focus on physical strength and organisational constraints, or the lack of them, but have not analysed the situation ethnographically from the viewpoint of the officers themselves. I will therefore begin by examining the three areas with which female officers are traditionally associated—dealing with women, especially those who have been the victims of 'domestic' violence, offences involving children, and finally, sex crimes.

4. 'Task Force' refers to a group of officers, working together just for that evening. As the crew join the crewbus, one of the officers will contact the control room via their personal radio, informing one of the control room of the numbers and names of those in the vehicle. This also provides an opportunity for the courteous 'Good Evening' which is customary between officers and control room staff at the beginning of the shift.

DIFFERENTIAL DEPLOYMENT

1. Dealing with women.

In this section I will review the arguments which have led to the belief that women are constrained in their careers due to male structural controls and in particular, that they are directed to become gendered specialists in the field of 'domestic' assault. One of the reasons this is said to have occurred is as a result of the publicity surrounding the unsympathetic treatment of women who were the victims of violent or sexual assault in the home, which became a call for change, and 'dedicated' units were created in almost all police force areas. It became fashionable to be the followers of 'best practice' in this area in terms of deterrence and prevention, and various initiatives were featured in several issues of the Home Office Research Group publication 'Focus'(5), and police magazines and journals also contained regular articles. Many of the studies which were discussed in these publications were instigated by Home Office circular 60/1990, which directed forces to improve their responses to domestic violence. At the same time, in the academic literature, feminists were writing about the inappropriate treatment of female victims by the police and women's groups and organisations were campaigning for change; in particular, there was a call for female victims to be dealt with by women officers, whom, it was suggested, would be more empathetic.

As a result of negative publicity regarding police methods and the discomfort expressed by male police officers when dealing with sexual and domestic matters, women were recruited into domestic violence units, sometimes euphemistically entitled 'Child and Family Protection'. Towards the second half of the 1980s police forces across the country competed to be seen as leaders in novel methods of responding to domestic violence; in one of the forces where I carried out my fieldwork, a female superintendent was crowned 'Policewoman of the Year' due to her innovations in this field. However, as the political agenda changed throughout the early 1990s, fighting crime with 'proactive' street level policing became more important and in most forces there was a trend towards non-uniform, invisible 'service' and headquarters posts being swept away, in order to fulfil the call for more 'bobbies on the beat' and more importantly, into

(5) For example, the 'RAPID' Project in June 1994, and Home Office Research Study 133, featured in the September 1995 edition.

the crime squads. Consequently, some of the domestic violence units were abolished, and new methods had to be found to deal with disputes in the private sphere of the family.

In force areas where the dedicated, specialised units were closing, which included one of the those studied for this thesis, police managers now had to devise an alternative to cope with the problem of high numbers of recurring domestic assaults. A solution needed to be found which would protect women, so that forces could not be accused of inactivity, yet had a minimum cost in terms of police or other agency resources. Some police forces turned to evidence from the famous Minneapolis experiment, where sample groups had been used to assess the effects of policing policies upon the incidence of domestic violence. Further evidence, from other studies, was also drawn upon to formulate policy; for example, some research suggested that by the time the average domestic dispute came to the attention of the police, the victim had suffered violence for an average of two years (Dobash & Dobash 1979, Pahl 1982) resulting in as many as 35 previous assaults (Horley 1988). In addition, inter-relationship murders were often shown to have had a long history of requests for assistance from the police, therefore arresting the perpetrators of domestic assaults became to be recognised as the most 'successful' long term strategy. Due to this research, and the Minneapolis experiment, which concluded that men who had been arrested following an an assault were much less likely to reoffend, more legal intervention was being advocated in this country. Following a number of replication studies in America and Canada a study of the 'victim protection-offender arrest' model was conducted by Edwards in collaboration with the Metropolitan Police, in 1985 (Edwards 1989), which was also to be influential in police policy making.

More significantly, when the domestic violence units were closed down, the responsibility was once more the domain of the ordinary, usually male, operational police officer. To avoid a repeat of the former mistakes of the 1980s, training seemed to be the only way to help them resolve the cases they encountered in a way which would prevent more damage to the police organisational image. At a seminar I attended in the course of my fieldwork, the first item of the day to be covered was 'domestics', and throughout a presentation by a police training officer, the assembled audience was instructed they should 'deal with the situation there and then'-in other words, take action, rather than reporting 'all quiet on departure' and leave the scene telling the control room to 'treat any further calls as urgent'. At this seminar, which was

the annual sector training day attended by officers of all ranks, they were told by the facilitator, who came with 'the policy message' from headquarters;

'...the main priority is the safety of the woman and kids, *get him out of there*, and attempt to keep that person in for court next day. Statistically they've found out the best deterrent was to arrest, and our Force Review states that if officers go to a domestic violence situation, they must be able to justify why they haven't arrested' (Male Training Officer).

Once again, reference is being made to the Minneapolis experiment here, and to reinforce the point, a training video was shown, in which an unconvincing, drunk 'husband', refused an equally unconvincing police officer permission to enter the family home. Afterwards, a discussion ensued concerning the course of action the police officer should have taken and the divisional Chief Inspector stood up and confirmed to the assembled audience that when the policeman in the video was told to 'mind his own business', '*...the door should have gone in*'. Policy has been devised, he said, to show victims are being intimidated and the police were too readily accepting of assurances of non-repetition of violence in the past; an arrest should take place...and in cases such as that shown in the video, arrests should be made more frequently than in the past. He concluded with a repetition, '*There should be more arrests*' (Male Chief Inspector 1995).

This was reinforced by the training officer;

'Where there is evidence in a job like this- you *will* arrest-your discretion is limited. We've all been called to certain officers' homes, and we're the thin blue line...but 30% of all murders outside London are domestic' (Male Training Officer 1995).

Political Deployment

Domestic violence is illustrative of male organisational structures attempting to cope with competing political and societal demands. In the beginning, domestic violence units were originally created to provide specialist, sympathetic help for women, by women, because the integration of the former policewomen's departments had left a skills vacuum (see Dunhill 1989). Now, a combination of the political demands of the 1990s for 'law and order' and increasingly stringent economic constraints meant that the incoming chief constable of one of the forces I researched had new 'core' priorities such as car

crime, burglary and drugs- three areas which opinion polls suggest the public regard as being most important. League tables reporting detection rates and convictions for these high profile crimes have media muscle and provide useful statistics. On the other hand, domestic violence is no longer politically 'sexy', and does not sustain quantifiable results in terms of arrest rates, convictions and detection.

On the first morning in his new post, therefore, the new chief constable of one of the forces I researched, is said to have walked into a training session at police headquarters. When he asked what the subject was and who the students were, he was told it was a seminar for the people training the domestic violence unit staff. He is reported to have replied words to the effect of 'Not for very much longer', and as a result, it is alleged, he closed down this particular section within days. Other specialisms were also cut- officers from the mounted branch told me they 'lost two men overnight' the week he arrived. What is interesting about this, regarding male structures, is that once domestic violence was removed from the specialist units, it gained a 'harder' response profile. Police officers attending as generalists now were being told their discretion is taken away, they had to justify *not* arresting the perpetrators. Just as the domestic violence units were often regarded as 'softly softly' social service 'care' agencies by the mainstream patrol officers, once the problem was returned to the traditionally masculine domain of operational policing, policy demanded that there should be more legal interventions.

Now that domestic violence was once again placed in the operational domain of general policing it might be argued that it is still regarded as being peripheral to 'real' policing. It has been well publicised that the police find calls to domestic disputes frustrating due to their often inconclusive outcome, referring to them as 'rubbish' jobs. It could be suggested therefore that these calls which are regarded as low status would be assigned to women officers or as the 'natural' specialists in such matters. Indeed, in her extensive study of policewomen in Britain and America, Heidensohn argues that the increasing numbers of female recruits and their larger role in work connected with rape and domestic violence, has meant that issues which rely upon a high level of public confidence in policing have become more important due to the efforts of policewomen (Heidensohn 1992:219). She goes on to report that the women she interviewed in both countries believed that high status work was linked to 'catching villains' with domestics still being a low policing priority, although in the USA, skills training was becoming less gender specific.

From my own fieldwork I find these findings of Heidenschn's credible, as I observed few police officers, either male or female, who made positive remarks when the control room sent them to domestic disturbances. When calls come through via the patrol car radios they will usually take priority over the list of jobs they have waiting for that particular crew. For example, the control room operator may say 'I have a report of a violent domestic at...' or possibly, 'Call from neighbours about a disturbance next door...' or, '...woman caller requesting assistance....boyfriend/husband smashing the house up', or a phone call from child at..(address)...parents fighting...'. In such cases, these jobs will be issued to the crew in the panda car, and the control room will automatically 'put a delay' on the various other requests from members of the public. Sometimes if there is an outstanding routine call such as a attempted burglary, the operator will inform the crew that they are clear to deal with the domestic as they will telephone the people who are awaiting their attention, to tell them it may be some time before they are visited.

Most of the calls to the ordinary, operational patrol officers are dealt with in this way; control room staff, who are usually female, non-police 'civies', with a sergeant or inspector to supervise them, use computer screens to keep a running 'log' of the jobs which have been completed, and those they have outstanding. As the Audit Commission suggests, 45% of all 'directed time' on patrol consists of activities initiated by the control room. Only 8% of their overall deployment is through the input by a supervisor such as a shift sergeant directing officers to attend a particular call (Audit Commission 1996:43). It could be argued of course, with regard to differential deployment, that the control room staff could view domestic situations as the type of work women should be directed to attend, although in the six months I spent observing the police, which included a subdivision dubbed 'domestic city', this was not the impression I gained. Domestic calls tend to receive high priority, and given the small number of women on shifts, and the demands of the workload, especially in the evenings, the amount of flexibility which would allow control room staff to differentiate on the basis of gender does not exist. In addition, although police officers seem to dislike calls to domestics, there are situations in which force and strength are seen as the main skills necessary and therefore would be regarded as 'non-feminine' in any case. Common examples of this include drunken husbands or partners refusing to leave the house, or trying to gain entry to premises by force. On one occasion during the fieldwork I saw a case where a woman's ex-boyfriend had strung up a live fox, and left it to strangle itself, by hanging it from a back door, causing extreme distress to the woman

occupant. In situations such as these, the male police officers in particular, seem to regard their role as hero-protector, and at one incident, where a husband was arrested following threats of violence he was told, whilst complaining about being taken to the police cells, 'Well, this'll teach you to go picking on women then, won't it?' (Male PC 1995). On another occasion, the control room issued instructions for the police officers I was with to go to a woman's house because her boyfriend 'won't leave the house'. In unison both male officers replied saying to each other, 'Oh, *won't* he?' (Fieldnotes, 1995).

In general therefore, I would suggest that dealing with female victims, in domestic disputes, is not regarded as the exclusive domain of women officers. On the other hand, this is not to say that women are deployed in certain ways in operational situations, especially regarding crimes involving sexual assault, but I will discuss this later. In addition to the structural/career and management element of alleged constraint, however, a protective 'care and control' attitude has been alleged to exist in the police towards women officers which affects their deployment. In physically dangerous situations, previous ethnographic accounts have suggested that the police male hierarchy attempts to censure the sexual morals and actions of the female minority (Holdaway 1983, Smith & Gray 1983, Young 1992). In his description of the way women are denigrated and categorised, for example Young recounts the various unflattering and sexually explicit nicknames policewomen are given. He goes to great lengths to show that highly insulting 'terms of endearment' are used by the men to keep their female colleagues 'marginalised' and at the same time they are controlling their sexuality (Young 1991:242)

Women officers I encountered in the course of the fieldwork seemed well aware of attempts to exert a controlling influence over their private and sexual lives. In general this appears to be more pronounced for women who are unmarried, divorced or separated, and those having marital 'difficulties'. Various forms of sexual 'availability' encourage the apparently accepted norm of women being coerced and controlled by male officers on the shift. In the past, studies such as Young's ethnography of police wives have described the legitimate control the police had over officers' partners. Within living memory the wives of male officers were not allowed to be employed outside the home, and in one case, an officer was disciplined for failing to 'control his woman' because she was working as a teacher (Young 1984:87). Although these regulations are now obsolete, women officers are still much more 'visible' and noticeable in terms of relationships and liaisons, because they are in a minority

of approximately ten to one, and often younger than the average age of the shift. In close working partnerships such as traffic, there have always been allegations of sexual 'misbehaviour' throughout the history of integration. One woman officer told me she always arranges a night out with her husband and her current working partner and his wife or girlfriend, to dispel suspicions, through 'everyone getting a look at each other'. Another fairly senior woman sergeant was explaining to me about sexual politics within her shift, saying that one of the new, young attractive probationers was being targeted as a 'conquest' by quite a few of the men on the division. It was obvious that this fairly naive new recruit was flattered by the attention, but as the older policewoman told me;

'She doesn't realise yet, but in this job word gets around, and wherever she goes after this, they'll hear about it. I want to say to her, watch out, you'll regret what you're doing here..'(Female Sergeant 1995).

Another example of women having to be careful about their 'private' moral lives was shown when I was driving through the city with a policewoman one night and we passed a thin youth of about 18. She started laughing and said;

'See him? I had a dream about him the other night. I dreamt I was going out with him and the bosses found out. Can you imagine it? What they would say?'(Female PC 1995)

She was laughing as she told me that she thought the dream had been the result of her remembering having arrested him a couple of weeks previously, and in response to her cautioning him about anything he said being written down and used against him, he had said; 'Fancy a shag?'. A similar story of a fear of being associated with the 'underworld' was told to me by another policewoman. She said she had recently been in a restaurant with a female friend and they had found themselves on a table near to some members of the local 'Gang' (6), and a couple of 'the lads' had come over to their table saying to her, 'Here-don't I know you from somewhere?' Her friend, a nurse, being

6. Local, small time, self styled 'Gang', supposedly involved in drug dealing and car theft, opposed by the 'Anti-Gang' from a nearby town.

unaware of their identity had said, 'Well-I work at the General'. Both women were therefore assumed to be nurses, and 'the gang' stayed at their table for a chat, one of them remarking, 'Oh- that's where I know you from, you've probably stitched my wounds at some time or other'. As the policewoman told her friend that she wanted to leave the restaurant as quickly as possible after this, they asked for the bill and were told it had been paid. She had found it difficult to insist to the restaurant owner, worried about upsetting 'the Gang', that she should pay for her meal. She told me that she would have found it difficult to justify to her superiors for allowing them to do so, but at the same time she did not want them to become suspicious. Another policewoman I met was confined to desk duties inside the station because her boyfriend, a local solicitor, had been arrested for fraudulently conducting mortgage agreements, involving a wide ranging and complicated investigation connected to the Gang.

Care and Control Culture

Morally paternal controls by the managerial hierarchy often seem to be presented as care and concern for the policewomen by their supervisors. It is apparent that women may find themselves in more potentially compromising situations, given that men expect to pay in social situations and are involved in crime much more than women. In the next section various controls, including sexuality, strength and certain aspects of clothes, hair and make up will be examined as illustrations. However, to finish this section on organisational structures, I will discuss some evidence which suggests that women themselves may be choosing certain areas of policework in which to specialise. In other words, to evaluate the earlier assertion that female officers are being denied access to certain posts and directed into others through male police structures.

I was told by one of the policewomen who helped to set up the Domestic Violence Unit in one of the forces I studied, that she had been invited, as a female officer with over twenty years' experience, to be in charge of the new set-up in her area. Having just failed her pre-advanced driving course, she explained that she had not moved on to the main part of the training, the advanced driving part;

'I didn't get the advanced part of the course because I didn't get on with my instructor, and I was sent home after a week' (Female Sergeant 1995).

Despite this disappointment she told me she had enjoyed her time in the DVU, although the system she had been responsible for devising had been criticised by a researcher from a local university who wrote a report saying; 'Basically our methods were crap'. She also told me, with obvious satisfaction, that she once had to 'peg a violent husband who refused to be locked up for hitting his *own wife* in his *own home*' (Fieldnotes 1995).

In this case the policewoman failed to complete her driving course, possibly, she inferred, due to male expectations and a personality clash, but was asked to run the DVU, is a classic example of keeping women in their traditional place. In the literature this would be described as a typical case of men protecting their own traditional working arenas—fast cars, exciting chases, out on the streets, impersonal yet measurable. In effect, this would serve to persuade women that their arena or 'expertise' should be caring, personal, dealing with problems which will have at the very least, a protracted and possibly unsatisfactory conclusion. In a care or control, personal versus private debate, this case would fit neatly into Reiner's definition of cop culture surviving due to an 'elective affinity' with the 'rank and file condition' (1985:87) of policing. However, I would like to present some evidence which contradicts this picture, by discussing some career moves made by women I met in the field.

As I have shown in various ways throughout my discussion, policing is not an occupation famed for being woman friendly. Indeed there are many examples from my own fieldwork which support this view. However, having examined some of the ways management structures work to control and constrain on the basis of gender, I would now like to examine some evidence which suggests that the situation is more ambiguous than suggested in the past. In some areas of policework, I will argue, women officers are able to choose, have much more autonomy, and use their femininity to achieve control of their careers. Indeed, as some research has shown, women can adopt a wide variety of working methods which may help them to adapt or resist existing police structures which act as control mechanisms. An American study, for example, categorised women working on patrol as being either feminine, semi-masculine, masculine or neutral in order to blend into the system (Wexler 1985). Indeed, even Young acknowledges that his stereotypical 'burglar's dog' may not fully explain the situation when he briefly mentions a newly emergent group of women in the

police. He describes them as '...competent "new policewomen"', explaining that they are educated, feminine, attractive and professional (Young 1991:240-1). However, Young still asserts that these women pose structural difficulties for the male police hierarchy and he suggests that the challenge they present to the male majority is strongly defended.

As I pointed out in the introduction, it came as quite a surprise to talk to women officers who told me that they were not only free to choose specialisms and work in traditional areas of male dominance, but that they were being positively encouraged. One of them told me;

'...I was working in the custody suite as a sergeant one day and I was called up to headquarters. It came as quite a shock, I was *told*, "You'll be working with the Chief Constable, as his staff officer, and you'll be promoted to inspector" (Female Inspector 1995).

Another woman, in her early thirties recounted a similar story;

'One day I was working away in my department as a DS, quite happy, you know- and the next I was off to London as a special assistant on a special job-top fraud stuff- with automatic promotion' (Female Inspector 1995).

Although this may seem to suggest that male structures are still controlling these women, especially as they both point out that they had very little choice, it is an example of women being promoted, taken into previously male, specialist areas. Another woman who had been working in the CID told me;

'...I needed a move for personal reasons so I went to see the Superintendent and it was agreed that I could have an attachment to the TSG(7)-I went for a fitness test and got on' (Female PC 1995).

In the course of my fieldwork I met three patrol officers working part time, and several others with young children whose personal circumstances had been taken into account when their duties were arranged. One of the part-timers told me;

7. Territorial Support Group.

'Well, when I came back after my second baby, we sat down and worked out a shift system which would benefit them and me. So, because my husband's in the CID, I can come in on Saturdays, he looks after the kids, and they find it quite useful to have a woman around to deal with searching the young lasses—there's lots of shoplifters' (Female PC 1995).

In general, a similar view of the situation was offered by the officers responsible for the management of staff issues. One of the sector inspectors told me that when women return from maternity leave;

'Well, we organise a mutually agreed system with the woman, if this can't be done, it's a failure on the part of management. When women return—whether they want to work part-time— I have them in to find out what would suit them best—it might be a nine to five office job, or maybe shifts to fit in with their partner' (Male Inspector 1995).

He went on to say that flexibility was necessary on both sides 'It's no good her coming to me and saying, "I'll only work every other Wednesday morning"'. But in general he said they always sort out a mutually acceptable situation. Of course, the women for whom this arrangement has not been acceptable were not available for me to interview as they will have left the organisation, although I gained the impression from other women that the system was generally fair. This view was confirmed by some of the women who were working and managing young families. Most were married to police officers, and one told me;

'...and we've arranged our shifts so that it means we can cover the nights, and then we have some help, but it works quite well' (Female PC 1995).

Summary of Section 1

As the evidence from the final part of this section has shown, women are being offered high status transfers to departments dealing with public order, serious crime and high flying promotion opportunities. In addition, compromises were seen to be available for women returners and those wishing to work part time. This is not to say that the situation is completely satisfactory and evidence will be provided in the discussion on specialisms which will show

of the authority and power of the law, usually portrayed through images of men in the police. Before embarking upon a discussion of who deals with which cases, however, it is useful to think about the definition of who these 'children', young people or juveniles may be. People who can be classed as 'non adult' come into contact with the police for many, diverse reasons, and can be divided into at least four groups, with some of them being in more than one category, including;

- child/young and 'vulnerable' victims
- child/juvenile offenders
- young people/juveniles who are perceived as needing 'control'
- those in need of care, not necessarily related to offences

In a similar way to cases involving domestic violence, many calls to the police to deal with children result in 'no further action', and very often a crime is not considered to have been committed; the police are called by the public to act as social controllers- perhaps in a warning or preventative way, or as carers, when no-one else seems to be available to fulfil this role. As the Audit Commission has noted recently, about 10% of policework is concerned with nuisance and anti-social behaviour, which is quite high, when compared to 'crime' accounting for 30% of calls to the police. One of the main examples the Commission cited is 'Youths congregating on street corners' and the most common issue raised at public consultation meetings was found to be 'Juvenile nuisance and anti-social behaviour' (Audit Commission 1996:20-:21). In addition, the public who were questioned said their top priority for improving community safety was 'better parental discipline' and for 40% of those interviewed, police presence on large housing estates was regarded as the 'main priority' (Audit Commission 1996:15).

In the course of this section several examples of these reported attitudes will be examined as I will be arguing that even if work with young people and children is regarded as gendered work, the 'appropriate' role may be viewed as 'masculine' rather than traditionally carried out by women. In other words, much of the routine work concerning children which I observed seemed to be unrelated to any offence, but was still tended to be of a paternalistic, controlling nature, rather than exclusively care. Of course there are exceptions, for example, in the following section cases linked to sexual abuse will be discussed, but by referring to the general, average workload of routine policing, I intend to analyse the type of contact police officers have with children and

young people by looking at acknowledged specialists compared with general patrol workers. Due to the wide variety of the latter, I will then provide examples in order to evaluate whether officers are deployed due to their gender in any specific ways.

Gender Expertise

To begin therefore, the obvious place to look at officers who are regarded as 'official' specialists is within the Child and Family Protection 'units'. In the smaller, rural force I investigated there were several of these across the various subdivisions. In most cases they are often nothing more than an office with a couple of desks and an identifying notice on the door. In the past it would be female officers who would be working in these departments, often not very long out of their two-year probationary period, being supervised by women with slightly longer service. Once an initial familiarisation period has been worked, they attend a training course, usually in-house at police headquarters, with input from professionals such as doctors and psychologists. In addition they learn specialist interviewing techniques, such as the preparation of video evidence.

Referrals are received by these departments from uniformed patrol officers, the CID, social services and calls from members of the public, which can be diverted to their confidential extension number. In general the units are only open during office hours, so these requests for their attention will be normally passed by paperwork or from the control room; individual forces usually have a system of printed forms which are completed by the patrol officers and sent up to the unit, or they may be telephoned following a request by personal radio by a patrol officer; an answering machine service is usually available between 5pm and 9am and at weekends, although there is emergency cover. Callers to the general police telephone number will be diverted to this extension to leave a message if the operator thinks it is appropriate, or a senior officer can authorise a member of the team to be called out of hours, if something is thought to be urgent or serious enough.

An exact description of the type of incident which is regarded to fall within the remit of child protection is difficult to define precisely, due to the diverse nature of the work. A general question about the type of cases they deal with will often elicit the reply from officers in these units of; 'All sorts' or 'Everything

to do with children- sexual abuse, neglect, supporting social services', but in reality, they seem to be primarily concerned when it is clear that classifiable offences have been committed, and where they perceive the Crown Prosecution Service will be interested in taking the case forward. In particular their workload seems to be heavily overburdened with sex crimes.

As these departments are the visible and public part of the police organisation dealing with matters concerning children and most of the officers working within them are women, they are often used as an example when occupational marginalisation is discussed in the police. It is necessary to question the relationship between this evidence of segregation and the oppression of female officers however, to determine whether 'male structures' are preventing equality of opportunity. In earlier parts of this thesis I have used this type of data to support my arguments and I have to acknowledge that they provide a convincing picture, supporting the assumption that male beliefs in certain areas of expertise keep women from gaining experience of 'real' policework. Home Office Thematic reports such as the one in 1993, which investigated equal opportunities, use similar data to suggest that discrimination exists in the police, although they have moved to more qualitative methods in the recent update in 1996.

Quantitative data which appear to 'fit' too neatly with our stereotypical assumptions need to be investigated in more depth. It is widely believed, for example, from published figures on specialisms, that matters concerning children are dealt with by women officers. This type of work is acknowledged to be to be low status, because it is the opposite of crime fighting. It also seems to have been assumed that women have been placed in the child protection units as a result of male beliefs about their competencies linked to their natural mothering abilities. In order to investigate this situation, it is useful to compare the picture in traditional bastions of male power such as the CID. Data from the personnel department of the force I am discussing here, allowing for the fact that the male officers outnumber the women 10:1, and have younger service profiles which may prevent them from applying for specialist posts, show that a significantly lower percentage of female applicants to the CID were successful. Only 12.5% of the women applying for CID being successful, whilst for men it was 34.7% (a). Statistics such as these seem to provide one explanation

8. In the period 1991 to 1993, 16 women (12.5%) and 98 men (34.7) applied for the CID in this force. 2 women and 34 men were successful.

for the lack of promoted women due to restricted deployment, through a lack of experience which is so well established in the literature on gender and the police.

If this investigation of gender and police specialisms is then taken a step further, and the wider national picture is surveyed, the statistics are even more convincing. As Table 1 overleaf, illustrates, data which the Home Office collate as 'Recruitment and Wastage by Ethnicity and Gender' reveal a similar pattern to the local picture. Figures are collected on a monthly basis which indicate the composition of the workforce, and also the occupational specialism in which they are employed; a list of these areas is very detailed, extending to approximately 80 different types of work within the police. Examples include more commonly known areas such as Special Branch, Personnel, Dogs, and CID and more obscure definitions such as Air, Buildings, Goaler and HOLMES. In the following table I have extracted from these statistics the number of officers working in what is classified as 'Child/Sex/Domestic' (one category in the original data), within one of the 'Family of Forces' (9). In the table officers working in the Home Office category 'Child/Sex/Domestic' have been compared by gender, revealing that the vast majority of the officers working within them are women. I have also indicated the number of promoted officers and those serving as constables, (the latter in brackets), which shows that the almost half of the men working in the units are supervisors, whilst most of the women are constables.

9. A group of forces, in this case, 13, who are amalgamated for statistical or other organisational reasons, for example, to provide a comparative framework for HMIC inspections and reports.

TABLE 5 NUMBER OF OFFICERS IN THE NORTHUMBRIA 'FAMILY OF FORCES'
 WORKING IN DEPARTMENTS CLASSIFIED BY THE HOME OFFICE AS
 'CHILD/SEX /DOMESTIC' in 1993.

FORCE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Bedfordshire	6	11	17
Devon and Cornwall	9	12	21
West Midlands	16	60	76
Cambridgeshire	5	11	16
Hertfordshire	1	13	14
Kent	1	36	37
Lincolnshire	12	10	22
North Wales	0	9	9
South Yorkshire	18	29	47
Wiltshire	6	8	14
TOTALS	74	199	273

Some data incomplete (Northumbria, Greater Manchester and Surrey are excluded).

In this way, statistics from these types of department confirm our suspicions about an organisation which is male dominated, with women superficially integrated, controlled by traditional, masculine structures. Further, in depth, ethnographic research of the general position of women in these departments dealing with children provides more evidence. Applications for departments which are traditionally regarded as female specialisms are almost exclusively from women and if men do apply, they are regarded with suspicion by their colleagues. In these departments they sometimes find themselves confined to a situation of role reversal by their female officers, either as an assistant who waits in the office answering the phone, accompanying the women officers when male perpetrators- 'the husbands and boyfriends' are arrested, or taking over the interviewing of the accused in rape cases. A significant percentage of the resources available for child and family protection seem to be taken up with sexual matters- neglect and physical abuse being regarded more as the domain of social services. In later parts of this chapter I will show that sex offences however, are almost always regarded as policework and quantitative data will be used to support the assertion that their caseload is substantial.

Offending Children

In addition to the officers who are designated as 'experts' in the protection units, there are many instances in ordinary patrol work where children may be encountered. Generally resources and deployment patterns do not permit individual matching of officers and incidents and just as domestic incidents are regarded as perfectly normal work for all patrol officers, calls from the public about children are regarded as routine. An example of this is a call from neighbours, usually on housing estates, about children causing a disturbance outside, for a variety of reasons. Over a period of months, whilst observing their activities, it became obvious that these calls have a seasonal element; beginning in late August, requests from local residents to stop 'kids climbing trees for conkers' or 'collecting wood, setting fires and knocking on doors for money', or 'letting off fireworks', through to 'throwing snowballs'. As one busy and frustrated police officer remarked to me after we went to see some children throwing sticks to get conkers from trees, but causing no harm, remarked;

'I'm sick of these type of calls- it's what kids *do*. Someone ought to say something about things like this. We've got better things to be doing' (Male PC 1995).

Another very common call to the police regarding children, particularly in the early evening, is a 'missing from home'. Parents telephone the police to report their child failing to return at the expected time. Due to the apparent regularity of these calls, unless there is some unusual or seemingly sinister element to the call, or the child is very young (under ten years old), this will be regarded as fairly low priority. Some officers will take other calls before going to this type of incident, on the basis that the child may turn up before they have to attend the house, listen to the story, and complete a long, complicated form, which must be written out by hand each time the child is missing- so for regular 'runners' who reappear without fail, this is regarded as pointless. Another regulation which is supposed to be adhered to by the police is a daily check to see whether the child has returned, so that the name can be removed from the 'missing' register, and the police officer must see the child in private to question him or her about their whereabouts whilst away from home. In my experience, however, this is not a task which is regarded as work which is especially reserved for women officers. Even in cases involving young female teenagers, whose parents suspect of being with older boyfriends, and express fears about under age sex, coercion or 'moral' concerns, the task is still viewed as one of a paternalistic, informal control and general policing. In effect, the police officer who is usually male, will see himself in the role of surrogate father, uncle or elder brother, reassuring the parents that the child will soon return and promising to reprimand them when they eventually come back. At one of these incidents, in the early evening, where a young lad of 12 had been 'missing' since lunch time, he arrived as the two male police officers I was accompanying were comforting his mother. As the boy walked in, the older of the two policeman took hold of him, pushed him into the hallway and launched into a lengthy session which consisted of several variations of;

'Do you think it's clever to get your mother in a state like this? She's been worried to death. Do you know what happens to kids like you? -you start by staying out, and next thing you're down the police station...in the CELLS- and it isn't very PLEASANT. Is that what you want?'(Male PC 1995).

At intervals the boy would attempt to answer these rhetorical 'questions', but he would get one word out and the officer would cut him short with; 'Don't tell me lies, I don't like people who tell me lies'. At the end of the five minutes or so, during which the policeman shouted continuously at the boy, he was ordered upstairs, and he ran to do as he was told, relieved that his ordeal had ended. Later, in the car it was explained to me that police officers have to be capable

of 'role playing', the one who had reprimanded the boy added: 'Young cops, you know, they can't do it', inferring that his age and experience gave him an advantage.

On another occasion, a young girl was reported missing, and her mother said she thought she might be staying with her boyfriend. As she was only 13, under age sex seemed to be the main aspect about which the mother said she was worried, and the police officer replied that he would 'Go round to see the lad and have a word'. Again, this work is viewed as controlling men and boys, and so it is regarded as masculine, not one in which a policewoman might be specifically requested, despite the fact that sexual offences are usually handed over to women officers. Later in this thesis, towards the end of Chapter 4, I will explore this issue of sexual offences and gender in more depth.

In a similar way, young shoplifters, and to a lesser extent burglars and car thieves, are viewed in a very paternalistic way by the police. At one incident which I attended with a male officer, he gave two young girls, aged thirteen, a thorough dressing down about their morals, what their parents would say when he took them home, and how stupid they had been, for taking a lipgloss from Superdrug. He had already explained to the store manager, privately, that no action would be taken against the girls because the amount was too small for the Crown Prosecution Service to proceed; so they were taken home to their respective parents, who were told what had happened. When we got to the second girl's house, the parents were out, but the officer obviously felt it was his duty to make sure they punished her; on the way home she had been trying to put the blame onto the other girl and she became quite agitated, saying she had been bullying her, making her take the things from the shop; so at a convenient point the police officer stopped the car and turned round to face her in the back saying;

'Look, I can get nasty if people don't tell me the truth, I don't believe that for one moment—everyone tries that excuse, it's the oldest one in the book. Don't tell me lies because I don't like it. It's natural to try to find excuses, but it's better to tell the truth' (Male PC 1995).

To follow this up he telephoned the parents later, explaining that she had blamed her friend for the theft, saying that she had been 'made to do it'; but in his opinion this was a lie, and their daughter must take responsibility for her actions. As the value of the stolen lipgloss was less than two pounds, this may

seem to be rather strenuous police involvement, but the police officer viewed it as necessary to prevent further offences, he seemed to think that one of the sets of parents were taking a rather too forgiving stance with their daughter, who knew what she was doing, but was blaming her friend. In his opinion, the girl was conning the parents, and he needed to sort the matter out, so that she would be punished by the parents and dissuaded from doing it again.

In this section I have evaluated some of the evidence which suggests that work with young people or juveniles is regarded as a female domain and despite my suggestion that this is not generally the case, I have conceded that specialist posts in this area are disproportionately occupied by policewomen. As Table 1 showed, where men are working in departments dedicated to children sex and domestic matters, they tend to be in a supervisory position. However, moving from the specialists to the generalists I have challenged the previously accepted notion that women officers deal more frequently with children on two main grounds, first, patrol officers cannot choose their own jobs, they are called to the next incident and usually it will be male officers, and secondly, the work is seen as being of a masculine, paternal type, rather than any sort of 'mothering'. Even in cases where very young children are involved, and they are viewed as victims rather than offenders, male police officers immediately deal with the situation, and in my view would not dream of suggesting that a woman officer should take the call.

An example which illustrates this was an occasion when a call came into the local police sub station from a woman who claimed her ex-husband had not returned her son following an access visit. It was early evening and two male constables who had just come on shift were preparing to go out on patrol. After taking details from the mother they went to the address she had given and found the man with his new partner and baby, caring for the toddler who was the subject of the call. He was aged about 18 months and unwilling to leave his father, who wanted to keep him for 'just one more night', but the officers were quite insistent that the child must be returned to his mother, and took him and the child to her house. When the father returned to the police car, having deposited the child with the mother he was upset, because she was 'drugged up' and his little boy didn't want to stay with her. Sitting in the back of the panda, the father, who was an ex-squaddy, started crying in the back of the car which made the male police officers uncomfortable, one of them saying to him:

'Oh come on mate, it can only get better, get yourself back in the army, and the culture; get into married quarters and you'll get custody, your new girlfriend, she seems alright, like; do it the legal way' (Male PC 1995).

On another occasion I went to a call which was described by the control room as a 'domestic over children', in other words some sort of dispute involving custody. We arrived at a large block of high rise flats, went upstairs and were invited into a living room full of people, with every chair occupied and two young boys sitting on the floor near the door. A woman pointed to them and told the two male police officers;

'I've no room for them and HE said he was having them for the weekend. My sister's been beaten up by her husband so I've said her and her four kids can stop, and *they've* just arrived back' (Fieldnotes 1995).

She went on to explain that their father, her ex-husband, had sent the two boys, aged 8 and 10, to walk across the rough side of the city in the dark, to find their way back to their mother at 10.30 pm. Although the mother wanted them taken back to their father, it was not strictly a police matter, but the boys look so dejected and unwanted, and as she claimed to have no money for a taxi, the officers agreed to take them back to their father. As we left the flat she said to the boys, accusingly; 'Well, HE said he wanted you'.

We drove across the city to another estate of similar run down high rise flats and found the father who said that he usually has custody of the children, but claims he has given his wife £60 to look after them for the weekend. He complained; 'Now her sister's turned up, she doesn't want them'. Although the two little lads seem cold, and aware that no-one wants to look after them and the family environment seems less than ideal, the police officers simply deal with the situation as it is presented to them. At no stage in this matter is there any suggestion that a woman should be called to deal with the children.

On other occasions I have seen young people, so-called 'juveniles', of around 15 or 16 arrested on suspicion of committing crimes such as burglary, taking cars and absconding from secure accommodation. In all of these instances, they are simply dealt with as another 'customer' for the system by male officers. Young offenders are not interviewed without an 'appropriate adult' being present, but once this person arrives, the process of interviewing, fingerprinting and bail procedure simply advances as with any other case. Contrary to some of

the literature I have read regarding juveniles, the police seem to regard these young offenders as a 'good catch'. It fits into their scheme of control of young people, who they seem to believe are a major problem: perhaps influenced by what the Audit Commission identify as the public demand for action against 'prolific' offenders such as the 'Ratboy' -a boy from one of the areas I was observing, who was reported in the local and national press to be a 'one-boy crime wave' (10).

As I explained in the previous discussion on domestic violence, women officers are not specifically diverted from their routine tasks due to their gender, and also this applies to incidents involving youngsters. An exception I saw was on one occasion, patrolling in a personnel carrier, with two women officers and a male sergeant, when a driver got out of his car at the roadside and indicated for the police to stop. He came round to the window and told the sergeant that he had nearly knocked a couple of young girls over, as they had just run in front of his car. He pointed around the corner in the direction they had gone and rather unwillingly, the sergeant said he would speak to them and we drove round to find two girls, aged about fourteen, sitting on a bench in a small square. At this point, without being told, the two women officers got out of the van, went over to the teenagers and asked them their addresses, what had happened, where they had been and so on. It was quite late at night, after pub closing time, and when the women got back in the van, they agreed that the girls seemed unusually apologetic; the older of the two policewomen seemed disapproving and she remarked to her colleagues;

'I bet those two have told their parents they're at each other's houses tonight, because it's far too late for them to be out. I've got a good mind to ring them up' (Female PC 1995).

10. Article entitled 'Young offenders rampant, say police' by Alan Travis, The Guardian, p.6, 12.11.96.

A few weeks later I observed this officer, a veteran of the old policewomen's department, arresting a couple of young lads, aged about thirteen, and insisting to the custody sergeant that they should be charged with 'Drunk and Disorderly' to the muted surprise of other officers in the room, one of whom told me later that most people would have regarded it as the lesser charge of 'Drunk and Incapable'. She also expressed disgust when the sergeant, later that night in the carrier, told a member of the public who was being 'difficult', to 'fuck off' through the open window, and turning to me in the back of the van she asked:

'Do YOU have to put up with language like that from the men you work with?'
(Female PC 1995).

When I had the opportunity to speak to this woman privately on another occasion she told me she regretted the closure of the policewomen's departments, and although she had been rejected as unsuitable, had applied to work in the child protection unit. On another night I was talking to the younger policewoman I saw working with her on the night the two young girls were asked for their addresses, mentioned above, and I was told that this woman represented the 'old style' policewoman, which perhaps explains her readiness to view work with young girls as her domain. As this was the only example I saw of self selection of matters dealing with children, I feel fairly confident in agreeing with the findings of an ethnography conducted in Northern Ireland, which stated that throughout the fieldwork in the RUC, there were no recorded instances of policewomen being deliberately sent to deal with children (Brewer & Magee 1991:51).

Other commentators have differed from this position however. An example of this is an analysis of the quality of women's deployment experiences, in which the 'traditional' activities of female officers are described as being associated with women victims, offenders, children and juveniles (Jones 1986:69). In the section which Jones devotes to this aspect of the duties women are allocated however, she makes only one brief mention of children, saying that women are more readily available to interview them because they are often assigned to 'inside' station duties. With the exception of sexual offences, she fails to provide any evidence to support the claim that women are deployed differently. Her evidence relies upon the work that women officers are *prevented* from doing, including violent physical incidents and 'unpleasant' or dirty jobs. However, this does not necessarily support her

case that women are therefore dealing with children whilst not engaging in these other tasks. Indeed, throughout the ten pages which Jones devotes to differential deployment, upon which her main thesis is based, (1986:69-79) there is a complete lack of evidence to show that women are called upon to deal with children more often than men, despite her earlier assertion that her survey results, 'ample confirmation' (Jones 1986:69) from interviews and observational work (10 hours in total), showed that front line supervisors were sending women to traditional activities concerning children and juveniles.

In a similar vein, in her 'construction of a picture the working life of policewomen' Walklate alleges that female officers are allocated work in low status areas of the organisation because 43% of those under 30 on station duty on Merseyside in 1985, were women (Walklate 1995:116). As this is an important illustration of differential deployment, and an area of policework which she describes as the 'least prestigious job', she seems to assume that gender must be the controlling factor, but fails to take other reasons into account. First, she is comparing this statistic with the overall percentage of policewomen at the time (around 10 per cent), but not that many of the women would be young in service, and many police forces have a 50/50 gender distribution of new recruits. Also women who are pregnant are in the station on light duties, and this can amount to a significant percentage of the workforce on some shifts. Walklate also states that 'cop culture' informs a structural/organisational belief that 'proper policing' is for men supporting the idea that using female officers for women and children's issues makes the best use of their qualities because general policing is too dangerous for women- a return in all but name of policewomen's departments. Despite a lack of any empirical evidence she asserts that there are clearer tendencies towards this scenario than one in which male and female officers can equally pursue their career aspirations(Walklate 1995:120).

In a similar way, one of the most influential books of the early 1990s on women in law enforcement, a major study by Heidensohn of the working lives of female officers in Britain and America, alleges that male officers seem to recognise that women can carry out unpleasant tasks, but still maintained that there were certain areas in which they were natural specialists. When members of the public they encountered on duty questioned the ability of women officers to 'change a wheel, or tow them home' male colleagues were reported to have supported their abilities, but in other cases the;

...persistence of the 'feminine' work-load on the shoulders of some British officers did lead to differences in reported reaction to them in situations where the gender agenda was being pursued. There were a number of accounts of close rapport between women policed by policewomen over child care, domestic violence, and even prostitution (Heidensohn 1992:207).

In an earlier part of the book from which the above quotation is taken, Heidensohn explains that the aim of her study is to give women in policing a voice, by using them to illustrate the role of women in social control and law enforcement. She does admit that no study of patrol work has been conducted in Britain, but she asserts that despite major legal and policy changes, nothing of significance differs from their role in the past (Heidensohn 1992:64). She quotes the study by Jones, examined earlier in this section, and also one by Campell whose findings, she asserts, confirm Jones' claims about differential deployment. In other words, integration is superficial, women are still being confined to low status work, such as administrative tasks, and kept away from detective or traffic work.

Indeed the study by Brown et al has been quoted at length since it was published in 1993. One of the most controversial findings of the report, which was funded by the Home Office, who delayed publication, was the amount of sexual harassment to which policewomen were found to be subjected. Another important finding was that female officers are differentially deployed, being made to work with women and children, once again confirming the lack of promotion prospects thesis. In Brown's report, which is a document extending to 100 pages, there is a great deal of statistical data, and I have reproduced below some of the figures concerning the details about women and children. Data for the study was collected by postal questionnaire, with 1810 female officers replying (69%) from an original target sample of 2615.

In a section on deployment, it is asserted from the survey data that;

The women officers were more likely than men to report being deployed on station duty; safer beats; accompanied patrol; dealing with victims of sexual offences and with young offenders. (Brown et al, 1993:61)

Whilst this may be regarded as significant, especially given the size and distribution of the sample, the question which was asked in the survey may give rise to certain doubts. It was phrased as follows in the original;

Compared with colleagues of the opposite gender how often are you asked to attend incidents involving the following? (Brown et al 1993:Equal Opportunities Survey).

Respondents were then required to choose from 'Less, equally or more often', in respect of each of the categories 'victims of sex offences, young offenders and violent offenders'. When the data was collated it was discovered that a statistically significant number of women, representing 30% of the total (428 respondents) had ticked the box on the questionnaire indicating that they were being deployed with young offenders 'more frequently'. However, over double this number of the female respondents (970, or 69%) (Brown et al 1993:62) said they were dealing equally with such cases.

In the light of this evidence it is difficult to understand why Heidensohn suggests that the findings from Brown's study support Jones' earlier assertions about differential deployment. Clearly, from the replies received and analysed by the survey and questionnaires, a majority of the women (69%) did not feel they were dealing with children or juveniles more often. I will examine the role of women officers and sexual offences in the next section.

Summary

It will be obvious from my discussion throughout this section that I am questioning the literature on differential deployment because of the lack of evidence supporting the assertions made by writers on the subject. Indeed, in each book or study I have mentioned, there seems to be a belief that women are being coerced into dealing with children and young people, and these claims are accepted by other authors who reproduce them without checking their validity. It seems that it is easier to write about women being discriminated against by reproducing some unfavourable impression of the work policewomen do, because as McLaughlin says, quoting a police ethnography, 'women are regarded as compassionate' (1996:78). Later in the study from which he takes this quotation, however, the authors, Brewer and Magee, (1991) say there were no examples of women being sent to deal with children. In a similar way, Heidensohn relies upon a study by Jones (1986), which is now over 10 years old, and provides no evidence whatsoever on the topic of women officers dealing with children. Another influential study by Brown et al, which she

quotes, discussed above, bases the finding that women are differentially deployed because 30% of the policewomen who replied to a questionnaire, said they felt they dealt more with children than their male colleagues.

As I said at the beginning of this chapter, there is some evidence that women are working in specialisms linked particularly to child victims, but to what extent this is due to male structures is difficult to assess. I am arguing that there are numerous reasons women enter these specialist units, including being able to work office hours, which fits in with primary childcare; 'easier' physical work following maternity leave, an interest in CID work, and thereby using the child protection units as a route to gain investigative skills. Quite a large proportion of officers, both male and female, find their two year probationary period more than long enough to be in general uniformed patrol work and whilst men seem to be attracted to outdoor physical pursuits such as dogs, horses and specialist search and surveillance squads, women see themselves in 'clean' environments such as HOLMES teams or family protection. It is not really feasible to account for these differences using the explanation of paternalistic male structures in the police, much wider questions about segregation in the workforce in society generally need to be addressed. However, from my evidence I can confidently assert that the small minority of women who are employed in the specialist departments, dealing with children, do not represent the majority of the work which is carried out with young people in general- it is simply the visible aspect. Another point which I can defend from my fieldwork is that women are not being coerced to deal with children or to enter these departments any more than the men who apply for traditionally 'macho' specialties such as the CID are being 'controlled'; although as I will explain in the next section, sex crimes may be viewed as an exception, and possibly an explanation for differential deployment.

3. *Dealing with Sex and Children.*

In this section I will discuss the differential deployment of women by examining the way sexual offences against children are dealt with by the police. It is generally believed that female officers have always dealt with the majority of these cases, as this type of work has been regarded as gendered (Brown & Campbell 1991, Jones 1986, McLaughlin 1996, Waiklate 1995, Martin & Jurik 1996). Such beliefs have been confirmed recently in the study mentioned earlier which looked at attitudes towards sexual discrimination in the police. It was found that '(W)omen constables were most likely to deal with victims of sex offences' (Brown et al 1993:62).

Studies of attitudes towards certain aspects of policework have been conducted in American law enforcement agencies since the beginning of the 1980s (see for example, Meager & Yentes 1984; Golden 1981; Wexler 1985; Brooks, Piquero & Cronin 1994). In this country, similar work was carried out by Southgate, in 1981, when it was found that policewomen 'could cope better with traditional cases such as child abuse' (Heidensohn 1992:90). In a more recent study, Brewer and Magee discovered that officers regard sexual crimes involving children as emotionally demanding, unpleasant and to be avoided if possible. As these types of offences are considered to be 'literally or metaphorically unclean' by police officers, it is suggested that 'these sorts of incidents are particularly disliked by policemen, and are marginalised to policewomen, wherever staffing levels allow' (Brewer & Magee 1991:60).

In the two earlier parts of this chapter I have argued that there may be a complex range of explanations which underlie common assumptions about female officers being directed to the more familial, 'private' spheres of crime. I will be developing this issue here by suggesting that the situation is more complicated than has previously been suggested, especially in the field of sexual offences. Indeed, one of the more problematic aspects of this debate is the way the status of certain types of policework and attitudes towards gender and competence become confused. In some cases it is almost impossible to differentiate between organisational necessity and tradition; for example, when allegations of rape or sexual assault are reported to the police, it could be suggested that women officers may be directed to deal with the case specifically as a result of their gender. On the other hand, the victims' rights to privacy and evidential necessity may require the organisation to train women

officers to be present at medical examinations. As a result it could appear that male officers can avoid dealing with matters connected with female bodies and physical assaults which require women to remove clothes. Even when the investigation is about the threat of sexual attack, requiring no physical intervention, it is thought that it may be passed to female colleagues. Commentators such as Young (1991) and Heidensohn (1992), whose work was mentioned at length in the previous part of this chapter, have assumed that this is simply an aspect of male culture; as Fielding has argued '...an almost pure form of "hegemonic masculinity"' (1994:47) and is therefore simply a part of the commonly accepted ways of working which pervades all parts of the organisation. However, before examining this gender and police culture debate it is useful to look for evidence of the 'reality' versus the rhetoric of the deployment of women; to examine some statistics on sex crimes and to see whether there are reasons other than beliefs in their gendered competencies, for women to be confined and constrained within the organisation.

Abusing children.

It is possible that one of the reasons the profile of sexual work in policing has become such a visible issue is that child abuse is thought to have increased dramatically over the past few years. Although it is difficult to ascertain whether the actual prevalence of these offences has increased, various authors and agencies have indicated that the amount of reported sexual abuse of children by adults is increasing so dramatically that there seem to be explanations other than a change in behaviour or patterns of offending. For example, this trend has been described by the NSPCC, using statistics collected between 1983 and 1987 which show that the number of cases they dealt with involving sexual abuse increased by 800%. Another example comes from the Department of Health figures for 1991 which suggested that 5,900 children (0.55 per thousand) under 18 years were reported to have been abused (Browne 1994:211). Furthermore, the Children Act Report (1993) found the number of children placed on the Child Protection Register, due to sexual abuse, rose from 3,900 in 1991, to 8,300 in 1993 (Edwards 1996:274).

Statistics such as these which indicate unprecedented increases in the number of cases coming to the attention of various agencies have been described as the tip of a very large iceberg (Ghate & Spencer 1995:2). Some authors have suggested that when an 'epidemic' in the diagnosis of child sex

abuse erupts' mass hysteria may lead to a moral panic (Soetenhorst-de Savornin Lohman & Edwards 1994:104-105). However, since the publicity arising from the Butler-Sloss Inquiry into Child Abuse in Cleveland (1988), it has been recognised that measuring the prevalence of child abuse is extremely difficult. Indeed, one of the recommendations of the Inquiry (1988) was that the extent of the problem should be researched, but it was not until 1994 that a feasibility study was commissioned by the Department of Health. In due course, it was decided to investigate the possibility of conducting a national survey, and a year later Ghate & Spencer, presented the Home Office with their study 'The Prevalence of Sexual Abuse in Britain' (Ghate & Spencer, 1995). As they note in that report, which aimed to clarify and define the problem and methodology, rather than measure any actual prevalence of abuse, previous studies have been discredited due to sampling problems. As a result, statistics which have been collected in the past have been disregarded as being unrepresentative (Nash & West 1985, Kelly et al 1991, and Baker and Duncan 1985 are quoted as examples).

Another factor which makes it difficult to arrive at a reasonable estimate of the incidence of sexual abuse, even with 'official' Home Office statistics, is the way new directives are implemented by agencies such as the police and social services. One of the findings of the Butler-Sloss Inquiry was that there should be closer co-operation between the police, medical practitioners and social services. An example of these changes in procedures which can blur the classification and recording of cases is the new legal framework of the Children Act (1989), which has meant that '...for the most part, unless it can be proved otherwise, a child is best cared for in its own home by its own family...' (Lyon & de Cruz 1993:17). As the introduction of this more 'child centred' approach to protection issues took effect, it gave rise to new legal questions and problems. For example, the inter-agency guidance document 'Working Together under the Children Act 1989', (1991, DOH known as 'Working Together') which was implemented in October 1991, created new difficulties for agency workers, as it encouraged the rights of the accused to be balanced against the need to protect the child and the interests of justice. As the new rules require a court to be satisfied that the child would 'suffer significantly' by remaining at home, a care or supervision order will not be made unless 'it is satisfied that the child is suffering or likely to suffer "significant harm"' (Section 31(2) of the Children Act, quoted in Lyon & de Cruz 1993:15). As the 1989 Act does not define 'significant' but is simply used as a measure against some measure of normal child development, this represents a major change for all those involved with

the legal protection of children. In turn this may have affected the way cases are approached by other agencies such as police Child Protection officers, because of the need to raise the priority of the child's best interests and also the rights of the parents or carers.

Partly as a result of the Cleveland Inquiry findings, therefore, place of safety orders have been replaced with emergency protection orders, which involve assessing whether a court would agree that a child was suffering, or was likely to suffer, significant harm. Due to these changes in the law, workers from all agencies have to be more aware of legal and 'natural' justice; parents are entitled to attend case conferences and to hear and refute any allegations which are made against them, perhaps leading to alternatives to prosecution (Liddle 1995:333). In addition, the new Act was designed to give children in these cases more opportunities for having their views heard, increasing the importance of multi-agency approaches and emphasising that '...the welfare of the child is recognised as the overriding concern of all the professional agencies' (Home Office 1988 quoted in Liddle 1995:333). All of these changes may have inflated the number of cases coming to the attention of the police, or, alternatively may have provided avenues for criminal law interventions to be avoided.

Due to these changes surrounding intervention, practice and law, it is difficult to find any constant factors upon which to base an assessment of whether the incidence of child sexual abuse has altered. It also poses problems regarding the argument that the police caseload has increased significantly and whether the status or prominence of child protection work has been affected. One of the pointers which casts doubt upon the notion that police involvement has increased in recent years is that figures relating to cases of requiring child protection are not always as the result of sexual abuse. As the 'Working Together' document indicates, 'significant harm' can include various types of sexual abuse, and the Home Office also specifies neglect, physical injury and emotional abuse in their instructions to social services departments (Home Office 1991:48). When considering whether a child should be placed on the Child Protection Register, police involvement may be sought as the result of any of these types of abuse if a crime is considered to have been committed, although other guidelines, regarding the rights and needs of those involved may affect these decisions.

Another problem for the comparative analysis of statistics is the way other

sexual crimes are amalgamated with child abuse by the police and the Home Office, because they are regarded as being within the remit of the Child Protection Department. For example, data from one of the forces I researched (Northumbria) stated that in 1992, a sexual crime was recorded every 11.5 hours (compared to every 1.1 hours for all categories of crime) and throughout that period, 239 women had used one of their confidential 'REACH' centres; only 1% of these victims had declined police involvement in their case (Northumbria Chief Constable's Report 1992:40). However, the ages of these referrals are not recorded, so it is difficult to assess whether children are involved. In another force I looked at it is stated in the annual report for 1992, that they achieved a 100% detection rate for 'some serious crimes' including; attempted rape, of which there were 3 cases and gross indecency with a child, totalling 39 cases in 1992 (Durham Constabulary Chief Constable's Report 1992:5). With a total number of recorded crimes for 1992 being 62,213 in the force area as a whole, there were 1,277 referrals of child abuse, which is an increase of 174 cases, or 15.89%, on the previous year. In addition, staff from the Child Protection Department attended 804 case conferences which is 8.6% more than in 1991 (Chief Constable's Report, 1992:26).

More recently however, statistics for the whole of England and Wales, reveal that the number of sexual offences recorded by the police is falling. Nationally, the overall incidence of offences fell by 5% in 1995, to 30,300, which is the first reduction since 1990, although this has to be compared with a general lowering of recorded crime in this period of 3% (Home Office 1995:29-33). Over the past ten years sexual crimes have generally increased at about the same rate as other offences, although the majority (approximately two thirds) of the police forces in England and Wales recorded a decrease in 1995. Despite an increase of over 10% in notifiable rapes since 1985, the overall average percentage change has been an increase of 3.5% for sexual offences, which can be broken down as follows, in Table 2, overleaf:

TABLE 2 NOTIFIABLE SEXUAL OFFENCES RECORDED BY THE POLICE ENGLAND & WALES

	1985	1995	
Rape	1,800	5,100	(+10.8%)
Indecent Assault on a female	11,400	16,900	(+4.0%)
Other Sexual Offences	8,200	8,300	(+0.1%)

(Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate 1995:33-37)

Although there has been an overall increase over the past ten years, more recent statistics indicate a decline in the number of such offences coming to the attention of the police. In a similar way, there appears to have been a corresponding decrease in recorded notifiable sexual offences in the two local forces, which can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 3 NOTIFIABLE SEXUAL OFFENCES RECORDED BY THE POLICE IN 1995

	DURHAM	NORTHUMBRIA
Sexual Offences	373	556
	(61 per 100,000 population)	(39 per 100,000 population)
% Fall 1994-5	27%	25%
No. of Sex Offences cleared up in 1995	353(95%)	418(75%)

(Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate 1995:40-45)

It is interesting that Durham, which covers a largely rural, non-metropolitan geographical area, has a much higher percentage rate of sexual offences per

thousand population than Northumbria. It compares to a national average of 59 offences per 100,000 people. Clear up rates for Northumbria (75%) are near to the national average, which is 76% for sexual offences, whereas Durham, at 95%, appears to have a much higher than average success rate. Of course this may be reflected in the number of referrals received by the individual departments each year. Such referrals to the Child Protection departments in each force are not represented in the above statistics and if they are viewed in terms of the following table which indicates the number, rank and gender the officers working in the Child and Family Protection units for each force is shown an idea only of the number of cases which are recorded or notified.

TABLE 4 CHILD AND FAMILY PROTECTION UNIT STRUCTURE (30.6.95)

<u>DURHAM</u> (Total number of officers employed: 1,377)	
1 Inspector (MALE)	
1 Sergeant (MALE)	1 Sergeant (FEMALE)
1 Constable (MALE)	13 Constables (FEMALE)
<u>TOTAL: 3 Males (1 constable) 14 Females(13 constables)</u>	
Total Establishment: 17 officers (14 constables)	
<u>NORTHUMBRIA</u> (Total number of officers employed; 3,581)	
1 Detective Chief Inspector (MALE)	
2 Det. Inspectors (MALE)	6 Sergeants (MALE)
6 Constables (MALE)	17 Constables (FEMALE)
<u>TOTAL: 15 Males(6 constables)17 females(17 constables)</u>	
Total Establishment: 32 officers (23 constables)	

It could also be argued that there will be an uneven distribution of the amount and status of the work carried out in these departments. From Table 4 it is clear that there is a vertically segregated division of labour as there appears to be a close relationship between gender and rank. Women constables vastly outnumbering the men, leaving the majority of the work dealing with initial referrals, usually regarded as the least skilled and interesting aspect of policework, to be delegated. In comparison, it appears from Table 5 that there is a reproduction of the relationship between supervision, rank and gender in other forces, which was also remarked upon in the earlier discussion about domestic violence. Female officers tend to be subordinate members of the departments, whilst their supervisors are almost exclusively male, which seems to be supported by the following table, from the Northumbria 'Family of Forces'.

TABLE 5 NUMBER OF OFFICERS IN THE NORTHUMBRIA 'FAMILY OF FORCES' WORKING IN DEPARTMENTS CLASSIFIED BY THE HOME OFFICE AS 'CHILD/SEX /DOMESTIC' in 1993.

FORCE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Bedfordshire	6(3)*	11(11)	17(14)
Devon and Cornwall	9(4)	12(11)	21(15)
West Midlands	16(9)	60(54)	76(63)
Cambridgeshire	5(3)	11(11)	16(14)
Hertfordshire	1(1)	13(12)	14(13)
Kent	1(1)	36(36)	37(37)
Lincolnshire	12(8)	10(10)	22(18)
North Wales	0(0)	9(8)	9(8)
South Yorkshire	18(11)	29(28)	47(39)
Wiltshire	6(3)	8(8)	14(11)
TOTALS	74(43)	199(189)	273(232)

*Figures in brackets indicate the number of officers of constable rank, within the total.

Some data incomplete (Northumbria, Greater Manchester and Surrey are excluded).

As the following table illustrates however, despite a difference in the size of each force mentioned, the units dealing with the offences appear to be dealing with cases at approximately the same rate. Referrals, of which Durham report having 1,277, vastly outnumber the actual cases recorded, representing an average of 75 cases for each officer per year.

TABLE 6 COMPARISON OF RECORDED SEXUAL OFFENCES BY FORCE AREA

	1991	1992
DURHAM		
Buggery	15	22
Indecent Assault on Females	216	222
Indecent Assault on Males	43	37
Rape	45	42
Unlawful sex.intercourse (under 13)	7	3
Unlawful sex.intercourse (13 to 16)	45	23
Incest	3	10
Indecency with Children	32	39
TOTALS	406	398

398 divided by 17 (no. of officers in the CPU) = 23

NORTHUMBRIA

Buggery	18	17
Indecent Assault on Females	403	437
Indecent Assault on Males	44	101
Rape	95	102
Unlawful sex.intercourse (under 13)	7	9
Unlawful sex.intercourse (13 to 16)	55	59
Incest	8	10
Indecency with Children	11	14
TOTALS	641	749

749 divided by 32 (no. of officers in the CPU) = 23

(Data from statistics in Chief Constables' Reports for each Force, 1991 and 1992).

As i have explained throughout this discussion, statistics such as these can be challenged due to inconsistencies in recording the data, willingness of the victim to contact the police, recognition of the phenomenon and the varying definitions of an 'offence'. As definitions from different sources illustrate, child sexual abuse usually involves dependent children or adolescents in sexual activities with an adult. In the course of the abuse the child may be used as a sexual object, for the gratification of the older person and the child is unable to give consent due to the unequal power in the relationship (Northamptonshire Probation Service, quoted by Lancaster 1996:131) Other definitions make reference to children taking part in sexual activities that they do not fully comprehend, or to which they are unable to give informed consent, leading to them being considered the victims of abuse. An alternative definition includes actions which are contrary to the social taboos of family life, or are against the law. Some definitions are more explicit, referring to direct sexual contact such as sexual intercourse, masturbation or 'manual, oral or other manipulation of the genitals, breasts or anus, where the purpose of the interaction is the sexual gratification of one or more of the participants' (Liddle 1995:315).

Legal definitions however, which the police use, have to be more specific and quantifiable than this, because they are open to scrutiny of court processes such as cross examination. Although the law is sometimes altered to take account of supposed changes in general social attitudes, for example male rape, lowering the age of consent for homosexual sex and rape within marriage, these changes are sometimes effected to clarify the legal definitions of crime and eliminate ambiguities. In comparison to the definitions above, the form of words which police officers need to use, in order to decide whether an offence has been committed, or to differentiate one crime from another, are specific and exact. For example, in a training manual for detectives, they are instructed that;

The word 'indecent' has no legal definition, but its generally accepted meaning is as follows;

INDECENT. 'Offensive to modesty. Impure, obscene or unchaste behaviour in sexual matters'(Police Central Planning and Training Unit 1993:15)

As this quotation suggests, in situations where words which have no accepted legal meaning and are open to interpretation, the police must find some way of defining the terms in order to fit the evidence to the description of the offence. Another example is given in the section on the Indecency with Children Act (1960), which states that;

'Any person who commits an act of gross indecency with or towards a child under the age of fourteen, or who incites a child under that age to such an act with him or another, shall be liable on conviction on indictment for a term not exceeding two years, or on summary conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine, or to both' (Police Central Planning and Training Unit 1993:25).

However, even this definition is fraught with difficulties for the police officers who need to provide evidence to prove the case; several pages of the training manual are devoted to explaining how the word 'gross' should be interpreted and the difference in the meanings of 'with or towards' a child or 'inciting'. At the end of another police instruction manual, an extensive list of 'points to prove' is supplied and a complex set of rules about the ages and circumstances about who may be questioned about certain offences.

Gendered expertise.

A need for the intimate knowledge of definitions, legal rules and guidelines regarding sexual offences illustrates the complexity of the situation for the police and the apparently gendered nature of the specialist skills. Police officers who are trained in these areas have to prove certain behaviour and actions which are regarded as intimate and will probably have been carried out in private. In particular, dealing with the combination of sexual acts and the limited understandings of children is thought to require even more specialised knowledge, which is why a national set of guidelines, known as the 'Memorandum of Good Practice' (Home Office 1992) was devised. In this document, in order to conduct interviews with sexually abused children it is recommended, by the Home Office and the Department of Health, that specialist skills are required and officers should undertake a course of study to become 'Memorandum trained'. One of the reasons for this perceived necessity

for specialist skills was due to new regulations, introduced in the 1988 Criminal Justice Act, permitting children to give evidence from outside the courtroom using a television link. In the later Criminal Justice Act of 1991, it was decided to permit video evidence so that child victims and witnesses could have their statements pre-recorded and classed as evidence-in-chief⁽¹¹⁾, in order to minimise the distress they might suffer in court. However, this has created a number of difficulties for those involved in such cases because of two main legal problems. First, the admissibility of video interviews as evidence, and second; the reliability of such evidence (Lyon & de Cruz 1993:19). In an attempt to standardise the interview and recording procedures and increase the evidential value of child witness statements, the Home Office, in collaboration with the Department of Health, therefore produced an extensive set of guidelines, entitled the 'Memorandum of Good Practice on Video Recorded Interviews with Child Witnesses for Criminal Proceedings' (DOH 1992).

Further problems have arisen however, with the Memorandum (MoGP) because as a set of guidelines, they are not embedded in law, and judges can exercise their discretion when deciding whether or not to permit video evidence. Court rules regarding the 'interests of justice' must be adhered to, for example, concerning sound and picture clarity, hearsay, or 'inadequacies in testimony amounting to evidence insufficient to satisfy a criminal prosecution' (Lyon & de Cruz 1992:279). In some cases, as a result of these problems, the child may still have to appear in the witness box to be cross examined in open court and some police forces have guidelines reminding officers to keep this in mind, by stating that;

Nothing should be said to a child, parent/carer which will give them reason to believe that video evidence will automatically be admitted by the court instead of oral Evidence, or that the use of a live television link or screen will be allowed. Application for such is required in each individual case, and whilst generally permission is granted, this should not be assumed as it is at the Judge's discretion (Northumbria Police Training Manual 1996:6).

(11) Although the child must still be available for live cross examination, possibly using a television link, they will not be required to repeat their statement in the witness box in court.

As this short outline of the legal problems associated with child sex abuse cases illustrates, there are many problems which may be encountered, due to the legal rules surrounding video evidence. In addition, the Memorandum of Good Practice is a potentially intimidating document, containing 57 pages of procedural instructions which attempt to cover everything from child psychology to technical recording expertise. Within the Memorandum there are lists of clearly defined ages for different offences, certain conditions which must be fulfilled during the interview and extensive technical details regarding the way the tape is recorded. In addition, very strict interviewing principles are stipulated; the child should be listened to, not questioned; a child must be allowed to freely recall significant events; careful notes must be made of timings, setting and persons present, and all interviews prior to the video recording must be recorded in writing; also it is stated that it is very important that coaching the child must be avoided.

In terms of the location and planning of the video interview, the MoGP is also very specific; it should be conducted in specially designated facility, if possible away from the police station. Even the equipment must be of a certain type, because due to court rules, some are not acceptable. Preparation for the video interview is emphasised as being essential, and in total six pages of the document are devoted to this topic. A further thirteen are about conducting the interview, and five pages are about the legal constraints of using video evidence. Later, the Memorandum goes into details such as what to do after the interview, exact definitions of terms and Acts, age limits, and the points which need to be established for certain offences to be proved.

In addition to the nationally agreed rules of the MoGP, individual force standing orders are issued to officers training to conduct video interviews which are available as a 'help screen' on the networked force computer system. Suitably trained officers in Northumbria Police are also supplied with the 'Investigative Action Pack' which warns that 'the Memorandum of Good Practice is not mandatory, but strongly recommends that its guidance should be followed wherever practicable' (Northumbria Police 1996:1). One of their force standing orders also informs officers that;

Any recording not strictly complying with the MOCP will not automatically be ruled inadmissible but the MOCP should be followed when practicable to ensure acceptance (Northumbria Police: Force Standing Order 4).

'Legal' warnings such as these, which impinge upon the competence of officers through a lack of specialised knowledge of procedures and the ability to carry through the investigation, illustrate how an aura of expertise can marginalise some aspects of policework. In cases concerning child abuse, this may be amplified because of the belief in the unnatural combination of children and sexuality and the taboo of incest. In addition, it is disturbing to realise that those who would normally be expected to care for the child and in whom the child has placed trust, has abused them. It has been suggested that in the early 1900s, when incest was 'discovered', disbelief was replaced with horror, and a specific legal category was created (Bell 1993:128). In 1903 Lord Davey stated that it was an 'offence not only against morality and decency but against every instinct of human nature' (ibid). One of the early pioneering policewomen, writing in the 1950s, said that of all the work she had encountered, 'the most repugnant was dealing with cases of incest' (Wyles 1952:240) and as Bell has argued, the specific wrong of incest, and the taboo of intra familial sexuality has meant that legislation covering rape and other sexual assaults are not considered adequate to punish those crimes which Stanko says Butler would describe as 'incestuous assaults' (Stanko 1985:23).

In his description of the marginalised role of women in the police, Young describes investigating incest as not being regarded as 'real work for real polises'. He classes it as a 'care and welfare' issue, used to keep female officers away from the real work of thief taking. As women were officially segregated during his time in the CID in the late 1950s, the 'token woman' in the department took statements from the female rape or sexual assault victims (Young 1991:221-2). As the statistics I have presented here have shown, however, male officers now work in the Child Protection Departments which deal with the abuse of children, although mostly in a supervisory capacity. In addition to Memorandum training, there are Sexual Offences courses, which are open to all officers and compulsory for everyone entering the CID. However, due to the number of female victims, it seems to be accepted that it will be women officers who gain experience and expertise with children and sexual crimes. To what extent this is led by the preferences of victims, public demand, or a traditional belief in the 'natural' caring abilities of female officers, is difficult to

quantify. In preparation for CID training, officers are told that it is necessary to develop '...the ability to handle victims and witnesses with compassion and understanding in cases of indecent assault'(National Police Training 1993:9). As these are 'feminine' skills which are normally attributed to women, perhaps the prerequisite abilities which need to be displayed at selection interviews for posts involving sexual offences, are gendered. Indeed it has been suggested that 'sexual abuse presents the police with peculiar difficulties' partly due to their inability to take responsibility for the problem of men hurting women and children, being overwhelmingly male, and partly because the private nature of the offence means that detection often relies upon the word of the victim (Campbell 1988:69). In cases where the victim is the sole witness, and a child, beliefs about the unreliability of children, their speech, memory processes and lack of truthfulness this may add to the problems of evidential credibility.

In Campbell's discussion of the Cleveland child abuse controversy, she uses evidence which was given to the Inquiry by police officers to support her assertion that they were unable to deal comfortably with offences concerning sexuality and injuries to genitalia. In addition, their evidence gathering techniques were criticised for being incompetent and unsympathetic and 'confrontational' in the Inquiry findings (Home Office, 1988:245). One of the parents involved in the case reported that a policewoman, who had been unable to get any information from a child victim, was replaced by a male detective who said he had '...decided to try and browbeat a confession out of these recalcitrant kids' (Campbell 1988:74) and at a case conference social workers and health professionals were shocked into silence when a detective announced he had '...told the boy he was a little so-and-so, that he'd pushed him until he cracked' (ibid:75). Another observation Campbell makes about the Cleveland case is the apparent discomfort police officers displayed at the Inquiry regarding the relationship between sexuality and childhood. Evidence of this was seized upon when a professional feud became public knowledge. It had developed in the course of the investigation between police, social services and the doctors who had suggested that a large number of children were the victims of abuse. Relations between the various agencies had broken down when the police refused to allow their photographer to collect evidence of injuries to the children's genitals. When questioned at the Inquiry, the police officer in charge agreed that it was usual to take photographs of bruises '...in the immediate area' but the request to photograph the anus of a child was refused because '...it had no evidential value' (Campbell 1988:76). Police officers '...were becoming increasingly embarrassed and reluctant to take these photographs' according to

Edwards and Lohman (1994:117).

After the Inquiry it was revealed that Cleveland Constabulary had been one of the few police forces which had failed to implement Home Office recommendations contained in Circular 69/86 'Violence against Women'. In that directive, ten years earlier, it had been suggested that female victims should have the right to be interviewed by policewomen (Campbell 1988:70). One of the well reported occurrences in this process was the national outcry at the evidence in the BBC programme 'Police', a documentary series by Roger Graef, which showed male detectives interrogating a rape victim in 1982. In the Guardian, the next day, the police were described as subjecting the woman to a display of 'unmitigated toughness' and 'low-key brutality' (The Guardian, 19.1.82 quoted in Scott & Dickens 1989:81) and the public outcry which followed was answered by several forces issuing statements about the treatment of women reporting rape. As a result, new guidelines were issued by the Home Office, which acknowledged that '*...some women might prefer to be interviewed or examined by another woman*' (Scott & Dickens 1989:81, original emphasis). Indeed, it is argued that change was affected in response to complaints by various feminist commentators and those writing on sexual abuse, such as Stanko (1985) on 'intimate' violence and physical abuse, (Dobash and Dobash 1992, Edwards 1989). Various authors, published with the Scott & Dickens article mentioned above, in a collection by Dunhill (1989), were highly critical of the way so called 'women's problems' such as domestic violence and rape are dealt with by the police. In addition, publicised cases of sexual harassment and discrimination against women officers have provided fuel for the press to confirm public suspicions about male power and misogyny in the police.

In particular, Judge Butler-Sloss, in her Recommendations in the report which was published as a result of the Cleveland Inquiry, said that especially in cases where teenagers have been sexually abused, 'Police, doctors and Social Services should have female staff ready to help children' (Butler-Sloss 1988:10). Her specific reference to the need for women to be the specialists, not only in cases of unlawful sex, such as incest, but specifically to deal with children, appears to confirm popular beliefs and assumptions within the police. Although the case which she refers, concerning 'Samantha' is that of a teenager being embarrassed when examined by a male *doctor*, and there are inferences that the transitory stage of sexual maturity may have added to the problem, a very influential report has indicated that 'female staff' and sexual abused children are naturally associated.

Police feminisation.

As a result of certain criticisms of existing police practices, and the way women officers are perceived to be able to silence certain allegations of due to their 'compassionate nature' (McLaughlin 1996:73) that it has been suggested that women are regarded as 'the solution to the crises of modern policing' (Heidensohn 1992:103). Indeed, these crises of confidence and levels of distrust which have been shown to exist by studies such as the Islington Crime Survey (Jones et al 1986:205), particularly among groups such as the young and ethnic minorities, has led to recommendations regarding police training policies. As the Policy Studies Institute reported in 1983, the police in London were regarded favourably by the majority of the public until they had been in contact with the force. As a result of encounters with police officers however, it was found that '...some officers were rude and bullying towards members of the public' (Heward 1994:243). In response to these criticisms the police seem to have reacted by engaging in an attempt to improve their image management on two fronts; first, by pacifying their protagonists regarding their interactions with the public, and second, through the transformation of their internal personnel affairs. In the first case, they have attempted to control how they are perceived to be carrying out the task of policing and in the latter they claim to have been trying to replace a gender segregated workforce with an integrated service style organisation.

As an example of this new image conscious behaviour, it is reported that throughout the 1992 Chief Constables' conference the police were aiming to find ways to regain public confidence by enhancing their image with 'new speak'. 'Negative personal experiences' replaced being framed, assaulted or racially abused by the police. Miscarriages of justice, such as the Birmingham Six suffered, became known as 'high profile reversals' and rather than the press being regaled by 'old fashioned coppers in braid' demanding more rubber bullets, the new breed of chief constables, were now anxious to show their new sector policing, domestic violence or equal opportunities initiatives. In addition, quality of service delivery and performance indicators are example of this image management package which Heward describes as being designed to 'empower' consumers (Heward 1994:242).

Elements of this trend can be seen in forces throughout the country as police managers have been aiming to demonstrate that public opinion has been sought for their views on local priorities and concerns. One of these schemes, reported

in the Police Review, in 1995, stated that a Chief Inspector from Leicestershire Police had '...decided the best way forward was to survey the customers to see what they wanted from the police, and give added responsibilities to his beat officers' (Gibbons 1995:20). As 'Policing', the monthly magazine which claims to be the 'voice of the Police Federation', states in the introduction to the article about this new Leicestershire philosophy;

Supermarket bosses would not dream of stocking their shelves with products which don't sell. And today's modern police service should be no different. It's right that the public, as customers, should have a say about what's on offer (Gibbons 1995:20).

One of the difficulties which the police encountered however, in their drive to be more publically accountable, is in the reported treatment of their own female colleagues. Whilst the management was engaged with changing the corporate identity of the police, a series of cases where officers alleged either racial or sexual harassment and discrimination came to light. As the Halford case illustrated, evidence of sexist behaviour within the organisation would not fit neatly with the new improved image of unproblematic gender and race relations in police encounters with the public. In a seemingly hurried response to certain allegations by various women officers, accusing the male hierarchy of everything from unequal deployment and lack of promotion to sexual assaults on duty, research defining 'best practice' initiatives, reports and Home Office inspections were conducted (12). Competitions were organised with awards made to individuals designing the most innovative solution to inequality in their particular police force; funds were provided for small research projects by the Police Research Group (13), ostensibly to encourage ideas leading to equality of opportunity, but ultimately aimed at getting more women and ethnic minority officers to be promoted or apply for specialist posts.

(12) 2 HMIC National Thematic Inspections concerned with Equal Opportunities (1992 and 1995).

(13) 'Award for Equality of Opportunity Achievement in the Police Service', an annual competition funded by the Home office, in collaboration with the Equal Opportunities Commission, 'committed to encouraging initiatives to advance EO in the police service'.

in addition, there have been attempts by police managers to appear to be increasing the organisation's public accountability by responding to demands for the rights of victims. As they became aware that it may be regarded as unacceptable for women to discuss the intimate details of a rape with a male detective, forces had to assess their methods of obtaining evidence in these cases. Aside from the politicised activations by feminist groups such as Women's Aid, there were also moral and ethical questions which the police had to negotiate; in the course of intimate examinations privacy and decency became difficult issues because the policewomen's departments had been disbanded in the mid 1970s, and nothing had been done to replace the skills that were lost (see for example Campbell 1989, Scott & Dickens 1989, Stanko 1985). Male detectives, although trained in the theory and law of sexual offences, could not become female surrogates to attend examinations and were therefore distanced from the victim. As the evidence which I have collected regarding these difficulties will show, it has led to women being 'encouraged' to enter departments which deal with sexual matters, reconstituting the old policewomen's departments in all but name (Heidensohn 1992), resulting in men further excluding themselves from such activities. Perhaps this is an example of what Connell has described as a 'lumpy' period in gender history (1987:149), because as Morgan suggests, industries which become increasingly dependent upon female workers require not only a significant transformation of gender relations between men and women, but also between men (Morgan 1991:182).

In response to some questions I asked about the progression of women officers in one of the forces I researched, their Career Development Officer told me that in order to encourage participation in sergeant's promotion examinations;

'...I wrote to every female officer in the force, personally, and really asked them if they would consider giving it serious consideration'(Male Superintendent 1994).

He went on to describe how women could improve their promotion chances if they achieved a 'breadth of vision, across the organisation' by gaining experience in specialist posts. I asked him if this included traditional areas of specialisation for women officers such as Child and Family Protection Units.

'Difficult to comment—both the women who are in the present promotion stakes are in the CID: if more women were in the CID, dogs, traffic and so on, it would equip them, overall, with promotion prospects because it would give them a greater breadth of knowledge, it would enhance the prospects of female officers, definitely' (Male Superintendent 1994)

As this suggests, he was ambivalent regarding the value of experience in the CPU as a positive career move, although predictably the CID, traffic and even the dog section seemed preferable. Later in this interview he outlined a system of 'highlighting' certain officers who appear to have potential to achieve promotion, assigning them a 'mentor'. Although he could not remember how the selection system worked, he knew that of the twelve officers currently taking part in the scheme, three were women. In a similar way, the Career Development Officer's direct superior, a Chief Superintendent in charge of personnel, appeared to be anxious to make sure that women were treated more than equally. He described how it is difficult to arrange formal attachments to the CID because of staffing shortages and 'rules'. Despite the fact that an individual sub-commander might want to 'develop' a particular officer, the 'Executive' or 'policy makers' would not agree to 'flex it a bit'. However, in one case, where an officer their superior were in agreement that some experience in the CID would be appropriate, and could be accommodated within the department, he explained they would have made an exception;

'It was, in fact, a woman who wanted to do it, but you've got to be very careful how you go about these things. To be quite honest, if I'd said it was for a female to do it, it would have been done like *that* (snaps fingers)...but you've got to look at the situation and make it fair, or you could throw the organisation out of kilter' (Male Chief Superintendent 1994).

As his reluctance to unleash a possible male backlash through what he described as a 'kneejerk reaction' illustrates, relationships between men in these situations appear to be paramount. In the other, larger force I investigated I found that they were also concerned about the lack of women in their specialist departments. One of their internal memoranda, stated that following a research project, carried out by two officers in the force, it was:

'...identified (to no one's surprise) that female officers were under represented in Operational Support and, in line with the Equal Opportunities Policy within the force, positive action measures should be carried out to encourage female officers to apply'. (Internal Force Memorandum, 1995)

As a result it was decided that for the next twelve months, women officers would be allowed to have a four week attachment with a variety of specialisms, such as;

'Motor Patrols, Dog Section, TSC etc,...to interested women officers which will provide a useful and worthwhile experience' (Career Development in Operational Support Memorandum 1995).

At a meeting I attended, in support of this initiative the Equal Opportunities Officer, a civilian postholder, reminded the Assistant Chief Constable, that their HMIC report in 1993 had highlighted the under representation of women officers at all levels (Internal Report to Operational Commanders' Conference, 1995). With the exception of the Child and Family Protection Units and the Community Relations departments, it was shown that few improvements had been made. An example which was cited was traffic, where 2.4 of the officers are female, compared to their overall level of 13% in the force.

In comparison, the smaller, more rural force I researched had produced a booklet about equal opportunities entitled 'Guidelines for Managers' which contains instructions about how the Sex Discrimination Act should be regarded. Supervisory officers are told;

1. Don't assume that all women are better at communication skills and dealing with children than men are. Some women are poor communicators and hopeless with children, and some men are very good.
 2. Don't assume that all men will be better drivers and better shots than all women. Some men are poor drivers and hopeless shots while some women are very good.
- (Force Booklet, Undated:11-12)

In this document it is also pointed out that the Sex Discrimination Act does allow employers to specify the sex of the person where there is a need for 'authenticity, decency or privacy or the provision of personal services promoting welfare' (S.7 of the SDA, quoted in Force Guidelines 'for Managers':10). 'Genuine Occupational Qualifications, the guidelines continue, cover the

following instances;

- a) Male officers searching male prisoners and women officers searching women prisoners in the interests of privacy and decency. This would have applied before PACE. (S.7(2)(b)(i))
- b) Male officers being sent into all male clubs for surveillance purposes in the interests of authenticity. (S.7(2)(a))
- c) Women officers dealing with women victims of rape and other serious sexual offences where the victim prefers to speak to a woman and it is in the interests of her welfare. (S.7(2)(e)) (Force booklet, undated:10)

Once again the private/public, gendered division of labour can be seen in some of the assumptions underlying these examples. Men have clubs, which may need to be 'infiltrated' by officers in secret and possibly dangerous circumstances. On the other hand, women victims are assumed to want to talk to a female officer as it may be 'in the interests of her welfare'. As these guidelines show, it is possible for the police to portray themselves as equal opportunities employers, and at the same time, improve their corporate identity by providing 'sympathetic' female officers to deal with women victims. It could also be regarded as being more cost effective, at a time when police budgets were being restricted, for a small group of officers to be trained as specialists. As female officers may be regarded as a more flexible resource—able to participate at all stages of a rape investigation, including medical examinations, and more capable of interviewing sympathetically, in addition to being 'politically' acceptable, it seems clear that they would be targeted for specialist training in sexual crimes.

Career choices.

In the course of my research I wanted to examine these assumptions about women officers and intimacy and decency and also to establish the needs and practices the investigating of certain offences. One of the difficulties in this area is the notion of choice, both from the police officer's point of view and the victim. In Chapter 2 of this thesis women officers who had been successfully promoted to high ranking jobs, seemed to suggest that their choice of career moves had been limited. Senior, male officers had viewed them as 'high fliers' and often behind the scenes, suggested that they should be moved to areas which would help their promotion prospects. Another reason many of the senior

women police officers claimed had helped them was an element of luck, which seems to imply that something or someone may have been controlling their 'choices'. In a similar way officers working in Child and Family protection departments seemed to fall into three categories. One group were aware that they had been 'required to go into this type of work, a second group said they thought it may be a good career move or liked the work, and a third group who were more cynical, giving reasons such as biding time until another job or likes working office hours, fits in with family commitments and so on.

As a result of discovering the way 'natural' relationships between women and work with abused children have been defined, I decided to investigate the effect of such pronouncements. In a series of discussions I was interested to find out whether formal or informal measures had been used which would encourage women officers to accept this supposedly natural association. One of the ways I attempted to elicit this information was by asking about their preferences for specialist posts and departments in a series of taped discussion groups. In the course of one of these sessions with women officers, some of whom were working in the Child Protection Unit, I asked about their motivation for becoming involved in specific areas of policework. One officer said she was awaiting a post in the CID, and another said she had just started a CID attachment. I asked, therefore, whether child protection could be regarded as a step towards the CID and although they agreed it could be, the officer working there said she wanted to get out of the CPU;

'...I'm not interested in the CPU full time, I'm halfway through my sergeant's exam and it would hold me back, I wouldn't get any acting. I'm just filling in until I can get a place on the CID' (Female PC, 1994 Cp 5).

Another female officer taking part in this discussion added that she was more interested in driving, at present working in the 'TWOC squad' and she liked 'getting her ticks', or being measured by quantifiable markers of achievement. Not being interested in working in 'softer' areas such as protection work, she said;

'I've always gone the other way. If anything comes in like child abuse, policewomen get sent to it anyway- without a doubt the policewoman gets sent' (Female PC 1994 Cp 5).

In other discussions on this subject, women compared their various experiences of gendered aspects of policework. In response to a question about whether male officers were becoming deskilled in cases involving child sex offences, as a result of women being regarded as 'the experts', one of the women said;

'Definitely- the men shy away from it, dealing with women and children, and yet they're the ones who are married with kids. I don't think there's any one of us here with children, yet we're expected to be able to go in there and deal with it. But, yes, definitely, the men don't get the skills' (Female PC 1994 Cp 5).

'Most of the (male) PCs put the barriers up, that's a woman's job, leave it to them we can't deal with that-kids, we are given them, but I don't know anything about them'(Woman PC 1994Cp 3)

In the literature which has attempted to analyse the relationship between gender, occupational segregation and identity it is suggested that a complex range of approaches can be used to explain how 'doing gender' (Hall 1993) is an integral part of our working lives. For example, Hall suggests that '...women police officers are often seen as lacking the authoritative manner of men officers, whereas male flight attendants are described as giving less friendly service than female attendants (Hall 1993:452). In terms of a gendered organisation approach, as proposed by Acker (1990), it is assumed that certain 'job evaluations, promotion procedures and job specifications' are embedded in an organisational 'logic' (Acker 1990 in Hall, 1993:453). Organisations also tend to justify and explain the creation of gendered distinctions which may have the effect of influencing the gender identity of employees (*ibid*:453-4). Gender, according to this perspective, is an integral part of the way organisations work, and as Acker suggests;

...advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine (Acker 1990:146).

In this way, the identity of a police officer who is able to be compassionate, but detached, may not comfortably be equated with traditional views of the 'macho cop' image. Indeed, 'cop culture' is blamed by Walklate for the marginalisation of certain jobs in the police, such as those regarded as 'female' postings. She argues that fewer male officers are likely to apply for jobs such as

a 'domestic violence officer', which:

...might be as a result of their evaluation of their own skills but also has to be seen alongside the persistent effects of 'cop culture' and the associated definition of what counts as 'proper policing' (Walklate 1995:198).

In this way, Walklate argues that women might regard themselves as having appropriate skills for this type of work, and selection procedures would consider 'being sympathetic, supportive, able to listen able to communicate' (Walklate 1995:198) as appropriate attributes. As the ability to deal with children and sexual abuse is perceived to require these specialist skills, but also certain 'natural' abilities, I asked some women in the child protection department why they thought male officers might be viewed as unsuitable.

'...they're frightened of the work, they get upset, the men- they want to kill the perpetrators' (Female PC 1994 Cp 2).

'Early in my service I was called to a cot death. It was distressing, the baby was dead, but the mother didn't want to give me it, she wouldn't let go. I was only a few months into my service and I was alright afterwards, but the male sergeant with me was an absolute wreck' (Female PC 1994 Cp 2).

Another aspect of this discussion about the gendered identification of certain types of work within organisations has been examined by analysing the 'invisible' nature of some tasks. In her examination of the role of secretaries, Wichroski asserts that because women have been regarded as 'compliant, cheerful and non-competitive for male positions', in some service occupations, they were actively encouraged to regard this as their domain (Wichroski 1994:33). As a result, the role of the secretary, which has incorporated certain aspects which have traditionally been viewed as female, has become an occupation which is assumed to be carried out exclusively by women. Evidence of this supposed gendered conception of secretarial work was examined in a study of men crossing into 'women's' areas of work. It was discovered by Pringle (1993) that some men were able to avoid being labelled in ways which would damage the maintenance of their masculine image. She also found that gender alters the power relationship between boss and secretary, and states an incidence of a male 'marketing assistant' who has replaced 'a girl who did a lot of typing'. As a result, his female boss, refers to him as an 'assistant', 'offsider'

or 'Phillip who runs round after me...never as secretary'(Pringle 1993:143). On the other hand, in another company;

Raoul, unlike Phillip, is actually defined as a secretary and is thus placed at a cultural disadvantage, subject to ridicule. Yet he is able to develop strategies of asserting masculine power...(as) he is not happy about being called a secretary, and goes out of his way to explain why the term is inappropriate. He says that when the job was first discussed, the term *secretary* was never mentioned(Pringle 1993:145-146 original emphasis).

It has been argued that one of the reasons women fit more easily into occupations which involve servicing the needs of others is their ability to make their 'smile become the product' (Wichroski 1994:34). Service related jobs usually rely upon interaction and because women are over represented in these occupations, the required skills have become associated with femininity. Although the actual tasks carried out by such workers are not defined as male or female;

...those professions that have been feminised have incorporated more fixed gender expectations, allowing the worker less leeway in negotiating a satisfying work role that integrates personal and work identities (Wichroski 1994:34).

In addition, women who are involved in areas in the organisation which are hidden in some way, such as child protection, will be classed as carrying out 'emotional' rather than 'rational' labour. Rational labour, that which has an obvious production value, for example catching car thieves, burglars and drug pushers and thereby increasing the clear up rates and performance indicators, is formally defined by the police. As rationality is therefore apparently valued more than emotionality this has consequences for women, who are often, it is claimed by Nicholson (1996), seen as emotional whereas men are regarded as rational. She goes on to argue that;

...emotion is kept out of sight in the organisational world, and although some members are expected to exhibit emotion, they are the marginal, dispensable or inadequate staff (Nicholson 1996:147).

As a consequence, the more feminine, private and 'emotional' aspects of policing, concerned with intimacies of sexual and familial violence will not generally be afforded high priority in publicised strategic plans. In the 'war

against crime', traditional policing targets include burglars and car thieves, but the 'softer' caring work, is not publicised in the same way. Even at an organisational level, due to the spacial division of the Child Protection Units, away from the general areas of police activities, the work may not be recognised as being either of a high status or fast turnover. On the other hand, many aspects of policing have been said to lack a coherent description, and as Cain has argued, studies of the police rarely define the object of their analysis (Cain 1992:3). In particular, Walklate suggests that issues relating to 'women as police officers and women as police customers...has the potential to challenge fundamentally what counts as policework' (Walklate 1995:199). However, attitudes towards the 'tea and sympathy' and '9 to 5' office job image in the Child Protection Units, as opposed to blue uniformed, high priority, 24 hours emergency work, may not constitute this challenge. In general, the status of these departments appears lower than traditional crime fighting areas such as the CID, a point which seems to be conveyed by the following remarks;

'...there's a lack of criming in Child and Family Protection' (Female PC 1994 Gp 2).

'A lot of the lads think it's a doddle in the child abuse unit, that it's a cushy number. I've been in there since July, and it's harder than your CID attachment...the workload, you've 12 or 14 cases on the go at the same time; you're out there on your own—they don't know what's happening. Our results are never shown on the log, to show the amount of work. Nobody really sees what we have to do (Female PC 1994 Gp 5).

It is interesting that this woman compares the work in the CPU with the traditionally male specialism of crime fighting, the CID, because as Young (1991) has suggested, all the organisational symbolism surrounding the status of 'real' policing would place these two specialisms at the opposite end of the continuum of credibility. Conversely, in the most recent report by the Home Office concerned with occupational segregation, a 'Thematic Inspection of Equal Opportunities' (1995), child protection officers are regarded as working *within* the CID. A more convincing view of this department, however, regarding the attitudes of those working in the organisation and in the public perception, is that a 'move into clothes' (Hobbs 1988:210) has always been regarded as promotion. Despite the fact that the CPU is 'non-uniform' work, several of the women I consulted who worked in the child protection units felt their capabilities were undervalued by the majority of their colleagues, although as one woman said;

'...I think the women appreciate what we do, it's the men that don't know what goes on that don't appreciate it' (Female PC 1994 Cp 3).

Another woman talked about the inability of her male colleagues to talk to each other about their emotions, stating that she thought they found the female officers more sympathetic;

'Men can let it out to women, although they call anyone in the CPU the "social workers" of the office; they laugh when we use talk like 'mum and the children', and they say, 'It'll be different when you're in the CID, you'll have to stop talking like that' (Female PC 1994 Cp 2).

From this point of view, men are regarded as being able to show their feelings to women colleagues but are not regarded as capable of subverting their emotions when dealing with sexual offences against children. One of the ways this can be understood is by exploring the concept of 'emotion work', which has been developed to explain this phenomenon. It is suggested that in some highly charged situations it is necessary to suppress certain feelings in order to carry out tasks in the course of employment. Furthermore the 'caring' work which women sometimes have to do for men in the course of their occupation is sometimes compared to 'mothering'. Within organisations which demand high levels of rationality, competence and professionalism Nicholson argues that men very rarely have the chance to '... expose and consider their vulnerabilities in a safe context...and even if the woman is their senior they are able to engage in an invisible emotional relationship' (Nicholson 1996:148). It has been argued that this is one of the ways that women become the 'natural' carers in organisation but also that the naturalised roles and identities they embrace become '...transformed into "non-work"' (Lawler 1996:157). As an example of this, in the study of 'invisible work' mentioned earlier, it was found that although '...secretaries must know more than is acknowledged by the organisation', some work is unnamed and uncategorised, (Wichroski 1994:34) and their interactions at work, being service based, became fused with their personal identity. Indeed, in some cases, it is apparent that women officers *choose* to work in areas such as child protection, perhaps believing that the expectation of the 'product' they have to offer, is their 'natural' or aquired ability to portray a caring, 'service with a smile' (Wichroski 1994). As the following statement suggests, some people have a particular interest in this type of work, and do not feel that their gender has influenced the outcome of their application to the department.

'The only reason women are chosen at first is on an ad hoc basis. I personally put in for it' (Woman PC 1994 Cp 3).

I asked another woman, a uniformed PC, if there were any areas in which she would choose to specialise and she replied;

'Well, I'm on Comms at the moment, but I would like to do family protection. I applied for a Reserve (post), but another girl with more service got it' (Female PC 1994 Cp 4).

She went on to explain that she had worked for Social Services before joining the police and so had a special interest in this type of work.

In many occupations there are areas which are considered to be specially reserved for men or women as they require certain attributes to carry out specific tasks. A study of the recruitment practices of a leisure park by Adkins, for example, revealed that applicants for seasonal work at 'Fun Land' were divided into operatives for 'fast' rides, supposedly requiring strength and therefore an 'essential maleness' (Adkins 1995:99), the children's rides- this work was allocated to women and older men over 36, and the catering department. A very high proportion of the catering assistants were young women, and Adkins found that '... the catering manager used a very particular set of criteria to assess the suitability of new catering assistants' (Adkins 1995:102). As might be expected in a service related job, these criteria were based on physical appearance, and the manager who was interviewed in the study stated he was looking for 'brightness in their appearance' being 'attractive and looking fresh' (ibid). One of the interesting aspects of Adkins' study, which is linked to the quote by the officer above, who stated she was aiming to work in the child protection unit, is that she suggests that women are constructing a suitable image in order to enter segregated areas of work. As Adkins asserts, it is clear that the work at Fun Land is gendered, catering is seen as 'women's work', and that:

...while the inherent maleness of the fast ride occupation and the criteria used to recruit fast ride operatives were both achieved by producing a link between the supposed occupational requirements and men (fast rides 'need' physical strength, and young men possess such strength), no such link was provided for the catering assistant occupation (Adkins 1995:105).



In comparison with many studies which assume that work is gendered because male occupational power defines it as lower status, or as 'feminine' or emotion work, Adkins suggests an element of choice or agency is possible. She argues that although the recruitment manager has a specific set of criteria concerning facial display and appropriate clothing', rejecting women applicants he believes to look 'wierd', 'too butch', 'too manly' or simply 'too ugly', (Adkins 1995 :105-106), she nevertheless argues that;

...the criteria used derived from a particular construction of *workers themselves*, rather than a set of occupational 'requirements' (Adkins 1995:105 original emphasis).

This concept of women taking part in the construction of their own gendered identity at work, either through physical appearance or emotional and caring abilities, is also illustrated by a study of women surgeons in America. In her examination of attitudes towards gender status and competence, Cassell (1996) found that women had to be very careful about the image they portrayed to their colleagues. One of the female surgeons she was observing confided that she had been instructed by her male senior that she should always wear lipstick in order to deflect the assumption that she was a lesbian. In the course of her study the author saw two of the women residents conferring about applying lipstick, in the middle of the night, before rushing to the emergency room to attend to a gunshot victim (Cassell 1996:44).

In other areas of health care, there are similarly gendered areas of specialty and it has been suggested that rather than having a negative or discriminatory effect, this leads to '...a non-competitive, complementary aspect...in the form of non-competing gender groups' (Kazanjian 1993:151). In this way, Kazanjian argues that;

Complementarity rather than competition governs the placement of men and women in different fields of work and creates a labour market for predominantly male or female occupations (Kazanjian 1993:151).

As the majority of nursing staff are female, it has been suggested that work relations between these women mean that '...a striking feature of the hospital ward is that there is a feminised culture centering upon a female homosociability' (Witz et al 1996:177). Rather than a negative environment in which to work, it is suggested that these single sex workgroups were 'fairly open, sharing environments, within which women shared information about non-

work matters' (ibid). In this environment they note that men were not always welcomed because they were regarded as 'strangers in a female world' but that they could refute the suspicions about their masculinity by carrying out 'considerable amounts of rational work' (Witz et al 1996:178).

In some ways the women officers working in the Child Protection Units seem to be justifying their role as being engaged in rational *and* emotional labour (13). In order to refute the 'social worker' image, they need to either show particular interest in this type of work, or claim to have a credible reason for applying, such as the officer who said she had worked for social services. Another strategy is to show that the work is undervalued in terms of crime, workload, or some other, vague but specialised knowledge. In order to counteract the masculinist categorisation of child protection work as private, female and therefore of low status, the women seem to feel they need to enhance or explain their position. As Cockburn has suggested, men dominate the workplace in some occupations not only through hierarchical structures, but also because 'work processes are subject to continual redefinition, subdivision and fragmentation (Cockburn quoted in McNeil, 1987:192). As a result of masculine ideologies regarding competencies and the status of 'male' knowledge, it is suggested, when women appear to be replacing men, very often the job has been redesigned and devalued in some way (McNeil 1987:192)

In another discussion, this point was illustrated by a group of male officers. They were talking about public order training, firearms squads and women being on the Public Order Unit, and two of them agreed that it was 'Not a place for a woman'. On the other hand, when asked whether they thought that their female colleagues had particular skills, one of them replied;

'I think so. The emphasis is on understanding how a woman who's just been raped or a child who's just been molested. I think a woman can get across, whether it's a boy or a girl, that she's interviewing, a damn sight better than a fella can. A woman is naturally less intimidating to a child'. (Male PC 1994 Cp 2).

14. Rational labour is described by Wichroski as '...tasks generating output and formal exchange of information reflecting organisational and professional goals'. On the other hand, emotional labour is classed as '...the manipulation of feelings in the self and others in order to complete work tasks and solve problems' (Wichroski 1994:35).

In response to this statement I asked why he held this opinion when so few policewomen have children of their own, and one of his colleagues interrupted with:

'I was going to say, I disagree with that. I could speak to a child a hell of a lot better than a policewoman who hasn't had children. I've got three children of my own' (Male PC 1994 Cp 2).

As the group discussion progressed, one of the officers pointed out that the CPU in his own subdivision had two women working in it and he asked, 'Whose choice is that?' inferring that some women were able to get special advantages in the selection processes. In this way, childless women are separated from those with personal experience, with the second officer, above, arguing that he could be better at interviewing a child than a woman who was not a mother. As Rich (1977) has argued, women are often defined in this way, in terms of mother or non-mothers, and Lawler develops this point by saying that 'not all women stand in the same relationship to maternity...as childbearing is socially approved only for certain groups of women' (Lawler 1996:155). Furthermore, when the officer who was arguing in favour of the inclusion of men in the departments pointed out that one of the sub divisions had a man on the CPU, the other retorted,

'Yes, but would you take *your* car to a mechanic who doesn't own one himself?' (Male PC 1994 Cp 2).

'Real' policework.

Discussions about the status of work in the CPU compared to the 'real' task of crime fighting and 'rational' quantifiable success, leads to distinctions between that which is typically regarded as a 'male' specialism in the police and other work. Departments such as the CPU, seen to be carrying out the softer, feminine work seem to be judged by male baselines, such as the CID. In quite a few cases when I asked women about their preferences and the CPU they compared the status of the work with the CID. As an example, I talked to a woman who explained that she was a 'Reserve' on the CPU, which means that she is trained, and is called upon when needed, but normally works in the CID. I asked about differences between the two departments and whether there were

any specific problems for women in the latter. She replied in a manner which seemed to be accepting of the situation, remarking that there was always 'a bit of a laugh and carry on in the CID; get in there and make the coffee and wash the dishes' from her male colleagues, but she went on to assert that:

'You get that in any job, but if you can't take the criticism or the jokes they direct at you, you shouldn't be in the job' (Female PC 1994 Gp 4).

When I asked her about the actual tasks she had to carry out in the course of her work, and whether any particular difficulties arose for her as a woman in a crime squad, she remarked;

'That depends on the individual and your status—whether you're married or have children. CID can be quite demanding, if you're single and you've got no commitments then you can work the hours; if you've got children or a husband to feed, you can't always put the job first' (Female DC 1994 Gp 4).

However, contradicting some of the earlier comparisons between CID and CPU working hours, one of the other women officers from the unit said;

'In child protection you don't know what time you're going to finish' (Female PC 1994 Gp 2).

Another woman I talked to about specialist posts and problems for women as a minority was working in the Regional Crime Squad, and she told me that as the only woman in that department, she found it quite predictable that as her period of tenure was coming to an end in a few weeks time, another woman had been brought in as a replacement. At the moment however, there was a short overlap, because the incoming female officer was brought in as a male officer had just vacated a post. I asked whether this system of apparent tokenism caused any problems in terms of operational procedures for the Squads, and she replied;

'I think we should have more women on, because obviously, if we do follow people, a man and a woman sitting in a car is much less obvious than two men, and yet when Pam came on, it was in fact my partner who left, and Pam should have come and worked with me, but there's no way they would put two women working together; in fact, in all my service I have never ever worked with another policewoman' (Female DC 1994 Gp 4).

To explore this suggestion of tokenism or the exclusivity of high status posts such as the Regional Crime Squads, I asked another group of women officers if they had experienced any problems getting accepted into departments of their choice. One remarked that she had transferred from the Metropolitan Police and had always wanted to 'drive fast cars -fast'. She said that when she had expressed an interest in the Traffic Department she found that;

'There was only one girl on traffic when I came up, and the head of Personnel targeted me'(Female PC 1994 Gp 3).

As a result, she felt she had been moved into her chosen speciality quite swiftly, and this perception also seemed to be reflected in the following remarks which were made in response to a question about how easy it is for women to join the CID;

'It's just the same I think. An attachment and then on a list. Same as everybody else' (Female PC 1994 Gp 5).

'Yes, it's just the same' (Female PC 1994 Gp5).

I went on to ask if there felt there was an absence of sexual discrimination in general, or whether localised attempts to recruit women into specialist posts were taking place. One officer who was present said that years ago there had been difficulties, but now 'it's easier' (Female PC 1994 Gp3). Another remarked;

'In the last two or three years we're getting treated better. Before, it was a real bad attitude towards women'(Female PC 1994 Gp 5).

'With the younger, newer policemen and their attitudes; there's a lot more women, plus the Career Development Officer, there's someone up there now, who seems to be taking an interest. I mean, we had a questionnaire last year and they seem to be more interested' (Female PC 1994 Gp 5).

However, this was still causing problems in some areas, as one woman recounted;

'Well, I've applied for the CID, but in all the 7 years I've been here, no woman has been interested in putting in for the CID. You weren't- you couldn't get them to apply for it. It's a boys' club sort of thing. One did apply, they weren't keen on taking her, but because she's a woman, and there were six men, they had to take her' (Female PC 1994 Gp 3).

In returning to the problem of whether women are choosing to go into specialisms such as the CPU however, this woman had also worked with the only male CPU officer and she complained that;

'... in the majority of the cases, a man just wouldn't be suitable to talk to that little girl, and they found that the two women were carrying the vast majority of the work' (Female PC 1994 Gp3).

Another officer, talking about the 'maleness' of certain specialities and the lack of prospects for women, when asked about her career aspirations, told me;

'I applied for traffic six years ago, and every year since and I have been intimidated so much I almost came out of the service. I also applied for the CID and drugs squad. I'd like to do the CID but there's a long waiting list and one woman only on (Female PC 1994 Gp 3).

On the other hand, another woman had encountered difficulties of a different type;

'...when I was working at (local subdivision), about a year ago a Chief Inspector came along and said, "How do you fancy going on CID?" I just said, "Yeah, that's what I want to do", and then the DI came in and said right then we've got to have a woman on CID at (local subdivision); we've had the HMIC round and you're going to be *it*' (Female PC 1994 Gp 2).

However, when this young officer pointed out that she had not had the requisite preliminary training period in the Department, another woman who had such experience got the job. Indeed, one of the problems which managers sometimes draw attention to is the lack of women who apply or are suitably qualified for specialist posts in the police. A Home Office Thematic Inspection in 1992 suggested that female officers were less ambitious than their otherwise equivalent male colleagues. Furthermore, because women tend to be unqualified

by experience in years service and exams, there is a disproportionately large number of relatively inexperienced women officers grouped at the bottom of the rank structure. In effect, this causes problems for the organisation when attempting to appear to be responding to calls for internal fairness accountability and external recognition of calls for sympathetic service delivery in terms of sexual offences.

Gender and sexual assaults.

As I have discussed in this section so far, certain aspects of policework concerning sexual offences, are regarded as specialised and complex and therefore structural constraints, in the form of decisions about who is trained, has created barriers. As a result, sexual matters and crimes which have an element of 'indecenty' seem to be regarded with particular caution by relatively untrained, non-specialist police officers. Even in ordinary, routine encounters, rules regarding organisational image, legal processes and decency are kept in mind by police officers, who are always conscious of complaints which could be made against them. Male officers are only allowed to feel into the pockets of outer garments such as coats and jackets of females, and look at pockets which are turned out on other clothing. Normal 'patting down' is not allowed by officers of the opposite sex, and custody officers, both male and female, have expressed their concerns to me about problems of possible allegations when taking prisoners to the toilet. A male custody officer told me;

'If there's anything requiring the removal of clothes, I get a woman officer in to watch over the prisoner' (Male Inspector 1996).

In other words, to protect himself, as the only officer with access to the cells in a locked custody suite, if a woman he was 'guarding' needed to go to the toilet, have a shower or be searched, he would request a woman officer to carry out the necessary supervision. On another occasion I was talking to a female custody sergeant, when a male prisoner rang his bell to be let out of his cell to go to the toilet. She went over to his door, unlocked the cell and opened the toilet door for him. I asked her if she felt there were any problems about decency or possible allegations being made against her in this situation and she replied;

'Well, no, not with you standing there, but if I was on my own I would call for another officer to be present' (Female Sergeant 1995).

So in normal everyday policework, not only sex, but also gender, seem to cause problems on two fronts; first, with regard to rules about decency and allegations of sexual harassment of prisoners and the public, and second; rules about court processes such as collection of intimate samples as evidence. In addition, there are structural issues which overlap into cultural areas, because they create a distance between skills, competencies and gender. Some female officers have complained to me about investigating sexual offences being classed as 'their' work simply because they are women. I witnessed instances of female officers being told to go to other sub-divisions where none were on duty to interview women alleging sexual assault, often returning to report that it 'was nothing' and a male officer could have taken the case. It is understandable that they feel resentful at travelling distances of 20 miles or more, at night, and being taken away from duties in which they were involved, for the sake of a few basic questions which could have been asked by someone else. In another case a woman had been raped at the opposite end of the sub-division, again involving a journey of approximately 25 miles, and when the female officer arrived she found the statement had already been taken by a male CID officer, and as a result she said she felt 'useless';

'We just sat in this room and stared at each other, and I thought, "What am I supposed to do?"' (Female PC 1994).

Another officer I was accompanying was called back to the police station on two of the three evenings I was with her because women had called at the enquiry desk asking to 'speak to a female officer'. She complained that in each case it was 'nothing'; complainants could have given the details to a male officer, or to the female administrative assistant who was working on the public enquiries desk. I asked this officer if this type of thing was a frequent occurrence and she said;

'Oh yes, all the time, but they're frightened and they (male officers) won't ask what it is' (Female PC 1995).

Again there are certain cultural explanations which have been offered for behaviour such as this; men refusing to get involved in unproductive, frustrating work, or sexual and familial matters being regarded as 'natural' tasks for

women. I witnessed another example of this apparent lack of willingness by the male officers to pry into intimate, 'female matters' when a woman was brought into the police station by the traffic car officers. She reported having had her handbag stolen, but when it was revealed that she had been hitch-hiking and had escaped from the car following a sexual assault, a female officer was called in from patrol to take her statement. It seemed a rather futile exercise, because the victim had no idea of the make or registration number of the car her attacker had been driving, and he would be well away from the area by now as the incident took place on the motorway. She had been hitching on her way down south to visit her children who live with an ex-partner, but shortly after getting into a car the driver started touching her leg and requesting sex in payment for the lift. She had told him to stop the car, but in her attempt to get out quickly, carrying numerous presents and bags, she had turned back to reach for her handbag, and he had driven off with the door still open, throwing her to the ground. As a result her shoulder was twisted awkwardly, and the police officer who had been called to the scene had taken her to the hospital, where she had her arm strapped across her chest.

Although there were no physical injuries to look at and the details of the sexual assault were fairly innocuous, the victim said he had placed his hand on her thigh and referred to the area between her legs as 'the promised land', but because there was some reference to sex it was felt to be more suitable for a woman officer to take the statement. In the literature on police culture, this would be regarded as a classic example of a reluctance to get involved in the domain of women. As most previous studies suggest, female officers seem to be dealing with more sex crimes than men. It is argued that this is due to various aspects of male power and beliefs about the lack of women's skills and expertise. Consequently, men control the definition of 'real' policework, and sexual offences, and in particular 'supporting' the victim, are lesser activities. As I said at the beginning of this chapter, it is almost impossible to separate the structural from cultural influences, and I accept that there must be an element of the latter, which will be explored fully in the next chapter. However, I would argue that these situations arise equally due to structural constraints because male officers lack expertise, and as a result they feel unqualified to ask even the most basic questions.

Officer in charge.

It is interesting to draw parallels with the literature on women and children which I have discussed earlier in this chapter with this issue of sex crimes and expertise. Women are trained to deal with the victims of sex crimes, the 'injured parties' are usually women and children, and when rape or sexual offences are reported, in most cases, the 'Officer in Charge' will usually be a male CID officer. Due to the lack of women in these departments, female officers serving in the CID will probably be Memorandum trained, and will therefore be the obvious person to take the victim's statement. Again, this could be regarded as either a structural or cultural issue, but in order to discover whether there is a structural element to the situation it is useful to think about two questions; first, to what extent is it necessary, in terms of the legal processes or organisational rules about 'decency' to have a female officer interviewing the victim, and second; whether there is a circular process of training and experience due to structure which confuses the issues of preference and need.

In order to attempt an analysis of the way occupational structures may be affecting the work women do in connection with sexual offences, it is necessary to separate the type of tasks women do, and to look at whether they appear to be doing these simply due to gender and to what extent structure plays a part. From one point of view, it is plain that if a woman has been raped it is in the interests of everyone if the same officer is the main contact for the woman throughout the whole process. Officers who have to adopt cases such as these complain about the distress caused to the victim if she has to repeat her story several times to various officers. It is also clear that if an intimate medical examination is to take place, and a police officer must be present to receive and verify the samples as they are collected by the doctor (15), that in terms of decency, this should be a woman, even though female doctors are not always available. Health professionals of the opposite sex are accepted in intimate examinations, but it is not considered decent, appropriate or within the rules for police officers to be present in such circumstances (16).

15. Officers often complain that some of the police surgeons, who are employed on a casual basis, are not familiar, or particular enough about how the samples are recorded. Also, according to the rules of evidence, the officer must see the sample being taken, placed in the container and labelled.

16. With the recent creation of a specific offence of male rape, it will be interesting to see whether increased reporting will result and a need for an increase in male officers being trained to attend medical examinations.

With this concern therefore about the 'Officer in Charge' (OIC) being kept constant and their presence at the medical examination, if there is one, being vital, and the training which is aimed at clarifying how this process should take place only being offered to women, it becomes clear that there are issues other than men controlling the immediate working environment. As I illustrated in the earlier discussion of Memorandum training, it is regarded as very important to the eventual outcome of the case that each stage of the investigation is carried out meticulously according to the rules of evidence. It is obvious, therefore, that a very complicated, potentially disastrous process must be closely monitored, and it makes sense, to those managing the organisation of training and planning to make sure that only these officers, who they believe can carry through the whole process competently, use their specialist skills.

In some ways however, this belief in the power and authority of sexual offences training seems to have reached over into the normal 'decency' part of the organisational rules. In some instances I have noticed that even the naming of body parts appears to make police officers uncomfortable. In the example I gave previously, of the male inspector who was concerned about women removing their clothes in the custody suite, he seemed defensive and embarrassed as he explained his reservations about looking after female prisoners; I had simply asked, 'What happens if you get a woman in the cells?', in response he explained about bodies, lack of clothes, and how he would protect himself from possible allegations. Perhaps, as Young suggests, as a closed institution, the police need to neutralise women, creating a 'universe where the body is subjugated and unsexed' (1991:211) in order to maintain control. Another way I saw this communicated in a structural form was during a police training seminar where search procedures during drug raids was covered. As this was a seminar for general patrol officers, a drugs squad officer was giving instructions on how to conduct a 'strip search' of someone arrested and believed to be concealing drugs. First, he explained how meticulous they should be about working 'top down', -beginning with the outer clothing of the upper body, working down to the socks, turning them inside out and look between the toes of the suspect. He became embarrassed at his own referral to the genital area, which he described as 'the naughty bits', and then explained that an intimate search would only be carried out if the trafficking of Class A drugs was suspected-giving the example of several ounces of heroin. He also said that in terms of those conducting a straightforward strip search;

'...two males with a male is ideal, and two females with a female, but that's not always possible...there's a limit to what I'd do—just get them to drop their drawers, and squat up and down a few times, and if anything drops out..' (Male Detective Inspector 1995)..'

His words were then drowned by laughter from the audience, but he finished his presentation with a warning about being careful about wearing rubber gloves, saying;

'... and just remember, these are *horrible* people with all manner of horrible diseases'(Male Detective Inspector 1995).

Once again, a specialist was giving the general police population a small and incomplete version of his expertise, but his almost juvenile lack of vocabulary and embarrassment are simply a source of amusement. Generalist police officers have a high regard for almost anyone who can display knowledge based upon experience, and this officer's knowledge of drugs was evident—he had just given a comprehensive outline of what each type of substance looks like, who uses it and how—was easily accepted by the audience in exchange for any lack of linguistic finesse.

In general, it seems that comfortable and confident use of terms describing sexual activities and the 'correct' names for intimate parts of the body comes with training and experience. One of the women in the Child Protection Unit told me that she was worried that she was so blase about such matters that she had to be careful in her personal relationships not to seem strangely pedantic or over-experienced. However, because most people find talking about sex quite difficult, this female officer said that she could use her expertise in interview situations to great effect, remarking;

'...I was once interviewing a businessman who was accused of abusing his daughter, and he wasn't having it, but I looked straight at him and said "Can you tell me if you have been circumcised Mr Smith?" and he didn't like *that*' (Female Sergeant 1995).

On the other hand, another man who later confessed to having sex with his daughter, who was aged eight, refused to talk to a female officer, who told me, because she was a woman, he found describing acts and parts of the body impossible;

'...no way would he talk to me...anyone else, but not me'(Female Sergeant 1995).

A reluctance to deal with victims of sex offences by male officers is discussed in greater detail in Chapter five of this thesis. A brief example of this however, is illustrated by an incident to which I witnessed during the fieldwork. At first it seemed like a fairly straightforward matter of indecent exposure. We were called to a house where a young woman, who looked about 19, explained that she had just come from work on a bus on which a man was masturbating. She had reported him to the driver who had dismissed her, saying; 'Eh- they'll do it anywhere these days' and so she had reached her destination, her boyfriend's parents' home, and had phoned the police to report what had happened. As the officer I was accompanying seemed quite experienced, having served about ten years, quite assertive and matter of fact, I expected him to take a brief statement and it would be left at that. However, he started to ask some questions and upon her replies I could tell he was finding the situation difficult. As the conversation progressed and he got out his statement forms, he was hesitant, clearing his throat, red faced and shuffling in his seat. After a few preliminary questions about the location of the incident, he asked the victim, 'So what did he actually do?' and she replied, 'Well, he had it out, and he was going like this'. She illustrated her point by making a movement to indicate masturbation, and she continued, '...and he kept turning round so that I could see what he was doing'. At this point the police officers' eyes widened and he said 'Oh, I see, em, would you rather tell this to a policewoman? As the young woman was quite unaffected, she replied, 'Oh no, I'm not bothered'.

At this point the officer swallowed hard and turned back to his clipboard and asked for her name, address and age, and upon discovering that she is only sixteen, much younger than he had thought, he explains that he cannot take the statement because she must have a parent present. When he takes her address, he also realises she lives just outside his patrol area, and so he is able to tell her that he will arrange a 'specially trained' officer, who works in that part of the sub-division, to visit her, with her mother present, at a convenient time. As we go outside and get into the car, he breathes an audible sigh of relief, saying;

'Thank god for that...she wasn't embarrassed, but I was...her boyfriend's a lucky lad- did you see her doing the actions? I thought she was much older than sixteen'(Male PC 1995).

His relief is also increased because he can now pass the case on to a 'specially trained officer' who is of course, a woman. Indeed, when the study by Brown, quoted earlier, asked male and female officers who was more likely to deal with the victims of sex offences, the results were much more definite than the ones regarding involvement with children and juveniles. Of the women officers who were questioned, 90%, representing 1,252 of the 1,810 officers who returned the questionnaires, replied that they thought they were dealing with these cases 'more often' than their male colleagues. As the remaining 10% said they thought it was equal, and the findings recorded as '0%' those women who thought it was 'more often', it seems fairly significant. More convincingly, the male officers seemed to agree with these results; approximately two thirds (64%) said that they were dealing with sex victims less often, a third equally, (33%) and only 3% thought they were dealing with these cases more often than their female colleagues.

In the previous section I criticised Brown for her findings regarding differential deployment of policewomen as her assertions were based upon a minority (30%) of the women she questioned, who felt they were being sent to cases which were concerned with young offenders more often than men. On the basis of my fieldwork, I disagreed that this was the case, but in this part of her study, I feel that these figures do represent a fair picture of the situation, due to the evidence I have which supports this position. In general, however, one of the problems with Brown's study is that there is a great deal of statistical evidence, but it fails to analyse the figures which are presented. In terms of evaluation of the details of her data, she makes brief remarks after each table, from which each set of statistics are drawn. In total, the only remark which is made about this aspect of deployment, is the following sentence;

Women constables were most likely to deal with victims of sex offences, while probationers were least likely to deal with violent offenders (Brown et al 1993:62).

In the remainder of the report there are few other references to women and sex crimes, despite the fact that this was a Home Office funded report entitled 'Aspects of Sex Discrimination'. It also seems that the questions which need to be asked are about how these women have become involved with this work and why they are so extensively deployed in this area. As I explained earlier, it is difficult to separate cultural and structural constraints in organisational studies and tempting to consign all phenomena concerning women in the police and

their apparent differential deployment to culture, and more especially to a 'cult of masculinity' (Smith & Gray 1983:91). Specialist expertise, especially the knowledge gained through the complicated and extensive Memorandum training, creates, I have argued, a certain distance from general policing: women become experts at sexual language, interview techniques and a sort of feminine mystique appears to have been created. From varying perspectives this may be seen as an advantage in terms of occupational prospects for either men or women, and at the same time either an organisational constraint or as an enabler.

In respect of police training, tight financial constraints are said to exist and as resources are always finite, it would appear wasteful to train a large number of male officers in sexual offences, especially as they are largely redundant in terms of victim statements and intimate samples evidence. However, as with all other financial 'reasons' or 'excuses', it is important to examine their validity in order to assess whether this is simply masking, or contributing to, the situation. In other words, it may be simply more convenient for police managers to make the outside world believe that this is the case and although it has not been possible to provide a definitive answer to this question, I have shown in this section that women are dealing with most of the sexual offences which are reported, and in some cases this is because their male colleagues are moving this work sideways onto women. As the trained experts women are perceived to be the 'safest' person to cope with the often complicated and usual aspects of some sexual assaults. In some situations however, it seems that male officers could quite adequately deal with the victim or complainant, but feel that they should not begin a case they would not be able to continue with because of intimate examinations, or a lack of expertise.

CONCLUSION

I began this chapter by explaining that I intended to provide an account of structural barriers which may affect the way women are deployed in the police. Throughout my evaluation I have attempted to determine whether women are confined to certain 'traditional' aspects of policework, and to assess whether this is a result of certain organisational structures; perhaps an example of what Young calls 'prestige structures'-(1991:191), those beliefs which influence the way things are, and shall remain, due to male power and preference.

In the first two sections of the chapter I provide evidence which contradicts our previous understandings; women are not sent to 'domestics' more often than men and do not seem to be called upon specifically to deal with children and juveniles, except in cases where they are in specialised units. However, in the third section of this chapter I have shown that where sexual offences are concerned, there does seem to be a specifically gendered division of labour. In some cases, this seems to be due to structure, training, resources, and legal and evidential requirements. In general patrolwork situations however, where standard statements which may happen to have a small sexual element, it seems that some officers regard this as 'women's work'.

As I have attempted to show throughout this section, this is partly due to certain training being restricted to women, leading to a belief in their specialist 'sexualised' knowledge, and to the cloistered domain of sex becoming, or possibly remaining, female. As I have argued, I think this has influenced our previous perceptions of differential deployment. Women officers are seen in certain high priority areas, dealing with notable cases which become public knowledge, and sexual, domestic and children become mixed together. We assume that skills associated with sexual matters are linked to children and domesticity, but this is not necessarily the case, and it does not result in women officers dealing with all three types of case in my experience. However, there are certain reasons for these beliefs, and in the following chapter I will examine some of the cultural aspects of this debate.

Introduction.

In this chapter I intend to continue my examination of the nature of policing by evaluating the evidence which suggests that the status of certain duties may be influenced by gender. By analysing the types of calls officers attend and the arrests they make, I will discuss beliefs about the appropriateness of men and women to be involved with certain activities. Indeed, because police officers often describe their mundane, routine patrol work as 'dealing with all the shit', I intend to explore various aspects of the status afforded to some calls and certain officers. In this way, markers of competency, upon which police officers are judged and the credibility afforded to officers who make specific types of arrest will be assessed. In addition, how some types of police activities are assumed to be 'real' or 'proper' policework, whilst others are 'rubbish' and to what extent these values and assumptions are informed and perpetuated by beliefs about masculinity and femininity will also be evaluated.

'Uniform' or patrol work is the starting point for every officer's career, and as such it is natural that it should often be regarded as a low status activity. Even potential 'high flyers' begin their working lives as probationers, with at least two years in uniform, learning the basic occupational skills. Some officers then leave for specialist posts or departments, others take promotion exams and become supervisors, whilst many simply carry on for the remainder of their careers as constables. Within this lowest rank order therefore, it is inevitable that there will be a wide range of experience and abilities which may lead to certain tasks being allocated to particular officers. In addition, organisational objectives which are devised by chief officers, and implemented by line managers, can affect the status of certain types of policework. In his discussion of the status of 'beat work' for example, Holdaway suggests that uniformed patrol officers who choose to carry out this work were often demeaned by their 'promotion conscious peers'. In addition, he argues, senior managers in the organisation do not recognise general patrol work as 'a measurable criteria of effectiveness' (Holdaway 1983:173).

As my preceding chapters have analysed specialist posts and the more atypical aspects of the police such as senior women officers, a more

generalised view of the work of patrolling the streets will be examined here. By reflecting upon the influence of a supposedly masculinist police culture I will discuss the interrelationship of gender and occupational cultural identities in the police. In effect, I will be looking at an area of policework which has been thought to place women officers on a disadvantaged path for the remainder of their service, as they fail to achieve the broad range of experiences to which male colleagues are exposed. My evidence will assess to what extent these assumptions can be supported empirically.

EQUAL COPS

Patrol or 'beat' work, as the task of the vast majority of uniformed officers, is not only difficult to define due to its many, diverse forms, but also lacks acceptable measures of success. Public reassurance through their visible presence and the daily grind of statement taking, missing children and domestic disputes, are often believed to pass without recognition of the effort needed to carry out these tasks. At the same time, these general duties attract a certain 'street level' status, which is slightly higher than 'soft cop' specialisms such as community liaison or crime prevention. As a male detective, who was being dismissive of such posts as not being 'proper' policework, remarked cynically;

"Crime Prevention Officer, now that's a really dangerous job- you might trap your finger in a door" (Male Detective Sergeant, 1993).

Another male officer described a woman colleague, working in the Schools Liaison Department, as being on a 'cushy number':

"No cold Saturday nights working the town and lots of school holidays-what does she do when the kids are off?" (Male PC, 1994)

As the individual status of every aspect of policework seems to be open to scrutiny in this way, and by association, each officer, it seems likely that the 'working personality' (Skolnick 1975:42) or occupational 'style' an officer adopts, may be influenced by encounters with those of more experience. When new probationers join a shift most of the existing members of the group seem entitled to continually 'give them the benefit' of their experience; a tutor constable told me he always starts off his relationship with a new recruit by saying;

"Right, you've had your time at training school, now we're going to show you how to do it *our way*" (Male PC 1995).

Probationers are expected to make the tea as 'junior man' without being asked, and their acceptance of this without question is regarded as a sign of their acknowledgement of inferiority. On one occasion the Inspector was in the process of setting the cups out on the parade table as officers were coming on duty, and one of them asked;

"Whv's the boss brewing up?" to which one of the others replied.

"Well, Mark and Bob are off, so we've just worked it out and we've all got more years than him" (Male PC 1995).

As a young, newly promoted inspector, it was still regarded as proper that he should make the tea, which he accepted. Jokes and remarks were made at parade time about the quality of the brew and the service, lack of sugar and so on, to lighten the effect of having the 'boss' make their drinks. In addition to keeping 'young' officers in their symbolic place, another function of the shift is to monitor the probationer, to keep them in line with the 'informal' rules and interpretation of the more formal, institutional rules. One evening a fairly new female recruit was having trouble getting her protective jacket fastened and having pulled it on over her head it had made her hair untidy. A more experienced women officer came over in a friendly way to help her pull the jacket straight at the back and she asked;

"Do you want me to stick your hair back under your hat at the back?" (Female PC 1995)

Seeming anxious about force 'regulations' the probationer asked;

"Is it too scruffy like this?"

"No, it'll be OK, they can't say anything, you've got it fastened up, it's just that it's at the in-between stage. Once it grows a bit more you'll be able to keep it in better" (Female PC 1995).

Gendered Status.

It has been suggested that one of the ways status is attributed to officers such as police constables, who are all effectively the same rank, is through the transmission of cultural values and norms. It is these 'perspectives and craft rules' which lead to the perpetuation and survival of group identities because of a 'psychological fit with the demands of the rank and file cop condition' (Reiner 1985:87). Despite the fact that much of the work is carried out alone, it has been argued that as a member of an occupational group which carries out a function such as policing, there must be some 'acceptance of the rank-and-file definition' of the way it is carried out (Holdaway 1996:158). On the other hand.

Reiner argues that although what he describes as 'cop culture' is not monolithic, '...it reflects and perpetuates the power differences within the social structure it polices' and is generally based upon danger, authority, including the potential for force, and the need to produce results (Reiner 1985:88-89). In effect, Reiner is acknowledging the difficulty of defining and explaining what Fielding describes as 'several variants of culture' in the police, which are generally dominated by masculine values, as there is 'little evidence of a female occupational culture among British police' (Fielding 1994:52). A certain 'masculine ethos' of the occupation combines with 'old fashioned machismo' (Reiner 1985:99) which, amongst other factors, is linked to danger and authority, as;

...interdependent elements of the police world, to which cop culture develops a set of adaptive rules, recipes and rites (Reiner 1985:88).

Similarly, this issue of rules, authority and masculinities is considered by Smith and Gray (1983) in their study of police attitudes and behaviour. One of the criteria they discuss regarding the likelihood of organisational policies or controls having an effect on behaviour was dependent upon the interaction with the shared norms and objectives of the rank and file. Smith and Gray also concur with Reiner when they argue that the 'central meaning for most police officers is the exercise of authority and *force* is the main symbol of authority and power' (Smith & Gray 1983:87, original emphasis). As they maintain that the police resembles an all-male institution such as a 'rugby club or boys' school' they outline the attitudes and norms which illustrate the alleged 'cult of masculinity' which are evident, they suggest, in the following behaviour and espoused beliefs;

- remaining dominant in any encounter and not losing face.
 - emphasis on masculine solidarity and on backing up other men in the group, especially when they are in the wrong.
 - the stress on drinking as a test of manliness and a basis for good fellowship.
 - importance given to physical courage and the glamour attached to violence
- (Smith & Gray 1983:91).

From their analysis Smith and Gray suggest that force, strength and physical violence, in combination with excessive drinking, seem to reinforce common assumptions about exclusively male attitudes and behaviour. In

addition they provide evidence, throughout the discussion of their field observations, of the difficulties experienced by men and women working as close colleagues. Women are denigrated by that which Smith and Gray describe as 'what still remains essentially a group of men' (Smith & Gray 1983:92-93), whilst the female officers reported that the men are 'rude and physical' and avoid them as partners, often regarding them as 'dumb sex objects'(ibid:96-97).

Gendered Deployment.

It seems fairly safe to assume therefore, that the complex picture which emerges regarding the deployment of officers by status and gender appears to have some basis within the early years of the careers of police officers. It is clearly much too simplistic however, to argue that women are being assigned certain tasks because 'male power' is operating in some conspiratorial way to constrain them. In certain situations gendered role expectations seem to be sharply defined and endlessly re-emphasised in the occupational culture of the police. For example, in an earlier chapter I discussed the way departments traditionally regarded as female enclaves, such as those concerned with child, family and sexual offences are staffed by women but supervised by male officers. I have also discussed officers' beliefs about the reasons they were working in these departments and whether women are encouraged, assigned or simply choose to do this type of specialist work.

One of the ways task differentiation, on the basis of gendered status, has been alleged to operate in the past is through the actions of the first line supervision -usually male sergeants or inspectors, who were allocating 'quiet beats' to women. In addition, formal and informal restrictions have been reported to prevent access to 'male' specialisms such as traffic, firearms and plain clothes departments (Jones 1986:65). It has been argued that women are in the child and family protection units rather than the CID because they have failed to impress their selectors for such posts due to their lack of access to 'real' policework in the same volume as men. As a result, it is suggested, women do not achieve promotion because their work records are less impressive than their male colleagues. In addition it has been suggested by Jones (1986:64) that women regard making arrests as a less important part of their work than men, who rank it first in a list of general police duties. By contrast, in Jones' sample, women officers cited 'interviewing suspects' as their most

'interesting assignment' (Jones 1986:64).

Studies of this type therefore raise a series of important questions about an assumed causal relationship between assignment of duties, interest in certain aspects of policework and access to promotion and specialisms. It is also important to reflect upon the evidence which supports the argument that women are deployed in a differential manner by their supervisors. Perhaps the most significant aspect of this is that this may be seriously detrimental to their career prospects. Several studies have reported that female officers regard themselves to be carrying out different, less force and 'crime' orientated tasks than men (see for example, Heidensohn 1992, Walklate 1995, Brown et al 1992, HMIC 1995). However, these beliefs have not really been analysed by outcome- either in terms of wide experience leading to promotion or the lack of it being linked to a lower percentage of arrests for certain offences or categories of suspect. In addition, it is not clear which elements of general police duties women need to take part in to gain experience for supervisory roles and 'macho' departments such as those connected with cars, guns and horses.

Data Collection.

One of the reasons this type of empirical study of the allegedly gendered nature of patrol activities has not taken place in the past is perhaps connected to methodological difficulties. To collect data which exactly equates to comparisons of officers' daily lives is complicated due the multiplicity of their tasks, the likelihood that they work alone sometimes and at other times with partners, the diversity of the nature of policing and the unreliability of self-report data. In addition, the fluidity and ambiguity which surrounds determining the gender status of certain jobs and even the definitions of masculine and feminine, make the resulting data extremely complex and open to several competing interpretations.

With these difficulties in mind, however, I intend to analyse the activities of various groups of police officers in order to investigate a series of fundamental yet highly contested questions. In turn these will include;

- *are women working in operational uniformed patrol duties deployed in ways which differ from their male colleagues?*

- *to what extent are women and men constrained by gender. do they find themselves directed or somehow involved in certain types of duties, jobs and ultimately, arrests?*

In order to examine these issues, various data sets will be used, beginning with the printed daily record or 'log' from the Computer Aided Dispatch (CAD) systems in three command areas from one of the research forces. Information which is collated on these records include the incidents to which the police officers in each geographical area are called. Although these statistics cannot provide any irrefutable evidence about trends in general policing, it may be possible to quantify any possible differences in the types of incidents male and female officers attend. In my analysis, officers will be identified by rank and gender to provide a detailed comparison of their arrest rates and types. To carry out this process I will separate the number of women arresting male, female and juvenile offenders, comparing this with their male colleagues. In addition, the 'caring', sympathy work will be compared with 'real' policework, by analysing the various types of arrests men and women make. However, before this can be attempted, I will provide a detailed synopsis of the incidents from the daily computer log of each command area, to contextualise the types of calls to which officers may be dispatched. Following this, I intend to use a set of monthly arrest returns to compare certain trends, such as the number of arrests by male and female officers, the types of crimes for which they arrest offenders and whether male or female officers seem more likely to arrest either men, women or juveniles. In this way it may be possible to work out the numbers and percentages of arrests for certain crimes which, in contrast to the previous section on women and children, may be perceived as 'real' or physically dangerous policework. Finally, some arrest figures for certain crimes over a yearly period in the same subdivision will be used to extend this discussion about the deployment of male and female officers. In this way, I intend to explore some stereotypical assumptions about the role of women in the police and their 'working personality' (Reiner 1985:87), which according to Reiner is based primarily on the activities police officers carry out rather than any 'individual attributes' (ibid 106). To what extent this may be based upon an alleged 'cult of masculinity', which was outlined at the beginning of this chapter, will be explored.

GENDERED UNIFORMITY

In a recent HMIC Thematic Report concerned with 'Equal Opportunities in the Police Service' (1992), it was argued that most officers are highly sceptical of management policies on this topic. A solution, suggested by the authors of the report, is the engendering of confidence in a commitment to equality by senior managers, so that eventually officers' disbelief in the system will be overcome as:

...the evidence gained by routine monitoring proves without doubt that members of the service are treated fairly and rewarded on merit (HMIC 1992:16).

In an earlier section of their report, the Inspectorate acknowledge the pervasive effects of 'white male values' (HMIC 1992:15) and they state that although '...women are not institutionally barred from opportunities...their expectations may be restricted by the existing culture' (ibid:16). Home Office findings such as these were supported by the study of sex discrimination by Brown et al (1993), quoted in earlier chapters of this thesis, by concluding that;

Whatever the rank of the woman officers they were equally likely to indicate that their skills were only sometimes utilised, or that they were restricted in duties due to physical strength (Brown et al 1993:67).

In addition to the specialist roles where female officers were located in departments dealing with women and children, these findings seem to indicate that patrol officers were being deployed in certain ways due to what is described as their 'strength', which is presumably physical power. Women officers surveyed by Brown found that across all ranks of women officers, over 60% felt they were restricted by supervisors due to this aspect of their capabilities (Brown et al 1993:68).

In other discussions of policework and gender, studies such as these, which attempt to account for the effects of male domination in organisations, have been criticised for concentrating on the issue of coercion and force. For example, Heidensohn uses Bittner's discussion of the way 'force may have to

be used' (Bittner 1990:256) to illustrate the way policing has been singled out from other occupations as one which requires the use of such powers (Heidensohn 1992:73-74). She goes on to argue that the violence of policework has been overemphasised, and that most writers on the subject agree on the '...relative absence of glamour, drama or violence' (Heidensohn 1992:74). On the other hand, studies such as the investigation which was conducted into the Police Complaints Procedure in Scotland, suggest that the potentiality for violence is something which is constantly in the minds of many patrol officers (Uildriks & van Mastrigt 1991:161). It was also argued by these authors that physical remedies were more commonly used by officers than statistics suggest, due to the under-reporting of complaints by the public and the group loyalties of the police (ibid:131). In addition they found that officers usually felt the need to 'act tough' (ibid:161) in a great deal of their patrol activities. To what extent this applies to female patrol officers is not explored in the study, although it has been suggested in the past that women seem to be concerned with more service orientated activities, rather than the 'real' work of '...the "control" notion embodied in the "thief taking" or "good capture"' (Jones 1986:62-63).

Powerful Bodies

'Force', 'strength' and control therefore tend to be regarded as synonymous in the literature which analyses the specifics of gendered policing. Such concepts are intimately bound to notions of physical capabilities, authority and power, in terms of aggression or assertiveness, measured on an apparently masculine scale. As the most recent HMIC report observed, fitness tests for recruits are based '...on assumptions about the ways in which large males deploy their strength' (HMIC 1995:22). On the other hand, it is possible to subdivide the different types of tasks carried out by men and women on patrol into a discussion about 'force', which includes coercion, assertiveness, including beliefs about the role of women in activities normally associated with male power and dominance, and 'strength', which does not necessarily involve an element of 'control'. An example which illustrates this distinction is the difference between a heavy, aggressive drunk and an unconscious one. If the 'body' is awake, an arrest involves mental as well as physical powers of persuasion, whereas the sleeping drunk requires only the latter. One of the reasons this debate is so difficult to differentiate however, is that a continuum of force, beginning with simply asking someone to do something, ending with a

full scale deployment of physical compulsion, including firearms is within the remit of the police. As McKenzie has reported, American police officers are taught model of escalating 'force options' which are used to protect them against civil liability claims (McKenzie 1996:140). One of the 'force continua' he quotes as an example, from Fort Worth Police Department, begins with 'officer presence' simply existing in the marked police vehicle or uniform and insignia which may deter certain behaviour. In the following five levels of force identified along the continuum, the use of warnings and unarmed bodily acts is supplemented by aids such as handcuffs and batons, culminating in the instruction that '...the officer must shoot the actor or strike the suspect with an instrument in a manner that is likely to cause death or great bodily harm' (Fort Worth Police Department, quoted in McKenzie, 1996:141).

Several problems are apparent with this description of the use of a measured escalation of permissible force by police officers. Clearly, in real life encounters the behaviour of the actors does not move along a smooth path of increasing violence or aggression. In addition, levels of force are difficult to measure, and the Fort Worth 'force continua' seems to take no account of the strength, or projected authority of the officer being dependent upon gender. In terms of this discussion about the deployment of female officers, therefore, it is necessary to separate bodily strength from some other notions of authority and 'force', in order to identify to what extent each may be regarded as more or less dependent upon gender.

It is clear that in occupations other than policing, there are examples of people of either gender supposedly doing the same job, but because of a perceived lack physical strength, women may be allocated tasks which are subservient or not 'core' tasks. In a study of the taboo surrounding death and dying for example, it was revealed that women were considered to be suitable for counselling the bereaved, but the caring for the corpse, described as the 'difficult heavy work' was reserved for men (Cline 1996). In discussions with female funeral directors, Cline provides evidence of the difficulties women experience when they attempt to move from the secretarial, clerical or reception duties to train for the more skilled work of preparation of the body and helping clients to decide upon arrangements and conducting funerals. Women were considered to be unsuitable as pall bearers and even qualified funeral directors were rejected 'as 'a bit of a girl' by relatives who demanded that they wanted to deal with a man (Cline 1996:126). In addition, regarding the physical aspect of lifting the bodies, the women Cline interviewed

described how police officers and those present at the death would offer to move the corpse or place it in the coffin, whilst they were advised to 'go and talk to the family' (ibid:125). One of the women she interviewed explained to Cline that:

'Women are almost never allowed to conduct (funerals), so they earn less than men. They won't willingly let me go on removals either. They say women aren't built the same as men! If you hurt yourself it would be the firm's fault so they try to stop you' (Cline 1996:125).

As a result of these restrictions several of the women undertakers stated that they had joined small family firms and made themselves indispensable, and almost 'ungendered' although one of the trained embalmers remarked that the men would not leave her alone with bodies of children or babies. However, in general, the women seemed to report that they had worked their way through the system by gradually pushing back the barriers of acceptable gender roles, or failing this, had started their own businesses in order to find suitable work in the trade for which they were qualified.

Differential status.

In general, studies of occupations and gender usually concede that it is difficult to find methods of analysis which separate the experience of work from the effects of home and family, societal expectations and personal choice. For example, in a study of work and female sexuality, Dunne describes the way one of her respondents complained that she encountered male hostility when she was working as a theatre assistant. 'Lifting scenery' was considered to be a threat to 'areas that men have traditionally been able to call their own' (Dunne 1997:149). In her study however, Dunne found it difficult to separate these 'traditional' sexist attitudes from the 'interrelationship between employment opportunity and the lesbian lifestyle' (Dunne 1997:166).

Just as it is difficult to show that women are being discriminated against because they are lesbians, it is difficult to argue convincingly that one group of workers, carrying out a series of apparently random functions within a certain area of the organisation, such as patrol work, are being deployed differentially. One of the main problems, aside from deciding what is 'masculine' or men's work and what is feminine or 'women's work', is finding a

way of recording, classifying and analysing the actions of individuals. A similar problem has beset the Home Office in their various attempts to study the activities of police officers in order to find ways to maximise their duty time. In calculations of 'undirected' patrol time, it has been revealed that patrol officers have quite large amounts of time on duty alone and in groups where they are able to control their own activities. One such study, which was a Home Office activity analysis, conducted in two London divisions in 1985 reported that;

...officers in (study area divisions) do have substantial amounts of uncommitted time available to them: conservatively estimated at about 35% of their total duty time (Burrows and Lewis 1988:37)

In their discussion of these findings the authors suggest that this percentage is 'sizeable', more likely to occur on night shifts, when few constables were seen by supervisory officers, and most spent '...significant amounts of their time patrolling *alone*' (Burrows & Lewis 1988:37 original emphasis). As the authors acknowledge, methodological problems arose because officers were required to keep a diary or 'activity report' of how long they had spend doing an individual task, and 'there is no guarantee that they will complete their updates honestly'(Burrows & Lewis 1988:48).

Due to these problems of monitoring, recording and also defining the nature of the individual tasks, studies of patrol work have either tended to be activity pattern analyses which ignore gender, or have focused on the deployment of women officers in terms of their specialist roles or rank. One of the problems with this method however, as Jones suggests, is that the classifications are so broad (traffic, CID, uniform patrol work, office duties), data often give very little idea of particular duties (Jones 1986:56). She goes further than this and says that even where women are employed in specialist activities and squads they are not involved in the 'law enforcement function' but were 'in the majority in juvenile liaison'(Jones 1986:59).

In other occupations it is reasonably easy to find examples of men and women being employed in the same position, but who may be carrying out different tasks of subtly differing status. In an earlier chapter of this thesis the case of the male secretary who became a 'personal assistant', replacing a 'girl who did the typing', illustrates the way the emphasis on certain tasks can

change within the same job description. Also, the importance of an occupational title in the maintenance of certain gendered identities at work is revealed. By contrast, police constables are supposedly gender neutral in name, and the multitude of working activities they encounter, often alone, make differentiation and classification of tasks extremely vague. As the policewomen in Jones' study seemed to be in more service orientated activities, rather than the 'real' work of '...the "control" notion' (Jones 1986:62-63) she asked them which aspects of their duties they found most interesting. In her sample she found that the women and men had;

'...a similar interest in the value-enhanced law-enforcement activities...Nevertheless, women *do* find some 'service' type aspects of policing more interesting than do policemen, especially when they coincide with their traditional, feminine gender role (Jones 1986:63 original emphasis).

In an attempt to assess their job satisfaction and the 'male prerogative to power in the organisation and its use (and misuse)' (ibid:65) she discusses the 'quality of male and female assignments within nominally the same role' (Jones 1986:69). Her findings, she argues, indicate a 'substantial difference' in this 'quality' of deployment experiences, which are particularly evident in uniform foot patrol officers. As the following list of 'front line supervisory practices in the deployment of women officers' shows, Jones claims that she has ample evidence that there are 'substantial qualitative differences in the way in which policemen and policewomen are deployed' (Jones 1986:79) which include;

- (i) the frequent use of women patrol officers on general routine police station duties;
 - (ii) the allocation of women to less busy beats;
 - (iii) the 'pairing up' of women officers with male colleagues on 'panda' and foot patrol duties
 - (iv) the allocation of women to different types of incident; and
 - (v) the deployment of women on 'traditional' activities concerned with women victims, offenders, children and juveniles.
- (Jones 1986:69).

Since the introduction of the Sex Discrimination Acts of the 1970s this debate about the gendered nature of policework has been conducted in many

arenas. A large part of the discussion about deployment has been based on the notion that female officers have been restricted by their supervisors not sending them to certain types of jobs. In the following section of this chapter I intend to conduct a close analysis of a range of activities in one of the subdivisions where I carried out some extensive periods fieldwork. To gain an overview of the general types of calls and offences which come to the attention of the police I will also discuss the two other sub-divisional command areas which I studied.

INFORMATION RECEIVED

As one of the forces I studied had fifteen 'Command Areas', three were identified, in consultation with a liaison officer, as having particular elements of interest could be investigated to discover possible contrasts. It is these areas which I now intend to concentrate upon, to analyse the daily activities of patrol officers before moving to a more in-depth examination of one of the subdivisions. In each case, data were collected which consisted of the daily computer log, selected at random, and compared for the number and types of calls. In Table 1 approximately one hundred recorded incidents, from each command area are compared in terms of number of calls and whether they can be placed in general categories such as burglary, assault or car crime, for example.

TABLE 1 Comparison of Incidents in 'West', 'Central' and 'South' Command Areas.

	TOTAL INCIDENTS*	CALL CATEGORIES	MISCELLANEOUS CALLS
WEST COMMAND Area (6am 6/1/96 to 7am 7/1/96)	100	15	13
CENTRAL COMMAND Area (6am 15/12/95 to 7am 16/12/95)	104	17	34
SOUTH COMMAND Area (5pm 17/11/95 to 7 am 18/11/95)	107	19	31

Source: Command Area Computer Logs, 1995.

* In each case this represents a 24 hour period, although in the South Command Area, due to collating methods, this is only for 12 hours.

In each of the three command areas represented in Table 1, around 15–20% of the calls can be categorised into recognisable collections of incidents, such as burglary, assaults of some type, or car crime. West Command area differs from the other two due to a very low number of 'miscellaneous' calls. In other words, the calls which were received in this time period in that subdivision were more likely to fall within a smaller number of classifications. Only 13 of the incidents were unable to be grouped with other similar events, compared with 34 and 31 respectively in the Central and South areas. However, as the following table illustrates, in each command area certain types of incidents were significantly more frequent than others. In all three areas, there were certain similarities, although due to the diverse nature of the 'patch' the miscellaneous incidents were quite diverse. Where incidents were occurring more than five times in one of the areas, they are noted in Table 2, overleaf. Before examining the frequency of these individual categories it is important to reflect upon the way they are constructed in terms of crime classification. As incidents are coded by control room staff, often working some distance from the place the incident happens, reliance is placed upon the officer attending the scene to describe the type of crime which has occurred. In some cases communications staff rely upon calls from the public in order to decide what sort of response is required, and 'the codification of type of incident' is often carried out 'on the basis of a crude account' (Ackroyd et al 1992:94).

Problems arise from these attempts to categorise crimes due to various practical and cultural anomalies and ambiguities. Codification relies upon an 'established cultural context of policing' which defines 'real' policework and encourages officers to view the recording of incidents in terms of arrest rates and their promotion prospects (Ackroyd et al 1992:97). Furthermore, considerable discretion is necessary in order to assimilate a wide variety of tasks and the needs of a 'complex organisation, with many different subdivisions and consequent problems of liaison, communication' (Shapland & Hobbs 1987:67). Computer dispatch systems which are used by the police to record their daily activities tend rely upon fairly traditional categories, based on black letter definitions of crime and notifiable offences which can be collated by Home Office statisticians. As a result, incidents have to be judged, recorded and coded in 'legally relevant ways' although policing often 'defies categorisations in ways that can be effectively indexed by the requirements of many current IT systems' (Ackroyd et al 1992:100–101).

TABLE 2 Call Categories by Command Area.

	WEST COMMAND	CENTRAL COMMAND	SOUTH COMMAND
Alarm activated	13	6	17
Burglary (dwelling)	15	0	4
Burglary (other)	4	2	2
Shoplifters/theft from shop	0	10	2
Domestic dispute	5	1	11
Stolen Motor Vehicle	5	5	2
Theft from/damage to Motor Veh.	6	6	3
Abandoned Motor Vehicle	7	1	4
Theft from the person	5	5	0
Report of prowlers/intruders	5	1	4
Trouble with youths/children	6	6	5
Miscellaneous	29	57	46
Total Incidents	100	104	107

Source: Command Area Computer Logs 1995.

In each of the three Command areas represented in Table 2, specific problems for the police appear to be connected to geography, types of buildings, environment, locale and social circumstances. For example, in the 'West' command area, a high level of burglary, due to a mixture of local authority and privately owned, densely packed housing, unemployment and inner city disintegration. In the 'Central' command area, a large city centre with shops, offices and entertainment venues, lead to shoplifting and incidents connected to public order and drinking being more common; by way of comparison, they have no recorded instances of burglary of dwellings. Finally, in 'South' command area, a conurbation approximately five miles from 'Central' city centre, a mixture of housing and amenity areas, including several large local authority housing estates has lead to it being given the title 'Domestic City' by some officers.

WEST COMMAND AREA.

As the comparisons outlined in the table above suggest, it is possible to gain a preliminary picture of the area and situation by analysing the types of calls which the police receive. I now intend to use the 'West' command area, to look at the types of incident in more depth. One of the reasons for this is that although it may not be evident from the daily computer log, this area is regarded as a busy 'promotion' station, where levels of 'core' crime, such as burglary, drug offences and car related incidents are high. Officers who patrol this area achieve many diverse and valuable experiences in a short period of time. Working in the 'West' command area also confers a certain amount of occupational credibility, as one of the inspectors told me on the first night of fieldwork with his shift;

'Welcome to West Beirut—if you can hack it here you can manage anywhere' (Male Inspector, 1995).

His remarks are supported or perhaps informed by, the following data in Table 3, from the force database which categorises various crimes and compares them by command area.

TABLE 3 Selected Offences per 100 Officers.

AVERAGE	WEST	CENTRAL	SOUTH	FORCE
Burglary Dwelling per 100 Officers	1,721	130	967	1,127
Theft of Motor Vehicles per 100 Officers	911	638	1,079	968
Racial Incidents per 100 Officers	80	3	24	21

Source: Force Statistics 1995.

In addition to the remark from the Inspector quoted above, about the area being dubbed 'West Beirut', officers I accompanied on patrol constantly reminded me that this was a 'dangerous' area. Although the subdivision is quite compact, it seems to have genuine problems with radio communications, perhaps due to the geography of the sloping site, close to the river, with densely compacted buildings. As all the personal communications systems are 'encrypted', which means they are scrambled to prevent scanners intercepting police messages, problems would occur at least once or twice on each shift, and more regularly if weather conditions were adverse. Some difficulties were simply examples of speech 'breaking up' but often patrol officers would receive a totally indecipherable message, sounding similar to taped speech played backwards at speed. In these instances, officers would regularly remark upon the irony of being in an especially dangerous locality, without means of calling for help. A young male probationer, with about two years' service told me;

"It was a real shock for me when I first came here—I'd only been here a week when me and another cop came round the corner to find two blokes scrapping in the road. We stopped, tried to separate them, and the whole street came out and joined in. We were calling all the time on the radios, but they couldn't get the street name, and we got a pasting" (Male probationer 1995).

In general the 'street cops' blame some vague aspect of the management organisation or so-called 'Headquarters Wallers' for this lack of reliable

equipment, making remarks such as;

"Oh, they'll have gone for the cheapest, crap, out of date system—it's not their necks is it?" (Male PC, 1995).

"What I can't understand is, if they can speak to people on the moon, how come I can't get through to the control room from bloody Byker?" (Male PC, 1995).

On one occasion, an officer became frustrated at the lack of response from the staff at the control room, although he felt they could hear him, and called over the air;

"Thunderbird One to International Rescue. Come in please" (Male PC, 1996).

In addition to danger associated with lack of instant communications, other small details of personal safety due to the spacial environment and the local 'anti-police' population, would be remarked upon. On a warm summer evening the personnel carrier was being used in place of a patrol car, due to extra officers being on duty. We were parked at the end of a street looking across to a terrace of shops which had been the subject of some racial taunts and attacks. When it was time to move on however, the van refused to start and it was proposed that we should walk back to the police station as it was nearly time for a meal break. As the officer who was driving, and therefore 'responsible' for the vehicle remarked however;

"We can't leave it *here*, by the time we get back with the jump leads the scrotes'll have it in a million little pieces" (Male PC 1995).

On another occasion I was with two officers who arrested a couple of young lads for stealing a car, and they needed all the space in the panda car to take them back to the station. As we were only about half a mile from the station I offered to walk back and meet them there, but I was told;

"No— no way, you're not going out along the West Road on your own. I'm not being funny, but *anyone* might have seen you out with us earlier on tonight" (Male PC 1995).

This was reinforced by a chief inspector whom I had met a couple of months earlier to arrange the fieldwork access. Upon meeting him in the corridor of the

police station on a busy Saturday night, he said:

"Oh, hello, are you still here? You haven't been going out on your own have you?"
(Chief Inspector, 1995).

One of the results of this general distrust of the local community was that a much higher level of often cited 'internal solidarity' seemed to exist than in other command areas I studied. I felt this was tangible, not only in terms of police and non-police distinctions, but also by the way each shift seemed to need to have an image or identity which made it distinct from the others working from the same subdivision. By chance, the shift I spent most of my time with in this command area had called itself the 'Wilbebest' and it was explained to me that they had gained a reputation for going to potentially 'dangerous' calls *en masse*. Members of other shifts called them 'cliquy' although this was an accusation levelled at the others by the 'Wilbebest'. I asked one of the women on the shift how this title had originated and she told me;

"Oh, we just have a reputation for looking after each other, we all turn out if something sounds a bit dodgy—they don't like it, the bosses, they say there's no need for more than one car to go, but they don't know what it's like out here" (Female PC 1995).

One of the reasons I saw a difference between the attitudes towards danger and the resident population was perhaps the living arrangements of the officers themselves. Unlike the other subdivision I studied which had residential areas, apart from those living in a police hostel within the command area, most officers lived outside the locality they were policing. In general they had not grown up in the area and as one of them explained;

"You couldn't be a cop and *live* here, too many prigs— people get followed home and all sorts; you just come in, do your shift and drive out again as quick as you can" (Female PC 1996).

A male PC also had mixed feelings about the area:

"It's a great place to work, but a shit place to live; most of the blokes are straight out of *Viz*, and the women are the 'Fat Slags'" (Male PC 1996).

It has been argued that the attitudes of the police reflect those of the community they serve and therefore the specific nature of the way these officers in the West command area operate on the streets may be related to the social environment (see for example, Bottoms & Wiles 1992 Clarke 1996, Hall 1980). In Table 3, which draws upon census data (1991) supplied by the Force, a series of indicators of the demography of the locality is supplied. In each case figures refer to the West command area, compared with the other two command areas where I conducted my fieldwork, which are then, in turn, compared with the Force average.

TABLE 4 Command Area Demographic Indicators.

	WEST COMMAND	CENTRAL COMMAND	SOUTH COMMAND	FORCE AVERAGE
Population aged 16-24	14.8%	20.3%	11.8%	12.4%
Unemployment Rate	23.2%	19.9%	15.1%	12.6%
Households with No Car	67.1%	69.1%	53.6%	47.4%

Source: Force statistics 1995.

In Table 4 all the indicators of social deprivation and involvement in crime are high in the West command area. Although 'Central' has a higher percentage of the population within the relevant age group, this is artificially inflated because two universities have their halls of residence here. Compared with force averages, and the other command area with 'South', which has a significant residential population, unemployment, is high and car ownership is relatively low.

Furthermore, as the figures in Table 5 (overleaf) suggest, one of the main reasons for the high levels of what this force describes as 'core crime' in the West command area seem to be the result of burglary statistics; in the 24 hour period in question, there were 15 examples of house breaking and entering and

13 alarms activated, some of which were the result of attempted burglaries, some were false alarms and some were cases of people gaining entry and then being discouraged by the alarm. Of the total 100 incidents recorded on this log, the next 5 most common ones, except for 'Youths/children in Street' are all cases which potentially involve car crime in some way which is another priority for the Force. In the next significant block of incidents, those which have been recorded at least five times, theft, violence and again burglary are all mentioned. As the miscellaneous list of other incidents shows, however, there are also a large number of 'non-core' activity events which are recorded on the daily computer log for information only. Most of these are not related to any crime, but table 5 lists all the calls to a West command subdivision in one 24 hour period.

TABLE 5 Calls to West Command Area from 6am, 6th January to 7am, 7th January, 1996.

Burglary (dwelling)	15	Sudden death	1
Alarm activated	13	Reported assault	1
Abandoned Motor Vehicle	7	Man carrying property	1
Youths /children in street	6	Petrol station protesters	1
Theft from/damage to Motor/V	6	Attempted abduction	1
Car/motor veh.chases/incidents	6	Message for parents	1
Theft of a Motor Vehicle	5	Found property	1
Dom. dispute/breach of peace	5	Fight in a shop	1
Thefts/robbery from the person	5	Safelink call	1
Prowlers/intruders reported	5	Fire in a skip	1
Burglary other than a dwelling	4	Complaint of noise	1

TABLE 5 (continued)

999 calls, incomplete etc.	3	SOCO log	1
Missing from home/ person	3	Traffic light fault	1
Criminal damage	2	Concern for occupant	2

In Table 5 there are some incidents which cannot be fitted into general categories. In the right hand column, where only one type of each call is recorded (with the exception of 'concern for occupant'), very few suggest that the commission of a 'crime', and hence an arrest, is likely. Some of the incidents seem to have a very tenuous connection to traditional notions of policework. On the other hand, burglaries, intruders and other incidents involving reports of ongoing events perhaps are the categories most likely to result in a high status arrest and therefore, arguably 'real' or 'proper' policework. Indeed, it has been suggested that one of the ways status is allocated to calls, is the possibility of an arrest especially where chases, high adrenalin or violence is likely to occur. In the following typology I have constructed a list in order of the status which I have observed calls being unconsciously classified by patrol officers.

TABLE 6 Call Status.

LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
'Information only' calls. (intelligence may be used later).	Calls suggesting a good possibility of a 'result' (arrest).	Crimes involved attract long sentence, and/or perpetrator is known.
Crimes which will be handed to another agency, ie drugs.	Status of victim is considered to be vulnerable.	High adrenalin chases specialist cunning or force involved.
Calls improving image/alleviate boredom.	Arrest conforms to policy initiative ie domestic violence.	Crimes which offend 'morals' ie child abuse, drug dealing.

Although the categories defined in Table 6, above, are examples from recent empirical observations they equate to Fielding's 'hegemonic masculinity' thesis which suggests that police culture is based upon aggressive and competitive physical action, overtly heterosexual displays, misogynist attitudes and in-group out group distinctions (Fielding 1994:47). He discusses the existence of a 'pecking order among arrests; a good crime arrest, eg a domestic burglary is better than arresting a drunk' (ibid:56) and the importance of a 'portfolio of good arrests' for 'promotion' to departments such as the the CID. Due to values typically associated with femininity and masculinity however, Fielding argues that women officers are prevented from gaining such arrests, being disadvantaged as although;

...WPCs certainly walk the beat, they do so less than their male counterparts, because women are thought to be better at clerical and administrative work and are more often deployed in the station (Fielding 1994:57).

As I discussed in my introduction, it has been argued that because women do not achieve promotion in the police and they are not involved in 'macho' departments such as CID and Traffic, that this can be traced back to patrol work. It has been suggested that discrimination begins at the earliest stage in an officer's career, on uniformed duties. Even in similar patrol situations Heidensohn has argued that women are expected to play a part in the 'soft cop' policing approach. In a wider organisational view she argues that the more 'feminine' approaches, such as communication skills, community involvement and 'attention to incivilities' are seen as a solution to various policing crises (Heidensohn 1992:151). As a consequence of differential deployment, it seems obvious to assume, new female recruits fail to gain the experience which is necessary to achieve credibility, which in turn makes it difficult for them to get into the CID, promoted, or high status or specialist posts such as Crime Teams.

Arrest Culture.

In various discussions of 'what the police do' and the way it could be carried out, Manning (1977) has argued that arrests are regarded by the police as their most important function. He states that the 'product' of policing is;

...variously defined as "justice", "law and order", crime prevention and law enforcement, and often glossed by criminal statistics bearing on crime known to police, substantiated crime, and cleared crime (Manning 1977:211).

As he has defined what they are aiming to 'produce' Manning proceeds to describe how the police measure their rates of success, one of the methods being their response times to calls from the public. A principal concern with reducing this response time however, Manning suggests, is 'solving a crime—or at least producing an arrest' (Manning 1977:214).

In addition to being able to recount the circumstances of their first sudden death, police officers can usually describe their first 'lock up' in detail. As it is regarded as an important practical experience—turning theory into practice, but more significantly a symbolic a rite of passage, new recruits who fail to 'find a body' in a reasonably short amount of time are often put under pressure. Depending upon the group dynamics of the shift and the status of their tutor constable, they may be told, "Not to worry, after your first one they'll start coming" or teased about "Never coming across an angry man". A young male probationer, described by his female tutor constable as 'useless', was advised that he should use the forthcoming Christmas and New Year period to commence this process. She told me;

'We were doing lates on New Year's Eve, so I told him; "Right, tonight, the first person who tells you to fuck off—arrest them". Later on, after everything quietened down—we'd had plenty of push and shove, but he still hadn't managed to nick anyone. I asked him "What happened?" He said "But Sue, you were the only person to tell me to fuck off all night" (Female PC 1994).

As this young male officer was probably acutely aware, his personal credibility was dependent upon being able to carry out a core function of his occupational group. Indeed, if Reiner's argument about the occupational culture of the police being created and perpetuated by the functions with which they are engaged (Reiner 1985:106), it would seem that arrest becomes an essential part of that working personality. Another probationer I met, when he had about 12 months in the service, was found to have a very low 'work rate' or arrest record, at his annual review. He was moved to a busier area of the subdivision where it was thought he would have a better chance of catching up with his peers. He was still doing 'badly' compared to others at his stage in the probationary period, so after another month or two so he was put on report. In

desperation his inspector told him to stand by a traffic light and stop and charge anyone who went through on red. As he retorted later, in response to this instruction,

"How the hell was I supposed to catch them, standing there on foot patrol?" (Male probationer 1996).

A need to produce results, which often means arrests or at least reasonable 'clear-up' rates has caused pressure to be exerted on police officers to a greater or lesser degree throughout their careers. Various authors have described this element of police life and show how 'crime-fighting' from which the evidence of success is the arrest of a suspect, has been elevated to a higher status than can be maintained realistically without bending the rules (see for example, Skolnick 1966:42, Manning 1977 Reiner 1985:88). To what extent gender can be introduced to this debate about status, arrests and the 'product' of policing will be examined in the forthcoming discussion. Indeed, although Reiner goes on to discuss his policing 'ideal types' in terms of this crime fighting aspect of the work, he states there is 'no evidence of significant differences in policing style between male and female officers' (Reiner 1985:106) despite a firm link between promotion, specialisms and general deployment patterns being suggested throughout the literature in the past. Perhaps this is confirmation of Fielding's argument that the relationship between 'culture and action' in the police needs to be investigated (Fielding 1994:47). Indeed, some studies of other occupations have shown that lack of representation in terms of numbers does not necessarily disadvantage minority groups. A study of trade union executives, for example, found that women were just as likely to be appointed as officials although their general participation was much lower than their male colleagues (Lawrence 1996:33). Nursing and teaching are also examples where the (male) minority are found to be over represented in supervisory positions.

Another question which will be examined in the following discussions about differential deployment, linked to credibility and the 'good pinch', is one which Walklate has raised in her discussion of gender and policework. She suggests that we need to debate everything from;

...what counts as the central policing task to what counts as the central skills to be associated with police officers' (Walklate 1995:119)

I intend to incorporate this point into the questions raised in my introduction about the extent to which women take part in processes of arrest during their patrol duties, and whether their arrest patterns differ from men in terms of volume and status. In order to address these questions I will begin by analysing the arrest records for October 1995 in the 'West' command area. As mentioned earlier, it is regarded as a young, competitive, and dangerous policing area and I will look at the number of men and women on the shifts, how many arrests they make per month, who they are arresting, (men, women or juveniles), and for which crimes. In a subsequent section discussion I will follow up some of these arrests for selected offences to see whether this pattern is continued over a longer period of time.

West End Streets

To contextualise the discussion I will begin by describing the geographical area concerned and outlining the shift patterns, composition and gender profiles of the officers who work in the subdivision. In the Appendices there are two maps; first, an ordnance survey map which shows the area which is covered by this inner city command area. Second, a 'crime pattern analysis' map which has a small cross at the site of every recorded crime for the past year. Both of these visual indicators show a densely populated area, with closely packed housing and an apparently high, yet evenly distributed incidence of crime.

It will be illustrated later in this section that there are five 'reliefs' or shifts working in this sub-division, which is a part of the larger 'West' command area. Each area is divided into these subdivisions, which are then further divided into 'beats' (such as alpha, bravo, charlie, etc) for ease of identification. Although officers are often directed to certain designated patrol areas, in busy subdivisions, there is very little undirected time, and officers have jobs or duties assigned to them which may not correspond to their beat. In reality, officers will simply be allocated the next job 'on the screen' if they are available by the control room staff. As the following table shows, there are 123 officers working over the five shifts, providing 24 hour cover with some overlap periods. Of these, there are 97 male officers (79%) and 26 females (21%), which includes, overall, 31 probationers.

Table 7. POLICE CONSTABLES IN SUB-DIVISION OF WEST AREA COMMAND

	MALES	FEMALES
	97 (79%)	26 (21%)
TOTAL		123

From the figures in Table 7 it can be seen that there is an 80/20 majority in favour of men in the subdivision, which is a higher than average percentage for women, compared to the national average (12.3% in 1992 rising to 13.71% in 1994) and the force wide average (10.8% in 1992 rising to 12.3% in 1995, or 14.2% including probationers). Of the 26 female officers in the table above, 11 are probationers, and 10 have less than six months' service. As the following table shows, over 35% of the probationers in the subdivision are female, reflecting the comments made in the research force HMIC Report (1993) which observed that the number of women being recruited is rising rapidly '...with 39 being gained in 1992 alone' (HMIC 1993:7) and the recruitment rate for female appointments being 28.3% in 1995 (Force personnel statistics).

Table 8 PROBATIONER POLICE CONSTABLES IN SUB-DIVISION OF WEST COMMAND AREA

	MALES	FEMALES
	20 (64.5%)	11 (35.5)
TOTAL		31

One of the factors which needs to be kept in mind regarding these probationer women constables who form a large percentage of the workforce is that their arrest rates may be lower than average. Over 90% of the women in Table 8 have less than six months service in this subdivision. In effect the majority will be under the supervision of a tutor, who may or may not pass arrests to them. Some of the new probationers in Table 9 may have been on the streets for only weeks or days and consequently have been excluded from the calculations of arrest rates which will follow.

Table 9 PROBATIONER CONSTABLES WITH LESS THAN 6 MONTHS SERVICE

	MALES	FEMALES
	10 (50%)	10(91%)
TOTAL		20

Although the number of probationers of each gender with less than six months' service is equal- ten males and ten females, in terms of percentages, the former represent 50% of the probationers of that gender, half of the male probationers having less than this amount of experience; but for the women, 91% of the probationers have less than six months' service. Overall, as a percentage of all serving constables in this subdivision, female officers with less than six months represent 38% of all female officers, whilst only 10% of all male officers have this short amount of experience. In the following table, which shows the distribution of women and men in the five reliefs covering the area, probationers of less than six months have been excluded because the percentages which will be compared with this table later, to analyse the number of arrests made per officer, would be affected by their lack of experience, ability and opportunity to carry out arrests.

Table 10 POLICE OFFICERS BY GENDER IN WEST COMMAND AREA

	MALES	FEMALES
I RELIEF	16	4
J RELIEF	14	5
K RELIEF	19	2
L RELIEF	19	3
M RELIEF	15	5
TOTAL	83(81%)	19(19%)
TOTAL OFFICERS	102 (100%)	

(Excludes probationers with less than six months service)

It is these officers, represented in Table 10, which will be used in the following section to compare the percentages of male and female officers with the numbers of arrests over a one month period in the West command area. In order to draw some preliminary conclusions about arrest rates and gender I will analyse the type of arrestee, comparing this with the gender of the arresting officer. As a result it may be possible to see whether women officers are more or less likely to be engaged in the allegedly 'mainstream' work of arresting male offenders, or if they seem to be dealing mostly with women or juveniles. Another aspect which will become apparent is the type of offence for which women officers are making arrests in this subdivision. In concluding this section I will discuss the statistics in terms of 'real' policework before moving into the next section where a selection of supposedly 'macho' arrests will be viewed to see whether women are equally involved in this work.

MONTHLY ARRESTS

In this section some statistics relating to arrests from the West command area will be analysed with reference to the staffing ratios in Table 10.

TABLE 11 Gender of persons arrested for October 1995 (West Command Area)

Total No. of Arrests	527	
Males Arrested	457 (87%)	(includes 122 juveniles=27%)
Females Arrested	70 (13%)	(includes 22 juveniles= 31%)

It is to be expected that women represent a much smaller percentage of total arrests than men, and also that within these groups a slightly higher percentage of the females arrested are juveniles. In studies which examining the peak offending ages of each gender these patterns are reflected as the rate of offending for males is 18 years and 15 for females (Tarling 1993:15)

TABLE 12 Arrested Juveniles by Gender of Officer

	GENDER OF ARRESTING OFFICER		
	Male Officers	Female Officers	
Total Arrests			
Juveniles (Male)	102(84%)	20(16%)	122
Juveniles(Female)	18(82%)	4(18%)	22

(Total number of male and female juveniles arrested October 1995 = 144)

As table 12 shows, male juveniles were slightly more likely to be arrested by male officers when compared to the 80/20 percentages of officers' gender. In a similar way, a small difference is reproduced when the figures for female juvenile arrests are analysed. However, due to the small numbers involved this is not a significant statistical difference.

TABLE 13 Female Suspects Arrested by Gender of Officer (excludes juveniles)

	GENDER OF ARRESTING OFFICER	
	Male	Female
Female Suspects	36(75%)	12(25%)

Total Number of Women Arrested October 1995 = 48

In Table 13 the picture alters a little, and it is possible to see that female officers are slightly more likely to be involved in the arrest of a woman. If the 80:20 staffing ratio is used as a baseline, a 5% movement from the expected norm is detected. Again however, considering the small numbers and the limited time frame involved, this is probably not statistically significant.

TABLE 14 Male Suspects Arrested by Gender of Officer (excludes juveniles)

	GENDER OF ARRESTING OFFICER	
	Male	Female
Male Suspects	301(90%)	34(10%)

Total number of men arrested October 1995: = 335

In Table 14 however, there begins to be a divergence from the findings of the two preceding tables. It seems from these figures that male offenders are more likely to be arrested by officers of the same gender. In addition, as the following Table 15, overleaf, suggests, women in this subdivision, for the year as a whole, seem to have a lower overall arrest average than their male colleagues. It should be noted that the following table represents figures for the whole year, ending October 1995, to contextualise these monthly figures.

TABLE 15 YEARLY AVERAGE ARREST RATES BY SHIFT AND GENDER
(excluding probationers of six months service or less)
(West Command Area: Year ending 30th October 1995)

		TOTAL ARRESTS BY SHIFT	IND.AVERAGE PER ANNUM
I RELIEF			
Male Officers	16	702	44
Female Officers	4	166	41.5
J RELIEF			
Male Officers	14	630	45
Female Officers	5	193	39
K RELIEF			
Male Officers	19	1,007	53
Female Officers	2	96	48
L RELIEF			
Male Officers	19	744	39
Female Officers	3	96	32
M RELIEF			
Male Officers	15	489	33
Female Officers	5	160	32
TOTALS	102	4,283	42

TABLE 16 Yearly Arrest Rates by Gender of Officer- West Command Area,
October 1995.

MALE OFFICERS

Total Arrests by Male Officers	3,572
(Number of officers)	83
AVERAGE (Yearly) ARREST RATE FOR MALE OFFICERS:	43

FEMALE OFFICERS

Total Arrests by Female Officers	711
(Number of Officers)	19
AVERAGE(Yearly)ARREST RATE FOR FEMALE OFFICERS:	37

As Table 15 suggests, the women in this subdivision have a lower average arrest rate than the men for this particular year. One of the explanations could be related to Table 13, where female officers were less likely to be involved in the arrest of male offenders. It is possible that this could be related to economies of scale, with a larger target group available, (male offenders) it could be regarded as relatively more likely that an arrest could be effected. However, these figures are still rather inconclusive, and to move this analysis forward it is necessary to look at the type of offences for which male and female officers are making arrests. In the following table a list of offences is provided using Home Office codes (reproduced in Appendix) to differentiate classifications of crimes and 'non crimes' recorded in this subdivision for the month of October, 1995.

TABLE 15a NUMBER OF CRIME ARRESTS BY OFFENCE AND GENDER OF OFFICER
(for one month, October 1995, West Command Area)

CRIME (100%)	Female Officers ARRESTS (%)		Male Officers ARRESTS (%)		TOTAL ARRESTS
Assault	7	(28%)	18	(72%)	25
Burglary Dwelling	5	(9%)	49	(91%)	54
Burglary OTD	1	(7%)	13	(93%)	14
Theft from M/V	1	(17%)	5	(83%)	6
Theft/TWOC	7	(24%)	22	(76%)	29
Criminal Damage	7	(21%)	27	(79%)	34
Deception	2	(11%)	16	(89%)	18
Robbery	3	(60%)	2	(40%)	5
Handling	1	(33%)	2	(67%)	3
Shoplifting	5	(29%)	12	(71%)	17
Other theft	2	(5%)	35	(95%)	37
Going Equipped	0	(0%)	4	(100%)	4
Sexual Offences	5	(62.5%)	3	(37.5%)	8
Drugs	0	(0%)	12	(100%)	12
Murder	0	(0%)	3	(100%)	3
Other crime	2	(12.5%)	14	(87.5%)	16
TOTALS	48	(20%)	237	(80%)	285(100%)

TABLE 15b NUMBER and % OF ARRESTS BY OFFENCE AND GENDER OF OFFICER
(NON CRIME) Figures represent one month, October 1995, West Command.

NON CRIME	Female Officers ARRESTS (%)	Male Officers ARRESTS (%)	TOTAL ARRESTS
Section 25 Pace	0 (0%)	9 (100%)	9
Drunkenness	5 (22%)	18 (78%)	23
Public Order Offences	5 (11%)	42 (89%)	47
Breath test	0 (0%)	12 (100%)	12
Disqualified driver	1 (10%)	9 (90%)	10
Warrant	7 (7.5%)	86 (92.5%)	93
Absconders	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	5
Other non crime	4 (13%)	27 (87%)	31
TOTALS	22 (8%)	208 (92%)	230

By comparing Tables 15a and 15b a further divergence can be seen between the male and female arrest rates for various crimes. Although the arrests by men and women for offences classed as 'crime' by the Home Office codes show male and female officers making different arrests rates within the various types of crimes, overall their percentage is almost identical to their staffing ratio of 20/80. In the case of their 'non-crime' categories however, the women officers have a much lower arrest rate, which could explain their lower monthly average illustrated in Table 15. In other words, women are making less of the 'non crime' type arrests which may be lowering their overall average, but their 'crime arrests' fit the pattern of their percentage of the workforce.

YEARLY ARRESTS

In this section I now intend to look at arrest figures for a small number of crimes in some detail. To complete the analysis of the quantitative data the following tables represent the arrests by male and female officers in the West command area for one year. In this way a fuller picture of some supposedly 'high adrenalin' calls can be viewed, in order to begin to conclude the discussion about what men and women do on patrol. Crimes I have decided to focus upon in this section are chosen to illustrate some traditionally 'macho' areas of policing. Car crime is often associated with male values of fast driving, pride in vehicle ownership, and competitiveness. In our culture men are the 'natural' drivers, and the chasing, hunting aspect of certain types of these crimes has been said to attract male officers to specialisms such as traffic in the past. As the next crime for analysis is burglary, it is perhaps the possibility of catching a criminal who will spend a significant amount of time in prison if caught, but also may be preying upon innocent and especially vulnerable victims, which seems to be important. It is often therefore regarded as a forcewide priority and in this way burglary becomes the ideal vehicle for police officers to display their crime fighting, heroic, masculinity. In addition, burglary involves the encroachment of personal space or territory and may involve close hand to hand fighting in cases of 'intruders suspected', 'alarm activated' or 'burglary in progress'.

In a similar way, calls to attend cases of assault may involve physical bodily action and the protection of the vulnerable, as the injured person may be weaker than the attacker, especially in domestic scenarios. As calls to assaults have the possibility to turn into life threatening events, with officers becoming the target of the violence, it is plain that these calls may be regarded with anything from trepidation to eager anticipation. Wherever the feelings can be placed along this emotional continuum, however, the result will be an adrenaline 'rush' which has tended to suffuse this type of call with a certain masculine status. To what extent this may be supported empirically is examined in the following table in which the arrest rates for assaults by gender of the officer, are reproduced for the year ending 31.12.95.

Table 17 ASSAULTS West Command Area, year ending December 1995.

Home Office Code 008/06 ASSAULT SECTION 47

No of Cases:	244
Arrests by male officers	200
Arrests by female officers	44 (22%)

Home Office Code 008/01 Assault Section 20

No of cases:	28
Arrests by male officer:	23
Arrests by female officer:	5 (21.7%)

Home Office Code 005/01 Assault Section 18

No. of cases	48
Arrests by male officers:	45
Arrests by female officers:	3 (6.7%)

As these three classifications of assault show, women officers are much more likely to be arresting people for Section 47 assaults than the more serious and violent offences. In other words, in cases of actual bodily harm (ABH) which is a Section 47 assault, women are making 22% of the arrests which is higher than their employment ratio of 20:80. On the other hand, although this is maintained for Section 20 assaults (wounding without intent), with female officers making 21.7% of the arrests, when the figures for Section 18 assaults are analysed the picture changes. Arrests for grievous bodily harm (GBH) and wounding *with* intent are being dealt with, in the majority, by male officers with only 6.7% of the arrests being made by women.

As the following table suggests however, when the figures for various categories of burglary are compared, the more violent and potentially dangerous arrests are made by female officers. Here burglaries are divided into 'non dwelling' including factories, shops and business premises; dwellings, and a further category of 'aggravated' burglary. In this third category some factor

is said to have made the offence more serious or violent, such as the use a weapon or breaking in when it is known that the occupants are inside the building.

Table 18 BURGLARY West Command area, year ending 31st December 1995.

Home Office Code 030/02 BURGLARY OTD (Other Than a Dwelling)

No of cases	49
Arrests by male officers:	43
Arrests by female officers:	6 (14%)

Home Office Code 028/03 BURGLARY (Dwelling).

No of Cases:	358
Arrests by male officer	303
Arrests by female officer	55 (18.2%)

Home Office Code 029/ BURGLARY DWELLING -AGGRAVATED

Number of Cases	11
Arrests by male officers	9
Arrests by female officers	2 (22.2%)

In this third category female officers are again exceeding their employment ratio by 2%. It is interesting that this potentially violent crime shows an inverse relationship to the figures on arrests for the most violent assault classification. In the following table various types of vehicle related crime are examined.

Table 19 CAR CRIME West Command Area, year ending 31st December 1995.

Home Office Code 045/10 Theft from a Motor Vehicle

No. of cases	133
Arrests by male officer:	117
Arrests by female officer:	16 (13.7%)

Home Office Code 048/02 TWOC (Taking Without Owner's Consent)

No of cases:	127
Arrests by male officers:	112
Arrests by female officers:	15 (11.8%)

Home Office Code 037/02 TWOC (Aggravated- injury, damage, drive
dangerously)

No of Cases:	53
Arrests by male officers:	43
Arrests by female officers:	10 (23.2%)

Home Office Code 037/01 TWOC Aggravated, (cause death)

No of cases	1
Arrest by male officer	1

In the first two categories of car crimes reproduced in Table 19, involvement by female officers is lower than might be expected, at 13.7 and 11.8% respectively. In the 'normal' aggravated category, however, excluding the one 'cause death' incident, they are again exceeding their predicted percentage rate by making 23% of the arrests for 1995. In a similar way to the more violent and potentially dangerous burglaries, aggravating factors in car crime seems to be equated with arrests by women.

DISCUSSION

It has been argued for at least the past ten years that because women seem to lag behind in terms of promotion in the police, often leave at an earlier stage in their careers, and are not involved in 'macho' departments such as CID and Traffic, that they are differentially deployed on patrol. A causal relationship is assumed which suggests that this process begins at the earliest place in an officer's career, on uniformed patrol. As a consequence of differential deployment, it seems obvious to assume, new female recruits fail to gain the experience which is necessary to achieve credibility, which in turn makes it difficult for them to get into the CID, promoted, or high status specialist posts such as Crime Teams. However, these assertions raise at least two questions which I highlighted in the introduction to this chapter; first, whether it is possible to establish a causal link between promotion, specialisation and general deployment patterns. In other words, how essential is the traditional, 'real policework' arrest portfolio for promotion and lateral movement into certain areas of specialism. A second question which I raised in the introduction, about differential deployment, is linked to credibility and 'proper' policework; namely, to what extent are women excluded from certain arrests, and how do their arrest patterns differ from men in terms of amounts and types.

In this chapter I began the analysis of the quantitative data by examining arrest rates for a month, in 'West' subdivision, and it was clear that in some categories, significant differences could be shown to exist. An example of this pattern was the overall arrest rate, which was slightly lower for women, at 38% compared to 43% for the men (Table 15), although when certain offender classifications were examined it was revealed that there was very little difference in arrests of female or juvenile suspects. On the other hand, when it came to detaining men, male officers were carrying out 90% of these arrests.

If the arrests for various crime categories are then added into the picture (Table 15a) it is possible to gain a clearer view of the type of arrests which women and men are making. For example, in order of frequency, sexual offences (62.5%), robberies (60%), handling (33%) and shoplifting (29%) are the crimes for which female officers are most likely to make an arrest. For men, murder, drugs, going equipped and burglary are the four highest percentages. It could be argued that this is confirmation of a very stereotypical pattern of gendered policing, but the figures in the next Table (15b) show that male arrests for crimes classified as 'non-crime', which might be regarded as the

'softer' aspects of the service, are dominated by male officers. Over 90% of the arrests in this category are by men.

Moving on the analysis of yearly arrests in the subdivision, statistics for assault, burglary and car crime are investigated. In this discussion the way the most violent assaults (Section 18) are dealt with by men is highlighted, and linked to earlier findings (Table 14) showing that 90% of men are arrested by male officers. In the light of national statistics however, which show that there were 26,400 males convicted of violence against the person as opposed to 2,800 females in 1995 (Home Office 1995:109), it is clear that men are much more likely to be committing these type of offences. In effect, women committing violent offences amount to only about 10% of the male incidence of similar crimes, which equates to these arrest rates by gender in West Command area.

What is harder to explain perhaps is the inverse relationship between gender and the more serious and potentially violent arrests for burglary and car crime shown in Tables 18 and 19. In both of these categories, aggravating factors connected to the offence lead to a higher percentage involvement by female officers; women making arrests for aggravated burglary represent 22% of the total and for aggravated TWOCs, 23%. Again, an inverse relationship seems to be apparent when these figures are compared with 'normal' burglary (female arrests 14% OTD, and 18% dwelling). As this is repeated for car crime, with arrests by women standing at 13.7% (theft from a motor vehicle) and 11.8% (TWOC), which are much lower than their rates for aggravated crimes, more questions seem to arise.

Working Technologies.

Another aspect which needs to be taken into consideration is the effect of computer aided dispatch and personal communications systems upon deployment practices. In a study of the impact of such technological innovations, Ackroyd et al argue that 'mechanised policing', has encouraged supervisors, since the 1960s, to use systems such as control rooms as 'managerial centres' (Ackroyd et al 1992:73). New technologies, such as CADs (computer aided dispatch) and the data which is stored as a result of systems recording the day to day activities of officers, was introduced in anticipation of:

..facilitating a more operationally expeditious match between police services and resources, but also providing police management with information about operational performance for both long and short term planning (Ackroyd et al 1992:79).

In addition to the widespread use of patrol cars, personal radios and computer systems which are described as 'command and control' by Ackroyd et al, (rather than simply for general personnel use or information storage) - have been introduced by the majority of British police forces. In their study they note that over 90% of the 43 forces possess such systems and the increasingly pervasive role of computers in the daily working lives of police officers is discussed. As a result of introducing this type of mechanisation various types of conflicts have arisen between 'practical' operational officers and those holding an 'ivory tower' (Ackroyd et al 1992:84) view of policing. Some of the problems include the system being viewed as 'an unjustified interference in patrol officers' ability to determine when and how the work should be performed', altering the relationship between 'patrol officers and their superiors, as well as provoking conflict between those line managers who wish to maintain a custodial style' (ibid:85) and the way data input was regarded as time wasting compared to 'real police work' (ibid:109).

One of the positive aspects of improved access to police vehicles however, is the speed at which they can travel to incidents. As Holdaway has observed, '(c)ars allow PCs to concentrate on "getting work", which generally means arrests' (Holdaway 1983:135). He argues that another result of this transport revolution has been that;

Cars can also create and sustain the action and excitement that PCs expect from their work. When a patrol car reports over the personal or force radio that it is chasing a stolen vehicle, it is quite usual for other drivers to join in, even though they are formally prohibited from doing so and will probably make what is a fairly dangerous situation even more precarious (Holdaway 1983:135).

Over the past twenty years, in parallel with the integration of women into the mainstream policing, communications and computer technology have become increasingly important. It does not seem to have been an even development however, as throughout the course of the research for this thesis, 'old' and more modern systems have been observed. In the former type, a civilian dispatcher sits behind a desk in 'Comms', (a room with telephones and PNC terminal), answers the phone, and calls officers via their radios and directs them to jobs. This 'user friendly' system, which involves the

caller speaking to the person who will match the officer to the call, often overseen by the shift supervisor, either the sergeant or more likely, the inspector. An inspector working this 'old style' system told me;

"I can listen to everything that's going on, and if I hear someone dealing with a job in a shoddy way— for example a domestic or something, well then I can speak to them or more usually go out to see to them myself" (Male Inspector, 1993).

In one of the police stations I visited in the course of my fieldwork, a red telephone which was reserved for emergency calls was sitting on an elevated platform beside the operator. It was explained to me that members of the public ringing 'three nines' would be automatically diverted to 'the Batphone', and it would be answered as a priority. I asked what would happen if more than one person called the emergency number at the same time, as the area it covered was approximately 90,000 people, and was told '...they would just have to wait' (Male PC 1993).

As a contrast, in the other force I studied, as the sub-division which I have focused upon for this chapter was regarded as a very busy, 'dangerous' area, any new computer, vehicular or protection technology was considered essential to efficiency. At one stage during my fieldwork it was announced that a new type of more comfortable and protective body armour (flak jacket) was to be purchased 'for every officer'. At around the same time it was publicised that the force would be one of the testing areas for the introduction of CS spray cannisters. However, a PC from one of the other command areas remarked,

"Oh yes, but it'll be, 'Let's try them out in the West End first, then the others can have them'" (Male PC 1996).

In sharp contrast to the red 'Batphone' dispatch system mentioned above, the 'West' command area had installed computer systems in most of their panda cars; behind the sun visor a small screen could be revealed and a keyboard opened out of the dashboard. From this mobile terminal the Police National Computer, the local 'Burgess' (electoral) register, and the force's own mainframe could be accessed directly. All of the calls to officers regarding requests from members of the public would be routed through a central dialing system which automatically sends calls to one of three control rooms. In these centres, operators use a computerised system to record details of calls and view the officers who are available to be sent in response. As noted earlier, Ackroyd

et al (1992) have suggested that in some situations the computer aided dispatch system is regarded as another hurdle to be negotiated by officers in their achievement of 'proper policing'. At other times I saw it being regarded as a valuable source of useful information and in some cases this distinction was dependent upon the status and competence of the control room operator. Certain operators were regarded as incompetent and given 'outsider' status by being referred to as 'civie telephonists' with little understanding of the operational difficulties and dangers of officers 'on the ground'.

In principle, however, at least from a management perspective, it seems clear that computerised dispatch systems are designed to match resources, such as police officers and vehicles, with calls requiring attention in order of priority. Control room staff need to be aware of the officers they have available when calls come in, and so at the beginning of each shift officers are required to 'book on' with the operators. As they leave the police station, following the parade briefing, officers call the control room by radio, telling them they are 'State Zero' meaning available for direction to incoming calls. Other 'States' include attending to paperwork, carrying out enquiries from previous shifts and 'State 4' which means unavailable for work due to a meal break. As calls come to the control room from the public they are usually answered by civilian staff, although they are supervised by a police officer of sergeant or inspector rank, and entered on a computer screen. Next, messages are sent to the subdivisions by calling up individual officers by their collar number, and directions are issued via personal radios. As they reach the incident to which they have been directed it is announced to the radio operator that they are 'On scene' so that their response time can be noted. Upon the resolution of a job, officers return the call to the control staff by radio to tell them the result of the incident, or sometimes they wait until returning to the police station and use an internal extension to speak to them by telephone.

As a result of this computer dispatching system, a 'daily log', which was illustrated earlier in this chapter, is produced. In each command area computers located in various police stations receive a continuous print-out of details of calls which have been allocated to officers in their own subdivision. Each morning, at the beginning of the day shift, it is usual for an inspector to check the record of the activities of officers in the preceding 24 hours. Sometimes he or she will review incidents which seem to be unresolved or unclear from the details recorded, but generally it is used as a localised overview of the officers' activities. It is also used to identify crime patterns and it may lead to a decision

to carry out a 'special operation', as a female PCs from one of the shifts I had accompanied told me;

"Upstairs they've noticed from the log that I just missed that burglar last night and so we're setting up a special operation next weekend to watch the streets around the one that was done over, and I'm going to be co-ordinating it because it was my intelligence" (Female PC 1996).

As this example suggests, knowledge of events and management involvement in deployment, as a result of CAD (computer aided dispatch) systems tends to be after the event. In the incident mentioned in the quote above, I was with the female PC as she followed a man who was crossing the main road near the police station with something hidden under his jacket. As we drove by the PC had noticed a lead with a plug attached hanging down by his side, so she made a quick 'U' turn down a side street, but he had disappeared. She parked the car and we walked around, looking over walls and in gateways, and found a video recorder, portable CD player, and small 'jemmy' hidden behind a low wall. As she was unwilling to allow me to stand on guard with the loot in case he came back for it, and we were in a deserted street, with the panda car in a back lane about 50 yards away, I was sent to retrieve the car so that we could quickly and quietly put the evidence in the boot, and tour the streets in the direction of his house to see if we could catch him.

In this case the officer's involvement was self-directed; she could have chosen to simply drive down the road she saw the suspect take, and upon his disappearance, decide that there was no point pursuing the matter. In the course of my fieldwork I saw examples of officers, both male and female, deciding for various reasons that they should ignore certain events which may have led to solving a crime or arresting a suspect. To concentrate first on the way officers are directed by others, however, I will re-examine one of the questions I raised in the introduction, about assignment to calls by the CAD system and then move on to deployment by supervisors.

To turn to the control room operators first, computers are used as an aid to decision making and the dispatchers are removed to a physically remote location, away from the general activity of the police station. In this way it has had the effect of depersonalising the relationship between police officers and those taking the calls in some ways. On the other hand a certain amount of work is carried out by both sides of the communications link to endeavour to

maintain some sort of rapport. Examples of this were overt 'sexual' remarks between male police officers and female operators, asking about each other's appearance, saying they have a nice voice, and general 'flirting' during telephone conversations. On a couple of occasions control room staff were asked to leavers' or christmas parties, and a series of exclamations of surprise as people who had talked but not seen each other would take place as they were introduced.

In terms of deployment however, there seems to be a certain amount of discretion involved in the way operators decide to whom they will assign calls. For example, a frequent complaint by some officers with easily recognisable numbers was that they were more obvious as targets, and they would predict that they would be called more regularly. Another complaint was that sometimes the control room staff would take revenge on certain officers for any unpleasantness in the past, by calling them during meal breaks to provide them with 'updates'. One of the control room staff was known for being lax in his conveyance of important intelligence prior to the officers' arrival. As one officer complained;

"That Fred- I asked him, on the way there, is there any relevant intelligence on this guy I'm going to arrest, and he says, 'Yes, 12 pages'. So I says, well if it's not too much *trouble*, could you look to see if he's likely to have a fucking gun?" (Male PC 1995).

On another occasion he had given some instructions about the direction in which two gunmen had run off down a disused railway line, and at the end of the message, over the air, had added;

"...Oh, and Paul- be careful out there". (Control room operator, 1996).

As the people listening to this message were already wound up and extremely wary of the situation, having just arrived at the scene of a shooting, it was regarded as a highly patronising remark. However, apart from minor gripes about directions, the number of calls they are given in quick succession and some decisions about the priority of calls, in general the system appears to be 'ungendered'. During the periods I was observing there were no calls which were specifically directed towards women or men or allocated on the basis of size or strength. In any case, it would be unlikely that the control room staff would know the physical attributes of any individual officer.

Deployment by supervisors.

In respect of the directions which are given by inspectors or sergeants, some cases do provide the potential for discrimination on the basis of an officer's gender or supposed physical strength. In certain instances members of the public telephone the station directly and may report some incident which needs police attention. To deal with these calls the inspector or sergeant will generally catch someone as they are coming in for a refreshment break and ask them to deal with it before they book back on with the control room. He or she may simply ask if they are 'busy' and if not, could they 'fix something up' for them. In other cases the supervisor might ask an assembled group of officers if anyone is willing to take on a certain task. In most cases someone will volunteer, as in the following example of a request which was made during the parade at the beginning of the shift;

Inspector: "I've got a repeat arson in the cells, disturbed woman, boyfriend's left her, she's done it before—basically she's tried to kill herself".

Female PC: "Oh, poor thing, I'll do it —we'll do it, won't we?" (Turns to her female partner who nods).

Later I asked the volunteer why she had offered to take on a very low status, difficult case which would probably result in the woman being committed to some sort of secure mental institution, rather than being charged. She explained;

"Oh, well, it's just that I feel sorry for them, I'm known for being too soft. Josie and me, we like that sort of part of the job— we like being nice to the punters" (Female PC 1995).

In a similar way large, male police officers who like the 'street fighting' part of the job will often 'volunteer' themselves by responding to certain messages;

Inspector: (coming into refreshment room with a piece of paper in his hand)
"I've got a bloke in Forsyth Street says he won't leave his girlfriend's house".

2 Male PCs: (In unison, getting up and putting on their jackets)

"Oh *yes he will!*" (Male PCs, 1995)

In the course of the fieldwork I saw little evidence of women officers being

directed to jobs on the basis of their gender, due to the combination of the CAD system and the lack of 'spare' officers. Supervisors have very few women on the shift and as human resources seem to be scarce, there is little room for discrimination. Some male officers however, appear to be uncomfortable around female colleagues, as one officer on a shift I was accompanying told me;

"Your research, it's about women in the police, isn't it? Well you're in the right place here because the inspector, he *hates* women"(Female PC 1995).

I take up this issue in more depth in the next chapter, but of course much of the work which concerns the 'action' or arrest is enacted away from the supervisor's gaze, and in some cases without discussion, a 'natural' gendered division of labour seems to occur. In group situations, without any directions being given, or perhaps where couples are involved in disputes, women officers seem to self allocated themselves the girlfriend or partner, whilst the male officers deal with the men. As it is more usual for males to be arrested for violent acts, as described in the discussion earlier, this may explain the large percentage of arrests by male officers for violent crimes. In the few cases where I saw women being arrested, and female officers were on the scene, they took charge in a seeming unwritten and unspoken agreement. One of these arrests was quite violent, as a young woman was taken in a neck hold by a female officer to get her into the van. A couple had come to the attention of the police as they were having a screaming row in the street, and originally the van stopped to simply check whether the woman needed assistance and to tell them to be quiet. However, despite the police presence, she kept screaming, started shouting at the woman officer, was warned, and then arrested. Upon arrival at the charge desk she refused to give her name and the woman officer who had arrested her got hold of her round the neck again and she agreed to cooperate, saying;

"I'm gonna knock ye-(fights, then submits). Just get her off me- right?" (Female suspect 1995).

Later the female officer who made the arrest was teased by her colleagues, and as she had been the subject of attention at parade time for having just had her hair permed that day, they used this as additional ammunition;

Male PC: "Did you see Emma lose her rag with that woman she arrested?"

Act/Serg : "Yes, well that's what happens if you have one of those curly perms".

Act/Insp: (Joking) "Have you checked with the CCTV operator in case they caught that arrest on video Emma? You'd better get them to 'lose' it if they have".

When I spoke to the acting inspector later about this arrest he told me that it was fairly rare for women to be detained by force like that but he was 'very relieved' that Emma had done it, as he explained;

"I don't like arresting women- don't like it at all"

LW: Why not?

"It's the handling of them, I don't like laying my hands on women in an arrest"

LW: Are you worried about them making an allegation?

"Partly, but it just doesn't seem right somehow" (Male Act/Inspector)

At another incident which began as the report of prowlers in the rear yard of a house, practically the whole shift arrived in a small back lane behind some terraced houses. One of the local residents was annoyed that the police were there, in such large numbers, at 2am. It is a fairly common complaint by members of the public in this area if too many officers appear in a group. Remarks such as 'Where were you when we were burgled last week' and 'I bet you don't hassle other people like this' are common. On this occasion, the householder was being a little too aggressive and he was arrested for breach of the peace. At this point his wife ran out of the back yard, tried to intervene, kicked the door of the police car, and was arrested. By some unspoken agreement the only woman officer, a young probationer, stepped forward and carried out the cautioning and handcuffing of this suspect. However, the female arrestee was quite violent and the officer was scratched and punched. After about half an hour I went into the women's toilets at the station and found her shaken and upset. Both of her ears had been scratched and were bleeding but she couldn't tell whether the pierced part of her lobe had been damaged. She was gulping back tears as we cleaned up the cuts and rubbed some scuff marks off her uniform she told me;

"God, I hate this part of the job-I always seem to catch it"(Female PC 1995).

HANDLING WOMEN.

It has been suggested by other studies of police behaviour that male officers do not like dealing with women as suspects. In his description of female lawbreakers as 'disarmers' Holdaway describes how they are afforded 'soft' treatment (Holdaway 1983:77) and Smith and Gray report that male officers only used force to arrest women under extreme circumstances (Smith & Gray 1983:88). Holdaway also documents the belief amongst his colleagues that 'women should not normally be prosecuted for motoring offences' (Holdaway 1983:78); and as the following quotation from a example from a uniformed patrol PC suggests, this belief still exists;

"I've been a cop now for over 10 years, but I've never done a woman for a traffic offence- they always say the right things like 'What did I do?' and 'Eeh was I?' when you tell them what they did. They don't argue like men do, they just say 'Well, I'm really sorry and I won't do it again', -so what can you do?" (Male PC 1995).

On the other hand a female traffic officer told me about women drivers she stops;

"When you pull them over they look in the mirror as you get out of the car, and you can see them thinking 'Oh shit, it's a woman', and they know they won't get away with it. I had one try it on; she's sat in the back of the car and she says her husband will kill her when he finds out and starts crying. My partner, Bill, is sat in the front and I can tell he thinks we should let her off, and if I wasn't there, I bet he would" (Female Traffic Patrol Officer, 1994).

On the other hand, most of the shifts I observed had at least two or three male officers who regarded themselves as 'fit gits' -able to 'handle' themselves, experts at the 'non-Home Office' holds, and willing to pursue and catch 'runners' in arrest situations. In this way these officers would 'self-select' themselves from a group at an arrest, because they would be left to run after the suspects whilst everyone else jumped into cars to head off the chase. During the fieldwork it was not unusual to have to jump into a car or van quickly as the pursuit of one or more suspects was undertaken in support of officers chasing on foot. Sometimes officers need to find the direction their partners have taken and so they ask the control room to locate them. As the following interchange between an officer and the control room illustrates however, in the heat of the chase things got confused;

Control room: Calling 659- for your information- pursuit on foot in progress in the Smithfield Estate.

Male Officer: (Breathless) 659 replying-I know, I'm running after him. (Male PC 1995)

On another occasion two youths had walked past the police station and kicked the window mounted extractor fan, which was at ground level, and it fell into the administration office where several officers were sitting doing paperwork. One of them jumped up and ran out of the building, and after a short chase returned with both the offenders, to tumultuous congratulations. Later, he was proudly recounting the tale to some officers from another sector, and making them laugh by saying;

"I was dead chuffed at first -I haven't caught someone younger than myself for years, but when we booked them in, they both said they had asthma!" (Male PC 1995)

One of his colleagues, commenting on how this differs from his usual work rate, retorted sarcastically;

"What-*two whole arrests*, in one day- that's a record for you isn't it Mike?" (Male PC 1995).

However, the first officer was ready for this comment, replying;

"Well actually, it's three, because I had a lock up at the leisure centre earlier on this morning. (Smirks) Can you do better?" (Male PC 1995)

At another burglary, panda cars arrived at the scene to find an officer in his thirties, known to be an athletic club runner, proudly holding up a video recorder by the cable. His female partner, a probationer, was sitting in the car with the suspect. His sergeant asked;

"Did you catch him actually running out of the flat?"

"Yes, Sarg".

"How far did he get?"

"About 250 yards".

"Well done, a really good result" (Male Sergeant 1995).

In this way some officers obviously 'select' themselves for certain types of

arrest rather than being 'deployed'. In this latter case, burglary charges would probably be aggravated by a 'resisting arrest' element making it a significant 'catch' for the officer's work record. Furthermore, as arrests are counted by the 'first touch' principle, where they are attributed to the officer who makes physical contact first, young fit and apparently more usually male officers can apprehend their adversaries more regularly. As the following example shows however, where other police skills such as observation and shrewdness are required, physical attributes may not be so important; in the following case a female officer had just arrested an 18 year old male suspected of burglary. As he was led to the cells she told me;

"He's mine, we had a call from the neighbours that they'd just seen someone crawling into the house through a hole in the patio doors, and we drove along the road, and I said, 'Hang on- he doesn't look right'- it was this bright pink jacket he had on. So we stopped the van and he started to run and I got first touch (Female PC 1995).

Supervising Gender.

In conversation with supervisors, about their feelings regarding the deployment of women, they are obviously unlikely to confess to being overtly discriminatory. A male inspector was quite frank about his fears regarding women and danger, however, saying;

"On my shift they're all my kids, my children, and the girls- I worry about them on their own; I'm always listening on the radio if they're out on their own" (Male Inspector 1995).

Another sergeant, well known for his tenacious manner, yet small stature, placed more emphasis on physical size and presence than gender, when I asked about women and arrests:

"Take me for instance-if I go into a pub and tell someone to leave, they might turn round and say, 'Ye's not gonna make me', but I always say, 'No, but *he* will (points to a large member of the shift) and if that's not enough, there's plenty more of our mates back at the nick'. Another thing, it's not just your size, but your attitude; it's always best to get the first punch in- don't let them wind you at the start" (Male Sergeant 1995).

Another day I saw an example of this when a young drug user was carried into the back of the police station and forcibly taken into a cell by four uniformed officers, who intended to search him. Once they managed to get him through the doorway, he refused to take his clothes off and so the Sergeant, quoted above, smashed the door back on its hinges, and pulling on a pair of rubber gloves, made him comply by shouting at the prisoner, army style:

"Right, you're gonna get your fucking kit off, *now*" (Male Sergeant 1995).

As the door was closed behind him there were no further sounds of resistance and the body search was completed.

CULTURE AND STRENGTH

It has been discussed in the past that occupational status in the police is dependent upon the ability to run, catch and restrain the prime targets of the 'fight against crime'. As these 'core' criminals are usually young, male and 'tough' burglars and car thieves who are prepared to use violence to escape, so it is argued, the police must be able and willing to retaliate if necessary. As writers on police culture in the past have suggested, occupational myth and that which Holdaway describes as a 'good yarn' or 'rich mixture of narrative' (Holdaway 1983:138) play an important part in the perpetuation of shared values and beliefs. As cultural transmitters Smith and Gray regard 'stories of fighting and violence' and 'sexual conquests and feats of drinking', as essential to the maintenance of male officers' standing in the group as 'good policemen who made "good arrests"' (Smith & Gray 1983:87).

From my fieldwork, part of what has been described the 'toughness code' seems to be the ability to recount tales of feminine frailties, designating women colleagues as 'nice in their place, but not up to the job'. In their study of police violence in Glasgow, mentioned earlier, Uildriks & van Mastrigt observe recruits may already have 'traditional' values concerning physical prowess and a willingness to fight as measures of manly worth (ibid :160) and these are reinforced in an occupation such as policing. Indeed as Hobbs has suggested, with the exception criminal entrepreneurship, there are few job opportunities remaining in the traditional trades which 'have been crucial in defining and shaping images of masculinity' (Hobbs 1994:119). However, as police officers

come from 'traditionally working class backgrounds', according to Uildriks and van Mastrigt.

"...in certain police circles, 'acting tough' may be one way for an officer to acquire the reputation for being a 'good' police officer" (Uildriks & van Mastrigt 1991:160).

In order to sustain this belief however, 'challengers' who can 'offer a threat to the secrecy and interdependence of policing' (Holdaway 1983:81) such as women, must be continually viewed within the 'homologous binaries' of police culture (Young 1991:209). Male officers I met during my fieldwork were officers keen to praise female colleagues, saying 'She gets stuck in' (fights) or 'precise and thorough' (with her paperwork). However, a male PC told me he drew the line at a female supervisor;

"What you don't need is someone who is supposed to be in charge of a firearms incident, way out of her depth, not knowing what to do, her voice going higher and higher, about to burst into tears—it's putting everyone at risk" (Male PC 1994).

Another female colleague was regarded as lacking in credibility due to her body size as one of her colleagues explained;

"I mean she is fat, bordering on the obese. You've come tonight dressed in clothes which are appropriate— for what you might have to do, but she's regarded as a joke— she's got no operational capability in terms of uniform work" (Male inspector 1995).

Conversely, lack of body weight was often commented upon by male officers when they described their worries about the capabilities of female officers. One story I heard a few times was retold by a male traffic officer;

"During the miners' strike, a female officer, 8½ stone in her nylons, arrested an 18 stone picket, and she handcuffed him— he just let her, and then he picked her up and walked off with her—nothing she could do". (Male PC 1995)

Another story which an officer told me was the result of a 'manly confidence' between him and a male prisoner;

"One day there was a woman custody sergeant and a female PC working as her jailor, and I was in the suite doing an interview, and my prisoner said, 'If you weren't here, if it was just those two—I'd get out'. Personally, I think he would have tried it" (Male PC 1995).

Stories concerning women making arrests which required physical courage were rare, and never told to me by male officers. General conceptions of female strength do not seem to have been influenced by what Heidensohn (1992) and Walklate (1995) have called the feminisation of the police, the move from 'force' to service and women as the answer to the crisis in policing. Capabilities at 'street level' seem to be controlled by maleness and reinforced by events, colleagues, members of the public even those who are arrested.

From my own experience during the fieldwork, even taking my non-police status into account, my gender was a factor which influenced some of the activities with which I was 'allowed' to be involved. One evening, following a fight outside a nightclub, which I had watched from a reasonable distance, we were in the bar after the shift, and two of the officers said they'd been worried about me as I was '...a bit too close. I can't help it I feel protective' (Male PC)—although there were several officers between me and the arrestees. On another occasion, another two male officers were trying to arrest a fairly volatile young man who was becoming excited and anxious so I went out into the hallway to give them more space, and they said afterwards;

"That was useful, you'd have blocked him if he'd made a run for it but we wouldn't have let him get you" (Male PC 1995).

Upon arriving at speed to calls with potentially violent situations, I would be warned by officers I had not accompanied before 'not to get involved', and at an incident where the landlord of a notoriously 'rough' public house had reported being threatened with a shotgun, —despite having spent almost six months with various officers from this subdivision— the officer I was accompanying said;

"Now, can I make a suggestion—that you wait outside when we get there" (Male PC 1995).

At another incident I was standing in a custody suite, watching a young burglary suspect being charged. He was told that because he had been arrested 32 times in the past year, the police would be opposing any further bail

applications and he would be held in custody for court on Monday morning (it was Saturday evening). As he was expecting to simply walk from the cells after an hour or so, he was shocked and upset, and a group of five officers, including the woman who had arrested him, watched as he struggled to maintain his composure. Without warning however, he suddenly lurched forward, and broke from the group of officers, and made a run for the door, where I was standing, and attempted to push me aside. However, I instinctively jumped in his path and grabbed his arm as the whole group sprung into action and fell upon him. He was pushed to the ground and then carried away bodily, with an officer at the end of each arm and leg. As they got him round the corner he was thrown into a cell, and had his belt, shoes and personal property removed from him forcibly and without regard for his complaints of pain. As he was struggling and being restrained I could hear what sounded like several blows and remarks being made such as 'You don't go for women, laddie' and 'She's not even one of us', as my gender and outsider status somehow made his escape attempt more wicked in their eyes. After the situation had calmed down everyone was very apologetic—the custody sergeant asking if I was alright, "No injuries?" and the female officer in whose control the suspect had been said;

"I'm really sorry about that, he was my responsibility— I should have been watching, and realise he might try it on" (Female PC 1995).

As a reinforcement of cultural values this incident provides, like many other daily examples of stories about violence, danger and excitement, a way to reinforce the beliefs, and internal solidarity of the police. As the previous account about the prisoner who confided that he would 'have a go' if two women were guarding him, this is reinforced by other 'folk narratives' as one of the officers told me at a social evening later in the year;

"Here, I heard you stopped one of the toe-rags legging it out of the back of the West End. I hope your university pays danger money" (Male PC 1995).

Due to this constant telling and re-telling of these so called 'rich narratives', cultural values can be reinforced and tested: as Holdaway says, when the practice of 'verballing' is rehearsed, 'trust is tested, secrecy reinforced and teamwork strengthened' (Holdaway 1983:118). In this way, policing offers, particularly to men, what Hobbs has suggested is in decline— 'viable gendered careers for men' (Hobbs 1994:119). Just as the criminal entrepreneur uses violence in the exercising of power and exclusion of women, he goes on to

argue, it is an essential tool in structuring their identities (Hobbs 1994:119-120). In the following chapter therefore, I intend to explore the way masculine identities are maintained and recreated for each generation of recruits, both male and female, by analysing some of the ways 'being a man' is enacted in the police. In order to conclude my thesis I will be developing this theme of masculine identities by looking at the meanings behind the behaviour, beliefs and actions described here. In other words I intend to explore some of the reasons for the apparently indefatigable 'cult of masculinity' which appears to be alive and well in the modern police.

Introduction.

In this chapter I intend to examine certain activities and behaviour which illustrate the final element of my thesis, which is concerned with the ways in which officers enact masculinity in the police. Towards the end of my previous chapter it became evident that despite management policies and directives on equal opportunities for women, certain underlying attitudes towards the gendered nature of policework are still pervasive and influential. It seems that for arrests where physical force is required, men are considered to have the necessary skills, whilst their female colleagues, despite evidence that they take part in what might be regarded as the more violent and dangerous incidents, are thought to be in need of protection, or simply 'unsuitable' for these tasks. Although male and female officers appeared to be equally involved when violent or physical arrests were made, several officers commented that they regarded this to be inadvisable.

It is perhaps understandable that for some officers the use of physical violence or force is a masculine preserve. Indeed, the belief that 'fighting' and physical expressions of aggression are purely masculine attributes, which men have the right to 'use' as they are essentially male, can be observed throughout general society. However, as this 'right' becomes further internalised through police cultural values, as a 'core characteristic' (Reiner 1985:82) apparently becoming closely aligned to their occupational identity. To employ Messerschmidt's definition, there is an idealised version of masculinity which is 'culturally honored, glorified and extolled' (Messerschmidt 1993:82) which may be amalgamated with general police cultural values, leading to mutual reinforcement. As a result, despite efforts to feminise the police machine through training, policies and senior officers' orders to reduce the use of force as a strategy, tension may be created. Male officers being told not to act in ways they traditionally regard 'being a man' and a police officer, is perhaps equated with being asked not to behave as *men*. In addition, officers on patrol are being required to resist and deny that which they regard as a practical necessity- actions through which they can defend and reinforce their masculinity, creating dilemmas and difficulties for themselves, colleagues and the organisation as a whole.

One of the ways this can be illustrated is through Brittan's suggestion that despite certain fluctuations in men's behaviour over time, 'masculinism' remains a dominant ideology and 'provides the underpinnings for a particular way of organising gender relations' (Brittan 1989:15). As suggested earlier in this thesis, policing and masculinity seem to be intimately connected with Fielding arguing that certain cultural values and behaviour are responsible for producing 'an almost pure form of hegemonic masculinity' (Fielding 1994:47). Similarly, Connell has suggested that hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to women, with force and the threat of it being used to maintain certain power structures (Connell 1995). Gendered power relations and the working of occupational ideologies have also been described by Smith and Gray throughout their discussion of a 'cult of masculinity' in the Metropolitan Police. In their study they observed that the organisation resembles a men's sporting club, with women being excluded from bonding and initiation rituals (Smith & Gray 1983:83), most of which involve excessive drinking. Female officers, working as 'equal' colleagues, by demonstrating that they are willing to take part in the violent physicality of policing, may, as Messerschmidt observes, in a discussion about women shop floor workers, be challenging the practice of 'accomplishing masculinity' (Messerschmidt 1993:132). On the other hand, as Heidensohn has pointed out, cultural beliefs and values, which lead to such behaviour, might not be held by a majority of officers, but become apparent due to a number of 'subcultural guardians' who express their opinions vocally (Heidensohn 1992:216). In addition, she observes, policing has never been analysed from a 'men's perspective' and although 'macho cop culture' has been written about extensively, its existence has been '*justified* rather than *explained*' (Heidensohn 1992:13, original emphasis).

I intend to examine these issues throughout this chapter using evidence from two main areas of my fieldwork. First, my analysis will draw upon some of the specialist departments which seem to attract very few female officers, such as those concerned with firearms, cars and horses. Next, I will compare these 'rarified' male specialisms with general, uniformed policing by creating a framework within which to examine certain aspects of traditionally 'male' behaviour. Four areas of interest, which illustrate the problem of maintaining an image which is sufficiently 'male', will be included in this framework. I will examine these in turn, with the first being professionalism—the ability to maintain a 'macho cop' image when things go wrong whilst being observed by a public, 'outsider' audience. Second, competence—appearing to be a sufficiently valid member of the shift, despite challenges to traditional 'masculine' values by

critical 'insiders'. Third, sexuality; displaying clearly heterosexual desire at appropriate times, yet managing to be credible and sympathetic with victims of sex crimes. Finally, heroism- acting as the protector of women and avenger of the weak, whilst remaining emotionally strong, particularly in tragic and disturbing situations. I intend to conclude by relating these issues to the arguments throughout the thesis about the deployment of officers by gender.

CARS, GUNS AND HORSES

As I have argued previously, occupational competence in the police is largely dependent upon high status arrests which involve physicality, danger and competition. I now intend to examine this supposition with reference to police culture and masculinity. In other words, some basic observations will be made about the way men act 'as men', how some officers 'appropriate' or resist certain behaviour and how variations of masculinity are enacted in given situations. In this way I intend to analyse how 'doing gender', and acting as 'real men' can be more difficult than it might appear, by examining various tasks associated with policing. As I will be attempting to construct a series of explanations for certain attitudes and beliefs, this will include instances where 'maintaining' a front of masculinity is problematic. Indeed, as I will be discussing some of their 'huntin' and shootin' activities, but also performing as caring public servants, my evidence will include examples of officers 'being men' with varying degrees of success. In essence, by examining relations of power, sexuality and identity, I will analyse whether it is feasible, as Fielding suggests, that 'police forces are sites for competing ways of being a man and expressing masculinity', of which, 'stereotypical machismo' (Fielding 1994:56) is only one example.

Danger and physical courage, in addition to the capability to use strength in situations requiring force, control and coercion are typical examples which are used to justify the 'macho cop' behaviour which is alleged to be part of the working approach of the police. It is part of the performance of assertiveness, dominance and appearing to win the war, at least against disorder, if not crime, which is demanded by colleagues and members of the public. A significant number of situations seem to require assisting the resolution of problems through conventional means, which tends to involve at least the threat of force.

Indeed, it has been argued that in the course of their careers all police officers will encounter situations which they feel are dangerous and perhaps life-threatening. As Reiner has suggested, this is a result of facing 'sudden and unpredictable dangers such as attack from another person' (Reiner 1985:87) and one of the unique aspects of policework is the way;

Danger and authority are interdependent elements of the police world, to which cop culture develops a set of adaptive rules, recipes and rites (Reiner 1985:88).

As the excitement and status which are attached to physical violence are enhanced when an incident turns into a possible encounter with firearms, the following scenario illustrates the way 'death defying' bravado can be displayed;

'Right; two of you, get over there down behind that car, but keep out of the line of fire as you go across the road. You two, round the back of the house, find some trees to get behind for protection. When the ARV gets here, we'll loud hail the house and hopefully they'll decide to give themselves up. If anyone comes running out, keep your fucking heads down' (Male Inspector 1995).

In the ordinary daily working lives of police officers the 'stake out' of a house, as described above, cannot be considered a common occurrence. In the course of a years fieldwork I encountered only two such incidents, and although many officers regard them as becoming more prevalent, it is clear that compared to the mundane regularity of some tasks, jobs involving guns are exciting, potentially hazardous and therefore remarkable. One of the notable aspects of these events is the way a series of specialists become deployed in the process of extracting people from premises when firearms are believed to be present. As the 'incoming' experts, firearms officers, or those with other rarified skills, especially those linked to certain 'male' pursuits such as driving and shooting, are regarded with some animosity, by their uniformed colleagues, but also with respect. As they are taking over the 'patch' from an existing group of officers, proprietorality is an issue, but the way the firearms teams take a unique responsibility for their actions and face death more regularly than 'ordinary' officers, confers respect and reverence towards them from the others. For example, as the 'Guidelines on the Use of Minimum Force' (reproduced in the Appendix) show, these officers are warned that they may have to justify their use of lethal force in court. To be responsible for the death of another and then face legal proceedings as a result of 'doing the job', is

considered an onerous responsibility by police officers. It is impressed upon gun squad members on each occasion prior to the entry of any premises using weapons that the Force will not take the blame for mistakes made by individual officers. Legal reminders are given in each case, as a senior officer of superintendent rank has to authorise the deployment of the firearms team. Prior to the operation going ahead, he or she must read the text of the guidelines aloud to the squad, prior to the beginning of the operation, checking they understand it and agree to accept the consequences of their actions.

As this chapter is about various ways of 'being a man' in the police, it is interesting to reflect upon the behaviour of some officers in order to explore the notion that 'masculism' operates to 'naturalise male domination' (Brittan 1989:17). It is this idea which is the key to Brittan's thesis on masculinity and power in which he examines various ways to explain male sex roles and to criticise the assumption that 'masculinity is timeless and universal' (Brittan 1989:1). In order to provide empirical evidence to analyse the validity of these theories I will look at certain areas of special expertise in the police which allow officers to 'contract out' of general patrol work, and it could be argued, the opportunity to work with women as equals. In particular I intend to analyse the occupational ethos of some of these specialist units in which very few women are employed or seem to aspire to join.

Avoiding Women.

As Smith and Gray observed, the police, as an organisation, is very similar to the army in terms of masculine occupational values and attitudes, except that in the police the male majority are obliged to work alongside women as colleagues (Smith & Gray 1983:91). On the other hand I would argue here that some departments seem to operate as self contained groups within the wider and more general policing machinery. In this way they allow officers to distance themselves from female colleagues and to a certain extent, certain 'service' or 'softer' activities. In the course of the fieldwork I encountered several of these departments, including a 'Central Task Force', the 'Mounted Branch', the 'Marine Unit'; several versions of a 'Territorial Support Group' and the 'Dedicated Firearms Team'. In each of these cases very small percentages of the overall workforce were female, compared to the force average for women officers, as the following table illustrates;

TABLE 1

DEPARTMENT	MALE OFFICERS	FEMALE OFFICERS
Mounted Branch ('The Horses')	10	1
Traffic/Central Task Force ('The Cruisers')	160	3
Marine Unit ('The Boats')	14	1
Firearms Team ('The Guns')	12	1
Territorial Support Group ('The Group')	27	1

Average number of women officers in this force 14 % (includes probationers).

(Source: Force Statistics 30.06.95)

More revealing perhaps, than these raw data, is the working environment and atmosphere of these departments which could be a controlling factor when women officers decide to apply for postings. In the course of the fieldwork I asked one of the Mounted Branch officers why he thought his department seemed so unpopular with women officers, considering the image of horse riding with the general population, being a 'women's' sport or recreation. He replied;

'Oh, yes, but this isn't like riding out on a Sunday afternoon you know. People get a very mistaken image of the work of the Branch. They think we're just out trotting about in the nice weather, but they come to us for a two week attachment, get wet and cold and mucky, and they realise this is a *hard, physical job*' (Male PC 1996).

Although he did not specifically refer to women as being unsuitable for this type of activity, his inference was that anyone lacking traditionally 'male' characteristics would not choose to be put through the hardship and discomfort involved. In response to my enquiry however, he proudly showed me the Portacabin which had been installed as changing and toilet facilities for the

female grooms and the solitary female officer currently serving with the department. When I asked him again, in view of having such good facilities, why he thought there were so few women on the team he retorted in quite a defensive way:

'I've really no idea why it is, although one thing that might put them off is that you have to pass your HGV licence so that you can drive the horsebox, and that's not everyone's cup of tea- a ten ton, articulated trailer to reverse out of St James' car park every week' (Male PC 1996).

I asked therefore, whether competition for places in the branch was very strong, adding to the exclusion of women applicants. As he had told me much of their work was concerned with crowd control at matches, I wondered if one of the attractions for male officers might be the opportunity to watch premiership football every week, but he replied;

'Well, no, not really, because we box the horses up whilst the match is on, and we have our meal break, so we never see the footy' (Male PC 1996).

When I accompanied the mounted officers to the match the following Saturday, I found his explanation to be correct. After the fans had been shepherded safely into the ground they were monitored by officers on foot inside the stadium. Personnel from city centre shifts were deployed for the duration of the match; quite a few of these officers did seem to have chosen to work this duty period, as I was standing with an officer on overtime, who remarked several times that some of the officers he could see should have finished their shift at 3pm, before the match started. Indeed, at one point the whole of one seating area rose to their feet to complain about a player being sent off and the Chief Inspector, to whom this applied, stepped forward, pointing at the crowd to indicate they should sit down. As they took no notice of him, but merely retrieved their seats when the matter on the pitch had been resolved, the officer I was standing with remarked sarcastically;

'See? Even *they* know he's off duty. Great supervisor that- I'd follow him until the ends of the earth- if only to find out what happened'(Male PC 1996).

'REAL MEN DON'T WEAR SEAT BELTS'.

By way of contrast to 'The Horses', the next specialist department I visited was the Central Task Force, which was formed to operate as what appeared to be an elite traffic department. Upon my arrival I was shown several high performance cars in the yard at the back of the police station and their engine capacities and gearing systems were explained to me at length. One of the drivers told me how they had changed from high speed Cosworths with 'racing chips', to more suitable, if slightly slower, Cavaliers because the ground clearance of the latter was superior. He explained;

'Of course, in this department we do a lot of off-road chasing and the scrotes had learnt that any rough ground with bricks or rubble would mean we couldn't follow them in the Cossies- they knew that the sump was too low, so they would go for rough terrain on purpose. Now we've got these new Cavaliers though, it's a whole new ball game' (Male PC 1996).

He proceeded to explain the technicalities of ground clearance in centimetres and then, having filled the windscreen washer system with water, we got into the car to drive to a local roundabout to watch the morning rush hour traffic. As we sat at the junction of two dual carriageways watching for speeding motorists and monitoring the radio for accidents, the officer explained the impressive range of controls from fingertip operated radio controls which could be used in 'hands free' mode to the sophisticated, 'on board' speed trap system. In addition, he showed his personal expertise by casually reading vehicle excise licence expiry dates as cars came towards us at speed. At one point a report of a road accident which had happened reasonably near to where we were waiting, came over the radio. However, it was not considered serious enough for us to attend- he explained;

'No, that sounds like a little prang that the local lads can deal with; I would have gone to it if it had been half an hour earlier but we don't want to get tied up so near to coffee and bacon butty time' (Male PC 1995).

His estimation was right because a few minutes later the call came from the Central Task Force control for all 'SS' units, which is their call sign, to return to base for 'further instructions'. We drove back to the centre of the operation which is a small, converted house at the rear of one of the divisional stations in

the command area. Bacon sandwiches and coffee were indeed available, and the sergeant told the gathering of six male officers that they were to be 'tasked' to a command area to the south of the city and at 10 am they should report to the police station there to be briefed. He also reminded them that it was 'National Arrest Day', so the Chief wanted some 'good results' to publish in the press for the occasion. On the way out into the cars one of the officers remarked to the others cynically;

'Oh great, I like the sound of this- 'National Rest Day'-I'll certainly be taking it easy then!' (Male PC 1995).

As the morning progressed the working of the 'SS' team was explained to me by the officer driving the car.

'We're called the 'Cruisers' by the prigs because they know we're a bit more special than the usual traffic lads. For one thing, our cars are much more powerful and the people we're chasing they say "Hey, they've got cars as fast as ours, we'd better watch out"' (Male PC 1995).

In general, the main objective of the day seemed to be to pick up an 'intelligence package' from an area crime team, which consisted of a folder with photographs of local, wanted 'toe-rags'; their addresses, details of their cars and 'MO' (modus operandi). After a briefing in the local police station we began the 'cruising' for which the Central Task Force is known, which involved driving slowly around numerous council estates, finding addresses and seeing if anyone was walking about. It began to snow and as it was only 11am in the morning, hardly anyone was on the streets. Despite this lack of action, the officer I was accompanying did not seem worried that arrests did not seem imminent. He explained;

'All the prigs are still lying in their beds at this time, after a night's burgling and thieving. It's no good looking for them before lunchtime'(Male PC 1995).

To pass the time I asked him about the organisation and structure of the task force, and he explained that it had been set up about two years ago, operated on a dual shift system which meant officers were either on 'earlies' or lates, and forcewide, was regarded as a terrific success;

'Aye, we're the Chief's blue eyed boys. At first the department was set up as an experiment, but after six months, the word came down from headquarters that we had *more than fulfilled expectations and we were permanent*' (Male PC 1995).

As a follow up question I asked him about his opinion of the Chief and he said;

'Oh yes, a well respected "man's man", gets stuck in- understands our problems and gets us the gear we need. He always listens to the radio when he's being driven about in the car and once, he said to his driver "We're nearest to that incident" and he got the driver to go to the job. He was jumping over hedges and everything; anyway he caught someone and took him to the nearest nick to personally book him in. When the desk officer asked the Chief for his number, and put it into the computer, he was so surprised he asked him "Do you realise who you are?"'(Male PC 1995).

References to 'blue eyed boys' and the Chief Constable being regarded as a 'man's man' tends to support Brittan's argument that the 'independent existence of patriarchy is based upon the social construction of men and women into two separate, but unequal, categories' (Brittan 1989:17). Similarly, Young described policewomen as an 'anarchic presence' following their integration into mainstream policing who were only 'grudgingly admired for their qualities of self-possession' (Young 1992:240). Another example is the way that Halford described her exclusion by her male colleagues as they 'operated as a cosy group of "lads"' (Halford 1993:114) and how she had discovered, whilst working in the CID earlier in her career, that 'if you ever fell out of favour by not playing by the rules of the pack, you were finished' (Halford 1993:112)

In a similar routine to the early morning procedure at the Central Task Force, the day I arrived at a command area base to spend a day with the firearms team on court protection duties, bacon sandwiches and coffee were again the first item on the agenda. I had been told to arrive at 8 am and was taken into an underground firing range, where I presumed the daily briefing would take place. However it was simply a period for the superintendent to check all was well with his sergeant before leaving them to it, and for the team to chat about the previous day's exercise, one of them remarking;

'Yes, the jury are definitely getting twitchy now they're hearing what the defendants have been up to. I think that's why the judge has told us we have to be less obvious about our weapons' (Male Sergeant 1995).

He explained that the judge had complained the officers guarding the trial, which was a kidnapping linked to gangland killings, were making the jury feel threatened and so they had to be more discreet. In their role as protectors of the jury, judge and defendants from possible 'revenge' attacks, they had to wear plain clothes, inobtrusive radio equipment and firearms which were reassuring in their presence but not threatening. One of the problems which the judge was concerned about was that in the interests of 'justice' the defendants should not be labelled as dangerous in the eyes of the jury. However, the sergeant who was explaining this to me was cynical about this approach;

'You see the problem is, these two brothers, they've been saying how they've been going around the West End blowing lumps out of all and sundry, and the jury's getting jumpy. Two of the women have already gone off with 'nerves' - if another one leaves, that's it, there'll have to be a re-trial' (Male Sergeant 1995).

He went on to argue that he thought they were being as discreet as possible in the circumstances, their guns being neatly unobservable, and their radio contact being maintained by invisible earpieces. He explained;

'You see, we have them on holsters around our waists with a spare magazine at the other side. We don't wear the American type which go over your shoulder, so we need to wear jackets which will disguise the "bulge" ' (Male Sergeant 1995).

He patted the gun through his jacket as an illustration of how it was 'invisible' and then showed me his quick access to his holster, with one hand, explaining that his clothing had to be of a suitable design to allow this to happen. He did a couple of one handed 'quick draws' and then handed the gun to me, explaining it was loaded but still had the safety catch in place. He showed me how quickly he could replace the spare magazine, which was a 'slot-in' cartridge, and laughed when I said they looked like a child's plastic toy.

'Yes- they are plastic; they're made of a high performance composite, all except for the firing mechanism, of course; we call them our 'lethal tupperware' (Male Sergeant 1995).

After coffee, at about 9.30am we crossed the river and arrived at the rear of the city's crown court to watch the vans containing the suspects who were to spend the day in court. Police officers acting as firearms protection were stationed all around the building and on the roof. Hovering overhead for the

whole journey from the prison about twenty miles away, was the police helicopter. Traffic in the centre of the city had to be stopped and high powered police cars with anti-ballistic armoury which had 'protected' each motorway junction along the entire route, were now waiting to clear the way for the cavalcade. As this elaborate procedure had to be carried out every morning and evening for the duration of the trial, which was expected to last at least two weeks, I expected the officers to be reasonably bored, cynical and exasperated with the event. On the contrary however, it seemed that the process had certain exciting and dangerous elements which kept their interest, and the sergeant I was accompanying listened avidly through his earpiece to the progress of the prison cavalcade as it passed each motorway junction. As the procession came into view, with the helicopter appearing over the top of the bridge just across the river, we were standing outside the front of the crown court building and he said to me;

'OK, I'll just stop talking to you for a few minutes now, this is the dangerous part; I'm watching out to close anyone down who might look suspicious—you know, bouncer types. If I have to pull the gun, get away from me and go into that doorway and then into the building for protection' (Male Sergeant 1995).

Later, with the defendants and jury and judge safely installed in the court building I was taken on a tour of the 'public' areas and the 'sterile' parts of the building. In some places, only certain specially authorised police personnel could have access, and I was shown the centre of this operation, a suite of offices with 'Gold' 'Silver' and 'Bronze Command' on the doors. We entered the 'Gold' door and found a room stacked with rifles in filing cabinets and a small desk with a phone. It was explained to me that this line had to be monitored constantly because if something went wrong, it would be the first line of communication.

At the rear of the jury room I was shown through into the back of the court via a 'spy' hole which allows the police to see and hear how the proceedings are progressing. As the jury must not feel threatened by the police guarding in their 'private' space at the rear of the court a 'discreet presence' is maintained. Sitting at the rear of the access to the jury room were two plain clothes officers, and one was the only armed female officer I had encountered. I asked her about any special problems with being a woman on an all male team and she smiled politely as her sergeant answered for her;

'No, no, not at all. Jill fits in with everyone else—she's just like one of the lads' (Male Sergeant 1995).

As she gave me a wry smile and meaningful look, she added to her supervisor's remark;

'It tells you something that he thinks *that's* a compliment' (Female PC 1995).

SHOOTERS AND DIVERS.

In addition to the fieldwork with operational specialists carrying out their 'normal' duties, I spent a few days observing the work of departments which train officers for these tasks. Two of these were the Marine Unit, which provides courses on underwater and surface searches, and the firearms trainers. In each case I gained a combination of experience of their general work, an assessment the entrance requirements and time getting the 'feel' of the department by meeting the officers working there. For example, the Marine officers I accompanied were patrolling the coastline and they allowed me to take control of a large support vessel in the open sea in rough weather, take part in exercises involving inflatable craft on the river and observe and support an underwater search training exercise.

As a contrast, in the firearms department I undertook an assessment day at an outdoor firing range, which involved gaining experience with numerous handguns, shotguns and types of ammunition. Procedures which are used to assess suitability for the work of the teams was explained to me and I was given a 'test' to see whether I would be able to reach the accepted level of accuracy, with training. Once again, in both departments facilities for female staff was no less adequate than for male officers, and although basic, for example the toilet at the firing range was frozen, I tried to decide whether this would represent a significant deterrent to women joining the firearms squad. Following my morning at the shooting range I met the members of the team who were training that afternoon. Although all male, extremely polite and helpful, there was a very definite aura of testosterone around them. Discussions about 'shooters' and their heavy boots and police overalls, gave them a certain undeniable male status in the dining room at the pub as they ate lunch, where they were obviously well known. Indeed, in this far flung corner of the northern moors their collective

comradeship provided them with a sort of wild west cowboy homosocial ambience, which excluded bystanders, of whom they seemed oblivious. One of the questions I asked when they turned to me after the lunch with the usual, 'Well what do you want to know?' was about the lack of women on the teams, and several observations were offered;

'Well, you've seen for yourself today, it's cold enough to freeze the balls off a brass monkey and there's no facilities' (Male PC 1995).

'Personally I can't understand it- why there's not more women on the teams' (Male PC 1995).

'It's very stressful this job. We had a psychologist, from the University, to assess what we do up here recently, and she said, the constant, high levels of stress were unbelievable' (Male PC 1995)

'Yes because that's another thing, your partner has to agree to you being on firearms and maybe they're not very keen, the husbands' (Male PC 1995).

I had expected some responses to be based upon physical reasons, perhaps the long hours they spend watching premises or the weight or size of the guns, the power exerted through the recoil and so on. Indeed, their answers seemed much closer to Brittan's explanation of the way clearly demarcated sexual divisions of labour shape male and female roles. In his explanation of 'socialisation thesis' Brittan explains that gender identity is thought to be acquired through roles being added to biology (Brittan 1989:19-21). Although none of the men from the firearms team were using explanations that were simply based upon roles or essentialist biological theories for the unsuitability of women to use guns, as Heidensohn has argued, in order to gain their acceptance perhaps female colleagues would feel they would have to "prove" their ability and sometimes their 'bottle' or their manhood' (Heidensohn 1992:143). She goes on to suggest that although men have to do this too, women have more difficulties because they start from a position of 'not belonging' and have more to prove 'as "men" because that is what they are precisely not' (Heidensohn 1992:143). As the firearms sergeant told me, following our walk across the roof of the Crown Court building, which was slippery with frost and ice, sloping down to a narrow leaded guttering;

'Yes, well, you did alright up there. I don't really like heights myself, but I was told by the lads to test your bottle. I think you passed when you went to the edge, leant over and took the photographs' (Male Sergeant 1995).

As an outsider of course, my 'non-police' identity would ensure that I would not be a threat to this group of men in terms of their specialist skills with firearms. As the iconography of shooting and 'guns' is clearly male, however, it could be argued that women officers, might pose a potential threat. Because competition for places on the firearms squads was said to be 'tough' the constant need to update, practice and prove their skills every few weeks, caused many officers to be anxious about their performance. Requirements to pass the eight-weekly assessment of suitability to carry arms were getting more stringent; a 'moving target test' had been introduced recently which involved a timed shooting of numerous targets, which have to be assessed, aimed at and shot accurately whilst running to the next firing position. A popular, long standing member of the firearms team had failed this exercise, even after a second chance, which is not strictly allowed, and had to 'retire' from the squad. On the other hand, one of the instructors told me;

'When the Chief came up to do it he was struggling with the new moving targets, so after a bit he just said..."Oh that'll do, won't it?" I couldn't really argue, I just signed his authorisation- couldn't really leave him without his protection could I?' (Male Sergeant 1995).

He expressed his dislike at having to fail his 'mate', especially as the officer in question had been 'devastated' to have had to leave- going back to normal divisional duties with all his colleagues knowing what had happened. As the firearms trainer went on to explain, rather ironically in the light of the story about the Chief Constable, normally the regulations on firearms authorisations are very strict, 'for obvious reasons'. In terms of Brittan's explanation of 'masculine crisis theory', in which the successful negotiation of gender identity can be compared to an 'obstacle race', run according to rules which are being continuously rewritten and reinterpreted (Brittan 1989:27), potentially, the casualties are men such as the firearms 'failure'. As Brittan suggests;

Today, if there is a race, then it is no longer a straight run to the finish. Everybody seems to be under different 'starter's orders'. Everywhere there are casualties...Now, all we can see is the spectacle of countless millions of men experiencing acute gender anxieties (Brittan 1989:27).

As a result, men have lost their 'gender certainty' due to the 'erosion of male power in the workplace and in the home' and find it difficult to find male role models and no longer know who women are 'supposed to be' (Brittan 1989:25). It could be argued of course that men working in the specialist units I have described here are constantly having their masculinity reinforced as a result of the relationships in which they interact and this leads to a mutually constructed and reinforced sense of gender identity. However, the notion of women officers, who are often believed to have access to 'special privileges' in the police, due to their structural minority, competing for a small number of prized places, might be viewed as a threat by some male team members. As a uniformed constable who wanted to join the firearms squad told me;

'I've got no chance for the foreseeable future. Force Orders have just come round and it says that any woman who wants to have a two week attachment with any department can have it within the next six months. That's illegal—it's positive discrimination. It means all the places will be full up for ages'. (Male PC 1996).

A PROFESSIONAL BODY OF MEN

In the previous chapter on uniformed patrol work I explored the notion of competence in the police and my conclusions were related to the way certain arrests confer status and occupational credibility. I now intend to compare the material I have just presented from the specialist teams with some of the ways uniformed officers achieve and maintain their personal status. One of the terms which is used by officers to express that which they aim to achieve is 'professionalism', and used as an adjective, the term 'professional' is a general category which confers praise and group acceptance upon an individual. In some situations the term appears to be used as a management tool, as one officer complained to me;

'I don't know what's wrong with the new boss, but he's said we're not allowed to get the leftovers from McDonald's any more on night shift, and at parading on, we're not to have a cup of tea; apparently, it's not *professional*' (Male PC 1997).

At one of the police training days I attended in the course of my fieldwork, officers were being reminded about the force policy on arresting the perpetrators of domestic violence. However, some points of law were disputed during a discussion because senior officers seemed to be proposing that '...the

man should always be locked up if there was any evidence of abuse' (Male PC asking a question from the floor, Command Area Training Day, 1995). In addition, the trainers were suggesting that there should be 'more arrests' but PCs were arguing that they could not overstep their 'normal' powers. Frustrated by the challenge to their transmission of 'force policy' message, one of the senior officers jumped to his feet, interrupted the speaker and announced to the assembled audience;

'Look, we're expecting your normal, high levels of professionalism. Don't forget that, it is paramount' (Male Chief Inspector 1995).

From their frequent reference to the concept, especially by those relatively new to the organisation, such as probationers, many officers seem to internalise this ideal of professionalism. At times this encourages them to attempt the maintenance of an appearance or 'front' of expertise which cannot always be achieved. Faced with 'outsiders', particularly those whom they feel the need to impress, an apparent lack of competence causes obvious embarrassment, and expressions of anger or frustration. Sometimes this is due to practical difficulties which seem to be largely within the control of individuals, such as missing equipment and errors due to lack of preparation prior to going on patrol. In some cases systems failures or lack of information being passed between officers can cause an obvious breakdown in 'professional policing'. An example of this, which I witnessed, was illustrated when a male officer apologised to a houseowner who suspected intruders upstairs in an unoccupied house next door to his own. As there was no electricity in the house and the floorboards were either missing or rotten, it was considered dangerous to proceed and the officer could not find the spotlight he thought was in the patrol car, so he said;

'Yes, oh dear, we seem to have left our torch back at the nick' (Male PC 1995)

Upon looking for it he had quickly realised one of his colleagues must have taken it and although he knew it was no longer in the boot of the car, he made an obvious attempt to search for it in front of a waiting group of local residents. At this point one of the other neighbours came out to ask what was happening and offered to lend the officer a torch. Clearly embarrassed, he replied;

'Oh, yes thanks very much; the great British police force, eh? Never have any gear' (Male PC 1995).

At another police station where I conducted some fieldwork a group of officers had collected together some money to buy their own torch, which was locked away when they were off duty. As it was of a superior design to force issue, and always available when needed, one of the participating officers explained;

'it makes you feel better on the streets if you've got the proper gear—much more professional and safer; mind you the bosses won't pay for the batteries—we have to buy them out of our own pocket because they say its our own responsibility. Mean bastards' (Male PC 1995).

On another occasion I had lent my pen to an officer who needed to write down the registration number of a passing car, whilst driving. Later that evening, in the presence of a number of members of the public he had to take a statement, and he asked, apologetically;

'Er, can I borrow the 'team' pen again please, Louise?'

Adding to the people he was taking details from;

'Sorry, not very professional is it?'(Male PC 1995).

In some, apparently more serious cases, equipment failures such as a car or van refusing to start, would be blamed upon the 'management' for inadequate spending on 'essentials'. A serious issue of contention, particularly for the CID was the cost cutting exercise which had led to the purchase of diesel powered cars for the department. As they were believed to be more economic to run and the squads not needing, apparently, to have high performance or speed, it was decided 'at headquarters' that these would be a good idea. However, numerous problems occurred, in the view of some officers due to this 'short sighted' economy, as one DC explained after we had push-started one of the cars;

'These bloody diesels, they're dirty, noisy, won't start and there's absolutely no poke to them at all. We sometimes need to cruise quietly and slowly, and you've seen yourself about the starting—we use lots of battery in our normal operations—radios, lights — they're totally inappropriate, and as for chasing after prigs—well, we might as well get out and do it on foot' (Male DC 1995).

Later that night, in the same vehicle, I was present when a car which had been reported stolen earlier, and which the police suspected would surface on the estate we were patrolling, was spotted. As the car was followed at speed, a long sweeping hill was encountered, and despite the efforts of the driver, who was a trained pursuit officer, the stolen vehicle disappeared at a crossroads just out of our sight. Naturally the officers were very frustrated, saying;

'Fucking typical—we could have had him! We're working with one arm tied behind our backs. Bloody diesel cars—what good are they to us?' (Male PC 1995).

When the officer had finished complaining to his colleague he turned to me in the back and explained;

'You see, *they* can go across junctions, not bother if anything is coming. When he got to the top of the hill he probably went straight across— anything could have happened but they don't care, it's not their car and they don't give a damn for any innocent road users' (Male PC 1995).

In this way the combative nature of 'crime fighting' is illustrated by the officer who is explaining that he had to play by the 'rules' as a professional, but also trying to justify losing his quarry. On another occasion during the fieldwork a patrol 'panel' van failed to start and a group of officers were attempting to push it, but were struggling to get enough speed to start the engine. At one of the more annoying moments— the engine had just failed to fire at the third or fourth attempt, a car drove past at speed, and some young men —local 'prigs'— shouted disparaging comments and hanging out of the windows laughing loudly and sarcastically. Everyone stopped pushing and the car number plate was noted, one of the officers stating;

'I know who that is Sarge; it's a little scumbag from the Whitemoor estate—I'll have him, don't worry' (Male PC 1995).

On the following night I was told that two of the people in the car had been arrested and the car impounded as a suspected 'ringer'. One of the officers said;

'Those ringed vehicles, we've been told that late registration 'Q' plates are almost certain to be nicked, so I say we should take them to the crushers and have them made into a small metal cube. Take it round to their house, "Here you are Sir, this was your car"'. (Male PC 1995).

Another PC was listening and he laughed, saying;

'No, even better, make them *watch* their pride and joy being crushed up into millions of little pieces, that would teach them some respect' (Male PC 1995).

It has been argued previously that the visible players in the enactment of criminal justice are mostly men and as Morgan has suggested, gendered connotations are attached to policework which is considered 'dirty' and therefore male (Morgan 1992:85). In addition, car chases and the notion of triumphing over the enemy are all stereotypical male activities which lead to the perpetuation of the idea that one group of men policing another, whilst the latter attempt to resist their control.

In the next section of this chapter I intend to explore the interaction of masculinities and professionalism in a discussion of competence and expertise. In this way, rather than simply suggesting that men reinforce their occupational status by using their masculinity as an operational advantage, I will argue that their masculinity is being maintained and enacted through tasks associated with policing. However, this will not simply be a tautological argument, suggesting that men are masculine, most police officers are men, and therefore policing is infused with machismo. Rather, I will be illustrating my discussion with evidence of numerous instances where a smooth and effortless performance, which combines being a man and a police officer, is problematic and arguably, sometimes unobtainable.

In the following two sections I will extend this discussion of the problems encountered in the maintenance of masculinity by analysing the way police officers attempt to preserve their sexual and 'heroic' identities when 'caring' and 'serving' members of the public. As I explained in the introduction to this chapter, my evidence is concerned with the explanation rather than justification of actions, values and beliefs, and a discussion of the appropriation or rejection of the 'masculinity package' by women officers will also be conducted. Throughout this analysis I will reflect upon the effect of gender in the research process and the way a female researcher, entering a male dominated world may

be subjected to attempts at manipulation and control through a culture of masculinity.

COMPETENT MEN.

In this section I intend to analyse ways in which officers balance the practical needs of policing and the maintenance of their gender identities. One of the reasons this is significant is due to the importance attached to personal and occupational status in the police. As policework is organised to a large degree on shifts or reliefs, individuals are continually subjected to group interactions and processes which reinforce certain values and beliefs. Despite the apparent importance placed upon arrest rates and the need to achieve status by organisational or managerial objectives, as I explained in the last chapter, a more tenuous and yet vital occupational credibility is achieved through peer judgement. Very few posts in operational policing involve being alone continually- even activities which are conducted by one officer, away from the gaze of superiors or colleagues, will be open to scrutiny. As a result, criteria such as 'bottle', knowledge of internalised rules and standards of efficiency are used to include or exclude 'unworthy' members of the shift.

Group membership is reliant upon individuals being accepted by the consensus of the majority and various measurements are employed to judge the suitability of the candidate to gain full rights of insider status. As I illustrated in the previous chapter, 'good' arrests, in addition to certain aspects of physical appearance and the ability to run, catch and fight when necessary, are vital criteria. Quantitative performance records, however, are less important to members of the shift than being able to 'talk a good arrest' and the ability to withstand public humiliation by peers and supervisors. Indeed, being able to 'take it like a man' in addition to being reliable in terms of loyalty and 'bottle' seem to ensure group respect and have a powerful effect upon behaviour. In his discussion of the attractiveness of group membership during his National Service, for example, Morgan says that despite having reservations about the cultural values which were espoused by his peers;

Fear of exclusion from the group became perhaps an even more powerful force than wishing to join it and be accepted (Morgan 1987:48).

One of the ways he illustrates this point is by reflecting upon the various

ways of 'doing masculinity'. To explain this he describes how he had to accept being referred to as a 'great big poof' whilst carrying out his National Service (Morgan 1987:75) because he liked classical music. However, he was also able to move between 'different worlds'- being a member of the 'music circle' and yet 'join the lads from the block at meal times' (ibid:76). Similarly, sustaining a 'competent male and police officer' role on duty, requires integrating various ways of being a man and professional competency in ways which leave both elements of self identity open to destruction. In one case which I witnessed, a male PC was accompanying his sergeant to investigate a burglary. As the young woman whose house had been ransacked was very upset, the sergeant, well known on the shift as a 'charmer', was using his skills to calm her down. In reality, he was trying to get some information about the suspected burglar, who had just been arrested, and so he was 'chatting her up' to find out as much as he could, saying;

'Now look, Michelle-is that your first name?-We want to catch these people, I know your mum's just died recently and you're very upset, but we need some vital information off you-just take your time and think of anything you can tell us' (Male Sergeant 1995).

Her distress had been made worse because the property which had been stolen was jewellery given to her by her recently deceased mother. Meanwhile, the PC accompanying the sergeant was called up by radio by the CID duty sergeant, back at the police station, asking for some detailed evidence to put to the person in custody. Although usually a fairly brusque, no-nonsense officer, he replied, over the air, taking his cue from his uniform sergeant, saying that;

'Yes, there's problem with taking a formal written statement at this time-IP(injured party) is very distressed and it may have to wait until the morning' (Male PC 1995).

Of course this message did not satisfy the CID, who were waiting to interview their suspect, before he had time to 'concoct' a story, and then get home or back to the pub. A problem existed for them however, with the amount of authority which could be exerted via the personal radio system, and so the uniform sergeant at the scene was contacted, and he told the PC to take the statement. Upon our return to the station however, the PC who had mentioned the woman's 'distress' was being severely denigrated; firstly in his absence;

'Too distressed, *too fucking distressed*; what does he think he's playing at? Would it be alright, could he please take the statement- if it's not too *distressing* for him' (Male DS, 1995).

Shortly after this the 'offending' PC returned to the general office, after giving the custody sergeant the necessary information for the charging of the suspect. In full hearing of all police staff on duty, civilian workers, myself, and people waiting in the reception area, he was publicly reprimanded by the CID Sergeant, who said to him;

'Now look laddie, it's no good saying things like that-I need that information and I need it now-not in fucking three days' time when *you feel* like it -right?' (Male DS 1995)

As the officer on the receiving end of this was fairly experienced, with about five years service, not young and certainly not regarded as one of the physically passive members of the shift, this was especially humiliating. He had to stand in the 'public' gaze and tacitly admit he was wrong by not offering any excuses or blameworthiness on the part of anyone else. An important element of the police 'code' of manliness demands the ability to accept these sorts of incident, as one man telling another what to do, and recognising that to question or 'bite back' will merely attract more humiliation. Obviously 'feminine' sympathy for the distressed victim of a crime needs to be kept at the scene, and not allowed to be transmitted over the air or interfere with the progress of a CID investigation, especially when the pubs are still open.

In another case I witnessed, a younger police officer, not long out of his probationary period was castigated by his sergeant. On the way to a reported pub fight I was a passenger in an unmarked CID police car as all the pandas were in use. At a roundabout with a narrow access road, a bus had blocked our path and the officer flashed his lights and shouted out of his open window at the bus driver;

'POLICE- you stupid bastard' (Male PC 1995).

As he did this he held up his jacket collar showing the metallic numbers to the bus driver as proof of his supposed right of priority. After the pub incident was resolved, a call came over the air for the driver of the car we were in to report to the 'inside sergeant'. Upon hearing this the officer I was with said he

'knew what this would be about' and we went into the custody area of the main station. On the way there I asked what he was going to say, because I thought it would be best to be aware of this if I was required to back him up. However, he made a vague reply to me and when he was asked by the sergeant whether he had been the driver of the car in question and if he remembered an incident with a bus at a certain roundabout, I was surprised when he simply admitted he was, didn't query the report, and just said 'Yes, OK' when told there should be no further repetition of this type of behaviour. We went straight back on patrol and he explained;

'See? You're much better off just taking it, however wrong the details are or however justified you felt you were in your actions. If I'd questioned that, it would have been written down' (Male PC 1995).

As having such incidents 'written down' involves a formal recording on a staff appraisal document, including paperwork for the officer and unfavourable remarks which may affect promotion or movement to specialist posts, this is to be avoided. Better to 'take it like a man' which may lose face in terms of the incident itself, but is compensated for by not losing anything in terms of masculine status. In this way, support and admiration are received from colleagues in the face of a reprimand by the 'bosses' which more than equates to the injustice for the actual incident. In any case, the officer did not see himself to be in the wrong, as he told me;

'What do they (the public) want? They want fast response- someone might have been stabbed in that fight, but they want safe driving as well. Well they can't have both' (Male PC 1995).

Later, upon our return to the police canteen, other members of the shift who had heard the sergeant calling for him to report to the station, obviously due to some sort of 'trouble' asked what had happened. He was able to act very cool and unconcerned- stating he got a telling off, but there would be no further action. When the incident was recounted to the shift later, it had become a very fast driving incident and near miss, which gained added value in terms of the reinforcement of masculinity due to the reprimand.

Standing in the doorway of the parade room, casually lighting a cigarette, he told the assembled incoming shift;

'I just coughed for it—what's the point in arguing? There's fuck all he can do about it'
(Male PC 1996).

SEXUALISED POWER

In her study of the oppressive sexual behaviour of men, Stanko observes that women often describe feelings of helplessness in their encounters with men, and they read a great deal of male behaviour as threatening, whilst men do not consider acts such as 'flashing' as abhorrent or potentially violent (Stanko 1985:11). In a similar way the male police officers I accompanied on patrol did not regard their overt objectification of women as particularly demeaning although in the early days of my fieldwork sometimes police officers would admit to having 'toned down' their remarks and language, apologising for swearing and denigrating women. Remarks about 'women drivers' or female colleagues inability to use technological equipment and discussions about the relative merits of various pornographic material they were exchanging between themselves would sometimes be prefaced with an 'Excuse us' 'Sorry about this, Louise' or a qualifying statement which indicated they did not include me in this derogation.

Evidence of sexual behaviour and attitudes was most apparent at one of the subdivisions where the shift I was accompanying were policing a busy nightclub area in the centre of the town. A number of pubs and clubs had their entrances on the main road and a regular part of weekend evenings would be to spend long hours at busy junctions, waiting for something to happen. We would spend perhaps two or three hours at various crossroads in the town centre, occasionally speeding off to suspected fights, which usually turned out to be minor disagreements, or drunks falling over. On one occasion three vehicles drove at high speed down a pedestrian precinct to find one man on top of another, punching him rather half-heartedly. About a dozen officers surrounded them and the participants were pulled apart with an officer shouting 'Less it! Less it!' and then he asked, 'What's this all about?' Both participants were clearly drunk, and the one who had been sitting on top when we arrived said;

'I don't know— I was just waiting to ring my girlfriend but there was someone in the call box' (Fieldnotes 1995)

All the officers surrounding them seemed rather nonplussed at this, and so the first officer replied:

'So you just thought you'd have a fight whilst you were waiting? Well, I've heard everything now! Get on your way home both of you' (Male PC 1995).

Regular and yet ultimately unimportant incidents such as this provide minor, short lived and often humorous diversions for officers hanging around the town centre. In terms of human resource management, it is regarded as necessary to have a certain level of 'cover' in case some major incident occurs on weekend nights. However, in town and city centre environments, as the previous chapter illustrated, there are very few standard 'filler' calls to pass the time between public order related offences. In residential areas there are routine incidents such as domestic assaults, burglaries and car crimes, but in the centre it is simply a matter of 'Waiting for the town to kick off' (Female PC 1995).

As these long periods of inactivity become extremely boring, just sitting in the van on street corners, male officers tend to spend their time watching, comparing and discussing the bodies of passing young women. In 'van culture speak' this is referred to as 'floating down the town for a letch' and involves 'admiring' the bodies of young women by the size and shape of their breasts, legs and their lack of clothes. Various sexual acts the male officers would like to perform with the women they are watching are explicitly described. In most cases the women are admired from afar and yet denigrated;

'Oh god- look at those (breasts). Very nice- not the sort of girl you'd take home to meet your mother though' (Male PC 1995).

'Look at her- she can't be a day over sixteen, I'm sweating like a paedophile in TOYS 'R' US' (Male PC 1996).

'Oh, please, can you imagine those (breasts) on top of you?' (Male PC 1995).

In most cases the women attracting their attention would be extremely lightly dressed in short strappy dresses or tight jeans and small tops in sheer materials. Even in the middle of winter, whilst everyone in the van would be wearing jumpers and jackets, people outside on the street would be walking from venue to venue dressed as if it were a summer day. Opportunities for remarking on the

inadvisability of this type of clothing would sometimes provide an outlet for their comments;

'SHE hasn't taken her mam's advice -no vest-proves her nipples were working though'
(Male PC 1995)

'Look at her-I bet her parents think she's round at a friend's for the night she's- only got her nightie on'(Male Sergeant 1995).

In most cases the officers' admiring glances would be acknowledged by women walking past with a smile or a nod-although others would scowl shouting back 'What do you think you're staring at', others simply ignoring the attention, which could be legitimised, if challenged, as 'normal' police interest in passers-by, as the gaze of admiration could be quickly supplanted with the hardened police stare. In some cases encounters would be initiated by women themselves, coming over to the open windows of the cars and vans and leaning provocatively into the vehicles, asking for 'policeman's knock' (a kiss) - and whether the officers are married, asking their names, where they drink and if certain officers they know, are on duty. A common request would be to ask whether a local officer, famous for his sexual exploits (previous to his marriage, he claimed) and also as the lead singer of a local band. On half a dozen occasions each evening, women would come to the van and ask;

'Is Paul on tonight?'

In reply, depending on their mood, and the attractiveness of the recipient, officers would reply;

'Paul? Paul? We don't know any cops called Paul-what's he like?'(Male PC 1995).

Obviously knowing perfectly well who they were asking about, the officers would entice the women to recount how well they knew him and what he had done. Sometimes officers would reply to the initial request with;

'No, he's not on tonight (even if he was). You'll have to make do with us instead'
(Male PC 1995).

On rare occasions a drunken stare would be directed towards me, sitting in

the back of the car or van, and the women would ask 'Here—who's that? Have you arrested her?' as if I didn't exist until then. In reply the officers would usually make some well practised amusing comments about me not paying my fines or being in special branch or other impressive and apparently hilarious remarks.

As each group of women finished their conversations and moved on in the direction of the next pub or club their relative merits compared to the last ones would be discussed. If unattractive, or 'fat' women approached the car, quite often the window would be wound up and sometimes they would drive around the block. Depending on the inexperience of the officers, occasionally someone would be 'trapped' by a woman leaning into the car, invading his space, and he would be unable to escape without the compliance of his partner, saying; 'Well, we've got to go now, urgent call' and starting the engine. During these interchanges reference would sometimes be made to the fact that I was in the van or car— remarks about whether they could find a good looking man for me, in case I was feeling excluded from the conversation. On a couple of occasions when I joined in their conversation by agreeing that certain women they were admiring were attractive, I was teased and the men professed puzzlement. On one occasion, when we returned to the station for a cup of tea an officer I had been sitting with in the van told the rest of the shift he had 'caught' me looking at a woman they were admiring, which they found highly amusing, with one of them asking;

'Well, weren't there any decent blokes for her? We'll have to find one for her, if that's what she wants' (Male PC 1995).

In a similar way, Smith and Gray discuss an incident where police officers were being overtly homophobic, expecting them, as male researchers, to collude. In response Smith decided to purposefully respond in a contradictory way—inferring that he was not colluding. He reports that, '(a)fter listening to a tale of local paedophilia, DJS experimented by refusing to condemn the offender' inferring that he thought such impulses fairly common, and as a result;

...officers became disorientated; when they did not obtain the usual response they seemed to be forced to ask themselves why they were telling the story in the first place (Smith & Gray 1983:93)

Although my responses were never made with the intention of challenging their remarks or colluding- I had genuinely agreed that one of the women they were discussing was stunningly attractive- it had the effect of causing some consternation, one of the officers remarking-'Hey-you shouldn't be locking' (Male PC 1995). Some of the women officers also had reservations about their behaviour, which they confided in me away from their hearing;

'You know, if it wasn't for the uniform, most of these lads wouldn't get a second glance by those sort of women' (Female PC 1995).

'Yes, they're supposed to say "Move away from the car please, madam", when women come over to them; Huh! Not very likely (laughs)' (Female PC 1995).

If their wives knew what they said and did! If ever their wives are out on the town they're very careful on duty. I've got a good mind to tell them, some of them, they'd have a fit (Female PC 1995).

As a comparison, a female officer I was accompanying in a van with a male sergeant was asked by the control room to deal with a male 'streaker'; it was the middle of winter and a young man had been chained to a lampost, completely naked, on the eve of his wedding. On arriving the officer got out of the side door and walked over towards the group of the naked man's friends, smiling and saying;

'Look, I'm sorry but you'll have to untie him' (Female PC 1995).

She was looking very directly at the man without his clothes on, grinning at him and I stood beside her whilst we waited for his friends to find the key to the lock they had used on the chain around his feet. As this was taking some time, the male sergeant jumped out of the van and came striding over, saying very impatiently;

'Look Sally, get him to put some clothes on, NOW! (and then to the friends) I'm warning you- you're all going the right way for being locked up!' (Male Sergeant 1995).

As we got back into the van together, the sergeant was still annoyed, with a grim expression, but Sally took no notice of him, saying to me;

'Cor, he was a bit of all right. Well endowed- did you see the size of it?' (Female PC 1995).

In his discussion of sexuality and power Brittan uses an example of the phallus locating men in the 'social relations of gender and, by extension, legitimating the male view of power over women' (Brittan 1989:56). He goes on to argue that although some men define their sexuality in terms of 'sexual athleticism' most find this difficult to achieve, leading to 'a disjunction between the representations of male sexuality and its actual expression' (Ibid:57). In a comparable discussion of the way power and sexuality are linked, Hoch suggests that due to the competitive threat of other men, it is necessary 'to constantly "demonstrate" manliness in every area of life' in order to prove themselves, because;

'Absolutely the worst thing a man can be is impotent' (Hoch 1979:65).

To further this discussion Hoch describes sexuality as a 'trial and performance' and talks about the paradoxical situation whereby 'virtually every man in our society can expect to experience one or more occasions of impotence' and yet it is regarded with tremendous anxiety 'amounting almost to hysteria' (Hoch 1979:66). However, as Smith and Gray report, in a similar vein to my discussion above, police officers' disgust with sexual 'perversions' does not seem to extend to their own behaviour. In one of their examples they describe the way some young boys were reprimanded for exposing themselves to a neighbour. A Chief Inspector inferred to the boys, in the course of a twenty minute formal caution during which they were shouted at and denigrated, that they should be castrated for what they had done and asked how they would feel committing such an offence against their mothers or sisters (Smith & Gray 1983: 76-77).

Indeed the apparent bravado of male officers towards women within the safe homosocial environment of the van or patrol car, does not seem to extend to other sexual issues. On several occasions I observed cases where male officers recoiled during discussions of intimate matters or parts of the body. Examples of this included a woman who reported a man exposing himself and a mother who reported her suspicions about her daughter having under-age sex. In both cases male officers I accompanied said they would send a policewoman to take a statement, but would go to interview the (male) accused. I watched a young male police officer who was taking details of one of these cases- a man who

was masturbating in front of a girl of sixteen on a bus. He had to ask what she had seen, and he blushed and shifted about in a very uncomfortable way when she illustrated the actions she had witnessed. As a result the policeman said, 'I can see you're embarrassed so I'll get a specially trained policewoman to interview you in the presence of your mam'. When we get outside he talked for about five minutes about how relieved he was to have found an excuse to leave the house. When the young woman said she had reported the man to the bus driver and he had dismissed her plea for help, the officer said;

'Well! I think I'll go to the bus station and find his number- he wants speaking to' (Male PC 1996).

On another occasion, a case of a girl missing from home, the policeman wanted to know if the mother had any evidence of sexual activity on the part of the missing daughter. He asked the mother if she;

'...thought there was anything going on, you know, that shouldn't be' (Male PC 1995).

However he did not broach any specific sexual matters or talk about the possibility that she may need medical help or advice. In a similar way, a woman DC whom I accompanied had firm beliefs about the necessity of a female officer to take a rape statement, she told me;

'You see, if you've just been raped, the last thing you want to do is to talk to a man. A woman knows how it well, feels...take oral sex for example, lots of women don't like it, but men don't see a problem with it. Another thing is, we need to take the samples from the doctor during the examination, so we need to be in the room to take the swabs and label them, and the same officer has to deal with the case the whole way through so it has to be a woman. You can have a male officer as Officer in Charge though- they ususally deal with the rapist, interview him and that' (Female DC 1996).

In this way, beliefs about the 'genital' nature of sex and the 'erotic' identities (Wilton 1996:104) of officers being linked to their work, include assumptions about the 'fixity and uniformity of sexual identity' (Weeks 1995:88). Cultural norms are also reinforced by female detectives who take on the work as 'gendered' experts, and complain that they get 'sick to death' of sexual investigations and are reported to be 'leaving the CID in droves' (Female Superintendent 1997).

MASCULINE HEROES

In this section I will analyse some evidence of officers enacting displays of 'heroic' masculinity, to reflect upon some possible reasons for this behaviour to be perpetuated and reinforced. As I will show, in the course of my fieldwork there were constant reminders that the police are often regarded as the last resort in times of some types of trouble, such as intolerable domestic situations and the first, in others such as road accidents. At each end of the continuum of need, whether first or last option, depending on the outcome of the scenario, the police seem to be regarded by the general population as the answer to many of their troubles. Indeed, when officers fail to live up to this perception, reveal themselves to be simply 'human' and unable to provide an answer in an heroic and all-powerful way, anger is sometimes directed towards them. In addition, officers often express dissatisfaction after attending these incidents because they feel they have not fulfilled their function.

An example of this was a violent domestic situation which I witnessed, where a woman had been assaulted by her husband. He had attempted to strangle her and he had given their daughter, aged about 16, a black eye. He then threatened to 'smash the whole house up'. Upon arrival at their house, the two officers I was observing had to restrain him as he was beginning to pull at the kitchen cabinets to remove them from the wall. He announced, upon seeing the officers;

'This is MY house and I'll do what I like in it and YOU aren't going to stop me'
(Fieldnotes 1996).

At first one of the officers tried to reason with him, saying maybe he should calm down, pack an overnight bag and they would take him to a relative's for the evening. As he ignored this and carried on with his destructive mission, a nod was exchanged between the two officers, I was told to get out of the way and he was physically removed from the house. As he protested his rights to behave as he wanted 'in his own home', he was informed that he was being locked up for breach of the peace. Once we returned to the house to take some details from the victims with which to charge the husband however, problems arose. He had talked one of the arresting officers into dropping the charges, as he had 'calmed right down' once they had got him into the cells, and explained he was about to start a new job, and his boss was expecting him to take the lorry out with a delivery at 6am the next morning. As it was now approaching

midnight, the officer agreed to go back to his house and collect some things, persuading his wife to drop the charges if he agreed to hand over his house keys.

When this was put to the woman and daughter however, they were both adamant that he should be charged, the woman saying;

'Look, this isn't the first time you know. He can do what he likes to me, I don't care, but when he starts on HER, that's different' (Fieldnotes 1996).

As we sat around the kitchen table discussing possible courses of action, the officer was patient at first but soon became frustrated at her for being so determined to proceed, saying;

'Yes, but two problems; first, you haven't given me any evidence of actual assault to go on—it sounds like a bit of push and shove from both sides, and second; he's down in the cell right now, calmed RIGHT down, saying that if you pursue this complaint of assault he'll make a counter charge— a Micky Mouse one— saying that YOU assaulted HIM. I'll have to arrest you and your daughter and take you down to the nick to take statements (Male PC 1996).

At this, the mother, a rather dishevelled but determined woman of about 45, seemed to collapse emotionally. Resigned and defeated she started crying and saying she does not want her daughter put through this process, as she is only sixteen. She is angry that the policeman cannot solve her problem though, saying;

'You're only doing it this way because you're a man—you don't understand, it's different for women' (Fieldnotes, 1996).

At this point she turned to me for support and I tried to nod sympathetically, but I could not say anything to undermine the officer, who went on to say that the best solution was to allow him to have some belongings, get the house keys off him and drop the charges, concluding;

'In that way you get what you want—him out of the house and some peace and quiet and in the morning you can see your solicitor' (Male PC 1996).

As a result of this discussion, the case would attract 'no further police action' and 'unnecessary' paperwork could be avoided. On another occasion, I accompanied two officers to the house of a woman who showed us into the kitchen where her sister was standing, looking nervous and upset, clutching a housecoat around herself. She explained that she has just escaped from her boyfriend's flat, where she has been kept captive for 24 hours, threatened, had her clothes cut off, her sunbed 'smashed up with an axe' and warned not to leave. When he went out to the club for a drink, she managed to climb out of an upstairs window and onto an outhouse roof, as the doors and windows downstairs were locked with keys, which he had taken with him. Following her escape she is now worried because he might come to find her at her sister's. As she is speaking the two male police officers listen in silence, with grim expressions on their faces. When she pauses, one of them asks,

'Well, what do you want us to do?' (Male Sergeant 1995).

She is a bit taken aback, having just poured out her story, talking quickly and on the point of tears.

'Well, I don't know really, I'm just frightened he'll come round here because he knows where I would go' (Fieldnotes 1995).

For a moment they pause and then;

'Do you want us to go and speak to him, or we can lock him up on what you've just told us' (Male Sergeant 1995).

On consideration, she thinks this is unwise as she seems to realise that the police will not be able to keep him in custody, saying;

'Well, that might make him worse- when you let him out' (Fieldnotes 1995).

For a while they discuss the advantages and disadvantages of various forms of action, and then the sergeant suggests they leave her to talk it over with her sister and ring them later when she has decided whether she wants any police intervention. Despite their seemingly abrupt, initial 'What do you want us to do' statement, throughout the whole procedure both officers have been serious, and 'professional' but sympathetic. They have made reassuring noises and said that if her boyfriend does come round to the house she is staying at, she should ring

999 immediately. She is obviously relieved, saying,

'Thanks very much for coming, I mean, I didn't think you'd believe me, it sounds so unbelievable' (Fieldnotes 1995).

To which one of the officers replied, looking down, still with a serious expression;

'Oh yes, we always believe people who wear pink fluffy slippers' (Male Sergeant 1995).

She is standing in the kitchen in a housecoat and mules, presumably due to her lack of clothes and as the tension breaks everyone laughs and the police officers start making signals to leave, giving more reassurances about their swift response if her boyfriend comes to the house. By dealing with the case in this way, the police have to seem to be 'heroic'— protecting a woman who appears vulnerable; caring— they realise she is distressed and provide comfort; 'professional policemen' —they are ready and willing to take legal steps to lock up the perpetrator, but also 'manly yet human'— by making jokes about her slippers. In the course of my fieldwork I witnessed a number of similar incidents, domestic fights and disputes where the police officers tried to resolve difficult situations, to the satisfaction of several opposing parties. As previous studies of domestic violence have shown, their levels of concern are often mediated by their assessment of the 'deserving' and 'appropriate' victim (Dobash & Dobash 1977). At one call I attended, with two male officers a young and apparently deranged son had attacked his mother whilst his father, a fireman, was at work. Her call was treated sympathetically because she explained she knew the police could not take effective action, but she had called them as an emergency intervention, and also as evidence to support their campaign for help from other agencies such as social services. As this is viewed as a sensible and rational course of action, in the view of police officers who are critically aware of their limitations in such situations, sympathy and support was offered, with one of them saying;

'No, don't worry about calling us out, that's what we're here for' (Male PC 1995).

On the other hand, at a call where a woman claimed she had been attacked by her partner and officers arrived to find her drenched in beer, they asked:

'Yes, but what has he actually *done* to you?' (Male PC 1995).

When she explained that she thought his behaviour was 'out of order' they replied;

'Well we're not here to tell people off for little arguments—that's not our job' (Male PC 1995).

To fit the criteria of the enactment of heroic masculinity, therefore, it seems some threat to life, safety or dignity must be present. It has been suggested that the form rescue stories take in any society is revealing, as power is not normally used to dominate, but to help, the weak or disadvantaged. As Lash argues, 'the hero is always saving someone or something' and acts as the 'redeemer who acts to preserve cosmic law and eternal justice' (1995:6). Indeed, as Williamson suggests, the mass media, and in particular, advertisements, are 'selling us ourselves' because 'being a man' is not only made necessary but also perpetuated by the need to belong, to have a social "place" (1997:190). On the other hand, as Steinman argues, when male movie stars are eroticised their masculinity must be preserved, and although making them appealing to women may involve a certain amount of 'feminisation', they 'cannot turn out to be, say, a cokehead, or a spouse- or child-abuser' (1992:207).

As indicated in the introduction, competence, sexuality and heroism are three closely related concepts in police culture which all seem to contribute to this notion of masculinity and what it is to 'be a man'. In times of crisis, trouble, or family difficulties, it is often the police who are called, and they are often regarded as the uniformed problem solvers. In the following section, which contain more examples of death, emergency and danger than I have used previously, the way public perceptions of the police create and reinforce expectations of heroism is explored.

MORTAL HEROES

It is particularly obvious in emergency situations such as road accidents that the police are expected to fulfil high levels of public expectation. When they arrive at these incidents the faces of those waiting at the scene show relief that someone has arrived to 'sort things out'. Even when other professionals such as

ambulance crew are already there, the waiting public see the police officers as the scene directors for several reasons. First, they usually arrive at speed and due to the necessity of assessing the situation quickly portray an emergency 'we're in control now' image. On arrival officers ask 'Who's injured?' 'Any other casualties?' 'Did anyone see what happened?' Almost immediately clipboards are produced and people who come towards the officers are prioritised, calmed, recorded, placed in symbolic queues of importance, such as the injured, relatives of those hurt, passengers in vehicles, and eyewitnesses. As these procedures seem controlled and yet urgent and decisive, the people who have been in turmoil waiting for the arrival of some form of help and reassurance now have a focus for their concerns. Police officers are generally expert and practised performers of this ritual, and their apparent heroic demeanour, combined with competence and experience overcomes any doubts they may feel upon arrival at a scene which they may find upsetting. Reflected competence and experience of death in the obvious expectations from the bystanders quickly seems to replace any other feelings or emotions, as I witnessed at a fatal road accident where I was accompanying two experienced officers. At first the call was simply to an early evening 'RTA' which could mean a small knock between two cars, however as we drew near to the scene, the officer who was a passenger said to the driver;

'Over there- on the right, the ambulance is there already' (Male PC 1995).

As we came closer, pulling up quickly at the side of the road, their reactions quickly changed-one of them saying;

'Oh dear, God, no. It's a kid' (Male PC 1995).

As they both jumped out of the car they walked swiftly to where a small body was lying at the side of the road with an ambulance worker pumping an inflatable bag over the face of the casualty. Both police officers had grim looks on their faces, and the ambulance officer shook her head almost imperceptibly at them as they approached. At this signal, without speaking, they split up, one of them saying to the ambulance driver;

'Right, I'll be continuity officer then- anything you want me to do?'(Male PC 1995).

As he knelt down on the pavement beside the body, without any verbal

arrangements being made, his partner reached into the patrol car for a clipboard and started to move back the small group of people who now seemed to be a little too near the action, announcing;

'Let's give them some space to work- right. now let's see who can tell me what happened- where's the driver of the car?' (Male PC 1995).

Of course, the actions which these officers carry out, and the style and manner of their approach are completely in keeping with all expectations; if their 'private' reactions-the ones they had expressed as they neared the accident were revealed, it would be impossible for the public to believe in their performance. It would be unworkable if officers arrived and announced to the waiting crowd that they couldn't cope with death, or their emotions; they have to do 'being ordinary' (Sacks 1984) cops, according to the expectations of the watching crowd.

In addition, their self image and perceptions of 'men as heroes' is reinforced by contact with mortality, bodies and gore. After the casualty in the road accident described above had been removed to the ambulance, one of the officers took his torch and shone it where the person's head had hit the side of the kerbstone. In the gloom a beam of light shone through the small heap of red coloured jelly which was sitting, glistening on the pavement, and he said to me;

'See that- that's how you know its a fatal, when that comes out. You're really very lucky to have seen a fatal-I'm off to the hospital to act as the officer managing the body, possessions and informing the relatives and getting a formal identification' (Male PC 1995).

As he spoke he was holding a large torch in one hand and in the other he had a pair of court shoes and a handbag, as the person who had died had not been a child as they had first believed, but a very small old woman. It seemed an incongruous mix of 'male' police equipment and signifiers of femininity. Following the accident, I waited at a road junction with the partner of the officer who went to the hospital, as the scene had to be kept closed while the serious accident team made measurements and took photographs. It was a Saturday evening and now approaching 10pm, which is the time when the night shift 'overlaps' with the late evening shift at weekends. It was usually an opportunity to order a curry from the local takeaway and watch Match of the

Day on television in the canteen. However, we could not collect the meal at the appointed time because the next shift could not relieve us as we had the cars out stopping the traffic. When we eventually returned to the station, I explained to an officer from the next shift why we had not yet eaten, and he presumed I meant because of the rumoured 'gory' nature of the accident we had attended, saying;

'Nothing like a head injury to put you off your chicken jalirazi, is there?' (Male PC 1995).

At another fatal road accident I witnessed, certain logistical problems meant that it was much harder for officers to maintain a smooth continuous performance of heroic masculinity. Although I have argued that officers generally combine both roles, under stress in this situation, police heroism was sacrificed for masculinity. It was a cold night between Christmas and new year, and as a man had been crossing the road, leaving a minibus which had just dropped him opposite his house, when a car had come in the opposite direction at speed, knocked him into the air and over the bonnet. A few minutes before the accident had been reported I was accompanying an experienced woman officer, when she had noticed an ambulance driving in the opposite direction. She radioed the control room to alert them to the fact that their back doors were open, and they replied that there had been an accident on the coast road. Following their directions we arrived to find a group of distressed people surrounding a man who was lying on the road, groaning and calling out in pain. As the officer stopped the car and walked towards the casualty, everyone turned to her asking 'Where's the ambulance?', concerned that we had arrived but not the service they needed. She ignored all requests for information and walked briskly to the injured man, asking a young woman who was kneeling on the ground holding his neck;

'Is he the only casualty? Are you a nurse? (Female PC 1995).

She confirmed she was, saying;

'Yes, and he's really bad—we need an ambulance straight away' (Fieldnotes 1995).

Upon hearing this the officer turned away from the crowd, using her radio to contact the police control room to ask them to ring the ambulance controllers to 'hurry them up'. More minutes passed and the casualty was starting to lose

consciousness, which was making the nurse attending him become quite desperate, encouraging his friends who were standing around him, to talk to him and encourage him to stay awake. One of the people from the minibus which had been transporting them all home used his mobile phone to ring the ambulance service again, as it was now 25 minutes since his first call. We knew it had been ahead of us, but could not say anything which might inflame the situation, although the officer I was accompanying called the control room again with exact and precise instructions of where the accident had occurred. At this point another two police cars drew up and everyone turned to them expectantly; it was dark and foggy, about 12.30 am, and each time a vehicle approached an even more anxious and tense atmosphere was created. One of the male officers in the next panda car to arrive was asked by the bystander with the mobile phone;

'How come all you lot keep coming—where's the fucking ambulance? We've been waiting over 25 minutes now— he's gonna die' (Fieldnotes 1995).

By now his friend had lost consciousness and was making distressing gurgling noises, a sort of rasping snoring which sounded rather like someone taking a long time to drown. Waves of tension built up again and again and the man with the mobile phone started shouting at one of the more 'tough' male officers, a weight trainer, poking him in the chest saying, almost in tears,

'Look, get us an ambulance! My mate's gonna die!' (Fieldnotes 1995).

As the weight trainer objected to having a finger poked at him he squared up to the man and pushed him backwards a few paces, saying;

'Yes, alright, we're doing our best mate—it's on its way' (Male PC 1995).

As he spoke the police officer was sticking his chin out and flexing his arms, whilst moving forward, the man thought better of starting anything more physical and backed down. Observing the scene, and in order to diffuse the tension the woman officer I was with walked to her car and got a clipboard, going up to the man to distract him, saying;

'Right, let's get some details from everyone while we're waiting. You'd all been for a night out together I take it?' Do you know his name and address? (Female PC 1995).

As these descriptions show, some of the ways I observed masculinity being managed by police officers whilst performing being caring, was problematic for them. When someone has died or a child is missing from home or they have to deal with something concerning sexual behaviour, it can be difficult for male officers to assimilate gender and policing. In these cases they have to adopt an empathetic attitude, often far removed from their normal way of working or experience of life. It seems that violence in the home however, contrary to some previous analyses which have alleged that it is 'rubbish' work, to be avoided at all costs, provides an ideal forum for officers to get involved in physical situations which they can usually 'win'. By arresting male perpetrators in their homes, they usually also gain the approval of the other family members and bystanders such as the neighbours. Moreover, following the arrest of the perpetrator, in one of the cases reported here, the 'paperwork' could be avoided by suggesting that the victim used 'civil remedies' to resolve the problem.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have examined the way police officers behave in various occupational situations by comparing their behaviour and attitudes in certain male dominated specialist departments with patrol work. As my focus was to analyse their cultural beliefs regarding their sense of self and masculinity, I have concentrated fairly heavily upon male officers in traditionally masculinist situations such as driving, shooting and fighting. In this way I have attempted to reveal how gender is 'accomplished' (Brittan 1989:40) by men in the police through their activities at work. Of course this raises problems for the situating of women officers in the debate. As I described in the section on sexualities, they expressed their disapproval of some misogynist activities of their male colleagues, apparently regarding them as 'sick' or 'pathetic'. Women officers however, did not seem to be in a position to challenge the behaviour of the men—their attitude seemed to be that they were acting in a juvenile manner from which they chose to distance themselves.

As explained in the introduction, my aim was to provide some empirical evidence with which to reflect upon the assumption that the 'cult of masculinity'

(Smith & Gray 1963:93) has led to the existence of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Fielding 1994:47) in the police. In addition it was necessary to provide some form of explanation for the findings from my previous chapters about perceptions surrounding the differential deployment of women compared to their arrest records. It is this kind of discrepancy to which Heidensohn refers when she identifies the need to explain, rather than justify the existence of cop culture (Heidensohn 1992:13). In effect this has proved to be a very difficult task and one which I intend to pursue with further research. One of the problems with explaining why gender is enacted in a certain way is the way male structures and belief systems are so pervasive in the police. For example, it is often assumed that certain 'core functions' of policing which Bayley describes as 'authoritative intervention and symbolic justice' (1996:29) require 'male' attributes such as force and strength. In addition, that a 'pragmatic' approach is necessary in order to 'get them from here to tomorrow...safely' (Reiner 1992:128) which is an element of the moral and conceptual conservatism which Reiner identified in police culture leading to the justification of certain attitudes. In my final chapter I will explore some of these issues in more depth, to consolidate these findings in the light of the previous chapters of the thesis.

Introduction

In this thesis a number of key issues which are central to the understanding of policing and gender are examined. One of the main elements of this discussion is the interrelationship of three related concepts— police culture, occupational roles and embodied identities. In each of these areas of interest the ways in which policing is enacted are considered with reference to gender as a specialism. By observing how certain tasks appear to be categorised by their status in terms of being 'real' or 'proper' policework, the importance of gendered bodies is highlighted. Similarly, commonly held assumptions about differential deployment, hegemonic masculinity, 'macho cops' and the discrimination women encounter, have been analysed within a framework designed to examine theoretical approaches to gender. In this way the thesis has progressed from focusing upon female officers' roles to the explanation of masculinities as the expression of what it is to 'be a man' in the police.

MAIN FINDINGS

As may be expected within an organisation which was traditionally based on male values, created within a quasi military framework and the product of a specific history, the police machine appears to exclude women from certain areas of expertise. From the data presented in the early part of this thesis, significant disparities are evident between women and men in terms of promotion. It is also apparent that only very small percentages of women have broken into powerful positions in the police. Indeed, traditional stereotypes have been shown to prevail in specialist departments with male officers being concerned with cars, guns and horses and women in child and family protection.

As this gendered division of labour also extends to the CID, which tends to be the domain of men, it is significant that the senior women officers who were interviewed for this study cited their time in 'crime' as a major career accelerant. Although women managers in the police claim to regard themselves

as 'ungendered', they cite the actions of senior male officers who acted as unofficial mentors as being vitally important throughout the promotion process. In addition, key factors which aided to their promotion, they claimed, were being a 'nice person' and female.

An area where it might be expected that gender would be especially important is within specialisms such as the child and family protection units. In these departments women officers are regarded as having expertise based largely on their gender, particularly in cases involving sexual offences. Generally female officers are working in this field with a small percentage of male officers in supervisory positions. As the data on patterns of employment this is the case on a national basis, in addition to the local case studies discussed.

In terms of 'street' policing however, a different and perhaps more significant picture emerged from the evidence collected during the fieldwork. It has been argued that since the integration of women's departments into the main police body, duties have been allocated on the basis of gender, with the lower status tasks being passed to female officers and the more exciting, career advancing work being given to men. On general patrol duties, however, it is argued in this thesis that female officers are not being sent to specifically gendered calls such as domestic violence or matters associated with children or juveniles. Quantitative data, collected over various time periods varying from one day to a full year in some cases, suggest that women are getting an equal number of arrests for 'crime' categories. In cases involving the more aggravated, dangerous or violent offences they achieve higher targets than their male colleagues although their recorded 'non-crime' incidents are less frequent.

In contrast, evidence collected during fieldwork in the traditionally 'macho' specialist departments reveals that some men consciously remove themselves from any 'feminine' caring roles or activities. As male officers on general patrol have to engage with women as 'equal' colleagues, carrying out a range of 'female' tasks such as caring, sympathy and emotion work, they convert certain activities into more 'acceptable' male duties. Examples of this phenomenon include domestic disputes, long regarded as 'rubbish' work being made more 'masculine' to facilitate the maintenance of male identities by converting it to the protection of women. Work involving children and juveniles is made more 'manly' through the officers taking on the role of father or an older brother and young male offenders being symbolically 'upgraded' to burglars or thieves.

In addition to avoiding 'women's' work or converting it to something more acceptably male, men in the police use their power as law enforcers to reinforce their own heterosexual identity. In this thesis evidence collected during field observations is analysed to illustrate the way sexual insecurities are compensated for and disguised through homosocial exchanges when observing women from the safety of a police car or van. In addition, delicate or sensitive situations such as those involving emotional distress call for certain well-rehearsed scripts to be used in order to cope with the situation in a professional, competent and essentially masculine way.

REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

As this thesis began by asking a series of questions about the gendered nature of policing, evidence of this phenomenon will now be reviewed. In order to draw cogent conclusions from the main findings, this review will begin by outlining the most significant elements of each chapter, before compiling an overview of the evidence generally. Finally, the significance of these findings is analysed within a theoretical framework of gendered work, embodiment and police culture.

In the first chapter the issue of women officers being restricted to certain types of specialist department was raised in relation to their capabilities being viewed in terms of the body. As it was noted, the importance of gendered bodies seems to have been ignored to date in studies of policing, despite the emphasis upon force and strength in the literature. In addition it appears that the growing number of theoretical studies concentrating upon embodiment and social theory do not seem to have been tested empirically. To remedy this situation, chapter 1 creates a framework by examining structure and agency, the importance of the body as a consuming and representational being and the objectification of women's bodies. Furthermore, the 'problem' of masculinities is highlighted as an area of concern for the study, as it has been suggested that women were being controlled and 'ghettoised' in the police (Jones 1986, Heidensohn 1992). Most of the previous literature in this field supports this view and the first chapter provides a summary the pertinent issues concerning differential deployment and the role of human agency.

As this discussion was essentially theoretical, there was something of a contrast provided in the second chapter, where senior policewomen talked about their careers and promotion history. It seemed that these women thought three things had helped them achieve high rank in the police. First, that they had been identified by male mentors as having 'potential' and therefore worthy of help; second, they had been 'progressed' by being thrown in at the deep end, in one case being put in charge of a large CID having had no previous experience of the department; and third, they all cited personal likeability and being female as an important and significant advantage in police promotion systems.

Due to these positive remarks about being part of an occupational minority it seemed important to concentrate on some areas of specialism for women. In the third chapter the way female officers are achieving success in some areas was examined; for example, the way they are being promoted more quickly than men in some ranks and the fact that although the overwhelming majority of applicants to join the police are men, women are twice as likely to be recruited. Indeed, evidence was presented both locally and nationally that women have a better chance of being promoted in the police. In terms of lower ranks the first rung on the management ladder is becoming an inspector and in the past four years, between 1990 and 1994, there has been a 24% increase in women at this rank and the number of female sergeants have doubled in the same period.

As these examples in chapter three illustrate, factors which have been thought to prevent women from being promoted, rather contrary to expectations, are not necessarily perceived to be having a discriminatory effect. As the crux of this debate is the issue of what women are actually *doing* in the police and to what extent tasks and duties are being allocated on the basis of gender. An in-depth analysis of a gendered specialism- family matters and 'domestic' violence was conducted in this part of the thesis. Assaults in the home have been the subject of new initiatives and policies and the way women officers have been instrumental in these changes was examined. Evidence presented in this chapter contradicts the idea that domestic disputes are the sole domain of women. In a discussion of the way calls are allocated to patrol officers, it is illustrated that officers who are sent to the scene, whether male or female, regard such calls as priorities. In most cases, where there is evidence of violence, it seems that there is little hesitation in arresting the perpetrator, although there were exceptions. In general, officers' attitudes towards this type of incident is that it is a 'good pinch' and they see it as the enactment of their 'heroic function' to protect the vulnerable in these situations.

In this same chapter, it is acknowledged that certain gendered controls are placed on women by their male colleagues. Evidence of the sexualisation of the workplace by the male majority leading to the judgement of women's morals and behaviour is an obvious example of this aspect of a male dominated environment. Other examples of women being excluded from 'male' specialisms such as Traffic are also provided, and the way some women were moved towards promotable positions, apparently without choice, by simply being told they were to go to certain posts. On the other hand, there were also instances where women were given considerations for 'family' reasons, such as part time work and shift changes to fit with children or partners.

As the discussion moved into the other main arena of 'women's work' the way police officers deal with children and juvenile offenders was examined in this chapter. It is an area of policing which has traditionally been believed to be a 'ghetto' into which women are placed. In the past it has been pointed out that male officers are much more likely to be parents than their women colleagues because of the young service profile of the latter and the difficulties of combining primary childcare with shiftwork. With the exception of child sex abuse cases however, there did not seem to be any gendering of work with even the youngest juveniles. Male officers seemed to regard it as their role to deal with male and female young offenders, either acting as the 'tough' father figure or the friendly advisory older brother, depending on the age of the child and the differential in years between the officer and offender. It was shown in this chapter, that the young male officers were of the same generation as their arrestee, which facilitated this attempted passing of 'moral' advice process.

Aside from general patrol duties however, as the 'official' trained specialists, women officers are found to be working in the child and family protection units in large numbers. In most cases male officers only come into the departments as supervisors and so, in chapter four, the way women have been trained in the complicated and sensitive area of investigating child sex abuse was described. It was clear from the evidence discussed the Cleveland Inquiry that some change was required. One of the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry was that female officers should be available when young women were subjected to intimate examinations. As a result of this directive, it has been alleged, women were returned to their 'rightful' place in the organisation in the early 1990s—family protection, dealing with delicate sexual matters, violence against women and the abuse of children. Furthermore, from the statistics provided in the fourth chapter it is evident that rapes and sexual assaults have been reported in

increasing numbers in the past ten years although this trend has now apparently levelled out to a small yearly increment. Evidence of the highly stressful and demanding nature of this work was discussed in relation to this rising tide of abuse. An analysis of the workload of the officers working in the departments shows that they have a significant caseload of approximately twenty three serious sexual assaults to deal with per officer each year. In addition, their referral rate per year was an average of 75 cases per officer, in each of the forces I investigated.

As the legal definitions are complex and specialised in the child protection field, as in the sexual offences arena, the special rules concerning evidence gathering are described in the remaining part of this chapter. Codes of practice, problematic due to their relationship to legalities of admissibility and the procedures in court result in a few very highly skilled officers being trained to collect video evidence and take statements from abused children. In addition, the two police forces studied only provided sexual offences training for women officers, although late in 1997, changes to this were being made, with the small number of men working in child protection units now being given this training. In this chapter specialist knowledge as a gendered skill was claimed to be an aid to expert status and an advantage for women seeking to avoid uniformed patrol work. It was shown that when appointed to the CID, such knowledge was experience, but as observed later in the thesis it also meant that women were being given every sexual offence, leading to their dissatisfaction and eventual resignation from this important, high status department.

Later in chapter four, evidence from taped interviews with police managers in which their views on women officers in specialisms was discussed. It was obvious that some senior male officers are ambivalent about the role of women in their organisations. Some confessed to being keen to promote women but unsure of how to achieve this aim. Despite publicised force policies promoting equality of opportunity and positive action to get women into non-traditional areas such as the CID and TSG, little progress is being made. In the larger and more forward thinking of the two forces studied for this thesis, less than 2% of their detectives are women, and a similar situation exists in the traffic department. As a result of some focus group discussions I reflected upon this situation and the pronouncements of senior officers regarding their commitment to women's career progression. Some of the women in the focus group discussions made scathing remarks about their male colleagues' attitudes towards their efforts to become fully integrated. Female officers were criticised

by the men in the discussion groups for gaining favours from the management in terms of promotion and specialist postings. Clear distinctions between 'men's' and 'women's' work were recorded in these discussions and in some cases, the participants' open hostilities.

As the evidence from these discussions indicates fairly conclusively that policing is gendered in a number of ways, it was quite a contrast to find a rather different picture during the fieldwork on patrol with the police. As discussed, it was difficult to find much evidence of the differential deployment of male and female officers. In chapter five, which concentrated on street patrols, the way officers are sent to incidents on the basis of many other criteria other than gender was demonstrated. Computer dispatch systems and the way calls are held in a prioritised queue until an officer is available and the lack of an individual supervisor's involvement in directing people to certain types of incident was used to contradict previously argued case for deployment by gender in the police. Furthermore, data was supplied which show that women are achieving the same percentage of arrests as men for 'crime' incidents, although their 'non-crime' rates were slightly lower. In addition, and perhaps most compellingly, arrests requiring traditional 'male' abilities connected with physical force, strength and violence, such as aggravated house burglary and car crime, show, within the limited scale of this study, to be attributed more to women. In addition, the evidence suggests that women and juveniles are equally as likely to be arrested by women as men, although a higher percentage likelihood of male suspects being claimed by men was shown. Overall, the traditional image of the high adrenalin, 'macho cop' arrest being made by men now seems unsupportable.

In the final chapter on men and masculinities in the police, the thesis provides what Heidensohn suggests has been missing from the literature to date - a 'men's perspective' (1992:13). Officers working with 'cars, guns and horses' were interviewed and observed with the findings discussed in this penultimate chapter. Departments which have a very low percentage of women serving in them were investigated and the way men absent themselves from caring roles in the police was analysed. Whether these officers choose to separate themselves from general patrol work and women colleagues was considered throughout the synthesis of gender roles and occupational culture. In some of these departments the environment is strongly 'anti-women' and asking why there were so few female officers invokes hostility from the respondents. Sharp-shooting, hard-riding men in these departments confessed to being perplexed as

to why there were no female applicants waiting to join them. At the same time their description of their daily work-hard physical activities demanding superhuman stamina- would make it repellent to virtually all but the most determined woman.

Finally, in this last chapter, a framework is developed to analyse masculinities in the police examining competence, professionalism, sexuality and heroism. Within these categories a discussion of men 'being men' in the police was conducted. It also illustrates certain difficulties officers encounter when they are expected to act sympathetically in more 'feminised' situations such as a sudden death. As I conclude in this final chapter, the maintenance of masculinities in these situations can be problematic and various compensatory actions and statements have to be made in these situations, by male officers, in order to preserve their sense of self and masculinity.

DISCUSSION

Although most occupations are fairly easy to classify as either traditionally male or female, it has often proved more difficult to define why particular tasks within the workplace are regarded as essentially masculine or feminine. In chapter one of this thesis for example, a discussion of the way 'force and skill becomes a statement embedded in the body' (Connell 1987:85) leads on to the issue of equality and difference (Irigaray 1993:84). In later chapters of the thesis activities such as typing and funeral directing are discussed in terms of self-identity and the expectations of colleagues and supervisors. Indeed, because men and women are given the neutral title of 'officer' or 'constable' in the police, they are technically occupying an ungendered role. As part of an 'integrated' force or service, according to equal opportunities legislation, male and female officers should carry out an identical range of tasks and duties. Ambiguities have been examined here however, which highlight tensions between police culture and gender and reveal the pervasive influence of masculinities upon the enactment of policing. In this final section I will conclude therefore by discussing how these findings differ from those discovered by previous studies in three ways; first, in terms of the type of data and the way it was collected; second, due to the focus on a synthesis of gender and police culture; and third, by examining the data on differential deployment, specialist departments and promotion.

1. Data collection.

In order to overcome the problems which are created by attempting to define certain acts or behaviour as male or female, this thesis examines how policing is carried out 'on the ground' through observing officers on duty, often in situations where stress and danger make it difficult for them to act in anything but a 'natural' manner. As the fieldwork was conducted, it was informed by viewing the 'lived' experience of policing and gender—how a woman can become 'one of the boys' (Fine 1987:144-5) and how men 'perform masculinity' (Brittan 1989) are examples. Of course a female researcher entering a male world raises questions of plausibility and the 'various layers of *vraisemblance*' (Atkinson 1990:39 original emphasis) which it will be possible to construct. In her discussion of fieldwork with the police Hunt argues that researchers always bring with 'him/her certain features which the subjects interpret in culturally prescribed ways' (1984:283). She explains how it was necessary to gain credibility in her study of American police officers through being able to shoot accurately and behave fearlessly. In a similar way the fieldwork for this thesis has involved certain tests of appropriate allegiances and 'bottle'.

Another problem which has been identified previously by researchers is that of accessing 'male and female worlds within a culture' (Warren 1988:15) and as Golde suggests, certain cultural expectations have restricted women who attempted to conduct studies in male dominated environments (1986 in Lee 1995:57). In addition, the police have been described by Punch as an 'institutional obstacle course' and in order to gain access it is necessary 'to penetrate the minefield of social defences to reach the inner reality of police work' (1993:184).

In this thesis some of these difficulties have been confronted by entering the world of supposed danger and excitement in order to view the police carrying out their daily activities. Women have not conducted ethnographies of the police in Britain which have used gender as part of the research process. Perhaps this is partly due to what Hobbs describes as the '(m)achismo as well as a veil of eccentricity' which is afforded to fieldwork (Hobbs 1993:62). Due to the high level of trust which needs to be fostered for the successful completion of an ethnography, the culture in which the researcher chooses to participate has to be reasonably accessible to the fieldworker. As the police are predominantly male this has obviously created barriers in the past for women needing to become 'part of the scenery'. In terms of the collection of valid data, permission

for access to a group such as the police needs to be negotiated not only at an organisational level but also on a daily, personal basis. In order to do this successfully, as Norris argues, in the 'observer-as-participant role researchers often have to share many elements of the everyday lives of police officers' (Norris 1993:126) and the study will be dependent upon the extent to which this is achieved.

2. Synthesis of gender and culture.

In later chapters of this thesis it is argued that subcultural masculinities in specialist departments reflect particular hierarchies of gendered competence and status. More specifically, in the departments staffed predominantly by men, the 'cult of masculinity' appears to be exaggerated, reflecting the 'officer's sporting club' which Smith and Gray (1983:91) identified as being similar to the police working environment. One of the difficulties with Smith and Gray's analysis however, is that it relies on the acceptance of the categorisation of 'male' and 'female' as unproblematic. For example, in their discussion of this issue, they describe some male officers as 'anti-women' and classify 'WPCs' as a homogenous group who complain they are not treated equally in terms of promotion. Dichotomies of this type are evidently the result of beliefs about innate gender characteristics as one of the women interviewed by Smith and Gray said she 'accepted she couldn't do the same job as the men' and another was described as 'a very good driver' by the authors (1983:94-5). In reality of course, matters are more complicated than this as these groupings provide no explanations to accommodate the 'non-conventional' woman or man as they make gendered assumptions about the acquisition of skills such as driving cars and firing guns. In the type of study which Smith and Gray conducted, women officers are simply regarded as a minority without individual characteristics, opinions or feelings and are described in relation to the male majority.

Indeed, it is worth challenging the notion that the application of conceptual gender characteristics, described as binary opposites, can define 'male' and 'female' without any necessity to recognise deviations from 'normal' gendered behaviour. For example, Young constructs a set of semantic 'rigid dualities' which he uses to discuss women in the police. He begins with two columns headed 'masculinity' and 'femininity' and proceeds to divide characteristics such as 'hard', 'soft', 'emotional', 'force' and 'service' into the appropriate place (Young 1991:209). In this way he emphasises the split between male preserves

such as patrol work and those engaged in 'warfare' in the CID, from the typing pool staffed by women officers known as the 'bitch squad' (Young 1991:258).

It seems that this type of clearly defined dichotomy is often in evidence where gender and policing are debated, leading to discussions of 'what men do' compared with 'what women do' and how this changes over time or remains the same. More recently, there has been a movement towards the notion that the link between sexuality and gender may be quite significant in this area of gender studies. It is suggested for example, by Jackson and Scott, that although there is an analytical distinction between sex and gender, it must be recognised that they are 'empirically related' (1996:3). Furthermore, in her discussion of anthropological studies, Caplan explores the extent to which sex and gender can be regarded as 'independent variables' because 'in western society, one's sexual orientation is a very important part of one's identity' (Caplan 1987:2).

Further complexity is added to this debate when this cultural construction is analysed in terms of sexual identity (Weeks 1987:32), leading to 'categories of identity within the context of radical gender asymmetry' (Butler 1990:11) to be challenged. As a result of the significance attached to the gendered roles which Wilton has described as 'genital identity' or the 'sex-erotic' as opposed to the 'sex/gender' (Wilton 1996:104) in the police, a woman researcher in a predominantly male world is significant. Furthermore, as Morgan suggests, there are no social arenas which are 'unembodied' or 'ungendered' and that policing in particular, is an occupation which in it is obvious that bodily skill and deployment will be required' (Morgan 1993:77-78).

3. Differential deployment, specialist posts and promotion.

In this thesis gender roles, informed by police working rules and culture, have been shown to be influenced by what Fielding has described as 'hegemonic' masculinity in some specialist departments. In terms of general street patrols, however, differential deployment is shown to be less pronounced than previous studies by Heidensohn (1992), Jones (1986) or Brown et al (1993) have claimed. In the final chapter of this thesis an examination of 'artificial unities of genders and sexualities' which include 'relationships of dominance and subordination' were related to policing (Hearn & Morgan 1995:179). Examples of

what might be identified as 'masculine' and 'non-masculine' behaviour are examined in a framework which synthesises gender roles and police culture. In the evaluation of various examples of cultural ideals such as competence and professionalism, beliefs about appropriate 'male' behaviour and the way women are excluded from sites of organisational power show that policing is still firmly regarded as male. As Battersby notes, women and men are involved in a power struggle which 'favours woman, as long as she does not seek to fight man with his own weapons and on his own ground' (Battersby 1989:122). Indeed, credible threats to male power and competency in the police seem to be largely resisted, as ideological categories of skill (Phillips & Taylor 1980:79) such as firing guns and being able to drive fast, are controlled by men. In effect, women are being handed 'equality of opportunity' on the streets, which they carry out operational duties in the lowest status areas of patrol work. Where 'masculinity' really counts, however, in the departments where 'men are men', women are absent.

As Brittan (1989) Collier (1995) and Connell (1993) have acknowledged, 'masculinity', 'masculinities' and 'masculism' are all difficult concepts to relate to everyday, observed behaviour. It is clear from this thesis that they are especially identifiable in some of the more 'public' arenas of policing. In child and family protection departments where the invisible, time consuming cases which may never be prosecuted are investigated by women, the maintenance of masculinity is less evident. Street patrol duties are generally allocated without reference to gender and yet women make more arrests for high status, dangerous and aggravated offences. However, where highly visible, 'proper', huntin' and shootin' masculinity is required, men in blue are still predominant.

APPENDICES

Appendix (i)

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX.

Participant observation, as the central feature of naturalistic research, is often regarded as the most useful method to discover the feelings and shared beliefs of a particular social group. As the interrelationships of gender, policing and occupational identities have been the focus of this thesis, it seemed that an ethnographic approach would be the most appropriate. Issues which appeared most accessible to this form of investigation included the examination of gendered hierarchies within the police which marginalise women, and the way certain tasks are defined as 'male' in order to control the special danger to which female officers are perceived to be susceptible. Pioneering studies such as those by Banton (1964) and Skolnick (1966) describe the idiosyncracies of police occupational culture due to suspiciousness, internal solidarity, and social isolation, which is peculiar to the organisation due to the unexpected danger officers may face (Reiner 1985).

It has been suggested therefore, that the special nature of policing is such that it lends itself to methods employed by ethnographies as 'observation is essential to penetrating the police culture' (Punch 1993:197). Furthermore, because police officers are professionally adept at giving accounts of their behaviour, studies which describe their 'world view' through the use of field observations and in-depth interviews, are afforded special validity. However, with few exceptions (Cain 1973, Hunt 1984, Green 1993), ethnographies by women are relatively rare, especially those focusing on the police. Indeed, this is the first substantive empirical study conducted by a woman to synthesise gender and police culture.

Original objectives of this thesis were connected to the apparently disadvantaged position of women within the police. Research questions were formulated in order to view the way police officers gain credibility and occupational competence as they progress through their careers, and whether this is dependent upon gender. A second area of interest was the investigation of the persistence of vertical and horizontal gender segregation, despite organisational strategies aimed at eliminating such discrimination. A third research area was the way the gender of officers in certain areas of policework is related to the status of particular specialisms and the role of masculinity.

Background.

When I began the research for this thesis in 1994, 'women' in the police was a topic which seemed to be exciting the interest of academics and police policy makers. Consequently, information on the subject was becoming plentiful and access to serving police officers seemed likely to be facilitated due to the increasing profile of the issue. My working hypothesis was originally constructed around the idea that gender and work identities may be of particular significance in the police due to the concentration upon competence being linked to bodily strength as 'enforcers'. A major study of women officers in America and Britain had just been published (Heidensohn 1992) and the Home Office were funding various pieces of research, which included an investigation of sexual harassment in the police (Brown et al 1993). It seemed significant that despite over twenty years having passed since the introduction of sexual discrimination legislation and approximately five years of concerted action by police policy makers, most published research was still suggesting that female officers are regarded as a rarified minority, specialists in certain areas, barred from others (see for example Brown et al 1993, Heidensohn 1994, Young 1991, Home Office 1992).

Despite the extensive nature of previous research which had focused on the way women fail to achieve equality in terms of promotion and high status specialisms, very few studies seemed to have examined empirically how and why they appear to suffer from occupational marginalisation and exclusion. Despite the general acknowledgement of a 'cult of masculinity', which was first described by Smith & Gray in their study of police/public relations in London (1983), investigations of the nature of this phenomenon were absent. In addition, 'masculinity' seemed to be accepted as an unproblematic concept in analyses of gender in the police, and although physical strength and competence were discussed in some studies, the link between embodiment and power had not been explored.

In the developmental phase of my thesis the original idea had been to construct an ethnography looking at the role of women in the police in order to understand the barriers which may be preventing their career development. As my fieldwork commenced however, I realised that in order to make any real progress in terms of new contributions to the debate, it would be necessary to observe, describe and analyse the behaviour attitudes and activities of the

male majority. One of the reasons I came to this conclusion was my growing recognition of the literature on masculinities and the way previous studies had failed to account for the way women adopt gendered roles and behaviour in male working environments. With the growing emergence of the study of 'masculinities' it now seemed much too simple to assume that the way the police organise their working practices could be reduced to a single concept, the meaning of which is unproblematic. Another issue which turned my attention towards analysing male behaviour in the police was the way 'macho cop culture' seemed to be accepted as a homogeneous entity. In other words, it seemed that a vast array of different ways of 'being a man' in the police was reduced to one simple explanation, namely that genital identity, which Wilton has described as the 'sex/erotic' as opposed to the 'sex/gender' (Wilton 1996:104), would automatically lead to certain expected 'male' behaviour, actions and attitudes. Indeed, one of the main problems which I have encountered in my attempts to analyse the gendered roles which police officers seem to enact, is the significance of sexualised and dichotomised bodies. It seems that because policework is often strictly designated as male or female, on the grounds of decency or some connection with sexuality, it is difficult to distinguish between organisational need, the rights and wants of police 'customers' and occupational discrimination.

Researching Police Behaviour.

Another problem which may be apparent from my description of my methodological approach are the difficulties associated with validity. Ethnographic studies normally rely upon 'naturalism' and a commitment to 'tell it like it is' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995:206) sometimes leading to allegations that they lack 'scientific' rigour. An additional threat to the credibility of the evidence of this thesis is the role of gender in the research process. One of the difficulties which has been documented in the past is the way that '...male and female worlds within a culture' (Warren 1988:15) can be accessed. It has been suggested that observational studies have tended to be gender specific in the past, with women concentrating on 'family' topics, although Mead concedes that in addition to those researchers who are interested in 'female' issues, there are others who work as part of a team, possibly husband and wife, and occasionally those who are 'masculinely orientated' attempt to study male worlds (Mead in Warren 1988:16).

As certain worlds have been said to be inaccessible to women, it may be suggested that my study, which has involved entering the male subcultural environment of policing, may be flawed. It could be alleged that extent to which a woman could expect to observe and understand, and to be accepted to any meaningful degree by a group of men, known for their insularity and suspiciousness (Skolnick 1966) and hegemonic masculinity (Fielding 1994:47) will be severely limited. Indeed, due to this 'almost pure form of masculinity', which Fielding identifies, it might be thought that aggressive physical action, competitiveness and preoccupation with conflict, exaggerated heterosexuality and the degregation of women would lead to exclusionary in- and out-group controls would prevent a female researcher from accessing this world.

In concurrence with Fielding's position, Heidensohn cites Connell's work on power to reinforce her description of the way she regards gender divisions as a central element of social control in the police. In her study of women officers in Britain and America she found examples of women being manipulated by their male colleagues through the threat of removal of their 'reputation' if they deviated from 'gender appropriate sexual behaviour' (Heidensohn 1992:244). Her findings reproduce Young's (1991) description of the sexualised names which policewomen were given by the male officers which referred to their status in terms of their 'availability'. In sensitive research situations, such as those concerned with sexualised behaviour, or those involving credibility and occupational identity, it is obvious that there are problems with validity. It would be impossible to claim to have witnessed police officers, especially it could be argued, men, behaving as they would if I were not present. As the study is about gendered behaviour, it could be argued that the modification in their actions which would take place could almost invalidate the data. However, although I do not claim to have viewed the officers I worked with totally 'au naturel' there were certain strategies which I employed which seemed to allow me to collect reasonably credible accounts of their normal working lives.

Research Strategies.

In an attempt to deflect allegations of unreliability of the data I decided to become knowledgeable and invisible but also accepted by the officers I was observing. One of the main aims at the beginning of each new situation, such as a different sub-division or shift, was to become 'part of the scenery' as

soon as possible. I gradually became aware of certain ways of achieving this, which included gaining their trust by not acting inappropriately whilst they were working; assuring them of my collusion when they were bending the rules; being actively helpful, even if the task was mundane or unpleasant, and seeming to be knowledgeable and understanding whilst remaining clearly subordinate; and finally, socialising with the shift members but not threatening any existing friendships, power or sexual relations.

In some ways this was facilitated because I had virtually unlimited access with the two northern forces which were investigated to collect the data for this thesis. Each had various contrasting features; the first was a small constabulary force with about 1,300 serving officers in a fairly rural area; the second was a large, metropolitan organisation with a reputation for investing in modern technology and being at the forefront of what the police call 'best practice'. Access was facilitated through the Department in which I studied and in each case, police managers agreed to all my requests for information, time and place of the fieldwork and interviews with officers. As the research was conducted in two fairly discrete parts, the same methods were not used during each access period. In the first case, with the smaller, rural force, I spent some of the time watching procedures such as interviews and training courses at police headquarters which amounted to a couple of weeks in total. A combination of taped interviews with 61 serving officers of all ranks was complemented by focus groups with 35 constables and about 70 hours of field observations over a six month period.

In my second period of access, with the larger, metropolitan force, I concentrated more heavily on fieldwork in operational situations in order to observe serving patrol officers and those in specialist posts. With this larger force, which employs approximately 3,500 officers, I spent six months with three different groups of officers, rotating each weekend to fit in with their shift patterns. I also visited various specialist departments such as the Mounted Branch, Traffic, Task Forces, CID and Gun Training, spending one or two days with each. In total I completed about 360 hours in the field with this second force, the equivalent of 18 weeks of 9 to 5 office hours, although most of the time I worked 'half nights' (5pm to 3am) Thursdays to Sundays in order to see the more intensive periods of activity.

Data Analysis

One of the problems with the analysis of ethnographic data is that in making extensive fieldnotes, following intensive periods in the field, the data needs to be organised in some way, and as Brittan (1969), Collier (1995) and Connell (1995) have all acknowledged, 'masculinity', 'masculinities' and 'masculism' are all difficult concepts to relate to everyday behaviour. In his attempt to define masculinity for example, Connell (1995) states that '(m)asculinity is not a coherent object about which a generalising science can be produced' (Connell 1995:67). He goes on to suggest that it is easier to describe an 'unmasculine person' whom, he argues would be;

...peaceable rather than violent, conciliatory rather than dominating, hardly able to kick a football, uninterested in sexual conquest and so forth (Connell 1995:67).

An acknowledgement that there must be some sort of oppositional category, to organise discussions about sex and gender, in this case 'feminine', in order that masculinity can be defined is obvious. I also accept that I have not developed a satisfactory framework to deal with the so-called appropriation or rejection of 'maleness' by women officers. Indeed, it has been suggested that masculinity can only exist in contrast with femininity and as Connell argues, to define masculinity as 'what-men-empirically-are', is to create problems around women who we might regard as 'masculine' or men who are 'feminine' (Connell 1995:69). In addition he says we need to believe in individual difference and autonomy and a notion of polarised character types, based on a very particular cultural standpoint in order to view actions as masculine or feminine, regardless of the gender of the person carrying them out.

Certain difficulties of this nature were evident in my chapter on women managers in the police. I interviewed five female senior officers from various forces throughout the country and in each case they were competent at the presentation and maintenance of their gender identities to such an extent that it was almost impossible to find anything they would acknowledge about their occupational style which was different from their male colleagues. Although they argued that they were 'feminine' because they were 'nice' and easy to work for, categories which defined them specifically as women police officers were difficult to detect.

Researching Male Competence.

As I have discussed in the thesis, uniformed policework is largely organised around 'shifts' often involving teamwork which is encouraged by various organisational structures. Individual identities are reinforced by group processes and competence is judged by various criteria usually based on physicality. In the course of the research I considered the way individual arrest performance records and the ability to withstand public humiliation by peers and supervisors might afford individuals a level of admiration and respect. I also collected copious amounts of statistical data on police activities such as arrest rates and policy priorities in addition to numerous personnel records for the analysis of gender, promotion and the location of men and women in specialist posts. My main concern however, was to gain an experiential sense of policework in order to be able to qualify some of the discussions surrounding gender and deployment and strength and force. One of the ways this was facilitated tended to be most obvious in dangerous or high adrenalin situations. As I explained in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis, male and female officers were protective of me in cases where firearms were suspected to be present, or the possibility of uncontrolled aggression was considered likely. Most officers I accompanied insisted that I should wear a body protector and even towards the end of the fieldwork some would remind me to 'stay out of the action'.

From the beginning I made many mistakes which may have damaged my credibility as a researcher due to my naivety and lack of knowledge of their world. It has been suggested that police researchers find that '...immersion in the field provides a degree of life experience (...) that is lacking in most academic environments' (Punch 1993:198). In some situations I was acutely aware of being an 'outsider' particularly upon the discovery that certain officers had been told by supervisors to 'look after' me. Some officers also voiced their concerns and anxieties about having 'a civie ride along', but on the other hand, the threat of danger can be a useful part of the research process.

As the fieldwork progressed I discovered that situations involving a threat to personal safety could be an ideal time to achieve certain objectives and to test for data validity and accuracy. I found this to be the case when members of the shift would include me in their protection strategies, warning me of potentially threatening 'punters' or areas. As I

became more trusted, they would gradually allow me to participate in their 'dangerous' work tasks, and as these situations became more risky, I could gauge their increasing acceptance of my presence. Another way I used danger in the research process was to watch how officers reacted when faced with frightening scenarios. Whilst they dealt with the danger, I was able to stand back and observe the strategies they used to protect themselves. As these life or death situations usually demanded their undivided attention they were oblivious to my presence, and it was useful to compare their behaviour whilst totally distracted, with the way they acted 'for the researcher'.

A third and final way I found danger to be a useful methodological tool was that it enabled me to understand the views and feelings of the officers I studied. At some of the firearms incidents I attended, I was standing next to officers, wearing the same flimsy protection as them, with very little chance of avoiding death if things went wrong. I also experienced their frustrations in situations where those in charge appeared to have very little concern for the lives of their colleagues. In this way, I would argue sharing fear and physical danger with the people I was observing helped me to participate, understand their actions and experience their world view more effectively. Data collected with these issues in mind, as the evidence presented in my thesis illustrates, can therefore provide a more insightful view of the world of policework and increase the validity of qualitative research.



NORTHERN POLICE

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES POLICY STATEMENT

Appendix (ii) EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES POLICY STATEMENT

The Northern Police is committed to providing a fair and equal opportunity for all people to apply for and to be employed by the Northern Police.

The Northern Police is committed to providing a fair and equal opportunity for all people to apply for and to be employed by the Northern Police. This includes people of all ages, ethnicities, religions, and sexual orientations.

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NORTHUMBRIA POLICE

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES POLICY STATEMENT

Northumbria Police is committed to work towards being an equal opportunity employer, and is determined to ensure that no job applicant or employee receives less favourable treatment on the grounds of sex or marital status, colour, race, nationality, ethnic or national origins, disability, sexual orientation, religion or age. We also seek to ensure that employees are not subjected to sexual or racial 'harassment'.

Assistant Chief Constable (Management Services) and Chief Superintendent Personnel and Training have particular responsibility for implementation and monitoring of this policy and as part of this process policies and practices within the force will be regularly reviewed. To ensure that managers and other relevant decision makers understand their position in law and under force policy, training and guidance will be provided.

The law requires that individuals shall not unlawfully discriminate or help others to do so. Eliminating discrimination and providing equality of opportunity depend upon personal commitment and all members of the force, without exception, must observe the requirements of the equal opportunities policy and apply its principles.

Individuals who feel that they have grounds for complaint in relation to discrimination will be able to pursue their complaints through the grievance procedure.

Discrimination is not always intentional or overt. Practices and policies within the force will be consistently monitored to ensure that the equal opportunities policy is being properly implemented and where barriers to equal opportunity are identified, any necessary changes will be made.

Apart from consideration of equality of opportunity and strict compliance with the law, the efficiency of any organisation will clearly be improved if it seeks to develop the skills and abilities of all employees.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

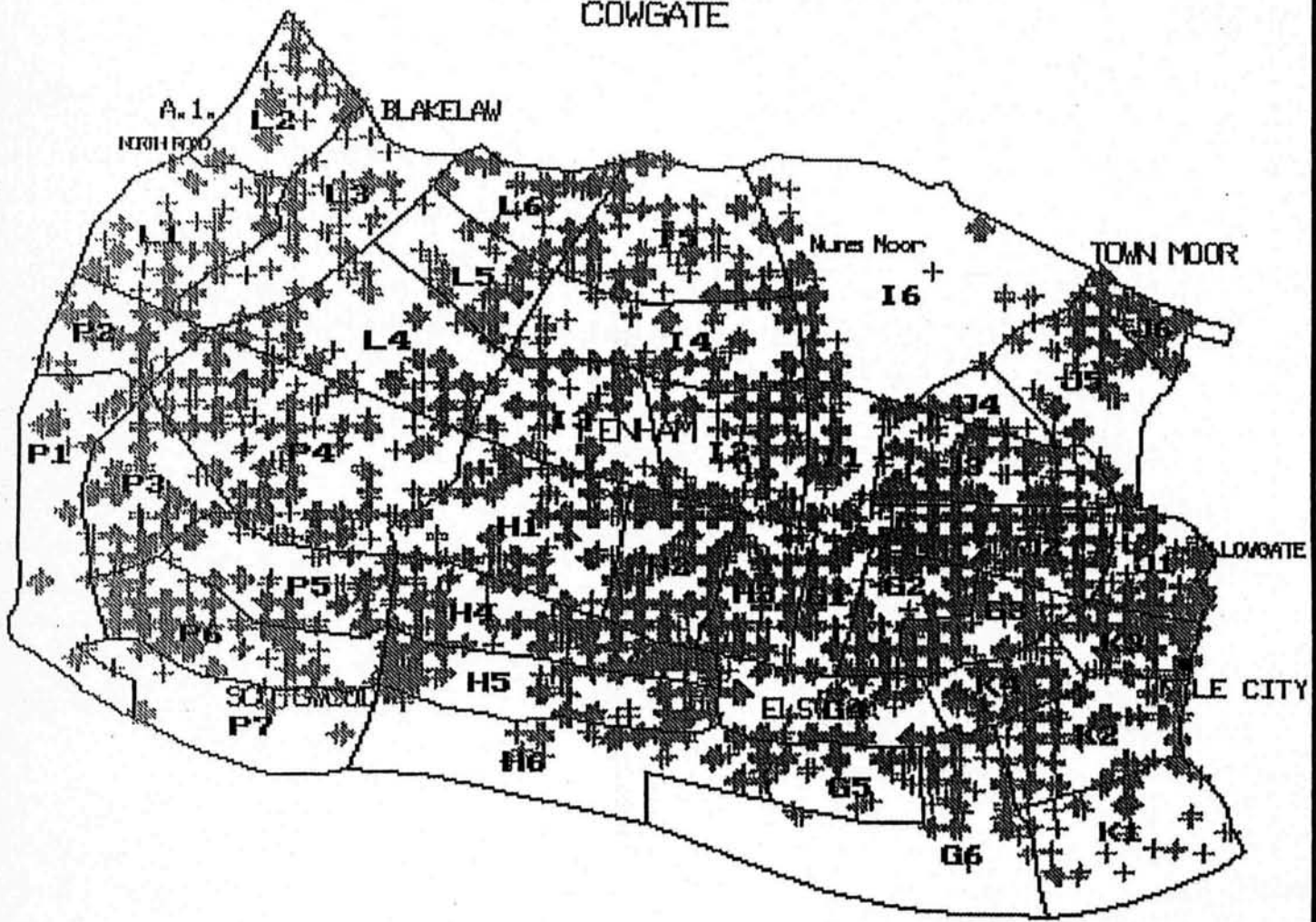
Appendix (iii) Crime Pattern Analysis Map

Count 10900

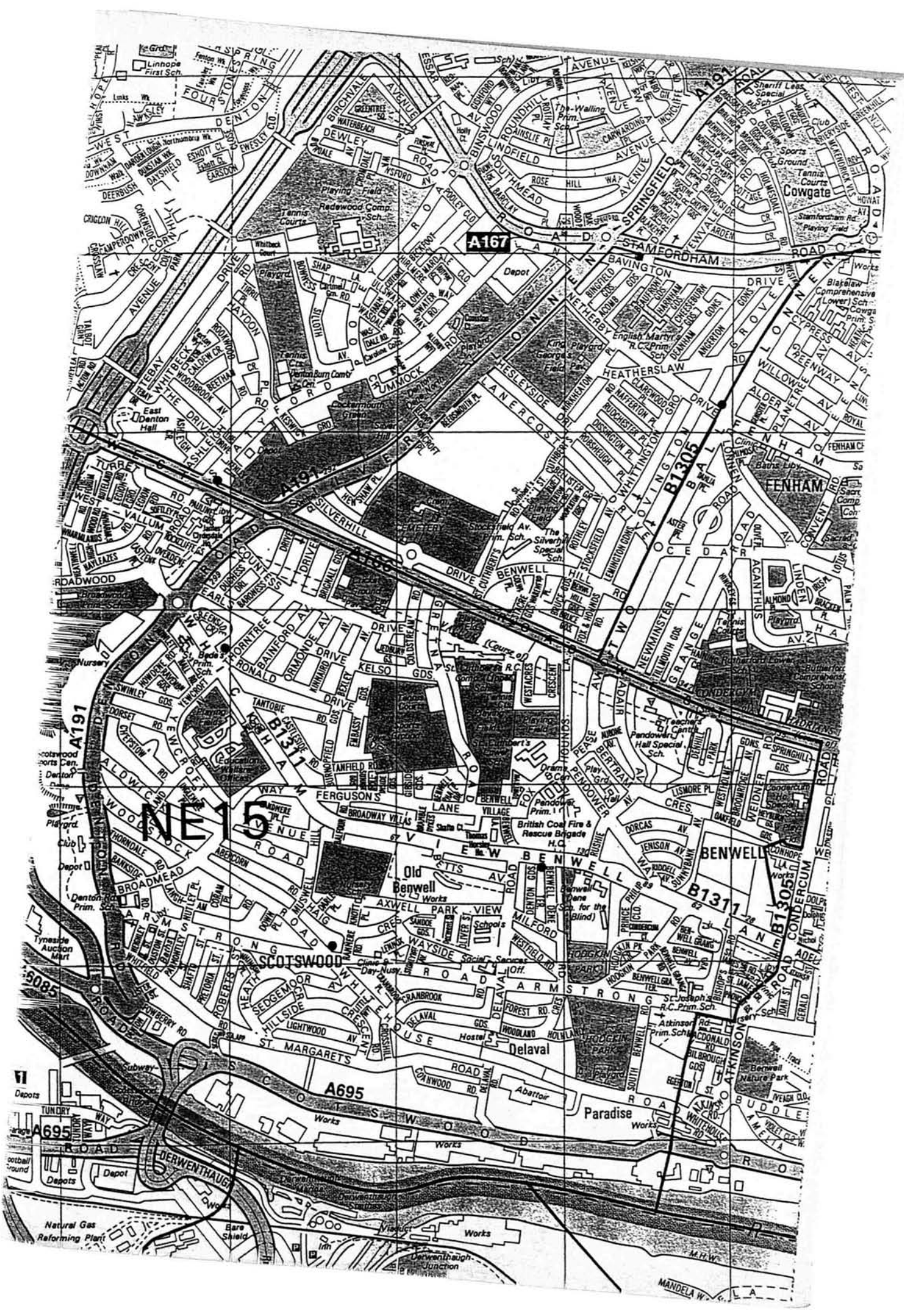
NEWCASTLE WEST C.U.

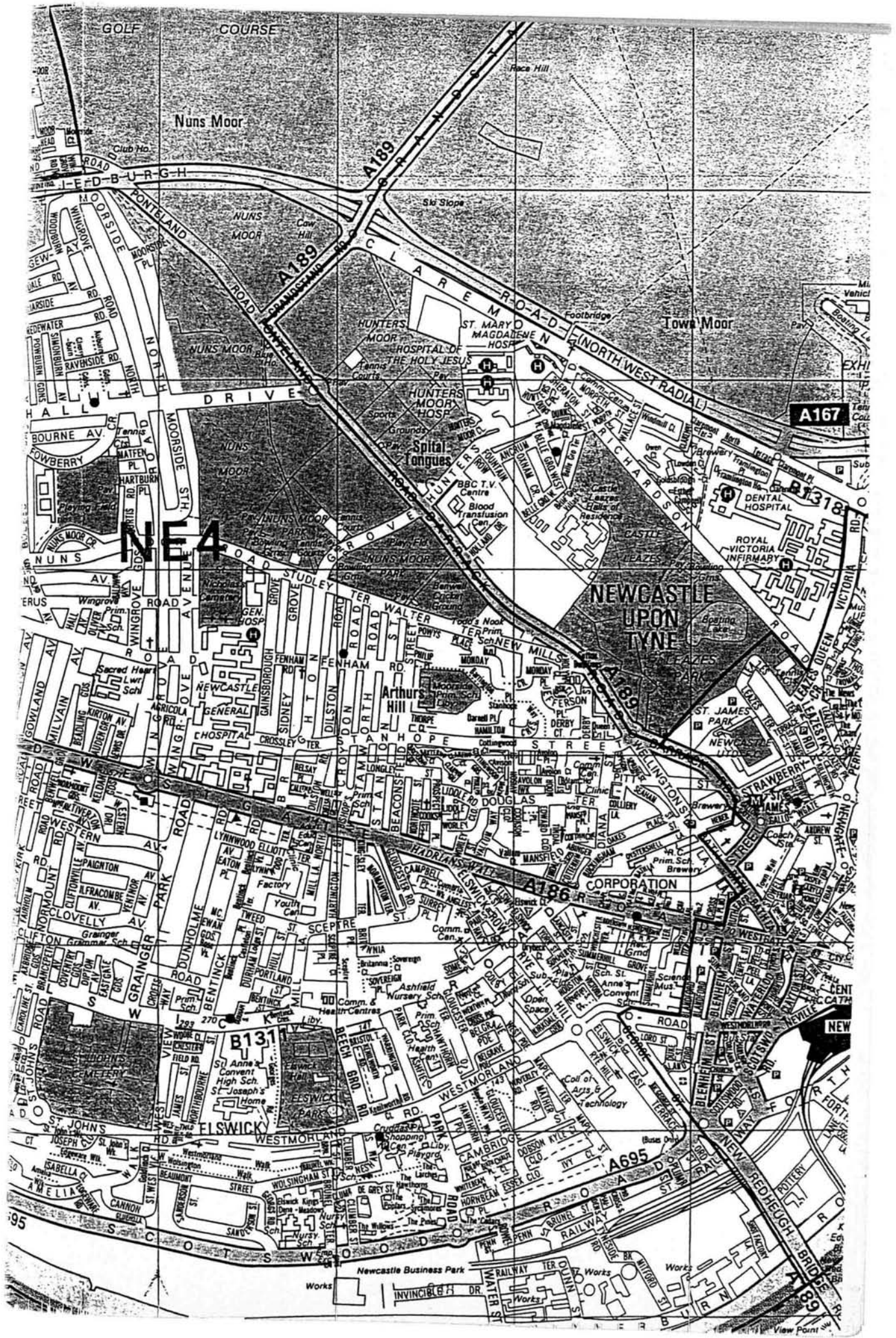
COWGATE

POINT MAP
CALENDAR
 00:00 01/01/1995
 23:59 31/12/1995
TIME OF DAY
 ALL TIMES OF DAY
TYPE
 Burg dwelling
 Burg OTD
 Theft from M/U
 Theft of M/U
 Crim Damage



Appendix (iv) Ordnance Maps- 'West' sub-division





NEA

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

CORPORATION

B131

A695

A167

NEW

95

View Point

Appendix (v) Arrest Codes by Offence Classification

ARREST CODES

OFFENCE CLASSIFICATION

Crime:

Assault	1
Burglary Dwelling	2
Burglary OTD	3
Theft from M/V	4
Theft/TWOC	5
Criminal Damage	6
Deception	7
Robbery	8
Handling	9
Shoplifting	10
Other theft	11
Going Equipped	12
Sexual Offences	13
Drugs	14
Murder	15
Other crime	16

Non crime:

Section 25 PACE	17
Drunkenness	18
Public order offences	19
Breath test	20
Disqualified driver	21
Warrant	22
Absconders	23
Other non crime	24

MEANS OF DISPOSAL

NFA	1
Caution	2
Police Bail	3
Charge (inc TICd)	4
Other means	5

ARRESTING OFFICER

Uniform	U
CID	C

DEPARTMENT

Ops Support Dept:

Traffic North	S1-S4
Traffic South	S5
Motorcycles	SC
Dogs	SD
Horses	SH
Metro	ST
Marine	SW
TSG North	SX
TSG South	SY
Central Task Force	SL

Crime Dept:

Crime Team North	ZN
Crime Team South	ZS
Child Protection	ZX
Fraud Squad	ZF
Special Branch	ZB
Special Constables	SP

ETHNIC ORIGIN

White	-
Black (Afro-Carib)	B
Asian (Indian sub-cont)	A
Other	O

Appendix (vi) Guidance on the Use of Minimum Force

AUTHORISED FIREARMS OFFICERS GUIDELINES ON THE USE MINIMUM FORCE

The Law

Section 3 of the Criminal Law Act, 1967, reads: "A person may use such force as is reasonable in the circumstances in the prevention of crime, or in the effecting or assisting in the lawful arrest of offenders or suspected offenders or of persons unlawfully at large."

Strict Reminder

A firearm is to be used only as a last resort. Other methods must have been tried and failed, or must — because of the circumstances — be unlikely to succeed if tried. For example, a firearm may be used when it is apparent that the police cannot achieve their lawful purpose of preventing loss, or further loss, of life by any other means. Wherever practicable, an oral warning is to be given before a firearm is used.

Individual Responsibility

The responsibility for the USE of the firearm is an **INDIVIDUAL** decision which may have to be justified in legal proceedings.

Remember The Law — Remember Your Training

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