

**POLICING IN GERMANY: CULTURE
AND COMMUNICATION IN
POLICE/PUBLIC ENCOUNTERS**

by KAREN E. RICHTER, B.A., M.A.

**A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
July 14, 2000**

© 2000, Karen E. Richter



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-58258-2

Canada

ABSTRACT

Policing in Germany has been discussed in the literature from organizational and historical perspectives, but little is currently available to the Anglophone reader regarding the daily work practices of German police officers. This qualitative perspective on policing in Munich utilized participant-observation as the primary data-gathering method. Officers were observed while on patrol for a period of six-and-a-half months, with the author occasionally engaging in significant participation. Symbolic interactionism, and particularly Goffman's "frame analysis", provide the theoretical standpoints from which discrete events are analyzed. Although narratives are constructed around varying encounters, five particular frames reflecting police response categories are analyzed from both cultural and communicative aspects. Throughout the text there is also a comparative structure in place utilizing earlier fieldwork undertaken with the Ottawa police. The five analytical frames were therefore chosen because of either their complete similarity to Canadian policing (like traffic accidents), or their complete dissimilarity (for example, "beleidigung" which essentially means 'insult').

The perspective of culture is the primary structure from which policing in Germany is discussed. This can be understood on three different levels: the national, the local, and the subcultural. The national level reflects a general picture of Germany in both its historical and current presence; the local discusses more minutely the practices and expectations that citizens in Munich hold regarding their interactions with police. The

subcultural level identifies the front stage practices and back stage competence that officers engage in, in order to do their work efficiently. All three of these levels of culture have an impact on how the German police organization is structured, and on how individual officers carry out their daily work. Communication strategies also become an important connective tissue to the cultural levels that are implicated. Policing relies fundamentally on the spoken word and non-verbal cues to resolve conflict far more often than physical intervention. The blend of communicative practices with multiple levels of cultural expectation create a picture of German policing that displays both similarities and differences when compared to the Canadian context.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to all of the police officers who contributed to the research, and who offered their knowledge, curiosity and friendship.

I am very grateful to my committee members for their insight and support.

My humble appreciation to my German relatives and friends who provided aid and encouragement.

And, to the memory of F.B.

A Doctoral Fellowship awarded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada made this research possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Appendices	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Theory	
Introduction	5
Focus of the Research	5
Symbolic Interactionism (and Other Theories)	8
Framing Encounters	13
Limits of Goffman	20
Communication	22
Culture	26
Subculture and Organizations	30
Policing: Cross Cultural Implications Regarding Power, Authority and Control	37
Policing: Local Implications Regarding Power, Authority and Control	45
Summary	47
Chapter 2: Methodology	
Introduction	49
Participant Observation	50
Implications of Writing the Text	62
Working in Munich	65
Gathering Interaction/Communication Data	73
Researcher	77
Summary	94
Chapter 3: Ethnographic Background	
Introduction	96
History of Policing in Germany	96
Ethnographic Details of Two Munich Stations:	103
<i>The Munich Police Organization</i>	104
<i>Recruitment and Training</i>	107
<i>The Munich Police Subculture</i>	113
<i>Communications Centre (Einsatzzentrale)</i>	120
<i>Spatial Structure</i>	122

<i>Ranks</i>	130
<i>Units</i>	134
<i>Uniform</i>	139
<i>Equipment</i>	144
<i>Shift Schedules</i>	146
<i>Patrols</i>	147
<i>Typical Shift</i>	149
<i>Procedures</i>	161
<i>Relationships with Partners</i>	175
Summary	183
Chapter 4: Culture and Police	
Introduction	187
The Influence of Bavarian Culture	187
Policing in Munich	195
Comparison of Events:	202
<i>Traffic Accidents</i>	204
<i>Flucht (Hit-and-Run)</i>	215
<i>Confused Persons</i>	220
<i>Death</i>	231
<i>Beleidigung (Insult)</i>	235
Impact of Gender and Ethnicity	243
Summary	250
Chapter 5: Communication and Police	
Introduction	251
Statements and Strategies	251
Comparison of Events:	265
<i>Traffic Accidents</i>	267
<i>Flucht (Hit-and-Run)</i>	282
<i>Confused Persons</i>	290
<i>Death</i>	298
<i>Beleidigung (Insult)</i>	301
Impact of Gender and Ethnicity	307
Summary	313
Conclusion	314
Appendix A	326
Endnotes	327
Bibliography	330

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: Chart of Ranks and Service Levels

INTRODUCTION

The sirens don't wail here in Germany. When the local constabulary appears in your rear-view mirror, they'll be in a green and white Audi or BMW with flashing blue lights, and the sirens will bleat at you in two-tone punctuation. Two officers will step out in green and tan uniforms topped with a black leather jacket, and do the business that police in western countries do when engaged in traffic stops.

We assume we know what police practice is like in another cultural context. We tend to base our assumptions on the police practice we have come into contact with in our own culture. Those few texts that discuss the details of actual daily police work are the ones upon which concepts of police culture are based. They are, however, restricted to studies done in North America and England. The existing literature on police services in countries other than Canada, England and the U.S., reveals only the basic organizational structure of the service in question, and the legal mandate police officers exercise. In other words, practically nothing is available on what police officers actually do in daily interaction in countries outside Canada, the States and England.

If we think of the term "police", a particular frame of experience and symbols is conjured. Add the corollary "in Germany" and it probably brings to mind an additional set of symbols based on historical and culturally-situated perceptions. It intrigued me that, upon hearing I would be doing research on policing in Germany, people sometimes commented

that it would be an interesting experience working with one of the most authoritarian police services in the world. That comment was based only on perceptions of the historical Germany, and did not take into account the reforms which have taken place since the end of the second World War. Today German police services strive to be largely community-oriented and reflect an ongoing post-war mandate to dilute tendencies toward authoritarianism.

As its primary objective, this dissertation describes the distinguishing characteristics of policing in Munich. The secondary aims are to think about why these particular characteristics occur and how occupational cultural practices, as well as broader culturally prescribed expectations, mediate the structure and practices of uniformed policing in Germany. While police officers generally have the same tasks in western and democratic countries, how they go about doing those tasks can vary in subtle ways depending on the cultural expectations at large. German police, for example, are able to be less authoritarian because of other types of social control mechanisms in place within the overall German culture, and certainly the negative characteristics of typical police paramilitary systems are ameliorated through the overall organizational and training structure in place.

Chapter One examines policing from a theoretical context, looking at a blend of elements ranging from the social structure of policing in other cultures, to some of the subcultural

norms within the Munich police. A discussion of communication, symbolic interactionism and specifically Goffman's frame analysis (1974) provide a basic mechanism from which to understand the subsequent descriptive content of police officers' experiences. Goffman's work is particularly important as a grounding mechanism for the field data; his ideas on the nature of encounters and the construction of successful interactions has a deep resonance in describing the policing function. An overall picture of the sociopolitical situation in Germany today is also provided to help ground the Munich police within its cultural niche.

The process of doing fieldwork is discussed in Chapter Two. The rationale for "hanging out", or more seriously, doing participant-observation is considered, and a detailed contextualization of the researcher's role and habits while in the field is also provided.

Chapter Three provides the structural elements of the Munich police. This chapter considers the historical background of policing in Munich, as well as a more general discussion of the German police. In order to fully understand concepts and terms raised in the subsequent chapters, a comprehensive description of police stations, police officers, and patrol structure is also provided.

Chapters Four and Five are organized according to specific events that correspond in each chapter; for example, both chapters contain sections on hit-and-runs, and ethnic

minorities. The differences between the chapters is that the former looks at these categories from the perspective of cultural practices, while the latter reviews them from a communication focus. While both chapters contain specific events within a frame analysis approach, the descriptive narrative remains largely intact. An important component of these two chapters, then, is also the experiential reality of actually doing police work in Munich. As a result, throughout both chapters there is an ongoing discussion of the problems of policing the city of Munich itself, police interactions with members of the public, and the relationships between the officers themselves.

In Chapters Four and Five, there is also an emphasis on comparison between the German field data, and earlier work done with the Ottawa police in Canada (Richter 1992). This comparative structure is crucial to the understanding of how cultural and communicative practices create symmetry between police functions regardless of societal location, and how local practice and knowledge produce fundamentally different styles of policing.

It has been said to me by many police officers that policing is a praxis-oriented profession, and that theory must bend itself sometimes to the actualities of each unique situation. I hope that the theoretical frame used here still allows the essence of “being there” to remain vibrant and alive in this text.

CHAPTER 1: THEORY

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on the theoretical elements that inform this study. Topics like policing in various cultural locations, the sociopolitical picture of modern Germany, and the connections between police, subculture and organizations, are explored. A discussion of symbolic interactionism, frame analysis and communication also provide a theoretical foundation for guiding the understanding of some of the data incorporated in later chapters.

Focus of the Research

Over a decade ago, Holdaway (1983:2) asked some very basic questions about policing in an attempt to understand a large urban police service. Those questions regarding how police officers understood their roles, their community and their work and how they used that understanding to carry out their work are still relevant, since the nature of policing and community continually changes. Taking these questions into another culture can provide a deeper understanding of the role of police in the community, and the expectations members of the public have of police services and police officers.

This text locates, as its primary task, the characteristics of uniformed policing in Munich, Germany. As its secondary goal, those understandings that are necessary to carrying out successful interactions with the public, whether they are based on cultural expectations or communicative frameworks, are analyzed. The discussion of police/public interactions is based on field data gathered in Munich, Germany, and these data allow a detailed picture of patrol policing to emerge. While the primary purpose is to contribute a German policing study to a body of literature which contains very little cross-cultural material on what it is like to do policing around the world, the focal point of this research is on that nexus of interaction, both verbal and non-verbal, that occurs between police and public. This particular moment of connection reveals not only policing strategies employed to deal with situations, but cultural expectations that govern the action and reaction of both public and police.

Busch et al (1985:15) comment that there has been little attention paid to the police in the social science literature produced in Germany. There is also not much available to English readers on German policing, and very little of recent origin. Articles that do exist deal largely with organizational structure and technology. In addition, ethnographic approaches on German policing can be deemed to be non-existent for English readers, although Annegret Held (1992), a former police officer herself, has produced a vibrant source in German. Although Siebecke (1972) particularly called for a study of the

communication employed between police and public in his more critical look at German policing, this challenge was not taken up.

Despite the surge of interest in policing in Germany during the 1970's, the work that was done was largely critical, and had its greatest success in creating a rift between police organizations and academic researchers (Fairchild 1990:6,14). Those works that deal with policing comprehensively, whether critical or not, are only available in German, and the most recent detailed English work by Erika Fairchild (1988), is somewhat outdated since it was written just prior to reunification. A more recent publication by Wolfe (1992) deals only with policing in the former East Germany.

Many of the English works, such as Liang's (1992), are primarily historical in origin and do not deal with current police structure. Although locating policing traditions in Germany in a historical context is of importance, most of these texts spend an inordinate amount of time doing this because of Germany's past, and do little to provide a detailed picture of police behaviour and routine in the German context today. For a partial picture of this we end up resorting to media accounts which obviously carry their own bias.

Therefore, the material herein makes note of the cultural and subcultural factors that contribute to police behavior and routine as a whole. Part of this project is, in essence, to

tell a story, to use the field data to bring to life a particular moment in the daily life of police officers in Munich. While there is a detailed discussion regarding the interactive moment between police and public, the larger picture will provide the "flavours" and "textures" of a policing system that is in many ways different from our familiar North American context.

Symbolic Interactionism (and Other Theories)

Symbolic interactionism, as it was developed essentially by George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer, looks at how people make sense of the way they engage in activities on a daily basis (Prus 1996:10). What people do is naturally communal in the sense that the language and symbols that are used are understood and shared by everyone involved in the interaction. Therefore, the activities we engage in cannot be removed from the context in which they occur (Prus 1996:10).

The term 'symbolic interactionism' was first coined in 1937 by Blumer, although the essential elements it espouses are found in earlier philosophical works that also stressed interpretive approaches (Prus 1996:48). The concept that the daily life of the people was worthy of study was in place already in very early sociological works, and with the influence of people like Dilthey and Cooley, who encouraged a 'sympathetic' engagement with the meanings people gave to life (Prus 1996:48-51; Charon 1995:104-105), symbolic

interactionism was given wings. It flourished particularly in Chicago, under the tutelage of scholars like Park and Hughes, who embraced the necessity of ethnographic methods in order to become familiar with the details of lived experience (Prus 1996:144). In fact, later scholars like Prus (1996:51) go so far as to equate symbolic interactionism with participant-observation or field methods.

Symbolic interactionism takes into account four particular ideas (Charon 1995:23): 1) that humans are social and as such let other people's actions influence how they themselves will act; 2) that humans are interpretive by nature and therefore define and act on the meanings that arise from the situation they think they are in; 3) that it is the perception of the present situation which primarily controls our actions; and, 4) that interactions are to some degree unpredictable so we have choices in terms of what we do. Therefore, symbolic interactionism is more interested in the standpoint or 'perspectives' (something that is immediate and shared) from which we interact with others, rather than the 'attitudes' (which are more monolithic traits) that are brought into the interaction (Charon 1995:32). Symbolic interactionism, in essence, views humans as constructions of "realities in a process of interaction with other human beings" (Meltzer et al 1975:54).

Human beings must interact with things/objects that are actually out there in the world, and these objects may also act upon humans in ways that are not expected. This is essentially what Blumer speaks of in the idea of "obdurate reality" (Prus 1996:12), or

"objective reality" (Charon 1995:36). People then interpret the perceptions of the objects that appear in their paths, and while they may have control over the meanings, they don't over the object itself. It is these interpretations (or meanings) that guide the interaction itself; in other words, people act on the world that is defined by them, rather than on what may really be out there (Charon 1995:131). This application of meaning, or interpretation, is also something that is shared between the actors, not just something that occurs internally for each individual (Blumer 1969:16).

Some interactions actually become institutionalized in the sense that certain practices have an established structure through which people may organize their activities (Prus 1996:91-94). These practices may obviously change over time according to shifting needs, but tend to be embedded within the community and are the frame upon which people engage in meaningful interaction. This idea is particularly important within the context of dealing with police/public interaction, because police officers must, fundamentally, operate from an initially created structure reflecting the organizational expectations regarding interaction. Their interactions are in some ways pre-scripted; regardless of the individual possibilities within them, the events they engage in are essentially bounded by the norms of the organization, the profession and the law. How officers interact as individuals may vary, but how they interact as police officers is invariable in the sense of procuring a resolution that is acceptable within the legal boundaries they represent.

In some ways, police interaction with members of the public is like the dramaturgical or performative scaffold that Goffman has devised (1959). Although officers are not as constrained as actors who must follow the actual lines of a script, the police, in enacting an event, still follow the essential setting of the scene that has been pre-scripted for them. In other words, while the lines of an individual officer certainly vary, it is the setting of, for example, a traffic accident that will ensure a similar format is followed each time, and that that traffic accident interaction will never be confused with how another interaction is scripted (for example, a suspicious death). It is this type of institutionalized structure that can be best explored under Goffman's conceptualization of "frame analysis", which is discussed at length in the next section of this chapter. Therefore, while the minutiae of an interaction is intersubjective, that is based on the individual context of shared experience between interactants (Prus 1996:xii), the frame is, in theory, subject to prediction.

There have been other theories that have found a place in policing research. These range from the structuralism incorporated by Young (1991) which explores the 'black and white' world-view of policing; a symbolic anthropology approach utilized by Manning (1988) to make sense of how police/dispatcher communications are encoded; and, ethnomethodology, which attempts to establish rules of activity based on local folk knowledge (Bittner 1967; Shearing & Ericson 1991).

Curiously, most of these perspectives gain their vitality by becoming 'ethnographic', or, in some fundamental way, encompassing aspects of symbolic interactionism. This may be because a dynamic piece of microlevel policing research loses meaning if it is artificially cast into theoretical models which threaten to obscure the fundamental nature of experience in the moment. Manning, for example, used only dispatchers and removed much of the activity of policing in favour of the structured communication patterns that dispatchers use. Young had to separately frame certain experiences of policing, like gender, and police lock-ups, in order to formulate a structuralist framework around his experiences. The actual use of the theory was lost several times, when his participant-observer status burst through and he got down to the business of telling the story. Bittner (1967), and Shearing and Ericson (1991) also end up relying on the told tale, because both studies are based on observation and participation that reveal the practices of police officers in the context in which they are located. While Bittner never explicitly discussed his methodological perspective, he has been described as an ethnomethodologist (Douglas and Waksler 1982:144). Ethnomethodology concerns itself particularly with the discovery of the rules that are located within any interaction. While this may be useful for predicting the possible outcomes of certain encounters, it has been criticized for focusing too rigidly on the construction of sharply defined parameters of action, without allowing for the element of choice within any given moment (Herbert 1998:349)

In the end, the ethnographic nature of 'being there' shines through many of these accounts. Symbolic interactionism ultimately provides the most basic opportunity for allowing the moment-by-moment actions and choices to be uncovered and interpreted in a manner that releases some of the essence of presence for the reader. Rubinstein (1973), in his study of the Philadelphia police, still exemplifies this approach to policing research.

Framing Encounters

Perinbanayagam (1985:75) has commented that while symbolic interactionism provides the hermeneutic, in other words, the principles for studying and interpreting behaviour, it is Goffman's vision of frame analysis that provides a scaffold for structuring aspects of human interaction. Within this concept, Goffman intended that the multiple realities that all interactants must deal with in any encounter, could be made accessible (Collins 1988:59).

Goffman's initial standpoint is simply the question "what is it that's going on here?" (1974:8). Despite the fact that the answer to that question may be very complex, Goffman proposed that any interaction could be somewhat arbitrarily segmented into an understandable portion. This segment is what Goffman calls a "strip", while the definitional and organizational elements of an interaction are referred to as a "frame" (1974:10).

Perinbanayagam (1985:74) concentrates on Goffman's intended focus on meaning as being an integral part of frames. Both or all of the interactants must not only be able to "assemble" a frame, but also be able to communicate it in such a way that other participants may understand it, since the frames that are constructed are intended to "guide" the interaction. Therefore, all frames, "both constrain interpretations and allow them to occur" (Perinbanayagam 1985:75), and all frames not only incorporate activity but also utterances. Binder (1995:424) has written that frames create "recognizable patterns" that aid the understanding of and enable action within particular events. In her analysis of heavy metal and rap music, she uses ideas like 'music is harmful' to frame the various reactions people have to this type of music. There are, in her analysis, a number of frames that correspond to the idea that music is harmful, for example, that it corrupts youth or is dangerous to society. Similarly, Tannen (1993:18) understands framing as an interpretive mechanism allowing speakers to recognize which mode of interaction is being used to support the utterances going on. Therefore, words may take on different meanings if the frame is constructed as a lecture or as joking behaviour.

In this text, the frame is perhaps somewhat broader than Binder's, but is extremely relevant in understanding how the initial reactions between police and public are constrained to specific perspectival patterns. The primary framework, which is the initial meaning that is given to an interaction by the actors (Goffman 1974:21), is, in the policing context, the frame that a dispatcher or a citizen calling the police gives to the

event. A police officer will work from a certain number of frames that tend to be more constrained than the experience of the citizen involved in the interaction. Hence, a police officer usually has the frame set in place before arriving on the scene (e.g. traffic accident, domestic dispute, fight, lost child, etc). Each one of those frames engenders a specific list of tasks and expectations for the encounter which police have been trained to deal with in a methodical manner.

The primary frame for the citizen is more complex. While this frame also rests on the initial structure of meaning the citizen places on the event, what the citizen considers to be important will be based far more on individual reaction than on the set general forms that police deal with. Therefore, a traffic accident may also have as a component of the frame the knowledge that the car being driven is stolen, or that the fault of the accident was that the driver was reaching for something in the glove compartment, and so on. The frame for the citizen will always incorporate something that they think will be of immense relevance for a police officer to know or not know, as the case may be.

Frames may, therefore, also be misframed (Goffman 1974:302). It is entirely possible that the interactants may approach a frame from erroneous assumptions, and be unable to correct them, or that within a frame there may be a misinterpretation and portions of the interaction may be ambiguous for a time. Misframings can be caused by having only limited information about what is occurring (Goffman 1974:448), which is an event that

is quite common in the policing context. It can occur on the part of the public, who call police because they hear a sound that they think is like a gunshot, or on the part of the police who receive information from a dispatcher that leads them to approach a call from a completely erroneous perspective.

When the errors become unmanageable, the frame may actually be broken, since the frame in place must, in essence, allow the participants to understand the events occurring (Goffman 1974:347). One way to break the frame may be through "flooding out", which can be a spontaneous disruption through laughter, panic or crying, etc., or through "downkeying", when control in a situation weakens and essentially causes a shift in the normal exchange pattern (Goffman 1974:350-366).

Goffman also speaks of the "framework of frameworks" being an important aspect of understanding meaning (1974:27). Goffman's interpretation is that this should refer to a group's cosmology, while I take it to mean understanding aspects of culture and even a group's connection to a more ambiguous local or regional "character". In order to take into account some of the actions and reactions of individuals encountered in Munich, a later chapter discusses some of the broader cultural expectations people have of each other in this society.

Each frame can also be 'keyed'. Goffman's technical definition of keying is that any activity already incorporated in a primary framework can be transformed into a completely different activity, even though it may still maintain a relatively unchanged pattern (1974:43-44). The keying of an interaction will incorporate cues that allow participants to establish when the transformation takes place; therefore, keying also requires that the participants acknowledge the change in event status in some way (Goffman 1974:45).

According to Goffman (1974:48-77), there are five basic keys that we (in Western societies) tend to employ: make-believe, contests, ceremonials, regroupings, and technical redoings. Make-believe is related to frames that structure activities like play, daydreaming and drama, and in theory could also include those who might not share consensus reality due to organic dysfunctions. Contests incorporate sports events, and any type of purposeful competition that may alter the frame, while ceremonials involve anything that is constructed as social ritual. The category of "regroupings" may have some resonance with police work in that a regrouping involves performing some kind of activity with motives that are different from the motives of others involved in the activity. Goffman offers as an example the context of an apprentice and craftsman: the craftsman gets a worker to do the chores s/he doesn't want to be bothered with, while the apprentice sees it as an opportunity to refine knowledge about the craft (1974:75). Policing may also be seen in such a context: citizens may genuinely feel that police are protectors and caring

helpers, while police are concerned with resolving an incident as quickly as possible to be able to move on to the next. The actions of police may or may not perpetuate what the citizens want to believe, but underlying it is the simple motive of resolution.

A fifth basic key, which is also relevant to policing, is that of "technical redoinings" (Goffman 1974:58-59). This category can essentially be conceived of as the training, or practice, or demonstration locus. For police, this begins when they first decide to become police officers and are sent to formal institutions to learn the legal, psychological and physical aspects of doing their job. It continues along both formal and informal lines once they finish their college training, through in-house sessions at the police stations, tutelage under a training officer on the street, and throughout their careers as an informal practice by picking up local knowledge from fellow officers. All of this training essentially equates with practicing the many possible permutations of interaction they will contend with, when they do come in contact with citizens.

An important component of this key of technical redoinings, is the idea of 'documentation' (Goffman 1974:68-69). While Goffman more literally discussed documentation through the use of devices like photographs and written records, it is interesting to consider that the police organization itself has, as an elemental structure, the mandate to record what happened during an event for court, insurance and medical purposes. Therefore, when police officers are on scene and involved in the reconstruction of an event, an integral

part of the frame involves the documenting or recording of information. One police officer even commented to me once that the essence of policing was primarily to record information, which mirrors Ericson's recent work on policing as a "knowledge-brokering" institution (1997).

Keys can also be 'rekeyed', that is, the context of the frame can change, perhaps even several times, during the activity that is occurring. This means that within the primary framework, there may be subsequent or even simultaneous "layers" of an interaction (Goffman 1974:82). Fabrication may be one of the layers of keying encountered within a situation. Fabrication, as Goffman defines it, refers to purposely managing activity so that someone or all other members of the interaction have an erroneous understanding of what is occurring (1974:83). Fabrications are sometimes strategically employed by police officers in order to control an event that may become dangerous, or to calm people who may not be able to deal with an alternative version of events. They are also employed by citizens, who may be embarrassed by events that have occurred, or who may wish to hide damaging knowledge from the police.

Giving any type of cue that indicates to another interactant when a particular activity or key is about to be engaged, is what Goffman calls "bracketing". While Goffman talks of "bracketing" in terms that relate more specifically to theatre and play (1974:251-252), there are also brackets in everyday life. The interactions we undertake are usually bound

in some way by a metaphoric 'bracket', a way of indicating that a particular activity is about to be initiated or ended, as in Goffman's comments about simple "opening remarks" or being able to give the first verbal cue as to how the interaction should be perceived (1974:256-257). Similarly, an interaction will be terminated by some meaningful cue, a bracket, and there may even be bracketed interactions within an event (Goffman 1974:260). These internal brackets may be one way to disengage from a misframe and reshape it in a way which reconstitutes local meaning (Goffman 1974:349).

Limits of Goffman

Using analytical structures devised by Goffman has limitations, which are fundamentally based in the fact that Goffman himself really wrote about his conceptions of interaction as think-pieces. As a result, it is difficult to know in any concrete processual manner, how Goffman intended researchers to actually go out and do the work he described. His approach to research has been described as arbitrary (Williams 1988:70) and cavalier (Giddens 1988:250). This nebulous aspect to his writings tends to create anxiety among some social scientists who seek more conventional frameworks on which to hang their data.

Goffman's desire was that in considering the nature of interaction, researchers discover both fruitful areas of research while also enabling the construction of essential concepts

(Williams 1988:69). As such, today's researcher, who is intrigued by the thought-provoking discussions Goffman engendered on human interaction, must essentially uncover, or even discover, the connections that Goffman was trying to make. In this situation, Goffman followers may spend years arguing the connections to Goffman's ideas. Goffman, himself, considered that too much argument about methodology and analysis detracts from awareness of the interesting questions that could be asked (Williams 1988:69).

We are, therefore, presented with an interesting puzzle of how to manipulate his 'theoretical' understandings into research activity which does not lose the essence of the open-ended nature of face-to-face encounters. It is in this sense, Collins argues, that Goffman's approach acquires its greatest strength: in the recognition that realities are multiple, ever shifting, and continually reliant on interpretation and reinterpretation of the framed situations at hand (1988:62-63).

In this text, the idea of frame is taken to mean what Goffman indicated it should, essentially a structure in which an unfolding interaction, the encounter, takes place. Obviously, there may be slight discrepancies in interpreting the original concepts of 'frame' and 'encounter' as Goffman intended. This, however, would also be in keeping with the essential intentions of Goffman's writings, that the concepts should enable understanding of the interaction order and not overshadow it. A further discussion of the

particular situational uses of these concepts relative to policing in Munich occurs in Chapter 4.

We can think of action and reaction, and the continual interpretation of immediate contexts as being dependent on verbal and non-verbal communication between people. This communication of ongoing interpretation within the encounter will, particularly in the case of police/public interaction, be framed at the outset; that is, citizens will ask for the presence of police based on their interpretation of a frame as 'emergency' or 'criminality', and police will frame the initial phase of the encounter on the classification of the call that, for the most part, the dispatcher has constructed. Therefore, as Prus (1996:91-94) states, there are established structures for interaction in place; the frame, in other words, constructs the initial platform from which interactants begin to play out the encounter, but the progression of the interaction will be interpreted and altered accordingly depending on the communicative strategies employed.

Communication

Words are not just symbols (an understanding which is fundamental to the symbolic interactionist paradigm), but also a form of energy, and rather than seeing them as just representations of things, we should understand them in the context of the energy they release (Stoller 1984:562,568). Due to our focus on the written word, we may not

consciously understand the effect that speech has in differing contexts (Stoller 1984:561), or recognize the ability for certain types of speech (legal language, for example) to indicate boundaries between ordinary events and a ritualized context (Chaika 1990:183).

Participation in speech events is "legitimised and sanctioned" through the social identity from which a person acts (Francis 1986:61). Certain social/work identities rely on the power of the role to legitimise status, as well as a more complex, or more specifically scripted style of speaking to help maintain status, i.e. lawyers, doctors, leaders, shamans (Ng and Bradac 1993:50,53). Conversely, this may also mean that certain specialized people are required to use and interpret particular types of speaking (Ng and Bradac 1993:177,190; Tambiah 1973:223). The largest portion of what police officers do rests in the area of communicative interaction with the public. Talking a situation through (with all of its other attendant non-verbal cues) is the primary method by which police officers accomplish their work. Therefore, when trying to understand what police officers actually do in their daily work lives, it is logical to focus on the interaction they have with members of the public.

Within works like Holdaway (1983) and Sheptycki (1993) there is an emphasis on the communication strategies employed by officers. Verbal competence among police officers is very important since it is the primary tool that police officers use to deal with the demands of their work. This means the acquisition of good verbal skills, and

competency in interpersonal interaction (Fielding 1988:55). Skolnick and Fyfe (1993:38) write about the importance of verbalization in establishing control of a situation and thereby avoiding the necessity of physical intervention or the use of a weapon. Training for German police officers also stresses the use of appropriate verbal techniques to ensure citizens feel their problems have been dealt with and to avoid the escalation of conflicts (Rohrig 1989:12-15).

How police officers speak reveals not only their training but also the cultural expectations they have of the people they deal with, as well as the ideological constraints they work under. Therefore a detailed ethnographic account of police behaviour can reveal much about what has been called the "occupational subculture", and the actual patterns of work in which officers are engaged, rather than those expected of them by the public and the police hierarchy. Policing research that utilizes quantitative or macrolevel approaches does not tend to reveal the negotiation of personality and profession during interaction between the police and public and may only partially reveal aspects of the local strategies and traditions that become much more immediately important in police praxis than state idealism and ideology.

Ethnographic accounts are particularly rich when it comes to doing research on interactive patterns, particularly verbal communication, used in the course of daily work. Sheptycki notes that one can better come to understand the workings of an institution

through its discursive practices (1993:34). By locating the interaction nexus in an ethnographic context which will also detail non-verbal communication, as well as performative aspects of policing (including uniform and training), conceptual labelling, and geographical and organizational stances, a comprehensive picture of policing in Germany emerges. This type of ethnographic data on policing is not very common within the body of available literature, and almost non-existent in cross-cultural studies.

While inadequate data exist to provide a true application for an ethnography of communication framework, a sociolinguistic interpretation may help in understanding the importance of linguistic tools not only in the immediate social circumstance, but also in the broader cultural context. How police officers communicate becomes critically important in determining whether there is a barrier between police/public understanding, and in determining what types of skills police actually possess in resolving conflict (Scott 1993:26). The ethnography of communication builds on the sociolinguistic analysis of language in social interactions, by grounding them in a larger cultural framework (Chaika 1990:99; Heath 1983; Saville-Troike 1982). While such a framework was used for an earlier policing study (Richter 1992), there is inadequate linguistic material to replicate the study here on a similar basis. As a result, the communication aspect in this text will be based more strongly on a broader connection to Goffman's understanding of interaction and encounter in order to explore the cultural differences in German policing style.

Culture

In using the concept of 'frame' we must consider that the events we experience are always organized from an initial standpoint or perspective that allows us to order our approaches to the interaction going on. As such, the culture in which we are located provides certain symbols or meanings that we manipulate to help construct a particular frame. For example, the characteristics of a community or culture with regard to its homogeneity or diversity may be an important aspect of constructing a frame when police respond to certain calls.

The rising concern of many Western nations has been the provision of policing services that are sensitive to the diverse cultural needs of a multi-ethnic community (Forcese 1992:72; Scott 1993:26). In Germany this consideration of diversity is a serious issue, considering the juncture of liberal immigration policies, the decades-old question of 'Gastarbeiter' status, economic recession stressed by reunification, and right-wing groups propounding extremism (Sperling 1993:333; Braunthal 1993; Ely 1993). In addition, a number of refugee groups are continuing "tribal" struggles, at times of a violent nature, on German soil.

It is the police agencies who are frequently caught between these struggles and who are seen by some citizens as the thin blue line between Germans and "foreigners" (Leuninger

1993:197), and who are then charged with enforcing policies that will necessarily be seen as unpopular by some within the conflicts (Ely 1993:244). With popular magazines like Der Spiegel (1991) running articles on what seemed to be police indifference to violence against ethnic groups (which was however based on a mandate of non-interference initiated by the government), the media is bolstering a negative image of police (Kramer 1993:54,59).

Underpinning police and public reaction is a strong sense of national identity located fundamentally within German citizenship laws which are based on ancestry and not on land of birth (Dalton 1993:100; Ely 1993:254), and a bond of common culture and language (Markovits and Reich 1993:284). As Kramer writes: "Germany was not simply a community bound by common rights. Germany was blood, it was 'culture' "(1993:59-60). Munich does not seem to have the same level of problem with regard to extremist activity that cities in northern and eastern Germany do, and the isolated incidents that do occur are strictly monitored. The city does, however, have to deal with ethnic conflict, terrorism, some aspects of racism and nationalism, certain difficulties attached to the immense flow of refugees into the area and "visitors" from former Eastern bloc countries, and the ubiquitous criminality attached to the disenfranchised and the disaffected.

Obviously, one of the things revealed by ethnographic studies concentrating on behaviour and communication, is how the more visible and seemingly more problematic

police/public relations are being dealt with. We must realistically recognize that there are very few, if any countries, in the world which can lay claim to containing only one cultural group. Cultural groups have become very fluid across state boundaries; refugee and immigration policies aside, the increasing world population itself will dictate that more movement will occur and that state boundaries must allow the flow of multiple cultural nations. The misunderstandings and problems that arise when one culture meets with another tend to wind up first in the hands of the police.

The perception of police officers by their communities will vary greatly depending on the cohesion between their perceived roles and the reality of the enactment. Within the community itself there will also be substrata who will view police in a variety of ways; if you are upper or lower class, shopkeeper or gang member, involved in an accident or caught for theft, reactions to police will vary on these types of micro-levels. A case in point is the significant amount of literature on the Japanese police depicting them as honourable, friendly individuals respectfully addressed as “honourable walkaround” (Kim 1987; Bayley 1991). However, an earlier work written by Setsuo Miyazawa and reviewed by Foote (1993) indicates that there are extremely aggressive aspects of the Japanese police which have to do with cultural and legal norms that allow police officers to conduct procedures (like arrest and interrogation) in ways that would be considered inappropriate in western societies. Tipton reports that historically an attitude of

paternalism was encouraged on the part of the Japanese police toward their “children”, the public (1990:48).

Individual police officers also have different views of what their mandate is; in Denmark for example, older police officers consider enforcement of law to be their primary objective, while younger officers tend more toward a service orientation (Becker 1980:74-75). This links back to the history of policing in western nations where there has been a shift from the traditional image of police as reactive crime-fighters to the current inclusion of proactive service-oriented strategies (Seagrave 1997:56-60). Ambiguous government mandates can create a police service that will not act on certain violations at times; in other words, their discretionary powers are used not so much for personal gain, but simply for avoiding problematic situations (Danns 1982:57). The juncture between police and public has usually been considered in a quantitative large-scale sense; in this area the literature contains gaps, indicating a need for further research.

Nordstrom and Martin have discussed struggle and resistance as taking on a myriad of forms, some more subtle than others (1992:7). One interesting question that can be asked is whether focus on service oriented policing becomes a form of resistance against state-power hegemony, or whether service orientation is a more subtle way of imposing state control. Ericson has written about this ideological function of policing and its position in reinforcing order (1982:7-9). Within this function, the requests of the public for service

will be based not only on their own perceptions of need, but also on what they think the police will be willing to deal with (Bayley 1985:137).

In order to provide a broad cultural context from which to address not only the structure and organization of police services in Germany but also the specific interactive locus of police and public in Munich, certain aspects of German and Bavarian culture, as well as Munich police history, will be discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.

Subculture and Organizations

The term subculture is a common one in the police literature, denoting a particular set of people with shared norms and values, bound by a certain circumstance of interest or occupation (Desroches 1986:39). In this case, subculture and occupational culture become interchangeable, denoting a group of people (police officers) who share a common task within the larger culture, but who have come to embody as well a set of norms and values that arise solely out of their cohesion as a specific occupational entity. This type of thinking is actively encouraged among police officers even in training. Bickham and Rossett (1993:43) stipulate that police taking part in cultural awareness training should be encouraged to think of themselves as belonging to a "law enforcement culture" in order to better understand the experiences of other (sub)cultural groups in the

larger culture -- as they say "police officers are actually a cultural minority group themselves" (also in Mayhall 1985:136-137).

In order to get beyond the isolationist boundaries of the term "subculture", Sheptycki (1993:32) has advocated the use of the concept "linguistic-authority-structure" which allows for flow between communities, but still embodies the necessary characteristics of police being studied as users of particular concepts/metaphors, within a particular logic/structural framework, and manifesting power/authority in an organizational (organized) fashion. Therefore, when the term "subculture" is employed in this text, implied in that usage is Sheptycki's conceptualization of individuals who share common values and norms based on a specific occupation, and who also interact with other groups in society.

Prus (1996:85) considers the following aspects important in terms of defining the nature of a subculture: world-views that members share, how identities are constructed by members within the group, the activities that characterize the subculture, the relationships that are possible and that are built between members, and the types of commitments that members are prepared to make to members within the group and to the group itself. This latter point is quite important, and relates again to Sheptycki's desire to create a more fluid perception of subcultures. Prus (1996:86) has also pointed out that subcultures can be ambiguous because they shift and may not have precisely defined boundaries due to

levels of variation of committedness and involvement of members within the subculture. This point will be important later in the discussion of subculture when we consider Herbert's (1998) alternative subcultural framework.

Some of the specific characteristics of police culture that have been explored by a number of authors, include a sense of mission, a connection to cynicism and pessimism, suspicion, isolation and solidarity, conservatism, machismo, racial prejudice and pragmatism (Reiner 1992:111-129). While some of these aspects have resonance with the German police, there are a few that do not seem to apply. For example, while a level of solidarity does exist between police officers, there is not the same level of isolation. Crank has suggested that while the issue of solidarity begs the question "what makes us similar", the creation of an 'us versus them' mentality, or an isolationist point of view among police officers, is centered on the question "what makes us different" (1998:221). One noticeable feature is that officers in Germany spent much less time talking about the job as their life's mission, and discussed it much more frequently as an occupation chosen among a range of options. This, coupled with a different sense of connection to their hometown communities and families, gives officers a stronger network of ties that decrease the perceived necessity of being only with their own kind. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Paramilitarism has been one of the defining characteristics of the subculture of police organizations since the first days of modern policing.¹ Certainly, the first modern police services were based on military models, derived from much earlier tasks that armies and militias performed. Today, the relevance of the military model can vary for individual police services, although Jefferson (1990:2) might argue that in the quest to control disorder, police seem to be moving to a more heavily paramilitary focus in general. This may be a mistake, since it has been shown that certainly in crowd situations, paramilitary action on the part of the police may serve to amplify violence and disorder (Jefferson 1990:108).

This focus on paramilitarism creates an organization that incorporates characteristics like strong adherence to chain of command structures with inflexible communication and relationships between ranks, authoritarian leadership among middle and upper management with strong disciplinary procedures directed at lower ranks, impersonal contact with other members of the organization, and very little allowance for initiative when problems arise (Crank quoting Auten 1998:316). None of these characteristics were observed within the German police organization.

Paramilitarism has been connected to more repressive styles of policing (since it is about forceful imposition of order) and therefore one of the interesting corollaries to paramilitarism is a corresponding increase in police programs implementing community-

based philosophies (Jefferson 1990:41). An interesting adjunct to this is that the factors that would lead to demilitarizing police responses as well as organizations include increasing ordinary contact with citizens and restructuring the heavy masculine/macho police subculture (Jefferson 1990:144).

Herbert's formulation of police subculture includes some of the same characteristics espoused in traditional structures, but insists on greater internal differentiation between groups contained within this boundary (1998:345). He proposes that police subcultures may be understood in terms of how they articulate through six specific "normative orders"; that is, six common values which generate 'generalized rules and common practices' (1998:347). These six normative orders are: law, bureaucratic control, adventure/machismo, safety, competence, and morality. This structure can be applied to police officers at not only any level of the organizational structure, but can also reveal localized practices among specialized groups of police officers, which still adhere to these specific norms.

Herbert's definition of the order of *law*, reflects the idea that underlying any police action or behaviour, is their formal connection to the law. He makes the point that even in their use of discretion there must be an initial understanding of the impact of the law within a situation, that enables them to bend or reshape their responses, and it is certainly the foundation of any subcultural norms that exist regarding preservation of social order.

...the law is a principal means by which officers regularly reach a definition of a situation. It is not always that officers choose a course of action and use the law to justify it, but that they use the law in the first instance to decide whether and how to respond (Herbert 1998:352).

Bureaucratic control refers to the organizational guidelines which give police officers a secondary structure for approaching daily occupational practices. This means that the bureaucratic requirements, while in theory being the same for the entire organization, will differ between patrol officers and upper management, as well as between specialized units. Essentially, these are “job descriptions” that will focus the definitions and responses of officers in precise ways to ensure the appropriate people are paying attention to the specific job tasks required of them (Herbert 1998:354-355).

The third characteristic, *adventure/machismo* has been incorporated as a looser category encompassing a range of particular individual personality characteristics which become valued within organizations. This categorization still reflects the old hyper-masculinized attitude attributed to police subcultures, which to some degree remains true in that policing is still dominantly a male-oriented profession. However, the alternate image of adventure comes closer to incorporating the valued ideology within the overall occupational culture, where courage, risk-taking and bravery are revered in narrative, and within the institutional history (Herbert 1998:356). Crank has written about the idea of masculinity and the subcultural emphasis on exaggerating those characteristics (1998:180). In particular he cites aggression as a dominant theme. The police

organization in Germany, while predominantly male, makes much less of an impact in this area. One possible reason may be that after World War II there was a concerted effort to uproot the hyper-masculine authoritarianism within the police organization, and that this led to recruitment procedures that tend to select candidates who do not display macho characteristics. This is speculative however, and research needs to be done to evaluate the validity of such a statement.

As courage is seen as a normative trait, and officers often feel they must entertain risks in order to uphold these expectations of behaviour, *safety* also becomes part of the ideology within any station. This means that officers are encouraged to both ensure they protect the lives of others, whether civilian or police, and to protect themselves from harm (Herbert 1998:357). Safety means utilizing technology in order to provide protection, but also means that police officers become suspicious of things that don't fit an individual or territorial stereotype, or use geographical knowledge to ensure that the consideration of safety is paramount in any situation that they enter.

Competence reflects how well officers discharge their responsibilities. This attribute may vary from police department to police department, as well as within separate units within a specific police department (Herbert 1998:359). Ultimately, this is a judgement made of an individual, in deciding whether an officer willingly engages in the work, or whether

they attempt to shirk certain activities. This is the field upon which reputations are broken and legends made.

Finally, *morality* refers to the general ideology, mythos, or sense of mission officers incorporate into their understanding of their occupation. It is here that officers engage their particular viewpoints on the nature of good and evil (Herbert 1998:360). Again this is based on individual perceptions first, in the sense that all officers will begin their working lives with personal understandings of the line between good and bad. As they become more attuned to the groupthink of their cohort, alternate lines may be drawn which may make the outside world either more comprehensible or more reprehensible. All of these subcultural characteristics are revisited in Chapter 3, with a more detailed discussion of their application to the Munich police.

Policing: Cross Cultural Implications Regarding Power, Authority and Control

Police services today fulfill many roles from mediators to oppressors, from referral and contact services for the troubled (Tipton 1990:8) to agents of colonial capitalist repression (Ahire 1990:50; Opolot 1992:91; Brogden 1987:206). The basic functions, though, are primarily "social integration" or support functions, and social control, with interstitial activities (like traffic and administration, etc) being a variable part of the policing

mandate (Shane 1980:25,186,188). These activities come into conflict at some point in most policing services (Shane 1980:25; Reiner 1992:59).

Although Dadds states that there is a difference between colonial policing which existed to subjugate people, and modern policing which deals with the monitoring of the norms of a group (1982:2-3), policing has always dealt with imposing a social control mandated by a particular group of people, which can become more problematic in ethnically or nationally divided societies. While Robinson and Scaglione (1987) theorize that the "police function" arose largely around an economic imperative in states, this presents a somewhat one-sided picture that does not do justice to police institutions or the sometimes conflicting ideologies of police officers as individuals.

Black (in Black 1984:1:26) has commented that social control is a "natural phenomenon". As a society becomes more depersonalized, and relies less on kin-based structures to deal with societal/communal problems, some form of social control becomes necessary in order to deal efficiently with difficulties that arise (Robinson and Scaglione 1987:110). Humphries and Greenberg suggest that the most useful mechanism for this task is to construct a police service (in Black 1984:2:192). A police service must necessarily be able to wield power of some type in order to achieve its ends. This power may come in many forms ranging from the mildly persuasive to extreme physical and psychological coercion (terror), but ultimately involves being able to "bend others to one's ends"

(Colson in Fogelson and Adams 1977:376; Ericson 1982:12). Through this power of course, the police become agents who essentially "reproduce" the existing order (Ericson 1982). Heavy military influence in policing structures, such as in Brazil, often has an immense effect on repression within a country, leading at times to summary execution and torture (Americas Watch Report 1987). The tendency toward obsessiveness over military penetration into general social structures is beginning to dissolve in Russia, as it has been for quite a while now in Europe (Smith 1993:183). This is especially true in Germany, where a process of demilitarizing the police has been in place since the end of WWII.

By whichever means a police force comes into existence, the state it operates in is a complex structure, and is not likely to be low-conflict (Ross 1993:38). While police services originally encompassed only a "watchman", or a "glaubenspolizei" (thought police) function (Liang 1992:19), today they must incorporate a number of roles and tasks with flexibility in sometimes rapidly changing societies and ideologies. With change comes a certain amount of upheaval and their mandated role has always been that of the front line force most likely to be called on to provide immediate solutions to those communal problems engendered by change.

Reiner (1992:4) points out that because of the "coercive" function of policing, no police service will be universally liked. This perception also weighs heavily against individual

police officers who are equated with "the state". Conversely, it is the patrol officer who first comes into contact with the ordinary citizen and it is on this encounter that perceptions of police forces may subsequently be based (Mehra 1985:134; also Tipton 1990:7). Police officers can be seen as third-party agents, and because of the authority ascribed to them, may at times be preferred mediators to allow short-term settlement of disputes in a legally recognizable manner (Ross 1993:110).

Sen discusses the fact that authority and force may be natural parts of police procedure when officers do not interact with the community on a casual, regular basis as they do in Japan (1986:25). In Japan, the rural officers in particular (*chuzai san*) are often told by their superiors not to be too rigid in enforcing laws, in order to maintain a balance within the communities in which they live and work (Ames 1981:28). In Reiner's terms, in this situation "[f]ull enforcement would violate generally accepted criteria of justice" (1992:211). This unofficial understanding is part of the intense informal contact that Japanese police maintain with their particular jurisdictions; it can mean visiting and taking tea with rural people, and encouraging urban citizens to come and sit in the police stations to gossip (Ames 1981:38). This kind of service orientation, a strong sense of expected propriety, and informal contact allows police to maintain social control in a very low-key "enforcement" manner (Ames 1981:74-75, 81). Of course, in other countries like Germany, this type of interaction might be considered analagous to forms of discretion a police officer might use.

The roles of police officers vary within communities as well as cultures. In Japan, police officers are highly integrated with their communities, working out of "koban" (what we might consider urban store-front operations) (Kim 1987) and "chuzai-sho" (rural combined police offices and residences) (Ames 1981:17), while China uses its "patrol" personnel as a community check system, turning the police into enforcers of moral and legal order on a very restrictive basis (Fu 1990:116).

Policing is also problematic in those Eastern bloc countries establishing democratic systems; here we find police officers trained under formerly oppressive regimes who are now expected to be friendly street-corner police (O'Connor 1993:38). In the former East Germany, for example, the history of the police may work against them even in changed circumstances; lack of respect for the current police service means more civil problems when police cannot count on public support and compliance (Wolfe 1992:207). Russia as well, with poor pay, lack of up-to-date technology, and reluctance on the part of the public to help police, is experiencing similar problems (Williams and Serrins 1993), and part of this rests at the feet of the KGB who did not support the reform policies arising in the late 1980's (Knight 1988:100). This certainly indicates that the power that police services wield can change when "material and organizational resources", that is, technology and ideology, are not only accumulated but also lost (Colson in Fogelson and Adams 1977:386).

It is difficult to establish whether there are any distinct 'models' of policing, particularly when looking at colonial legacies; while Irish and English models have been postulated (Hawkins in Anderson and Killingray 1991), in reality the three distinctions between them (whether they were armed and military organizations, whether they lived in the community or barracks, and whether they were controlled on a central national scale or not) are loose boundaries since all police forces operate on one or another of these principles (Anderson and Killingray 1991:4). While the London Bobby seems to have been a role model for policing for a long time (Mehra 1985:81), and the British police structure in general has been seen as an ideal for a number of other countries, including Japan (Tipton 1990:81; Brogden 1987:199), the actual construction of a police force depends on the legal codes in place (Anderson and Killingray 1991:5), cultural impact, and incoming and existing ideologies. Ultimately, while English or Irish models may have laid the ground work for existing police structures, each country had to determine individually what was necessary to conduct appropriate policing mandates (Johnson in Anderson and Killingray 1991:164).

Public order has become an important political issue in Europe and policing is one of the issues in the security debate (Roach and Thomanek 1985:1). Policing in Germany, for example, faces a number of challenges that are in some ways unique to this country, but which have certain relevance to problems all western police organizations are facing (Tupman 1989:iv). Germany has become a "testing ground" for police/public interaction,

striving to surmount the imposed public/media/historical legacy of an authoritarian police state (Alderson in Roach and Thomanek 1985:16). With reunification adding additional problems to economic recession, occasional flaring violence against ethnic groups, and a right-wing movement playing on fundamental notions of national identity, the police are caught in the middle of a "law and order" struggle. How police officers are dealing with these tensions can be useful to other police organizations which may face similar challenges in the future.

Police forces have often been ignored in social science research as important carriers of cultural tradition and agencies of social and political mediation (Tipton 1990:6). Only recently are texts on policing acknowledging an anthropological approach which focuses on the cultural location, knowledge, and tradition that police services embody and pass on (Gaines & Kappeler 1999:302). As highly visible symbols of the state (Danns 1982:2) police services become important through their roles in shaping the inequalities in the societies in which they work, through the power that they wield (Nordstrom and Martin 1992:6). Police can affect political life directly through monitoring certain groups and defending regimes from attack, but they also do so in indirect ways, like upholding civic values and the legitimacy of the government, and being test cases for certain issues because of their visibility (Bayley 1985:197). Through comparing police forces, things that we have often considered to be obvious or familiar about policing are defamiliarized, and become points of discussion (Becker 1980:20).

Among the few policing ethnographies that describe the impact of politics and power on individual police officers rather than on the state at large, are Brewer's work on the Royal Ulster Constabulary (1991), Fielding's study of the British police (1988), and Rubinstein's ethnography of the Philadelphia police (1973). Ericson advocates a more contextual approach in order to completely understand how police officers do their work (1982:13), as does Opolot (1992:98). In addition, a comparative approach can help us reevaluate what becomes contextually important in police work (Shane 1980:v).

Police services tend to reflect the culture they operate in, and remain somewhat monolithic in their impermeability (Tipton 1990:6), and their organization will depend on the "tensions between local autonomy and national aspirations and power" (Shane 1980:182). While police services have been created for several specific purposes (ie, social control, social integration, some interstitial purposes), how police go about fulfilling those tasks can vary widely. Those variations rest in why the police force was historically created, what particular cultural traditions affected the police mandate, what ideologies govern both state and police, and what particular views individual police officers hold regarding the work that they do. This last point in particular has often been ignored by police researchers, who think that policing as an arm of the state operates only on macro levels.

Policing: Local Implications Regarding Power, Authority and Control

The articulation of power, authority and control on a local level begins with the underlying assumption of legitimacy acquired from the 'state'. That is, police officers have the right, given by the state, to use coercive power in order to manipulate a situation towards deriving a solution (Seagrave 1997:2). Power, in essence, means that police officers can make people do something whether they wish to or not, and this power is given to them legitimately by the state. Attached to this is the idea of authority, a more 'immediate' concept, which allows police officers, through both state and organizationally mandated procedures, to establish control over a situation. Authority is something which is essentially *allowed* by the people, in recognition that in most conflicts in a complex society someone must take leadership in order to establish resolution. Control can refer to a more ambiguous concept, reflecting the creation of boundaries around actions and activities in order to ensure that a circumstance does not stray beyond whatever particular social norms or laws a society has deemed appropriate in the circumstance. As such, it is also the physical and organizational structure of actions police officers can undertake in order to maintain equilibrium, dictate the bounds of authority they have, and establish the appropriate circumstance for the use of force (or coercive power) (Richter 1992:22-27).

Individual police services, therefore, ground the structure of control in specific rules and techniques (Skolnick & Fyfe 1993:37-40). These may be formally based in legal codes and organizational procedures and mission statements, and they may also reside in the “rule of thumb” techniques that police officers amass throughout a lifetime of practical experience. Regardless, all of these rules and techniques provide a basis for the establishment of boundaries and solutions around a specific problem a citizen might have. Control, then, is something that ends up being a direct manifestation of bureaucratic and political statements of power and authority, which police officers direct outward in distinct ways. Techniques of control are the praxis of power and authority, and as such, are uniquely expressed activities when police officers carry them out.

It is the encounter between citizens and police, therefore, which become a site for the expression of control. The activities police officers can engage in during these encounters, will vary depending on the occupational traditions handed down to officers, individual officers’ personalities, the cultural expectations at large inherent in police/citizen interactions, and the circumstantial variables of the individual encounter. The variables of the encounter range from a controlled action on the part of citizens (such as a request by a citizen to relay crime prevention strategies to an interested group), to a spontaneous action (like a driver suddenly accelerating from a police car, which might initiate a high speed pursuit).

Summary

Very little material is available to an English speaking audience on the daily reality of doing policing in Germany. As is the case in many industrialized countries, there is a concern in Germany with providing services that can deal fairly and expeditiously with a population that hails from many cultures. Understanding how policing works in a culture other than the one we are familiar with may open up perspectives on police/citizen interactions that may be of benefit to law enforcement agencies.

The police subculture may also have an impact on the formulation of ongoing policing style; however, the subculture, as it is constructed in North America, does not have an exact correlation with German police officers. One of the reasons for this rests in how the organization itself functions. While police services in North America are largely centered on a "military" model, the German police force has a stronger connection to a corporate model.

Symbolic interactionism has a lengthy history in sociology as a theoretical framework for understanding interaction. It is, in some respects, a way of theoretically contexting some of the habitual practices anthropologists engage in when doing participant-observation. Goffman's approach to interaction, while being largely dramaturgical (Prus 1996:81), has also included work on how exchanges gain an essential "flavour" or impetus through the

type of framework engaged. Part of that frame, of course, also involves the communication practices that exist between public and police. Since verbal interaction is a fundamental aspect of doing police work, it merits a closer look in order to understand the essential nature of daily policing.

Finally, the nexus of police/public interaction is based on a cascade of state structure, community character, mandated authority and local techniques of control, subcultural practices, individual competence, and cultural expectations surrounding specifically framed encounters. Chapters Four and Five discuss many of these points with regard to certain events that arose while on patrol in Munich. Next, however, Chapter Two outlines the methodology and logistics of conducting fieldwork.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter discusses the essential aspects of “being there”, in other words, the specific methods used to gather data, where the fieldwork took place and how access was obtained, the difficulties in gathering the type of data necessary for this type of project, and finally, the impact on the researcher as well as the impact the researcher had on the field situation.

This latter point is important in the context of understanding what ethical concerns need to be addressed when doing this type of fieldwork in general, and also where ethics had to take a back seat in order to ensure the safety of individuals involved in the interaction. When doing the “participant” aspect of ethnographic research in this type of context, the researcher can become involved in activities that may seem to invade privacy or encroach on individual rights. The concerns attached to that did make me uncomfortable at times, but I felt quite strongly that in order to understand the nature of the responsibility that police officers take on in the course of their work, it was important to experience whatever was allowed me from the perspective of the authority that police officers themselves work from. And it is only through the method of participant-observation, that such experiences can be grasped.

Participant Observation

Participant observation has been an important field method in both sociology and anthropology, and both disciplines have contributed to the establishment of this type of data-gathering. Regardless of which discipline has used it, the method requires not just an observational stance (which was the characteristic of very early anthropological efforts), but a willingness to engage with the group or community on their terms. In other words, it also means the ability to participate on some level in the activities of the group.

Engaging in the everyday activities of the group means dropping objectivity and understanding emotional involvement (Bogdan 1972:45), without losing the ability to stand back at times to analyze what has been happening. Although anthropology's first "official" ethnographer, Bronislaw Malinowski, separated his personal feelings from the data he discussed in his writing, he certainly considered it to be of the utmost importance that the researcher understand the native from his/her own point of view (1960:25). Therefore, participant observation really means doing, and feeling, and cannot be learned in a classroom or from a text. It is the field that becomes the testing ground (Bogdan 1972:71), and in this respect shares much with the context of policing since officers can frequently be heard to say that you can't learn policing anywhere but on the street.

Traditionally, anthropology has tended to focus its energies on doing participant observation with populations and cultures with whom the researcher has most likely had no prior relationship. The concept of studying the “other” is, therefore, somewhat appropriate, in anthropological terms. In sociology however, researchers do participant observation in situations where the researcher and the participant technically have a basic knowledge about each other to work from, although as Bogdan notes the researcher should have no “special alliances” that might sway the situation in any way (1972:21). Therefore, because of prior knowledge about each other’s roles, there are also certain expectations attached. This means that there will be a difference in the type of impression management opportunities presented to participants and researcher, although the general methodology will not tend to change.

Historically, the tension between the use of different methodologies has been much more intense in sociology than in anthropology. While anthropology settled quite solidly into the participant observation methodology, sociology has repeatedly relinquished and rediscovered field research in an effort to maintain “scientific” standards. Any tensions that exist within anthropology center on problematizing and discovering solutions to reliability and validity in producing accounts when the fieldwork phase is over. The actual process of doing participant observation however, has not changed in any significant way since its inception. As Easthope states, the ethnographies produced in the

early 1920's and those written today are still using the same methodology where participant observation is concerned (1974:88).

Sociology has a fine history of producing ethnographic accounts based in field methods which laid the groundwork for texts that later incorporated symbolic interactionism. These include the lengthy classic of Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) on the Polish peasant, to Nels Anderson's 1923 text The Hobo, a 1929 study of an American town by the Lynds called Middletown, and the powerful material flowing from the Chicago school during the 1940's like Whyte's participant-observer study of an Italian slum in Street Corner Society (1943), through Goffman's study of mental institutions (1961), and the Becker et al analysis of students in medical school called The Boys in White (1961). The 1970's brought about a deeper use of field methods and symbolic interactionism particularly in the area of deviance. Humphreys' Tearoom Trade (1970) was one of the most controversial of the group. Policing research has also made use of the ethnographic approach producing a seminal symbolic interactionist text on the Philadelphia police by Rubinstein in 1973. Later contributions to this tradition include several works by authors like Van Maanen who has written not only on the police and their practices (1978), but also on doing ethnography in policing contexts (1988), Vincent (1990) who specifically discusses symbolic interactionism and its use in research on police, and researchers like Brewer (1991), Young (1991), and most recently Glaeser (2000) who incorporate aspects

of participant observation, and to some degree symbolic interactionism, into their understandings of police in Ireland, England, and Berlin respectively.

Although the earliest tradition of sociological enquiry insisted on following natural science methods and even dabbled in early statistical methods, an alternate framework arising out of early ethnology centered on descriptive collections of facts of the people studied. Since the original mandate of sociology was to study social problems and human relations within a certain population, participant observation obviously became an ideal methodology to use. Park, for example, greatly favored the use of life history collection as a methodology (Matthews 1977:162), and considered that an “ethically-charged empathy” was the “first requirement of any descriptive work in the field” (Matthews 1977:48).

Just as anthropologists were beginning to realise, following Malinowski’s pioneer work, that to understand primitive societies meant living with them, so the sociologists at Chicago came to the same conclusion (Easthope 1974:15).

It is interesting to find that the initial impetus toward the gathering of data in sociology, which was most strongly picked up by the Chicago School, came out of philosophical traditions (from Dewey and James) which emphasized empathy with the “common” citizen and the necessity of exploring the richness of the lives of individuals rather than groups. Working notions of the “people” (that collectivity of common people termed

"Volk" which stemmed from German philosophy) had a great impact on early sociology in the sense that the common people possessed traditions and personal traits that were worthwhile not only to emulate, but to study (Matthews 1977:17).

William James, for example, considered that the individual life of the actor was too rich to explain by narrow positivist categories; one should refrain from abstracting in this manner and not only observe, but participate and empathize (Matthews 1977:32-33). Because of this, early sociologists like Robert E. Park became convinced that it was necessary to be a part of the world and not just an observer of it, and certainly Park and Hughes were fundamental supporters of the symbolic interactionist approach that arose at Chicago, based on the grounding principle of empathy with the people.

Some of the criticisms which have been made of participant observation concern the possibility of bias in the observer, particularly since the researcher is the "sole instrument" and may therefore have an effect on the validity of the data, in addition to the fact that the presence of the researcher will have some type of an effect on the situation s/he is observing (Bogdan 1972:5). Easthope considers that participant observation is "non-scientific" since the researcher brings intuitive and subjective interpretations to what s/he is viewing and the method cannot be put under public scrutiny (1974:88).

It is often not possible to know how one acquired items of information, insights and hypotheses in a participant observation study, and it is

certainly impossible to present them all for others to examine (Easthope 1974:88).

These critiques have been shown to be untrue, although validity has long been problematized in the academic community. As has been indicated already in Chapter 1, what is written from the data gathered using field methods still reflects experiences that were real to the actors involved, and at a fundamental level are not fictional. It is also precisely the more intuitive and interpretive aspects of participant observation that create such a resonance in readers when they compare the written work with experience in their own lives. Field methods have been used with a great deal of success in a variety of contexts, including industrial urbanized settings. In fact, participant observation is the only way to get a reasonable understanding of actual daily lived experience; all other methods are likely to introduce biases of their own which may lead to false data.

On top of all that, the critiques of participant observation can be just as valid for quantitative methods, and Bogdan (1972:6) adds that too often quantitative methods rely overly much on only one method of gathering data which many may consider to be infallible but which opens the study up for achieving unreliable end results. As Whyte stated, using a participant observer methodology may in fact eliminate some of the discrepancies that are evident in surveys since self-reports are not always accurate (1984:208).

It is reasonable, therefore, that the more involved the researcher becomes in the lives of the participants, the closer one comes to a grasp of their reality. Field methods assumes that perhaps the only way to comprehend what is occurring in a complex situation “is to immerse oneself with others in that social arrangement” (Bogdan 1972:4). Because of this necessity to suspend judgement, and commit willingly to understand the meaningful aspects of life of the participants, ethnographic approaches can be extremely demanding (Prus 1996:191).

In effect, participant observation while long on time and involvement may be more “economical” because it allows the researcher to gradually become part of the group, thereby somewhat alleviating the effects the researcher has on the situation. It also enables the researcher to gather an immense amount of detailed data which reveal not only what participants think and say about their activities, but what they do (which may be something quite different from what they say they do), and allows for unexpected discoveries and conclusions which surveys cannot really accommodate (Whyte 1984:27). Additionally, the bias of the researcher, while being no less than the bias the quantitative researcher brings to a study, may also provide useful data on the events that occur. Finally, it has certainly been proven by anthropological field studies that industrial nations do not hold a monopoly on the complexity of their cultural institutions.

Field methods require a prolonged period of participation in the daily life of the people involved in the study, during which time the researcher utilizes whatever means are most appropriate, in whatever role is most appropriate, to gather and record data. Data can be gathered in a number of ways – literature search and formal interviewing not being ruled out – but it most commonly occurs through listening, observing and questioning, and through direct participation in the activities in which the people engage (Becker and Geer in Filstead 1970:322). The recording of data is usually in the form of fieldnotes, which can generate a life and literature of their own (Sanjek 1990).

Spradley has differentiated between the types of participation that a researcher might engage in in the field. These range from what he technically terms “nonparticipation” (for example, watching television programs) which is a completely passive role, to complete participation, where the researcher is already a regular member of the group or occupation but becomes self-aware enough to do a study of the situation. This latter role can also be seen as similar to the “covert” role, in which none of the participants is informed of the true purpose of the researcher’s presence (Whyte 1984:30). In between come ranges of passive, moderate and active participation, characterized essentially by observation of the people, balanced insider and outsider perspectives, and trying to do what the people do to understand the behavior that is occurring (Spradley 1980:58-61). In any of these variants, the researcher still maintains awareness that s/he is engaged in

research and gathering data, and that all information arising must be recorded (Spradley 1980:54).

On a basic level, participant observation incorporates two things: the establishment of the researcher within the community as an observer of the daily events and interactions that occur around him/her, implying that a certain “objectivity” or distance is brought to the research at hand. It also means that the researcher is involved within the community under study, whether as a general “hanger-on” of a certain group, or to the other extreme as a functioning member of that particular group within some context.

A study done in the early 1960's by Elliot Liebow, took field methods into the streets of Washington, D.C. to look at the dynamics of a group of males in a black neighborhood. Liebow (a white Jewish male in his forties), spent about one and a half years based in a very small area of Washington, doing research largely on a particular street corner and the businesses and restaurants in the immediate area. Liebow indicated that the participants were not purposely selected, that he met them largely by accident (1967:14-15). He admitted that he did not at first know how to go about doing research in the type of setting that he was facing (1967:235), but succeeded in establishing rapport while still being careful about how he and the participants “exploited” each other (1967:253). He refers to himself as a full participant, not just an observer, and his description of participation, which on one occasion meant aiding one of the men on Tally's Corner with

a court appearance, is largely defined as “hanging out”, in other words, being considered part of the crowd. He comments at the end of his book that becoming a participant is as much dependent on thinking of yourself as a participant as it is being included by others in that role (Liebow 1967:256).

“Hanging out” has no particular scientific name, but may be the most important part of doing fieldwork. Whyte, for example, writes that part of the field context was “hanging” with his informants on the street corner (1993:299). Primarily, hanging out establishes a pattern of listening and observing² for the researcher which can reveal more about the activities and events going on than purposely asking someone to answer a question. As Whyte has written, asking people about their activities often only provides formal and formulaic responses, whereas sitting and listening will usually reveal the answers to those questions anyway (1984:69). Additionally, the impressions built through this process provide a very thorough base of knowledge which can help in the interpretation of particular events (Becker and Geer in Filstead 1970:141).

This process of “hanging out” also provides two other important benefits over time; first, it allows the researcher to maintain an unobtrusive and non-threatening presence which in essence lets the participants take the researcher’s presence for granted (Bogdan 1972:21; also Malinowski 1960:7), and second, it enables the researcher to gradually develop the competence and confidence required to engage in simple, but “insider”, conversation with

the group. This latter point is also an extremely important methodological consideration, since informal and private conversations can reveal much about the norms and values of the group, and the perceived functions of individuals within it. Becker and Geer consider that private conversations should be seen as more or less equivalent to interviewing and are an integral part of participant observation (in Filstead 1970:151)

With regard to participation, Bruyn insists that a researcher must become personally involved and let him/herself be changed by the situation, since without that elemental interest in the lives of the participants the researcher runs the possible risk of distorting his/her findings (Bruyn in Filstead 1970:306-307). When the researcher becomes more personally involved, it is only natural that the participants will want to know more about the researcher and his/her interests away from the field situation. It is through this type of informal connection and exchange that trust is established and ultimately acceptance within the group is reached (Bogdan 1972:30).³ Additionally, a deeper personal involvement lets the participants gauge the depth to which the researcher wishes to become involved with them and their lives, which can be crucial in answering the personal and subliminal questions the participants may have regarding the actual nature of the researcher's interest in them. Often it is found that participants are far more willing to share life experiences if the researcher displays genuine interest in their lives and thoughts (Prus 1996:192).

When a measure of trust exists between the researcher and the group, it can be expected that the researcher will be asked to actually participate in the workings of the group in one form or another. This is often a mechanism by which the group indicates a degree of acceptance of the researcher (Bogdan 1972:27), and how the researcher handles this event will go a long way to establishing or diminishing rapport. This may not only be in terms of leisure activities, or being entrusted with a small role in a ceremony, it may mean giving advice or taking certain types of actions that directly affects an individual or even the entire group. This may place demands on the researcher which are, if not unethical in the immediate sense, at least counterproductive to the researcher's role (Bogdan 1972:31). To this end, the researcher must him/herself decide what will be most appropriate within the context. Obviously, participation will be constrained by the type of fieldwork being done (Bogdan 1972:27): a researcher who willingly places him/herself in the role of apprentice can expect to participate in events in great detail and depth, whereas someone studying children in an institutional setting, for example, may be largely restricted to observation.

Participant observation has long been considered an important method in terms of providing a detailed understanding of a group of people or a small community. This methodology makes use of the fragments of daily events to produce a picture of those things that are not spoken of (Becker and Geer in Filstead 1970:137). In this way, participant observation not only allows the researcher to understand the latent structures

of behavior and interaction in a group or community, but also to map out the processes and changes that occur over a period of time, something that straight interviewing cannot do adequately (Becker and Geer in Filstead 1970:141). As Whyte says, participant observation allows the researcher to approximate more the moving picture than the photograph (1993:323).

Implications of Writing the Text

The authority of any ethnography rests largely in the somewhat unscientific condition of “being there”; however, Geertz (1988:140) does make the point that the body of ethnographic literature does not possess any type of document that lacks “reference to anything real”. In other words, what is written concerns life and how it is lived, and incorporates recognizable signposts along the way. If it is done in an ethical manner, we write with awareness of our frames and referentiality, and are accountable to the images and symbols we produce in the name of a “truth” (Birth 1990:555-556).

We go into the field to ‘search after experience’ (Abrahams in Turner and Bruner 1986:50). The field experience then becomes a “perpetual discussion” (Gudeman and Rivera 1989:268) as we seek to reframe and rediscover for the reader what was lived. Birth (1990:552) understands ethnography as being a process which allows the reader to recreate already understood aspects of common knowledge in terms of how people live

and behave. A good ethnography is in essence, “vitality phrased” (Geertz 1988:143), revealing a particular knowledge which contains its own validity through the anchoring in experience (Wikan 1991:288).

Since all actions we do are part of cultural performances, the texts we write also become performances. Schieffelin (1985:713) considers that it is the audience’s engagement with the performed subject that will determine whether the enactment becomes “reality” or not. The level of engagement is determined by the actual space that the performance takes place in. Only when the book is open and the reader engaged do the words live. As such the reader re-performs the re-description and the words become “reality” in one form or another. If this is the case, it is the quality of the words, their authority, their recognized structuring, and audience consensus which constructs certain “realities” as “more real” than others. Schieffelin (1985:721-722) speaks of the performance becoming life, and that the meaning embodied within it can only be discovered in the relationship between the performer and other participants. Similarly our textual creations only come to life through the participants, both in the initial conversations of our fieldwork and the later involvement of the readers. And as Richardson (in Brady 1991:208) says, once the boundaries between daily event and text start to lose definition, then the “text becomes simply another way of speaking”.

Postmodernism has made us realized though that there are multiple truths (Hutcheon in Perloff 1988:56,59), and thereby paves the way for more evocative accounts by instilling in the reader a greater responsibility for uncovering what is between the lines (Stratton 1990:320). Birth makes it very explicit that there are multiple truths within a text, and that these truths depend on the competence of the reader, commenting also that the ultimate test of an ethnography “would be how useful a reader would find it if he or she were to travel to the society in question” (Birth 1990:552).

The critical postmodernist literature on the construction of field accounts details possible reflexive stances which enable the ethnographer to context and recontext the lived and written experience in a way that challenges assumptions. However, even postmodernists must remember that what they think they know is really only “another version of the myth” (Prus 1996:217).

Therefore, one of the problems with postmodernism is that it must, if it takes itself seriously, also imply that it has no claim to presenting any type of “truthful” theoretical approach either. In essence, it makes us aware of what difficulties may exist in choosing what we research and hence, represent, but it cannot make any more concrete claim on presentation of “truth(s)” than any other theoretical approach. Ultimately, all the researcher can state is that s/he was the one who undertook to actually ‘go there’ and see what was happening, which, no matter what culturally-biased baggage went along, is still

closer to understanding the life-world as it is lived by the informants, than the reader may arrive at. If the reader can then undertake the same experience, a deeper shared understanding may then ensue. As Prus says (1996:255) there can never be any other more viable way of doing ethnographic research and gathering the minutiae of daily human life, other than by "being there".

Working in Munich

Between December 1994 and September 1995, I spent seven and a half months on patrol with the Munich police, doing participant observation of their daily work, and also of some of their periods of leisure. In order to gain access, I had to go through gatekeepers at the top of the rank structure, a common process for field workers (Whyte 1984:62). That involved meeting with higher ranking police officers in both Duesseldorf and Munich to ultimately establish the field site of Munich. Part of that task required me to seek permission from the Commissioner of the Munich police to allow me initial access, and then negotiate my role with each subsequent level in rank. This meant meeting with the liaison officers to the Commissioner to establish what I would be doing and receive advice from them on which area would be best to work in. Once that was established, I met with the district chief, who then introduced me to the two station chiefs I eventually worked with. They in turn recommended two particular platoons to begin my work with, stating that I would be able to shift to other platoons in their stations as I saw fit. As it

turned out, to gather the type of detailed data I wished, I remained with those two original platoons for the duration of my research time.

Gaining acceptance and trust, in this context, was undoubtedly based in a few fortuitous circumstances, but was a far more subtle and almost unnoticeable process than the experience I had in Ottawa. The fortuitous aspects relate to the fact that I spoke German well enough to share in philosophical and humorous discussions while on patrol, and that because most of my relatives still live in Germany and I retain dual citizenship with that country, it was seen that I still had strong ties. In addition, a testimonial from a Staff Inspector with the Ottawa Police, who acted as a type of mentor, gave me the credentials with the highest ranking officers from the beginning. As well, being an academic carries with it a certain prestige in Germany which also helped with the initial entry process.

On a more individual level, I was told later by one platoon that when they were informed that I would be spending some time with them, they were unsure what to expect and were worried about it. When I arrived, I had already decided that I would insist on asking them if we could address each other with the informal "you" ('du' instead of 'sie'), and because this was standard practice between all of the platoon members, I believe it helped establish that I wanted to be associated with them rather than the higher ranking officers who had placed me among them.

It also helped that I had certain types of knowledge about which they were curious, and this also set us on a more equal footing, with some officers asking me even more questions than I was asking of them. First of all, because they knew that I had done research with the Ottawa police, I had knowledge of policing in another country which they liked to compare with their own experiences. Secondly, because I was Canadian, a representative of a country which has a place in German music, folklore, and travel fantasies, I was also seen as somewhat “exotic”. This led to many discussions on Canada and its culture and had me requesting care packages which included maple syrup among other things.

As said, this process was very gentle and I kept expecting the other shoe to drop. So when one of the officers warned another to “watch out for me” one day, I expected a replay of one of the experiences I had had with the Ottawa police. During my time there, many rumours had been circulated about who I “really” was. Speculation extended along the range of journalist to internal affairs, but it all came under the heading of ‘spy’. With the Munich police officers, however, there had never been a hint that such stories were going around, so this warning to a fellow officer took me completely by surprise. I decided to take up the opportunity, and I asked the officer why he felt it necessary to tell his colleague to watch out for me. I felt a bit humbled when he explained with a surprised look on his face, that he just meant the other officer should be careful that

nothing happened to me. So the same remark that had been made in both Ottawa and Munich reflected my position in very different ways.

Participant observation was the only choice of field method that seemed viable for the type of detailed understanding I wished to accomplish. Certainly, I took participant observation to mean a combination of activities. That is, I did a certain amount of literature research (mainstream books on policing in Germany, articles from local newspapers, as well as accessing the document and periodical collection at police headquarters), collected artifacts (patches, badges and other uniform pieces, recruiting pamphlets, various forms used in daily work, and brochures made available to the public), did formal and informal interviewing (more formal interviewing with satellite organizations like Psychological Services and the Complaints Division of Headquarters, and informal interviewing with individual officers when I had questions about events or procedures), straight observation (particularly at large public events like soccer games and concerts, but also at certain meetings and calls where other stations were involved -- in other words with officers I did not know -- and to some degree in the early days of the fieldwork when I had to learn the rules of procedure), and of course participation (largely constrained to riding with officers and going on calls, but which did involve my active participation at times in doing searches, etc.).

Of the approximately 60 officers at two Munich stations who informed the fieldwork in any way, 27 of them were involved on a regular basis. Of that 27, three were women, and 25 of the 27 officers were between 21 and 33 years of age; none were ethnic minority officers as, at that time, no ethnic officers were employed in Munich. The generally young age of the officers involved is not an anomaly within my fieldwork context, since police officers in Munich are largely younger personnel due to patterns of hiring and posting within Bavaria. Older officers tend to be posted to outlying towns after a number of years of service, while newly trained officers usually receive their first posting to a station in a large city.

Actually doing fieldwork meant attaching myself to a particular team of officers for the shift and going out on the road with them whenever we had a call, or they decided to do a round of patrolling. When we were in the station between calls, I would at times look through some of the manuals that were available for the officers, and ask officers specific questions about something that was puzzling me, but most often would just “hang out”.

In general, I had contact with the officers on the platoon for a period of 18 hours every four days (which equalled two out of three possible shifts). Additional contact time was spent doing occasional extra shifts at both stations, attending special functions, and simply engaging in leisure activities. In total, almost 1000 hours were spent on patrol with approximately another 300 hours engaged in leisure activities and special functions.

Since police travel in pairs in Munich, I was mostly positioned in the rear seat of the patrol car, except when we were transferring people who were considered to be potentially difficult. Consequently, I got a very good impression of dynamics and teamwork within the platoon, but getting to know them as private individuals took somewhat longer, although that was achieved with most of the core group who were involved.

Essentially I went everywhere they went; officers had ultimate veto power if they felt I shouldn't be involved on a particular call, but that happened in only two situations. To some degree I became a third member of the patrol team, and towards the end of my fieldwork time, was often doing minor tasks for them, including doing searches of female suspects on several occasions.

Even very early on, though, I was sometimes openly identified by my patrol partners as a "colleague" (i.e. a police officer) to members of the public and occasionally to other police personnel. For certain reasons this was a necessity; because of the nature of policing and the requirement of immediate action in many situations where people are in difficulty or distress, it wasn't possible to intervene as soon as we walked in to tell them who I was and what my purpose was in being there. If people did ask who I was and the circumstances were such that the situation would not be made worse by establishing my

research context, the citizen would be told of my status as doctoral candidate and the research I was doing.

Being identified as part of the group did sometimes create personal discomfort in terms of where the line was actually drawn with regard to my changing roles as either insider or outsider. A participant-observer shouldn't necessarily behave like other members of the group being studied; the participants often have expectations of the researcher which may be other than what the researcher thinks s/he should be doing. Whyte was caught short on this when he used profanity to be like the participants, but they told him he was different and shouldn't try to be like them (1984:66). I was told something similar about half way through the field work, when I joined in the horsing around that was going on during one night shift, and one of the officers half seriously commented that it was unexpected behavior for a doctoral candidate.

Obviously, when the researcher allows him/herself to become fully engaged with the group, there is the risk of "over-rapport", which might cause the researcher to temporarily lose the ability to switch back to an aware, observational stance. Bogdan reflects that this too is dependent on the personality of the researcher; someone who is eager to be involved in everything may find it difficult to hold back at times (1972:28). Whyte has written that after acceptance into the community he became essentially a "nonobserving participant" who took those things for granted that the Cornerville participants took for

granted (1993:321). I certainly became intensely focused and connected to the Munich officers I worked with, tried to join in on as many leisure activities as possible and was included in the personal lives of a few of them. By the end of the fieldwork, I found at times I had to prod myself into awareness that there were moments happening where I was so focussed on participating with the group that I was no longer observing what was going on. That implies an intensity of submersion in the field situation which was not made fully clear to me until my return to Canada, when I had to deal with months of deep despondency after losing such an intense and wonderful life experience.

Validity and reliability are more often discussed in sociological accounts than anthropological. The validation of field accounts often rests in the researcher's stance of "being there", which has been discussed at length in postmodernist and critical analyses (e.g. Clifford and Marcus 1986). While reliability, in the theoretical sense, may be a weakness in the fieldwork situation, since fieldwork can never be exactly repeated, the strength lies in the ability of participant observation and the subsequent ethnography to deal with the multifarious textures of lived experience.

One mechanism for ensuring there is some kind of accuracy, in a field account, is to provide the participants with an opportunity to review the work in progress and make comments or request changes. In February/March of 1998 I returned to Munich for a couple of weeks to meet with as many of the officers as I could and ask their opinion on

certain aspects of the dissertation. I was able to meet with four officers who were or had been members of one platoon, and was able to discuss portions of the dissertation with most of the officers of the second platoon. I also asked one key officer from each platoon to go over the majority of the dissertation with me, to discuss elements that were not directly related to specific calls I had been on. These discussions were very productive; aside from correcting some of the terminology I had been using, they also pointed out sections where I had expressed myself in a way which was perceived to be problematic, and we came up with solutions to a few sections where officers might feel threatened or incur problems if something was taken out of context.

Gathering Interaction/Communication Data

There are a number of policing texts which deal with the behaviour of police, including their communication strategies, located in North American and British contexts. Texts written by authors like Rubinstein, Fielding, Holdaway, Brewer, and Young reveal details of the policing experience which are not found in quantitative accounts. Holdaway (1983:15) comments that we can only really determine what police practices are like on the ground through empirical description, and “ideally by an ethnography”. Young speaks of the “symbolic and qualitative nature of police culture” (1991:17) and its “well-defined but often inarticulated practices” (1991:393), which are more adequately dealt with in an ethnographic capacity. In a qualitative account the everyday face-to-face

interactions are kept intact, while still providing material which can be used in a more general organizational sense.

The observations recorded in my field data will be used primarily for uncovering those connections between policing, culture and interaction. I realized on my first shift in Munich that the structure of policing was quite different in Germany, and that I needed to pay attention first to what was actually going on on a general level before I spent much time focussing on specific verbal interaction. For example, the very first call I went on on the first day involved a “blaulicht fahrt” (drive with lights and sirens), which is quite a rare event when on patrol in Canada. In Munich, lights and sirens are used quite often, and become a necessity when one moves from multiple-lane streets and highways, to the very narrow side streets which usually have at least one, if not both, sides full of parked cars. Speed, then, becomes a relative thing. So my assumption that it was quite an event that on my very first day I would get the full bells and whistles was challenged over the next few days, when it became apparent that using lights and sirens was a common practice in Munich policing.⁴

Once the general structure was relatively clear to me, the next portion of data gathered was on verbal communication within a general description of the unfolding event. One of my early realizations was that some verbal patterns matched the communication utilized by officers in Ottawa based on field data collected in 1991 (Richter 1992). So while

some general verbal material was recorded at the beginning, what became interesting were the points of divergence from the policing practice I had seen before. Consequently, it was those short verbal interactions that I began concentrating on rather than recording lengthy speech events.

As I felt that using a tape recorder was too obtrusive, and would have involved some rather problematic ethical implications with respect to tape-recording members of the public, I opted to take fast point-form notes to lay down the bare outline of events as they were occurring, and then while police officers were doing their paperwork in the cruiser or at the station, I would flesh out these notes with other pertinent details. A full account was then written out in journals after the shift was over. Although there was occasional curiosity about what I was writing (particularly if I seemed to be writing a lot), there was never a request to hand over my notes for review.

Later in the fieldwork experience, I began including far more descriptive detail of the structure of the entire event, rather than focusing largely on verbal interaction. This means that the emphasis of the dissertation is on the context of elements that inform and affect the entire interactive event between police and public, rather than on verbal communication alone, although where the data are available, the verbal is certainly considered. As language is the most powerful mechanism we have for transmission of cultural information and action, it becomes relevant in understanding how police use

language in the course of their daily work to effect certain ends, in addition to revealing a lot about the boundaries of their occupational culture.

Techniques of language and communication research are varied, but the approach here concentrates on the production of meanings within a specific social or cultural context. It was not the intent of the research to record verbal discourse in detail to discover all the pertinent inflection, tone and paralinguistics. What is important are the questions of cultural variables, subcultural competence, and procedural strategies geared specifically for police use which simplify or complicate police/public interaction.

Throughout the fieldwork, one of the interesting exercises I was involved in was simply learning how to function in the larger cultural context. Although I have always been intensely interested in my German heritage, there are fundamental differences between reading or talking about it, and actually living within it. It was this experience that led me as well to consider what effect being German and in Germany might have on how policing gets done, as opposed to being Canadian and in Canada. This overall cultural impact has a great deal of relevance to how police officers do what they do, and has ended up being an integral part of the dissertation.

Researcher

My role in this field situation, was at times a complex one. Aside from trying to balance my own emotional involvement with the need to remember why I was there, there was also the problem of how intense my participation should or could become. When I was first introduced to the patrol officers by the station chief, he commented to them that I had already had prior experience doing research like this with another police service, and therefore “knew my way around”, although they should still watch out for me a bit. It may have created some conflict for them, when they realized that I knew something about policing in general but not their system in particular.

This comment, however, may have facilitated their inclusion of me in their work patterns. I found, by the time I left, that I had done some of the basics of policing in Munich which I had had no opportunity to do in Ottawa. Figuring largely among these tasks were searches of female suspects, and translation services, both of which I did numerous times and was occasionally specifically volunteered for by other police officers. At least twice, I was cited on the reports prepared as having engaged in these activities.

It was very tempting at times to step in without thinking when an English speaking citizen required some aid. Most of the time I waited until an officer requested me to do so, having had one experience with a male officer who seemed to be unhappy about the

implication that he required help with his English skills. Although this was the only time such an incident happened, I was very careful afterwards to remain outside any English verbal interaction that was occurring, and in fact many of the officers were very capable of communicating in other languages.

On very rare occasions though, the situation was such that I ended up being drawn into the interaction without waiting for an officer's request. In June, an older woman called to complain that her upstairs neighbors were making too much noise for that time of the night. The officers knocked on the door of the offending apartment, and several young males answered. A young black male came out on the landing and tried to speak a bit of German to the officers, but then got angry and said he wasn't getting anywhere. He commented that he only spoke English, and muttered something to the effect that he would only talk to an English-speaking officer, to which I then replied "I can translate". He looked a bit surprised, but then rattled off his story in a very aggressive tone, saying he was a very successful musician and that he was having a party to celebrate a gig, etc. He handed over some ID and Ben left to check it out at the car, while Bruno kept asking questions which I translated. The attitude of the male was largely that of a "celebrity" who thought he had rights to do what he pleased at all hours of the day or night. He also very aggressively asked where I lived, and I asked why he wanted to know. It then became apparent that he thought I was the complainant, to which I replied with the standard phrase that officers tended to use -- that I belonged to them. "Oh," he said, and

after a while apologized for his behavior. He then asked me who had complained, and I said that didn't really matter, what was important was that someone in the building had done so. Bruno and I said we were going downstairs to check on our colleague and he could wait in his apartment. We met Ben at the complainant's apartment where he had just finished talking to her. Ben took the ID back up, while she apologized to Bruno for having to call the police. Bruno reassured her that she was probably not the only one who had been disturbed. Ben reappeared and we headed down, with the young male sticking his head over the banister once more to apologize. On our way out Ben commented to me that I wouldn't be allowed to return to Canada, because they needed me to translate for those who thought they could get away with things by claiming they could only speak English.

On another occasion the translation process was complicated by having one event requiring English, and another requiring my more-or-less adequate French. This occurred at the very end of my fieldwork, and represents some of the ways in which I was allowed to participate in the functioning of the platoon.

One September evening, at about ten o'clock, both units out on the street brought in a couple of males. There had been a fight at the refugee camp, and several males were subsequently brought in by other units as well -- Paul was with one of them -- and they began to process them all. Shortly after, Albert and Philipp came in with two men, one of

whom they asked to wait outside. Albert asked me, as he strolled in, if I spoke French by any chance. I said that I had some knowledge of it, and Philipp immediately said that I could help him get some of the forms filled out. So I did as much of the French translation as I could manage, asking the male for his driver's licence, etc. I couldn't come up with the terms for "arrest" or "jail", but a woman sitting at a nearby desk (who had come in to make a complaint about another matter) filled in the missing words for me. Philipp and I proceeded through the paperwork, with occasional interruptions from the friend of the Frenchman, who had been waiting outside, but became rather insistent to be buzzed into the duty room. Both Frenchmen went through their story with me -- that they were only passing through Munich, they needed the car for work, the driver under arrest had only had one beer, really, so how could he blow that high, and so on. The friend became very upset, and it finally got to the point where Albert suggested I tell him to wait in the outer room again. The driver repeatedly went through his story, trying to find some way of getting off the charge, but I, of course, could only tell him that there was nothing I could do.

After a good hour of this, I went back to the platoon chief's office to roll my eyeballs at Sonya, and on the way back up to the front, Paul yelled at me to come over. He had finally gotten to the point in his writing where he needed info from one of the males brought back from the fight in the refugee camp. This male only spoke English, so I was asked to help out with getting the report together. I did the English translation of a good

amount of the information questions, until Philipp looked back at me and asked me to translate something for our French driver again. The next half hour I kept switching between English and French translations.

Sonya drifted through the duty room a while later and tracked me down in the kitchen to tell me that the French driver wanted to talk to me again (she told me a few days later that he made it very clear to her that he didn't want to talk to her, but only to me -- this was very amusing to her). So I talked to the driver again on the same theme as before. His friend was told to go home, and they spent a considerable time sorting out which keys belonged to the car, directions, cab money and cigarettes before he finally left. The paperwork continued.

Eventually we got to the stage where the French driver was ready to be taken to the clinic at the Justice Institute to draw blood. Albert had already discussed with me the possibility that I might have to go along to translate between the intoxicated male and the doctor. Because he and Philipp had to take on a pre-determined patrol duty, they called another unit in to transport the driver and me to the clinic. So I explained to the Frenchman what would happen next, and when the other unit showed up we found that one of the officers also spoke a bit of French, which helped considerably.

At the institute, I rang the bell to get us in, while the officers kept an eye on the male. Inside, the doctor had me translate the questions about alcohol and drug consumption. The male was weighed, measured, walked the line, and did a rotation test to determine his level of intoxication. Then the doctor took a sample of his blood, which the French driver didn't like very much, but submitted to without undue difficulty.

Once outside again, I and the officer who knew a bit of French explained to the driver that he would be taken into the holding cells at Headquarters where a French translator would be found for him. We dropped him off, and the patrol unit returned me to the station, handing all of the paperwork over to me to pass on to the arresting officers. I headed in to the duty room where I gave the papers to Albert and Philipp who were still finishing off the last bits and pieces on this case. In the end, I had spent almost three hours listening to the Frenchman try whatever he could think of to get off the charge, although I must say his tactics remained largely in the realm of flattery.

My status as an academic also meant I was assumed to have a specific type of knowledge on how to deal with people (it was consistently assumed by some officers that I was a psychologist) and on at least one occasion, on a July afternoon shift, I was formally requested by officers and members of the public to enter into the resolution of a situation.

The aging parents of a 16 year old girl were having difficulties communicating with her; in a tantrum the daughter had thrown a few things against the walls, including food, but there was no serious damage. While Andreas talked to the parents, Max spoke with the girl in a separate room. He talked to her at great length, hardly ever stopping except to ask occasional questions about what was happening with her. He talked to her about himself and his youth and the kinds of situations his younger sister was experiencing that were similar to hers. When she had calmed down somewhat, he looked at me, and I said I would stay with her for a while. He left to talk to the parents, who were with Andreas. I spent several minutes speaking with her about her plans and experiences. When she was finally very calm, I went back to the kitchen to listen in on what was being said to the parents, and Max returned to talk to the girl. The mother asked me what I thought about the situation, and I spoke to her for a while. Andreas chimed in throughout this conversation with thoughts, which, despite his youth, he did with extreme maturity and thoughtfulness. Max returned and told the parents he had given the girl his telephone number and she could call him whenever she needed to talk. When we returned to the car, Andreas gave the final report to the dispatcher, saying the fight had been resolved with the "help of a professional colleague on board".

The above instance was also recorded in police files. In another volatile domestic situation, an officer asked a weeping woman whether she would like to talk to me (he referred to me as his colleague), however, she declined.

More casually, I found myself at times helping to confirm information for reports, helping citizens write out some forms, discussing (very cautiously!) certain situations with citizens, informing officers who had to step away from the radio for a moment if they were being called, helping to measure accident sites, recording information, assessing and then buzzing people into the station and informing them an officer would be with them, watching children for officers, taking point position for officers doing traffic checks, holding police officers' personal belongings (like watches and glasses) when we were in a situation where the necessity of physical intervention threatened, and so on. I never answered the phone, filled out reports (except for one parking ticket), or worked the radio, and the closest I came to carrying a weapon was when officers handed me their heavy-duty flashlights if we were searching for something.

I never wore a uniform, although even dressed in civilian clothes, people often assumed that I was with some other branch of the police service. One officer did let me wear his leather jacket on one call, but the complainant in that instance didn't question my status. Most of the time officers referred to me as their "colleague", particularly if we were involved on a call where the dynamic was fairly volatile. Because this form of reference was attached to me, I too began to refer to police officers when talking to members of the public, as my "colleagues".

Still my presence occasionally caused comment, particularly when it seemed that three police officers were arriving on scene instead of the usual two. One officer once joked with a citizen that it had become so dangerous to work as a police officer in Munich that they now had to patrol in threes. He did then introduce me as a researcher from Canada, although later he apologized thinking that it bothered me to be identified in that way. Naturally I told him that he was absolutely correct in doing so if a citizen inquired about my status. Similarly, I was also referred to as "zivilstreife" at times (plainclothes patrol officer). Some officers preferred to just state that I belonged with them. In very rare instances, officers even left me to deal with a member of the public, while they themselves observed the interaction. For example, in April we were called to a domestic; a woman, her ex-husband and her new boyfriend were fighting over money. The new boyfriend was also intoxicated and spoiling for a fight. Everyone was separated and the woman and her new boyfriend were escorted out. The woman apologized to the police officers present for having called them, and she was told that was not a problem because that was what they were there for, but that she had to realize there was nothing police officers could do in such situations. She spoke for a while longer with Horst, while the boyfriend approached me. Earlier, he had asked in the apartment during the hostilities that were going on, whether I too was a police officer, and Horst responded simply that I belonged with them, in order to prevent problems. Now the boyfriend started to talk to me about wanting to push his ex off her fourth-floor balcony. I told him that that wouldn't solve anything. He then continued, saying that if we got a call from a particular

address that evening it was because he had dealt with it. I said again, that that would not resolve anything, and also mentioned that we wouldn't be working that evening anyway, so we wouldn't be answering any calls like that. Horst grinned at me, and we left.

On one shift, my assumed identity almost landed a complaint against me. We had responded to a call in one of the lower-class areas of Munich where a citizen had reported that a mother was beating her children. We were also informed before arriving that she was an addict. When she answered the door, she was quite pleasant and laughed about our being there. The officers looked the kids over very carefully and asked them whether they had been hit. They said no, and there were no visible marks on them. I was completely silent during this, as my usual strategy was to say as little as possible while on a call. Max tried to contact the station to get more information, but the portable radio didn't work in that location, so he left the building to make the report, leaving me and Andreas in the apartment. The woman slowly started getting upset and told the kids to go into another room until the "Bullen" ('pigs') were gone. She then asked Andreas if he was going to search through her closets, and he said that that wasn't what we were there for. At that point Max returned saying he had given the report and we could go. The woman screamed abuse at us as we left the apartment and slammed the door behind us.

We then spent a considerable period of time dealing with a traffic accident and patrolling a good distance away from the station, when the acting platoon chief of the day contacted

us over the car radio and asked whether I was there. Max responded affirmatively and the platoon chief asked whether I had said anything to the woman accused of beating her kids when we were there earlier. I said no and Max relayed that. Max asked what it was about and the platoon chief said that the woman was there wanting to make a complaint against me, claiming that I had said I was a “Jugendbeamte” (youth officer) and that I was going to take away her children. Max again said that nothing had happened but that we would come into the station. This took a while, because of our distance from the station, and by the time we got there the woman had left. The platoon chief told us that she also wanted to make a complaint against Andreas, alleging that he had searched her closets while we were there. Andreas looked at me and we shook our heads -- we remembered her asking about the cupboards and related that to the platoon chief. Max also stated to him that he already knew my strategy on calls, and when did I ever say anything at a site unless asked to?

Sometimes city officials, like bus inspectors, would obviously assume I was part of the police service and ask me small facts for their reports; for example, what station we were from and where the station was located. This I was easily able to do, but became more uncomfortable when more in-depth knowledge was required and I had to choose whether to send the citizen over to a uniformed officer, or evaluate whether I knew the drill well enough to give them the basic information they needed.

In one situation in June, a woman sideswiped a van as she was making a lane change. After a bit of confusion regarding who was at fault, Edmund told her she would get a ticket. The officers filled out the paperwork, but were constantly interrupted by passersby who needed directions. The female driver then came to me and asked what would happen next, and I said they should exchange information and it would be dealt with through their insurance. She went back to her vehicle to get her documents, and I immediately checked with Alfons to make sure I had correctly informed her of the procedure. Alfons assured me I had said the right thing.

I was occasionally also referred to as a colleague to other police officers, as happened the first time I was asked to search a female shoplifter. She had been brought into the station for processing, but since the store detectives and everyone in the station that day were males, even the members of the platoon coming on duty for the next shift, the officer I was with informed the oncoming duty officer that the female shoplifter would be searched prior to leaving her for the next platoon to process (it was the end of our shift). And to this duty officer I was referred to as “the colleague” who would perform the search.

Over a period of time, I achieved some familiarity with the work of policing in Munich. I found that I began to remember the small details more easily, for example, being able to identify the names, licence plates, and circumstances of calls we had been on earlier that

shift, or one or two shifts previously. On one occasion, I had attended a call where a vehicle had had to be towed because it was blocking a driveway. Several hours later in the shift, a panicked male entered the station saying his car had been stolen. When he stated his name and address and the licence plate number, I recognized the location and the plate, and was able to tell the duty officer that the vehicle had been towed. The officer I had been with entered the room at that point and confirmed my statement, and told the man where he could pick up his car.

My familiarity with the work being done, also allowed me to monitor the radio for very brief periods of time on rare occasions. For example, when the platoon chief had to leave the room for a few minutes, I listened to the radio traffic on a couple of occasions, in order to identify if a patrol unit required information, etc. So when one of our units called in on one shift, requesting some information from an officer in the station, I was able to inform that person that a unit was calling for them and about which subject. I never, however, handled actual radio communication myself.

Officers also took advantage of my “anonymous” status on occasion; they sent me into a McDonald’s once, to look for anyone matching the description of two youths who had robbed a convenience store in the area, before they entered and their uniformed presence frightened the youths away. The two youths were not on the premises.

I also fell into the habit of helping out at traffic stops, sometimes just naturally taking the point position that one of the other officers technically should have been doing in order to ensure the safety of the situation, and occasionally I volunteered to do this if a traffic stop was more complex. It was a naturally logical position for me to be able to see and overhear everything that was going on. Once I also volunteered to take the safety position in the rear seat of a cruiser (right behind the officer driving), when we had to transport an addict after the arrest of a number of buyers and dealers, and the officer had to drive solo for some unexplained reason. He later thanked me for driving with him.

On one occasion, where I was initially involved only in doing a search of a female suspect, I became more intensely involved in the sense that I understood how close one can come to making a mistake that might let a criminal off the hook completely. It was a July night shift and two plainclothes officers called from a pub where a young female server had been accused of the theft of a considerable amount of money. The bar staff had discovered that a large number of bills was missing as well as a wallet containing coins. Since the wallet was too large to be unnoticeably concealed on her person, the plainclothes officers concluded that she must have dumped it somewhere, but it was thought she still had the bills concealed in her clothing. As there were no female police officers available, I was asked if I could do a thorough search of her. She was escorted to the kitchen, and the male officers stopped at the door leading into the room. Philipp told me that if I needed anything I should just yell. I nodded, and when I entered the kitchen,

she was already removing her jacket. She fiddled with it momentarily, and I told her to just hand it to me. At that point I glimpsed the corner of a red bill in her hand, but thinking that it might actually just be sticking out of a pocket and that I would pull it out in due course, I said nothing. I focused my attention on the jacket, looking through the pockets and so on, while she removed the rest of her clothing. I searched that jacket minutely and found nothing in there, so I thought she might have put the bill in her pants pocket. I turned away from her momentarily to put the garment down on a clean spot on the counter. When I turned back, she had almost completely removed her clothing and insisted on showing me that there was no way she could be hiding any money in her undergarments, except for a 50 DM note (which is brown in colour) that she had taped inside her underwear. This she said was her personal money, and she even tore this in half in her haste to free it from the celluloid tape holding it in place. I searched through her garments one by one, and handed each piece back to her so that she could get dressed. Other than that 50 DM note, there was no other money to be found. I puzzled over the red bill (which would have been a 200 DM note), and picked up her jacket and searched that again thinking I'd missed something. I even asked her where the other note was, and she insisted several times that the 50 was all she had. I checked the jacket again saying I had seen another note before but she again said that she only had the 50 and nothing else. Completely stumped, I had to go back to Philipp and Bruno and tell them that I had only found a 50 on her. The restaurant staff who were waiting with the officers yelled at her, asking where the money was, but Bruno and Philipp calmed them down and began

talking about what other possibilities there were for the disposition of the money. I was standing in the doorway, with my back to the woman who was still in the kitchen. At that moment, I heard an odd sound behind me and I turned around to see her taking her hands out of a red bowl on the counter, pick up an ice cube tray and fill it with water. I thought it was an extraordinarily odd thing to be doing, and while the other officers were talking to the bar staff, I went back into the kitchen to look into the red bowl. There was a nice thick layer of money lying in the bottom. I yelled for Bruno to come to me -- he immediately responded looking concerned and I silently held out the bowl to him. He looked completely astonished and asked where the money had come from. I responded that she must have dumped it in there either before I entered the kitchen, or when I turned away from her while searching the jacket. He asked if I'd seen her place it there and I said I couldn't swear to it, but I did mention to him that I had thought that I had seen a red note in her hand prior to searching her, and then didn't find it, and there was a single red note lying on top of the pile. He took the bowl from me and started counting it while Philipp, the plainclothes officers, and the restaurant staff came in. The woman swore the money wasn't hers, but I said quite clearly to her that I had seen the 200 DM note in her hand before. I went over to one of the plainclothes officers who asked me exactly what had happened, while Philipp and Bruno were momentarily occupied with preventing the obscenity-shouting bar staff from physically attacking her. She was questioned repeatedly about where the wallet had gone, and finally admitted that she had passed the wallet of coins to an accomplice because she realized she wouldn't be able to get out of

the bar with a bulky object like that. She was escorted to the station and processed, and Bruno commented at one point that this time she didn't get away with it because of the attentiveness of their colleague. I, however, spent a long time after that thinking about the chain of events and my actions which almost spelled the loss of a couple of thousand DM for a business that evening.

Several times, being a female researcher also meant that some people talked to me before they wanted to talk to a male officer. In one such case, almost all of the responses to questions that male officers asked were addressed to me, although I said almost nothing except hello and goodbye. In this case, officers may purposely have allowed me to precede them into the building where the call was located, because it was the nursing staff from a women's hospital who had called for help in trying to talk a Jamaican patient who had just given birth a few days ago into staying longer at the hospital. The new mother, however, was irate at the idea she had to remain, and insisted on going home. One of the nursing staff said that this was probably just a post-natal symptom, but the woman had apparently kicked and tried to bite one of the nurses, which was why we were called in. As stated, while I said almost nothing, my nonverbal responses seemed to encourage the nurses to talk almost exclusively to me, and when we left the hospital, the nurse who was attacked squeezed my arm and thanked us for coming. The female patient was placed in a taxi, and we followed her home to make sure she didn't suffer any medical complications on the way. We left when someone buzzed her into the building.

A couple of the officers also commented on how complete strangers often offered to buy me and the officers coffee or ice cream when we were out on a call and had to wait for tow trucks or paperwork to be done. Officers told me privately that I didn't have to refuse on their account, but I knew that they tended not to accept such offers and felt it was better to develop the skill of thanking such citizens for their thoughtfulness and declining with regret.

Summary

The methodology of participant observation or field methods had a long history in both sociology and anthropology. Its strengths lie in establishing close relationships with small groups of people, and in uncovering the details of local practices that may escape researchers doing short-term survey projects.

Participant-observation was the methodology of choice for this study of the Munich police. It allowed me the time to understand some of the aspects of developing cultural and communicative competence within this particular police community. Gathering the data itself was dependent on my being unobtrusive and observant, and recording each event by hand in great detail as soon as possible after the event.

Being completely unobtrusive or remaining a complete observer was of course, not possible, and I was quickly drawn into a participative mode. This occasionally caused some discomfort when I was required to perform in a police-like manner and essentially drop my role as researcher for a time. In the end though, these situations were extremely important in teaching me about the lived experience these officers go through.

An important element of the entire work is to situate the researcher both as a member of the public and as a participant within the police organization. A reflexive examination of how I came to learn the culture is incorporated throughout the text and is designed to provide a deeper understanding of what constitutes cultural competence within a German police organization. This type of situated reflexivity is also necessary to establish the impact of my presence upon events I observed and participated in.

CHAPTER 3: ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Introduction

This chapter is primarily concerned with giving a thorough outline of the structure and functions of the Munich police organization, as it pertains particularly to police patrol. Therefore, the subsections discuss only those aspects pertinent to understanding what the experience of a uniformed officer is, and does not spend much time incorporating aspects of the greater organizational structure, or a grounding in legal foundations of police work.

In order to situate the ethnographic details of the Munich stations I spent time with, I have also included a short discussion of some of the pertinent historical information regarding police in Germany, but particularly in Bavaria and Munich. A broader cultural perspective of Bavarian culture is undertaken in Chapter 4.

History of Policing in Germany

Since 1945, Germany has been a “front-line” state between East and West ideological powers, and this legacy has had its impact on political and policing consciousness (Thomaneck in Roach and Thomaneck 1985:145; Liang 1992:5). The legacy of WWII left Germany with a policing system pulling itself out of an authoritarian/totalitarian

“police state” system, and struggling to coordinate a mix of systems from France, England, the United States and the Soviet Union (Romig 1977:452).

After WWII, Germany was divided into four zones, each of which had a different approach to policing. Bavaria, along with three other Laender (lands or states), came under American control. At that time, all communities under 5,000 inhabitants could choose to implement their own police service, or would be policed by a state organization. Those communities over the 5,000 mark had to organize an independent communal police force. Bavaria also had the responsibility for a border police (Staatliche Grenzpolizei) (Harnischmacher and Semerak 1986:121-122).

Today, each state (now numbering 16 with reunification) controls its own police, although the standards and laws under which the police operate are generally unified across Germany (Watson 1994:209; Alderson and Tupman 1989:8).

While there are a number of policing ‘styles’ in the services that exist cross-culturally, none can neatly be fit into one particular box. Bayley points out that “tradition” is one of the determining factors on type of police force, but is not the only one (1985:64). Germany, following WWII, was an example of how the occupying forces structured policing on particular lines -- Russia utilized a centralized, authoritarian regime, while the Americans insisted on decentralized, individual community units (Romig 1977:452; Liang 1992:316; Bayley 1985:65). This has certainly had an effect on the basic

organizational structure in Germany: in the former East Germany the police hierarchy was based on a single centralized point of authority, while in West Germany each town and city had its own police service.

Centralization and decentralization can be an important style indicator; the stronger the impetus toward centralization, the more authoritarian and oppressive the regime, although authoritarianism does not necessarily produce a centralized police structure (Bayley 1985:66). Tipton echoes this, saying centralisation may more easily bring scattered organizations under the control of one person, however, it does not necessarily mean this organization will become more efficient in dealing with unstable political situations (1990:136).

The police in Switzerland, for example, have a different political history than many of their European counterparts; not having to deal with the same types of revolutionary changes in the modern era, they have developed a highly policed country which nevertheless still relies on community bonding and a strong tradition of service with the militia to reduce crime (Liang 1992:35-36). In contrast, the former East Germany which was also highly policed (ten times that of the German Federal Republic before the collapse of the Berlin Wall), relied far more on the Staatssicherheitsdienst's (Stasi) ability to command through brutality and fear, stopping short of mass executions (Liang 1992:321). Even the Volkspolizei (Vopo), the ordinary police in East Germany, were not trusted due to government hardline tactics in not only enforcing the laws, but also in

terms of political indoctrination during recruitment and connection with Soviet troops (Liang 1992:321-322). Once reunification occurred, the self-image of the police was damaged as they became more uncertain about their mandate; this led to more and more reluctance to enforce laws, even to the point of ignoring certain violations (Wolfe 1992:170-171), and obviously decreased their legitimacy if they could no longer deliver the service they had promised (Reiner 1992:263).

Parkin in his discussion on public safety messages put out by the police states that police actions may indicate to the public that certain illegal acts will be tolerated (in Riches 1986:209-210). Until recently, Germany was caught in the unusual situation of not wanting to acknowledge existing elements of its extremist past, while having to deal with the effects of it as right-wing organizations clashed with refugees (Schmidt 1993:160, 179). This led to confusion and tension as police officers seemed to become increasingly non-interventionist because of both lack of public respect, and ambiguous policy and judicial messages from the government (Schmidt 1993:163-170; O'Connor 1993:42).

Increasingly, though, police and public have been unified in refusing to tolerate the splinter groups of Neo-Nazis that still exist. While citizens by the thousands demonstrate peacefully at candlelight marches to indicate support for ethnic and minority groups, the police are engaged in a no-tolerance campaign for larger public gatherings of extremist groups, as well as the propaganda they leave behind them, pasted on walls and light standards. In Bavaria, as in many of the western German states, these groups tend to have

little formal leadership (Ardagh 1995:505). Therefore, while they are dangerous in a potentially spontaneous way, they have little influence in a more organized manner.

Ardagh writes that the German police, in the early part of this century, had a “reputation for brutal authoritarianism” (1995:539) which, since WWII, they have been avidly taking steps to alter. Part of their difficulty, over the last 30 years, has been learning to deal with the growing awareness of citizens themselves, that they are capable of protesting the status quo and altering their environment and political structure for the good. So the late 1960’s and early 70’s, in particular, were problematic times for the police, who had to learn to deal efficiently with large scale public demonstrations, without the authoritarian excesses they had been accused of in previous decades. At the beginning, they were poorly trained for this, and tended to over-react, with many battles taking place between police and protesters (Ardagh 1995:539).

Incidents like these, however, as well as those clumsy attempts to deal with terrorists on a narrower base, are growing rarer. The police are keeping a “much lower profile” and have spent several years now engaging in efforts to improve their relationship with the ordinary citizen (Ardagh 1995:541). In general, the trust between police and public is much stronger than it was over the major portion of this century.

In June 1945, the initial orders were given to organize a new police structure in Bavaria, whose officers were allowed to be in uniform, as long as that uniform did not have a

military look or have any connection to those worn by the previous dictatorship (Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern 1996:7). According to the wishes of the American military, policing was initially undertaken in a state-wide context only in those communities under 5,000 inhabitants, but already beginning in 1951 more and more of the larger communities attached themselves to the state run organization with the city of Munich being the last large community joining in 1975 (Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern 1996:9).

Munich itself, having over 5,000 citizens in 1945, had to put its own city police in place under American influence. This was not easy to accomplish since many of the police personnel in place prior to 1945 were considered to be too politically influenced by the former regime (Falter 1995:88; Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern 1996:28). As a result, the Munich police began their six-and-a-half day work week in the first few months at one-tenth the strength of their original numbers (Falter 1995:89).

The 1950's were years of rebuilding the bombed out areas of Munich, and one of the tasks that fell to police was handling unexploded bombs and other military devices (Falter 1995:121). During this time, demonstrations were also coming into vogue, with the most serious centering on the business community with sometimes violent riots regarding store closing times (Falter 1995:119). By the end of 1957, Munich had over one million inhabitants, with 2,275 regular police personnel in place (Falter 1995:129).

The 1960's saw a concerted effort to attract males into policing, and concern that was also raised the Munich police be professional in their interaction with members of the public (Falter 1995:157-158). By 1965, job applications were being accepted from women for entry into the traffic division of the organization (Falter 1995:163).

Conflicts between police and students had its significant beginning in the early 1960's, when some 2,000 University students who had gathered for a jazz concert, began vandalizing buildings in the area of the University. The police restored order with great difficulty, but this set the scene for further violent gatherings over the month of June 1962 (Falter 1995:142-144), and characterized the prevalent relationship between many citizens and police throughout Germany during the decade.

The violence that police dealt with continued in more organized form during the early 1970's, when terrorism imported from the Middle East found its way into Munich through the bombing of an Israeli plane (Falter 1995:195). This was only the beginning of what has turned into several decades of terrorism by foreigner against foreigner on German soil. The massacre of Israeli athletes at the Olympic games held in Munich in 1972, was only the most internationally visible of the many bombings and hostage-takings that began in this decade.

The late 1980's and early 1990's, brought about the fall of the iron curtain, the reunification of East and West Germany, and heavy media focus on neo-Nazi groups.

Attached to the anxieties about the cost of reunification, was a corresponding rise in crime as the movement across the German border of not only bona fide refugees, but also criminals, increased significantly (Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern 1996:15). The 1990's have also seen repeated terrorism between Kurds and Turks (Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern 1996:23).

In March of 1990, the first women were admitted to the Bereitschaftspolizei (explanation in the section on "Training" below) in Bavaria, and in 1993 the first "foreign" (although not necessarily ethnic minority) police officers were hired (Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern 1996:30). In addition, a revamped organizational structure now made it far easier for police officers hired at one service level to advance into a higher one (Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern 1996:30).

Ethnographic Details of Two Munich Stations

The larger portion of this chapter supplies details on a number of themes pertaining to the two Munich police stations at which fieldwork was done. This organization of themes reflects on the tradition of sorting data into discrete units utilized by other police researchers like Vincent (1990) and Rubinstein (1973). Such structural detail supports the more fluid narratives both of these authors incorporates into their work, which also becomes an integral part of the following two chapters in this text. In order to situate an interpretation of my field experience, it is necessary to give a significant amount of

background information to the reader to enable better understanding of the events that occurred.

The experiences that led to this text are in many ways “temporally finite” (Hutnyk 1987:59), and are cast into a linear mode within the writing (Jackson 1989:10). Through ethnography we do create the illusion that time stands still and that these experiences may be rediscovered by anyone. The reality, of course, is that a visit to the stations today would reveal some significant changes, the most obvious of which is the absence of the majority of the officers who have been transferred to other stations.

What is important within the context of this section is that the details of the physical environment and work practices allow a general picture to be formed of conditions at a particular point in time, which will still carry forward a certain familiarity to future scholars working in the same environment. Therefore, while the following explanation of minutiae may seem lengthy, it is through explication of the mundane that this world can be made familiar and recognizable. As Reed (1992:40) states, it is our attention to those details that will let the reader “envision what we merely see all the time”.

The Munich Police Organization

Munich is a city of about 1.3 million inhabitants located in the south-eastern portion of the German state of Bavaria (Watson 1994:64). As with most large cities, Munich has a

Polizeipraesidium (PP), which is the headquarters of the police service. The city itself is divided into four zones, each of which also have a zonal headquarters called a Polizeidirektion (PD), which is further designated as PD West, North, South or East.

The zones are roughly even in territory, not quite corresponding to the wedges of a pie as the zones do not all meet at a central point, but they do all extend fairly close to the central core of Munich. The train station is a key point that roughly designates the anchor location of three zones. Each zone therefore shares a certain amount of centrally located shops, businesses and other venues, and corresponding residential areas and parkland. Externally located industrial areas are also a factor for each zone. Therefore, as zones go, the areas of the city show a relatively even division of public and private activity from its citizens.

Within the PD are a number of stations, ranging to about five, and these individual stations are all known as Polizeiinspektion (PI) and have a two-digit number attached (for example, PI 00). Each station is under the direction of a station chief known as a Polizeiinspektionsleiter, and has a particular area of the zone under its jurisdiction.⁵ Units may occasionally be assigned work in another station's area, and officers do wander across boundaries to some degree although "discovered" infractions are reported to the dispatcher for assignment to the appropriate PI (if it is not an emergency situation).

The major differences exist here, between the particular patrol areas assigned to stations. These smaller patrol zones quite often have specific focal points in terms of human use and habitation. For example, one of the stations in the southern zone has responsibility for the exhibition grounds where Oktoberfest is held, among other things, so dealing with traffic and large numbers of people at certain times of the year will factor into this station's working character. Another station is primarily focused on the downtown core which features a long pedestrian mall, and the shoppers and business people who congregate here most days of the week create a requirement for more foot patrol activity than other stations contend with. Some stations are located predominantly in areas of residential use (these may be both within the inner core or close to the outskirts); others may have responsibility predominantly over industrial and heavy business sectors of the city, or large areas of parkland.

Based on these profiles, I eventually focused my research on a station that was more centrally located in a largely residential part of the downtown core. This area touched on one side of the train station, and included one of the more popular beer gardens and a major touristic site, as well as a few of the more "politically" sensitive buildings (including a refugee camp) in Munich. At times, I also rotated to another station that concentrated largely on policing industrial and parkland areas, with the Olympic stadium being an important component. This meant that while patrolling residential areas was still a factor, an ongoing characteristic of this zone was to coordinate police presence at the stadium for everything from soccer games to rock concerts.

Recruitment and Training

The motivations to enter policing are varied; young people may get attracted because of images of policing on the media, while recruits who are somewhat older may opt for the career because other opportunities did not come to fruition (Hildebrandt 1990:77). Joining the police service may also offer males a way to avoid mandatory service with the armed forces (Krasmann 1993:141). Several officers I spoke to indicated that policing was not a first choice profession but something that presented itself as an option when other attempts at establishing careers did not work out.

Even with time spent working toward other careers first, recruits are usually in their early twenties, with some already choosing the policing stream in their teens. Several officers I met were police recruits at age sixteen or seventeen. Officers are usually older when entering the other service levels, although still tend to be under thirty. Even a specially instituted program to entice “older” applicants, is still addressed to those primarily in their late twenties.

Recruitment advertising is also being targeted toward women; the numbers of women choosing policing as a career is increasing and it is common to have a call attended by a female officer. Women are also being encouraged to enter the second service level (Gehobener), and it is increasingly the case that the second-in-command of a platoon is a woman. Representation at higher levels, however, is sparse to non-existent.

Those aspiring to a police career must be of good character with no record, German citizens, healthy, and physically and emotionally capable of doing the job. They must also be a minimum of 16 years old. Approximately 75% of the hopefuls applying for police training fail (Busch et al 1985:152). This is largely due to medical unfitness, and up until recently, failure to complete the physical testing. Today, however, a greater emphasis is being placed on possessing good communication skills (both verbal and written), and a lack in this area is also a potential mechanism for streaming someone out of contention (Busch et al 1985:153).

Entry into service levels is dependent on level of education, although it is possible for someone with a good service record and a desire to re-educate to advance into the next service level. Most officers know, however, that there is a ceiling to their possibilities of advancement; in other words, unlike North America where everyone purportedly has an equal chance to rise through the ranks, German police officers know there will be a limit to what they will achieve in their careers.

As mentioned previously, because of the conservative character of Bavaria and its politicians, women have been working as uniformed patrol officers for less than a decade. Even in other areas of Germany, women have been working in uniform only since the beginning of the 1980's. The Kriminalpolizei has a much longer history of employing women. Female officers undergo the same training, carry weapons and are usually given the same duties as men. In general, the presence of women is seen as beneficial since

they tend to be a calming influence and resolve situations with much less aggression and force (Busch et al 1985:153).

Recruits essentially receive two-and-a-half years of training at the patrol level (Busch 1985:155). During their first year of training they concentrate on learning legal and political processes, the rights of citizens, criminal law, basic investigation techniques, and the practical things like using the radio, defensive driving and first aid (Busch 1985:157). Knowledge of psychology and sociology is minimal. Although there is no specific training in communication, the use of role playing is becoming more popular. An emphasis on German language study and typing has been decreased in favor of experience with computers. Weapons training is an integral part of the process, although a major component of training is devoted to general physical fitness.

Once this classroom training is done, they spend a year doing some type of practical training as support personnel (at the level of Praktikant), usually in larger groups. Finally, they receive another half year in classrooms, working in more detailed ways with practical and theoretical applications to policing.

When they have successfully completed this training, they receive their first postings. Usually this means an additional year or two with the Bereitschaftspolizei (Bepo for short) which is a particular unit of police officers in training. Here they work in large groups on specific types of assignments (like crowd control), and have an opportunity to

practice some of the basics of policing paperwork (when they do traffic stops en masse, for example). Some officers indicated that time spent in the Bepo can be rather boring -- because groups of officers, rather than individuals, are being given practical training, they may only get an opportunity to do one aspect of a traffic stop, and never completely understand all of the dimensions of this action. At this stage, their work usually still shows a certain amount of indecision and hesitation.

After Bepo, they go to the Einsatzhundertschaft where they again work in groups to gain more experience while they wait for an assignment to a specific station in Munich. Time in the EH is usually about half-a-year, although it can take longer depending on how many other officers are waiting for posting to a station. Once they are assigned, they begin working in a regular platoon or with a unit called the Verfüegungsgruppe (VG for short) which is a pool of officers who can be assigned to different platoons or duties on an at need basis. Actual assignment to a station can therefore take several years -- one officer told me that it was five years before he finally began to do regular patrol work with a partner. Officers taking their first assignment in a station, are usually paired for several weeks (and sometimes up to a couple of months depending on the preparedness of the new officer) with a member of the platoon who is specifically designated to train incoming officers (Einweisungsbeamter). This is usually an officer who has spent several years on the street, and who also receives a short period of training on how to be most effective in imparting the tasks of the platoon to the new member.

During the regular work assignment, in-house training is provided on a regular basis for a minimum of four hours a month. This can consist of members of the public presenting seminars about specific problems within the community, or the station chief or other high-ranking officer discussing matters of importance to the platoons.⁶ Regularly scheduled athletic activity is also considered part of their training, and officers must re-train with their firearms at least once a year (every three years for machine pistols). Officers can also take special courses (Lehrgaenge) lasting from one day to a week on a variety of subjects (e.g. recognizing falsified identification) which are intended to enhance their understanding on subjects specifically related to their duties.

Due to the lengthy period of time taken for training, officers seem to be much more confident when dealing with citizens, even in the early days of their first station assignment. This may also be one of the contributing factors for a more relaxed approach within the stations, even when senior officers are around.

Officers have discussed the fact that while the theoretical emphasis of the classroom is important, policing is something that you have to learn as you go. It is praxis-oriented, or as one of the officers told me, an "Erfahrungsberuf" (practical knowledge or experience occupation). Another officer who began originally with the Bundesgrenzschutz (essentially, the border police, which has a very military training) and laterally transferred into the police, said that the short amount of "remedial" training he received before beginning patrol was of no real use, and thought he was a classic example of the adage

that you can only learn policing on the street, because that was where he ultimately did learn the job.

When individuals decide to become police officers, they essentially apply to the state they live in. The state trains them, and for most recruits, they end up serving in one of the large cities in the state, rather than in a town closer to home. This initial posting can last for five years before an officer becomes eligible to receive a posting closer to home, or ideally within their home town. For many young recruits, a posting away from home can be a difficult thing to do. Quite often they maintain their primary residence in their home town, and commute to Munich or another large city for the duration of the tour of duty. This can mean a drive of one or two hundred kilometres between each four day rotation (in other words, one round trip every four days) if they wish to remain close to family and friends during the first five to ten years of their careers. Many officers rent a room in Munich where they can sleep during those periods they have to be in the city to work, while a few officers are accommodated in police facilities.

When enough years of service have been achieved, and when an opening becomes available, officers are posted to stations in their hometowns, or at least as close to them as possible. The majority of officers I worked with in 1995 have transferred to such stations already.

The Munich Police Subculture

German police officers enter the profession for much the same reason that North Americans do. Some choose policing because it pays reasonably well and offers some type of job security, some enter because friends or family members were also officers, and other enter because of a desire to make their community a better place. Particularly in the latter instance, officers may end up becoming cynical or pessimistic about their work, although actual evidence of those attitudes was not as common among the Munich police as it was in Canada.

Police officers are trained to be suspicious, even in Germany; one of the first things stated in a small training handbook for German police is that it is better to have a healthy suspicion of people rather than be too casual in encounters (Redemsky 1991:3). However, the practice of this is quite sharply differentiated between German and Canadian police, and can be seen most clearly in the non-verbal interactions between them as well as in proxemic practices. Canadian police generally keep a very distinct distance between themselves and citizens, while German police officers accept that they will have much closer contact with citizens. This ranges from allowing them into their personal space to physically touching or being touched by them in casual ways. Therefore, the overall cultural context of interaction is still overriding the subcultural training in many ways.

Isolation and solidarity in the North American context means that police officers tend to distance themselves from relationships with people outside the police community, and therefore are seen as 'sticking together' by outsiders. While solidarity is also an important part of policing in Germany (for example, a couple of officers indicated that fellow officers anywhere in Germany would give them a break if they were caught speeding), again the overall nature of German culture with its emphasis on family and friendships means that most officers do not give up relationships outside of the police community when they finish their training, and in fact actively seek to maintain those ties by being posted to their hometowns at some point in their careers.⁷

The traditional subcultural police characteristics of conservatism, pragmatism and racial prejudice go hand in hand in some ways. There are some resonances with police officers in Germany, but by and large none of these can be considered to be specific characteristics of German officers. Among the young officers I knew, many participated in some of the more off-beat activities that other people their age engaged in; German officers, while insisting that police work is a practical business, also did not tend to be overly dogmatic about that approach which may be due to their expectations and experiences of longer police college training. Racial prejudice as a defining characteristic is problematic anyway; obviously it may be a connection to conservatism, but without that as a mitigating factor among German police, it must be considered that officers in Germany are no more or less prejudiced than any other group of citizens. They have distinct views about the nature of German society; by and large this tends not to be a

racist discourse, but simply the specific types of labeling that people use to define themselves and “others” (Prus 1996:85).

Machismo is also not really relevant in discussing the German police. While there are distinct attributes that are attached to being male and female police officers, with an accompanying rhetoric, and a recognition by women that the profession is male dominated and therefore perhaps more chauvinistic than North American feminists would like to see, there is no “cult” of the male that is truly oppressive in any sense. I spoke to male officers about the characteristic of machismo in the subculture, and the biggest reaction I received was “Well, maybe the guys up at X station are, but we certainly aren’t down here”. Machismo doesn’t seem to be a completely recognizable concept when applied to German culture in general, so again the larger cultural context has supplanted any tendency toward such an effect.

In looking at the German police, one thing that struck me almost immediately was the lack of emphasis on things military within patrol services. The connecting corollary is that German policing is not heavily involved in establishing programs and philosophies about community policing, because the essential nature of the organization is already infused with aspects of this ideal. The amount of ordinary contact with citizens is already quite intense, ranging from simple interactions with citizens even when patrolling in cars, to offering open house days, when the public can tour facilities and engage in conversation and games with police personnel. And with less military type training in

place for police officers, as well as a non-macho (although still masculine) image, the nature of the organization at large aligns much more closely with a corporate structure than with a military unit (Hasenfeld 1992). This is in some ways particularly critical in Germany, where regular police patrol service is technically among the least paramilitary in the world (Fairchild 1988:57-93), and where interaction with the public is contexted more obviously to the services provided by organizations.

Using Herbert's model (1998) makes the subcultural variations within the German police more understandable. It indicates why policing in Germany looks relatively similar to the policing done in Canada because it too is based in *law*. Even the bureaucratic structure is familiar because the nature of bureaucracies is to ensure proper functioning of masses of workers. However, within the bureaucracy, there will obviously be differences in how the work gets processed, and therefore, in Germany the bureaucracy changes slightly and begins to look more like a business bureaucracy than a military one. This reflects the historical context of the current German police system in place, as has already been discussed. Herbert's subcultural orders also allow for the flexibility and shifts within the organization itself. For example, one of the bureaucratic requirements for uniformed officers is that they wear their hats whenever they are out of their vehicles. For higher ranking officers this has a specific rationale attached and is a rule that carries certain punishments if it is broken. Among uniformed officers, however, wearing a hat is generally seen as a bother and most tend to flout the requirement whenever they can. I have even heard a training officer tell a new member of the platoon who had asked

whether he shouldn't be wearing his hat, that it was up to him to weigh whether the consequences of getting caught were acceptable to him at that point in his career and do whatever he felt most comfortable with. The new officer never again wore his hat. Among middle-management officers, the hat rule is dealt with in a practical manner. Platoon chiefs are fully aware that their officers tend not to wear their hats in public, but they themselves are always diligent in doing so. They obviously display their adherence to upper management rules, but in recognition of the tide of feeling among the officers they have authority over on a daily basis, the wearing of hats never becomes an issue unless they know that higher ranking officers will be out on the street that day. Then they let it be known that officers need to keep their hats on. I was involved in this scenario once, when the platoon chief approached me to pass on the warning to my partners, who hadn't yet arrived for the beginning of shift, that hats had to be worn that day because the top brass was out.

Again, the idea of competence and morality are easily transferrable to the German system. Competence, in particular, is an integral part of all organizations who demand that their workers achieve both stability and innovation in their performances. As in all police departments, the types of competence expected from uniformed officers will vary, for example, from narcotics officers. In the German police, some of the plainclothes patrol units have duties similar to detective units in Canada, therefore the type of competence expected of these two units will be more similar than the competence expected of German uniformed units as opposed to German plainclothes patrol.

Morality is also a key element here; officers also expressed similar ranges of understanding of good/bad and what they were there to do. It wasn't as cynical as the opinions that were expressed in Canada, perhaps because they were as a group, much younger on average and hadn't the time to develop stronger divisions between the two. Perhaps it was also because isolation is not a significant aspect of their profession and this may keep them more closely connected to not only their communities but to enduring friendships that cast the good/bad split into a more ambiguous light.

Herbert's construction of adventure/machismo is also more palatable in this form than in the traditional subcultural structure (1998:356). While police officers themselves did not tend to identify with the idea of machismo, there is a definite sense of adventure that permeates not only the officers' working lives, but also their private pursuits. This is true of both genders. Many officers, both female and male, engage in motorcycling, long-distance bicycling, hiking and climbing in the mountains, skiing (either with civilian friends, or in police outings), and tend to do a lot of traveling all over the world. Therefore, this can not be seen as a hyper-masculinized trait, but is in fact closer to the attraction of adventurous or risk-taking personalities into the occupation itself.

Finally, the idea of safety is also ubiquitous in this situation. German police officers also operate under the mandate of protecting the lives of others, and to do so in a way that restricts the potential of personal harm as much as possible. Like Canadian police officers, German police are trained in defensive techniques and are issued bullet proof

vests. And like many Canadian police officers (before the shift to externally-worn body armour), vests get laid aside when they become too warm or unwieldy. Also like Canadian police officers, they must battle against the inevitable complacency that occurs when things have gone all right for lengthy periods of time. Unlike the Canadian police, however, the Munich service was at a different stage of complacency, and certainly didn't have the same cultural expectations of police/citizen interaction where safety issues were concerned. These issues are discussed in greater depth in Chapters Three and Four. Suffice to say that some of these safety issues are important nexus points of interaction with the German public that have had, and will continue to have, profound impact on the image of the German police.

As such, the image the German police have with the public is very important to them, beginning with their long-time motto "The police -- your friend and helper" (Fairchild 1988:8), to instilling personnel with the desire to display qualities like honesty, honour, trustworthiness, teamwork, collegiality and responsibility. Even chivalry is espoused as a worthy character trait (Hildebrandt 1990:86,136). The service provided to the public, however, may very much depend on how police categorize and stereotype citizens (Ericson 1982), which is partly a common human reaction of any person involved in an interaction, and partly a specific type of police enculturation enabling fast response to situations based on very little data.

Communications Centre (Einsatzzentrale)

All calls that are telephoned in on the central police exchange or through the emergency number, go through the Communications Centre or Einsatzzentrale (EZ). While emergency calls are automatically recorded, they do not yet possess the ability to extract addresses from a computer as soon as the telephone line is engaged, unless the call is coming from a public phone booth. The system is currently in the process of being automated. In Germany, however, all residents must register their addresses and keep that registration current whenever they move to a new location. Therefore, police have an easier time locating residents than officers may have in Canada and the States.

Among its responsibilities, the EZ monitors a direct alarm link to several important buildings including major banks. As well, they monitor several of the major intersections in Munich through the use of video cameras. The basic work of the communications centre is of course, to answer calls from citizens, locate a unit in the area that is free to take the call, pass the information on and record the action taken by the unit when the event is over. Each PD has its own dispatcher, although another EZ department is responsible for dealing with support requests, such as dispatch of tow trucks or ambulances, or call backs if the citizen can't be found.

What to tell the dispatcher is occasionally an issue. Like anyone else, officers at times need to find ways through paperwork and red tape in order to deal with matters as

expeditiously as possible. As one of the officers once told me, the theory has to fit the practical nature of a call and sometimes it is necessary to do things so that everyone is happy, regardless of what theoretically should be done.

Dispatch is no doubt aware of the exigencies of policing, and recognize the need for discretion in certain cases. They are certainly also capable, however, of telling officers to deal with something themselves if there aren't any other units to handle a situation, as happened once where an argument between two citizens technically occurred outside our patrol zone, but everyone else was tied up. The dispatcher seemed somewhat miffed that a unit on scene, even though it was from another zone, would want to leave the call to someone else.

Therefore, it can make officers rather gleeful when they manage to surprise a dispatcher. One instance of that occurred when we had received a call to look for an elderly woman who had wandered off from her nursing home. My two partners that shift, Bruno and Ben, went through the usual drill of filling out paperwork, and about halfway through, the administrator of the nursing home pulled Ben aside and told him that they had received a suspicious package that day. The usual protocol is to leave it undisturbed and wait for an explosives unit to deal with it. In this case, the package certainly had to be taken seriously, but everyone involved recognized the incongruity of potential mail bombs arriving at this location. Ben had to grin when the dispatcher incredulously asked him to

repeat his request for a bomb dog at a nursing home. Dog and handler duly arrived and the package turned out to be a document.

The communications center has access to a registry which lists the names and addresses of everyone living in Munich and in surrounding areas. During my visit to the center, they entered my name in the computer to see where I was registered, and my name had been quite promptly added into the system from the council hall of the outlying town in which I was living. This system makes it easier for police to retrieve current addresses for anyone they may need to do an identity check on, and as citizens are required by law to register changes in address within days of moving, the system is usually up-to-date.

Spatial Structure

When a citizen wishes to go to a police station in Munich, s/he is first faced with an entry door to the building which is normally kept locked. In order to gain access to the building, one must press a buzzer which is also connected to an intercom, much as North American apartment buildings are secured. This is used in Germany for many buildings, both public and private, and it is not unusual to be faced with this system not only when dealing with apartment buildings, but also in private homes, smaller museums, private practices, and many business offices, to name just a few. Most of the time the intercom is not used, and people just wait until the buzzer indicates the locking mechanism has been released and push the door open.

Upon entering most stations in Munich, one must then pass a large window before getting to the next locked door. This window allows officers to have a good look at who has entered the building before deciding whether to allow the person access to the duty room itself. Theoretically, this allows the officers to cursorily check persons for weapons, injuries and general demeanour to get a preliminary angle on how to deal with the citizen. In all my time in Munich however, I only know of one instance where a person was denied access and this was a well-known "crazy" woman who also had a tendency to get aggressive and come to the station for no relevant purpose. It was also the early morning hours and not many officers were in the station, and since she appeared healthy she was waved away. She finally left the entryway after the duty officer turned off all of the station lights.

If access is allowed, the second door is buzzed open and the citizen enters the duty area proper. Here they are confronted with a counter area that separates them from the real working space of the duty room itself. The counter also has a swing gate built in to allow access to the rest of the room, but this too is locked and must be released by a buzzer. Each station positions its buzzer controls slightly differently so that only those who truly belong in the building can gain access. At the counter a police officer will first inquire what the nature of their business is before deciding whether to deal with it there, or invite the citizen into the rest of the duty room area to sit at a desk with a computer terminal or typewriter so that reports can be filled out.

The duty room itself at a minimum contains the counter, under which are many shelves housing the forms that police officers may need to fill out; a seating area which may be in front of or behind the counter depending on station space requirements; several desks with either computer terminals or typewriters upon them; bookshelves that contain reference texts police officers may need to fill out forms; and chairs, telephones, and the communication panel that allows operation of the door locks. Many stations also have an officially sanctioned radio in the duty room to allow officers to listen to music while they are working.

Although space is set up differently in every station, there are certain similarities to what types of rooms are available for use. Aside from the duty room which is technically a public area, there are also rooms set aside for taking statements from citizens or conducting searches of suspects and these are equipped with telephones, desks and chairs, and may have typewriters or computer terminals in them as well. One of these rooms usually houses the photocopy machine as well as the "mailboxes" of individual police officers. Mailboxes are where new paperwork is placed, materials they are currently working on are stored, and personal items like novels and cigarettes are kept. Space is also set aside in this room to store uniform caps and nightsticks, and the ubiquitous police briefcase which carries the numerous criminal and legal codes police officers use, forms, ticket books, flashlights, protective plastic covers for parking tickets, and other items of use.

One of the most important rooms is the DGL office. The DGL (Dienstgruppenleiter) is the platoon chief, who is essentially responsible for ensuring the smooth working of the platoon for that shift. As such s/he also has responsibility for monitoring the radio traffic. The focal point of this office is the large console where telephones and speakers are located, as well as shift schedules and notes of importance for the day. Somewhere in the office is also a large bookshelf that contains reference texts, procedural manuals, mailboxes for paperwork going to other departments within and outside the police station (these mailboxes are sometimes located within the duty room), and more sensitive procedural material. A computer is also located in or near this office to allow the DGL to assist officers in the street should they have a computer request, as are all of the hand-held radio units with battery rechargers, keys for automobiles (and spares although in some stations one set of keys was kept in the duty room), and extra weapons (machine pistols).

An extremely vital area of the station is the kitchen, or "social room". The appointments of this area can vary widely from station to station, but at a minimum contains refrigerator, sink, cupboards to store tableware, coffeemakers (which platoons purchase themselves), and table and chairs (more normally an "eckbank" which is a uniquely European dining set comprising benches affixed to the walls in a corner of the room, with a table and a number of chairs -- this allows for extremely efficient use of space and has the added virtue of accommodating varying numbers of people on any given occasion). Some stations will also have a stove, others a microwave, and a few a television. All

kitchens possess a telephone and a speaker tie-in to the police radio to allow monitoring of events while officers eat.

There is also a room set aside for typists who work normal daytime hours. They are there to provide support for police officers by typing out forms that are sent on for filing or to legal representatives. After normal hours this room may be used to take statements from citizens, or as quiet areas to conclude paperwork or make private telephone calls.

Every station also contains other offices for the use of other police units, and higher ranking officers including the station chief (Polizeirat). These are usually located on other floors of the building. The cellar is given over to changing rooms for officers, and tend to have a number of cells as well for detainees who only need to be kept overnight. Washrooms are located throughout the building, although some are segregated to either personnel or to "visitors", and I have had it happen that access to women's washrooms has been almost impossible in some stations after hours. In one station I visited, they had no women officers working on their platoon at the time I was there and the facilities normally used by the typists was locked after hours; in another station during a platoon gathering, the women on the platoon informed the men that they would be using the men's washroom because access to the women's involved travelling down several floors and negotiating locked doors.

Only the duty room itself is to some degree a public space; other rooms are accessible to citizens only when a police officer is present. The DGL office, the typist's room, and the kitchen are essentially off-limits to citizens; only once have I seen the kitchen used to question a suspect briefly when too many opposing factions were already present in the station, and officers did that reluctantly. This indicated to me that there were gradations in what officers considered private or "backstage" space, with interview rooms usually filled up in a preferential order before citizens were allowed into more private spaces. On the other hand, the duty room also became a type of "private" space at times. When there were no citizens to deal with and particularly in the early morning hours of a night shift, officers would read newspapers or do crossword puzzles in the duty room, sometimes the volume of the radio would be turned up if a popular song was playing, and officers would gather to talk and drink coffee there rather than in the kitchen.

The DGL office was usually seen as a central control point and tended not to be a place for casual meetings since it was rare that officers spent long periods of time there. However, depending on the circumstances, officers might occasionally gather there to discuss a point of police procedure and then end up engaging in more casual chat. Officers certainly felt free to enter and leave the DGL's office, since many important manuals were stored there, and while using them tended to get side-tracked in conversation with the DGL and other officers.

The kitchen was the space where shifts really began. People stopped in there at least once at the beginning of shift to drop food or water in the refrigerator, or to get a cup of coffee and just say hello to everyone. Before or after shift the kitchen might be used by an officer to have a quick meal, or several officers might congregate there to have a beer when the shift was over, although platoons tended to evacuate the station fairly quickly when work was over. The kitchen, therefore, was largely the territory of the platoon officially on duty. During the shift, officers gathered there to eat, drink coffee, smoke, read the newspaper and exchange stories, jokes and gossip. Occasionally officers would use the kitchen to cook a meal for themselves, or, in some cases, for the entire platoon (this was of course dependent on the equipment available in the kitchen).

The kitchen was also where officers felt they could relax to a certain degree and where most of the “backstage” tales and humour occurred. Dependent on the physical location of the kitchen though, some of this private talk might actually be overheard by members of the public. In one station that I visited, the kitchen was in the basement, well away from the public, but in several others, including the stations I worked in, this room was very close to public areas of the station.

It was always of interest to me that officers did not often make a serious attempt to hide from citizens their humour about policing and the public with which they dealt. This never seemed to lead to difficulties in the form of official complaints against an officer. In fact, the broader Bavarian culture seems to value frank speech, and if a citizen felt put

out by something an officer said they would react to it immediately to the officer's face. So while actual use of space was divided into areas that became more or less private, the conversations that occurred were not always containable in such a way, because of the location of rooms in proximity to the most public of spaces, and open doors in an often very compact area.

Stations may also vary in what appears on the walls of kitchen and duty rooms. Most will have maps of the city in some easily accessible place, and a variety of lists will be posted in convenient spots (i.e. station telephone numbers by desks, names of officers by rank and platoon by the DGL or near the officers' mailboxes, etc.). In some stations there will be posters of Munich or police recruitment posters, sometimes calendars published by the police union are present (which contain uplifting messages about setting good examples: "Das eigene Beispiel wirkt am besten" --essentially 'your own good example is most effective'), and in one station there was a series of colour photographs of Munich which all contained a policing theme that a resident officer had taken.

Some stations also maintain a room with sleeping facilities, largely for officers who want to nap for a few hours between shifts and who do not have a room rented somewhere else in the city. These beds are sometimes used by officers who miss the last buses and subway trains after a night out, and on one occasion I spent a night sleeping in one of these "bedrooms" myself. Sometimes officers also use a bed if a night shift is very slow and they are driving a car pool home in the morning.

Ranks

There are three service levels within the German police service, and each service (Dienst) level contains a number of ranks within it. The service level comprising regular patrol officers is called the “Mittlerer Dienst” (equivalent to the ‘rank and file’) and is demarcated on the uniform largely by green stars on epaulettes. The next level incorporates what might be termed middle management, those officers who are in charge of platoons and individual offices and departments within a station. Called the “Gehobener Dienst”, it is indicated on the uniform by silver stars. The highest level, appropriately referred to as “Hoeherer Dienst”, is shown by gold stars on the uniform and tends to include most station chiefs and all personnel at the “executive” management level (see Appendix A).

Within these three service levels are a number of ranks to which an officer can aspire. Entry position at the “Mittlerer” level, for example, is the rank of “Polizeimeister” which would be indicated by two stars on the epaulettes. After a certain period of service, an officer can move up to “Polizeiobermeister” (three stars), and “Polizeihauptmeister” (four stars). Similar ranks operate at the “Gehobener” level, although the designation is “Kommissar” rather than “Meister” (i.e. Polizeikommissar). Once the “Hoeherer” level is attained, rank designations change somewhat, to “Polizeirat” (usually station chief), “Polizeiobererrat”, “Polizeidirektor”, “Leitender Polizeidirektor”, and “Polizeipraesident”.

Entry to a specific service level is dependent on what type of schooling has been attained. In other words, it is most often the case that entry is obtained laterally, with University graduates who opt for specific types of training being assigned straight into the “Hoehrer” level, although many rise into this level from the managerial strata. The “Polizeipraesident” (Commissioner), for example, is normally a civilian. The benefit of this system is that education is taken into account when applicants indicate an interest in entering policing; the drawback is that many of the upper ranking officers do not have much experience dealing with the type of patrol work that regular uniformed personnel must handle. An additional difficulty is that for most officers the service level they enter will normally be the one they remain in, although there are possibilities of rising into the next service level after five years of work and a good performance evaluation (which also notes grades received in training). Moving into the next service level also usually requires a number of years of further training in the classroom and a variety of practical situations.

Movement into most ranks within a service level is largely dependent on length of time served; in other words, at some point in time every officer who attains the rank of Meister will move up to Obermeister, and those at Kommissar will eventually move to the next level of Oberkommissar. Therefore, this kind of upward movement through the ranks can in some ways be criticized for being essentially a pay-raise based on time served within the organization and which is loosely disguised as an automatic rank-upgrade which ‘implies’ an achievement in performance, rather than a promotion based on actual merit.

As an “onlooker” I must admit that in at least one case my impression was that officers who handled themselves better on the street were not promoted into the next rank, while another officer who did not always display the best judgment was promoted simply because enough time had been served on the job.

The relationship between the ranks and the service levels is interesting. At times certain boundaries are maintained, and in other contexts they are removed. While the training that police officers receive does contain a military structure (like drilling),⁸ the overriding presentation of the German police is of a non-military character. Therefore, many of the more military aspects of relationships between the ranks in other democratic police services do not exist in this organization. For example, if a Polizeimeister (lowest service level) wish to talk to the station chief, there is no need for the officer to go through the chain of command which is so often present in more para-military systems; s/he only has to make an appointment and can have direct access. The working relationship between Mittlerer and Gehobener is also fairly casual with no overt deference to ranks, and leisure activities and certainly friendships are often shared between people at different ranks in the Mittlerer and Gehobener levels.

This is all part of the push toward a “Kooperatives Fuehrungssystem” (cooperative leadership system or ‘KFS’) whereby officers at all ranks should feel able to access each other to facilitate working conditions and decision-making capabilities. This is an attempt to again reduce the military chain of command structure which has been criticized

for not allowing junior officers direct access to the knowledge and experience of higher ranking officers (Seagrave 1997:112). It has been observed however, that access between the two lower service levels and the top service level can still be constrained at times. Much is dependent upon the personality of those at the Hoeherer level, and there may always be a residual formality at that juncture, simply because of the structure of the German language and the requirements of using formal versus informal forms of address.

Despite this easier access, and therefore perhaps more friendliness between the ranks, officers are still expected to be respectful within the station, and to set a good example out on the street. If a higher ranking officer spies someone on patrol not wearing a uniform hat, or not having a seatbelt buckled (as happened to one officer I rode with),⁹ that officer can expect to be reprimanded for not maintaining proper standards in front of members of the public. As one station chief commented, the police won't get a lot of respect out of a driver they are ticketing for not wearing a seatbelt, if the officer him/herself is not wearing one. Many officers mentioned that they were cautious about this, and on a couple of occasions I heard them decide not to pull over an unbelted driver because they themselves weren't buckled up and felt they couldn't apply a different standard.

As with all organizations, there are differences in dynamics between officers. Patrol officers were often heard discussing their actions on a particular case with the platoon chief, to see whether all options had been considered. There are naturally also differing

views regarding higher ranking officers. Higher ranking officers were seen as not always providing adequate information on a variety of fronts. One of the most common complaints from the rank-and-file regarding senior officers were that they sometimes did not understand what motivated people and were unable to engender good morale within a station. The only female officer of senior rank that I had contact with, was given favorable reports in this area, with officers of both genders saying that if you went to her with a problem she made the effort to get it resolved.

The subcultural structure here basically reflects an overall attitude of access, although there is still a fundamental difference between the executive level and the two lower service levels. In addition, those officers who strive to move out of the rank and file and into the management levels may find themselves being shouldered out of the closely knit structure of the platoons they work with. As well, different units within a station will also develop their own group focus, but the elemental values that govern policing in general tend to resonate as common goals with all of the subcultural groupings in evidence.

Units

Regular police work is conducted largely by uniformed officers in patrol cars. These officers respond to a variety of calls either phoned in directly to the station by citizens, or to calls transmitted from the Einsatzzentrale (EZ) over the radio directly to a patrol car. Types of calls will be dealt with in another chapter, and a deeper explanation of regular

patrol units appears belows in the section entitled "Patrols". Basic support for specific situations are supplied by a number of other units, and are discussed below.

Although police officers are responsible for traffic control including the writing of parking tickets, this latter function is also performed by a group of women called "Politessen" or "Hostessen". Another group of officers responsible for more community-oriented work are "Kontaktbeamter", who spend time on foot patrol in a very small area of their zone (sometimes only one street) and who establish personal contact with the business people and inhabitants of the area. These officers are usually older experienced personnel, who have an interest in doing some of the longer-term problem solving work that regular uniformed police officers normally don't have the opportunity or time for.

Zeglers (Zivile Einsatzgruppe) are technically patrol officers who work in civilian clothing rather than uniforms. They are not plainclothes detectives, although they spend a portion of their time "staking out" areas like parking garages and bicycle lock-ups around subway and commuter train stations. They also check out the local drug trade and make traffic stops when vehicles are suspected of being stolen. They in essence do the bottomline observational work that Canadian detective units would do, but also operate from the mandate that uniformed police officers have and act in conjunction with patrol units. Patrol units certainly bring activities and places requiring observation to the attention of zeg units after they have received an initial call by a citizen. Similarly, zeglers may request a patrol car to aid them in doing transportation to the station for

processing, or any other tasks required. Zeglars are also swift in responding to aid when police officers are encountering difficulties.

Zeg units seem to be fairly autonomous, independent, and seem to attract the “characters” within the station. They tend to form their own subculture within the subculture, with officers often being known only by their nicknames even among uniformed patrol officers. They also tend to assemble away from the station, so while uniformed officers use the station as a base to socialize and communicate with their colleagues, the zeglars tend to assemble at various places in the city (like all night gas stations).

Their shift schedules are also different from the regular platoons, so they tend to build their cohort among all of the zeg officers working within a zone. This may contribute to the animosity that sometimes exists between zeg and uniformed officers. One of the more common calls zeg units respond to, is an alarm of some sort. On an August night shift, an optical house alarm was set off and we arrived on scene along with a team of zeglars. No one was at home so the house could only be checked over from the outside. This was done fairly carefully, but there were no signs of a break-in. It was decided to rouse one of the neighbors, who said that the homeowners were away and wouldn't return for another week. Since it was only an optical and not acoustic alarm, and didn't seem to be bothering anyone, one of the officers informed dispatch that there might be further calls for this address, but that they should be ignored. At the end of this call one of the zeg officers accused the uniformed officers of not doing their share of the work.¹⁰

Zeglers were often seen exhibiting behavior that a uniformed police officer would think twice about, being sometimes more aggressive and certainly verbally more abusive. Part of the reason may be because of their plainclothes activities; dressed to fit in with the street scene and spending time in problem areas, leaves them far more inconspicuous than a uniformed officer, and therefore exposed to more of the spontaneous trouble that may occur than a uniformed officer would ever walk into. It certainly was the case while I was in Munich that an intoxicated member of the public physically attacked an on-duty zegler who had stopped to buy a coffee because he was wearing a patch on his jacket from a local soccer club. Fights break out frequently between fans regarding club affiliation, so this event was not an abnormal occurrence, but in this case the zeglers present certainly used their authority as police officers to indicate their disapproval of the youth's actions.

The person with overriding responsibility each shift is the ADL (Aussendienstleiter) who spends the shift on the street monitoring the activities of each patrol car, and coordinating patrol units in the zone if something larger occurred. S/he might also make visits to all of the stations in the zone to touch base and see what was going on that shift. The ADL car is equipped with a scanner that picks up the coded status of each unit as they either receive their assignments from dispatch or answer calls autonomously. Each of the four rotations has its own ADL, with a pool as well of support officers who can act as ADL when necessary.

The Verfüeungsgruppe (hereafter VG) is the branch that provides a pool of trained police officers for use in any area where police personnel is lacking. They can be called in as support for large-scale gatherings, handling things like traffic control for special events, and will also jump in as regular shift officers when platoons are short-staffed. They have their own hours of regular work, which normally do not include complete night shifts unless an officer is specifically assigned to a regular platoon. With some stations the zeglars may be a branch of the VG, although differentiation regarding the direction of zeg units is dependent on the internal personnel structure.

The Einsatzhundertschaft (hereafter EH) are comprised of young, sworn police officers, who have yet to finish a certain amount of practical training on the street before they get assignments to police stations. This time can take up to one-and-a-half years depending on availability of assignments. They largely travel in groups or units under the command of police officers who have already attained a certain level of experience. A couple of the officers with whom I worked were later offered the assignment of unit leaders with the EH. These units provide support when large numbers of people are needed for a particular call, for example when searching for children, or securing areas that need to be searched for either evidence or suspects.

The Unterstuetzungskommando (or USK) are specially trained police officers who serve in four platoons in Munich. They are available for more serious occurrences and are considered to be more the physical “enforcement” arm of uniformed policing. They are

not to be confused with the Sondereinsatzkommando (or SEK) who are the equivalent of a S.W.A.T. unit.

On certain calls, the criminal investigation branch of the Schutzpolizei, called the Kriminaldauerdienst (KDD), must be called in and they are available 24 hours a day to take over the criminal investigation duties. In situations like break-and-enter, or suspicious deaths, the KDD always attend to secure forensic evidence and do more detailed work regarding gathering of evidence. All of the information that the KDD gather is then written up and passed on to the criminal investigation bureau of the German police, called the Kriminalpolizei (or Kripo for short), which is a separate organization somewhat analogous to the FBI in the States.

Uniform

All police officers are given a basic clothing allowance out of which they must purchase a uniform. The uniform is standardized for all of Germany, with only small details indicating the state and city affiliation of an officer. Police officers also wear no name tags and carry no identifying number on their uniform, which occasionally disconcerts some citizens when they wish to identify a specific officer. It has been suggested several times in the past that officers should begin wearing name tags, but this has been vehemently fought against. A citizen, should s/he wish to identify an officer must personally ask for his/her name. One officer suggested the reason was twofold: first, that

it would lessen the number of complaints made against officers, if citizens were required to evaluate whether a situation was serious enough to warrant asking for an officer's name, and second, because "it isn't anyone's business what my name is". It was found though, that when officers were asked for their names for legitimate reasons (whether to follow-up on a case, or to enable an irate citizen to make a complaint), they were willing to do so; it was only in situations where officers did not clearly see a need to provide citizens with their names that they refused to do so.

Basically an officer wears tan coloured trousers and socks with black shoes, a pale yellow shirt (short or long-sleeved depending on the season), green tie (when a jacket is worn, or with the long-sleeved shirt alone), and a green cap. Officers working in traffic division wear a white cap with green brim. A green blazer is worn to ceremonial functions. For outside wear officers have a black leather bomber style jacket, or a green quilted jacket for cold weather. In winter, a green or tan sweater can also be worn, with a tan knitted scarf. Motorcycle units wear a complete suit of green leather. As is the case with many police services employing women, there is an ongoing attempt to try to fit women with uniforms designed specifically for them, rather than issuing them with the standard men's clothing.

A black leather belt holds the pistol, handcuffs, spare magazine, and whatever else an officer feels s/he needs (e.g. ring for nightstick or flashlight, pocket knife or similar tool, etc.). Leather gloves are quite often slipped through the belt at the back. Although

officers are equipped with a stick, I don't recall ever seeing an officer carry one with him/her. Most buy heavy flashlights, and tend to carry that when necessary. Part of the rationale is that a nightstick makes them look too aggressive, whereas a flashlight has another primary function. All officers are issued a 9mm Heckler and Koch pistol. One of the similarities between German and Canadian police officers is the ubiquitous briefcase, which holds all of the forms they require as well as volumes of a few of the legal codes most often used.

While heavy bullet-proof vests are in the trunk of every car, they are unpopular with officers because of their bulk and weight. I never saw a police officer put one on while I was there. Instead, many of them wish for the lighter vests that many North American officers wear, but these are not issued as part of necessary equipment as they are in North American departments. Since officers must buy them themselves, and clothing allowances are not usually large enough to budget for such an expensive item, most officers do without the extra protection. During the summer of 1995, the police union pushed for subsidies that would help officers buy vests if they wished them, and they were successful to a limited degree. Since then, several officers whom I worked with have ordered lightweight bullet-proof vests, and are making use of them.

The only way of differentiating between state and city of origin of a police officer is through a number of small insignia and badges on the uniform. All states in Germany have their own crest which is worn on a patch on the upper left arm of the uniform shirt

and jacket. This immediately identifies an officer as Bavarian, or from another state. A small shield on the cap also contains the basic state symbol. A shield worn on the right pocket of the uniform shirt or jacket indicates essentially which city an officer belongs to (although this can also define a particular large unit, like the Bepo). Other branches of service personnel in the city also wear this city shield on the uniform pocket, including some municipal workers like tram operators, and military personnel.

Rank is identified in two ways, first, the band that curves around the front of the uniform cap just above the visor, carries either a largely green, silver or gold stripe in it. This means that the wearer is a member of one of the three service groups of “mittlerer”, “gehobener” or “hoeherer dienst”. Shoulder insignia, worn on all uniform shirts and jackets, sport stars which are also either green, silver or gold (again indicating service group). The number of stars present indicates which rank an officer is at: therefore, three green stars is “Polizeiobermeister” (or POM), one silver star is “Polizeikommissar” (or PK), one gold star is “Polizeirat”, and so on.

The overall effect of the uniform seems to be a generally quieting one. Police officers don't look very aggressive on the street, and in fact, with the leather jackets on, tend to blend into the crowd to a large degree. Thus there is a great emphasis by higher ranking officers to encourage the wearing of uniform caps to ensure easier identification, but officers tend to try to avoid doing so whenever possible.

Officers are expected to be neat and tidy in their appearance. Male officers can have beards and mustaches, and women are allowed to wear their hair long and loose, although they are technically supposed to tie their hair back and limit the size of their earrings while on patrol. There is a tendency for women to sport long hair, which in some ways is still tied to cultural attributes of femininity, therefore very few younger women wear their hair short. In 1995, upper management indicated concern over the safety of that practice, but when the majority of women indicated they were unwilling to have their hair regulated, the debate was abandoned.¹¹ Males, on the other hand, are considered to be unkempt if their hair is below the collar, although extremely short haircuts are also discouraged because of the visual connection to skinheads. It is also not unusual to see officers wearing glasses.

One of the station chiefs spoke to me about the appearance of some officers, deploring that some of his men felt they could present themselves to the public in an untidy uniform with stubble on their chins, while anyone in the country who walked into a bank would automatically be served by someone with a neat and tidy appearance. During my sojourn there, I did hear about a few conversations he had with officers about their less-than-sterling appearance. It must be admitted that a few officers did seem to have trouble conforming to standards of personal presentation, but on the whole officers did endeavour to maintain a good appearance regardless of what circumstances they were involved in on the street.

Equipment

Police vehicles in Germany are white with a green stripe, although some vehicles can be completely green. Cars used for patrol are usually of Audi or BMW make, with vans being used for transporting larger contingents of officers, or carrying police dogs. Although each car has the requisite flashing blue light, and some possess a digital board allowing brief instructional messages to be flashed, no car has yet been equipped with spotlight capability which makes night patrols somewhat difficult if light is required. It is not unusual for an officer who is seeking an address late at night, to have to use a hand-held flashlight from the car. No car has a safety barrier, or “cage”, between the front and rear seats, although rear-view mirrors are designed to afford a complete view of the back seat. The rear doors are all equipped with a security lock.

At this point, computers are non-existent in patrol cars, although there are increasingly more and more in the stations. The computers in stations have gone through software upgrades, and shortly after I finished my fieldwork, the daily log-book was converted from hand-written entries to a computerized version at both of the stations where I worked. The computer system does go down at times, which may result in a lengthy wait for important information, as happened in one case when an address was required for an elderly female Alzheimer’s patient who had gotten lost.

Cars and stations are equipped however with two radio systems, one of which is the official airwave that gets picked up and logged at the Einsatzzentrale, and the other used as the immediate contact point between patrol car and station. The technology is fairly old, and doesn't always work well. Portable radios tend to be carried by hand and it has happened that an officer realizes upon reaching the station that the radio has been forgotten at the last call. On a display board attached to the dash of the car is a series of buttons which officers press to indicate their status, e.g. pressing "1" would indicate to the EZ that you are available for calls. A special digital unit in the car of the ADL, lets that officer know by number the current status of every patrol car within that zone.

Ideally, each car is equipped with heavy bullet proof vests, emergency roadside kit, first aid kit, broom, measuring tape or apparatus, hand-held stop sign, camera and a locked case containing a machine pistol. 'Ideally' is the operative word, since it was quite common for vehicles to be missing most of the equipment listed, leaving officers to make do with the most important items, a "radio, a weapon, and something to write with" (Held 1992:58).

The state of repair of equipment was sometimes a burden to officers; it becomes difficult to efficiently use time when alcohol units are not equipped with paper, or vehicles have non-functioning sirens and lights, and certainly becomes dangerous when radios don't work in critical situations. Officers have also been delayed in getting out on shift when there is a shortfall of running and fully functional vehicles.¹²

Shift Schedules

Officers must work a minimum 40 hour week, averaging 7-8 shifts a month. Each month requires a certain number of working days, based on the possible number of shift days available in a particular month. If an officer works more hours than required over the course of the month, s/he receives a shift off (called a DA -- Dienstaussgleich). Hours of work can be built up in a number of ways: 1) straight shift work; 2) overtime; 3) officially designated hours of sport or in-house training; and, 4) accepting assignments, like guard duty of a consulate, which requires officers to arrive before the start of their shift, or leave after the end of shift to ensure continuous coverage.

Officers also get a higher rate of pay for night shifts, afternoon shifts that occur on a Saturday, all Sundays, and all holidays. This payment is called a DUZ (Dienst zu ungunstigen Zeiten), and is intended to be recompense for working hours that most citizens are not required to work.

One complete shift occurs every four days, that is the four station platoons rotate over a period of four days. The complete shift or "tour of duty" to be more precise, begins with an afternoon shift which usually starts at around noon and runs to about seven o'clock in the evening (times are approximate because some stations vary start times slightly). Officers begin again the next morning at six and work till noon. They then have seven hours to sleep and gather themselves for the night shift which begins that evening around

seven. They are relieved the next morning (i.e. on the third day of a four day rotation) at six o'clock. The rest of that day and the next are free time. Then the rotation begins again.

Due to certain logistical considerations, I rarely worked a complete tour of duty, but did do both the afternoon and night shifts every four days. Contact time in essence was 18 hours every rotation, with occasional extra shifts if I decided to work with both stations at one time. Hereafter I will refer to individual afternoon, morning or night shifts as a "shift", and a set of shifts over a four day rotation as a "tour of duty".

Patrols

Within a given zone the number of patrols can vary depending on the availability of personnel and cars for the shift. Other factors would also be the need for special assignments like protection of various buildings considered targets for terrorist attack which might mean assigning a patrol car to drive by a series of buildings on an hourly basis (officially called "Objektschutz" and referred to by police officers as "Rallye"), or assigning a team of officers essentially to guard duty on site. One station I worked at had both types of guard assignments on a permanent basis, while the other station only put on an hourly patrol when security measures needed to be tightened in Munich in general.

Patrol cars are each assigned a particular number reflecting the station they are from and indicating which unit they are. Unit numbers are assigned by function, for example, "1" might be the unit responsible for taking on emergency calls (and had to try and keep themselves available for that), "2" might be available for more general calls, "3" might be rallye, "4" might be dedicated just for traffic duty, and so on. These numbers never changed so officers would know from the number on their shift schedule which unit they would be working that day.¹³ Obviously, if the pace was very hectic on a particular shift, some of these units could take on calls normally intended for other units, except for the rallye unit which can only help out in an emergency and then only if there is a team in the car rather than a solo driver.

Shift schedules were worked out one tour of duty in advance, so officers always knew what assignments were coming up. They were always assigned a variety of tasks over a tour of duty, for example, an officer who worked "1" on the afternoon shift, might be assigned guard duty and "3" the morning shift, and have inside duty on the watch for the first half of the night shift and end up with "2" in the early morning hours. Unfortunately, sometimes events occur that keep one unit tied up for a whole shift, and although rare, it did happen that officers might end up spending almost the entire shift doing guard duty at a consulate rather than having a chance to transfer to more active duty during the shift.

Officers also work in pairs, although during the day an officer can work solo in a cruiser if they work 'rallye', or foot patrol, or if an extra person is available during the day it is

possible to assign them to solo car patrol. Officers who work solo are not allowed to take on any calls that might be considered dangerous. Policy dictates that just about every type of call requires the presence of two officers, and no officer is allowed to work solo between sundown and sunrise. It is also still policy that two women cannot be partnered; a woman must always have a male partner, although during the day she can drive solo 'rallye', or solo patrol (obviously adhering to the same restrictions regarding calls that any male patrolling alone would face). Conceivably, this restriction on women could lead to situations where fewer patrols can be assigned on some shifts because of illnesses and vacation days among male officers on platoons where there is a low male to female ratio. At worst, it could mean that women are shunted into non-patrol functions to accommodate the logistics of setting up patrols, or that women might be targeted for transfer out of platoons to the VG where they might more easily be deployed, if the workable limit has been reached for a specific platoon. In order to avoid these difficulties in the near future, upper management will be forced to revise their approach toward allowing women to patrol in pairs.

Typical shift

There is no official "parade" or "roll call" before a shift begins. If the DGL feels that something must be passed on before officers head out, it is done informally and primarily to those who need to know for that shift. It is always possible that something specific

needs to be reported and for that the DGL will call all people together at some point during the shift to pass on the news.

Inability to work for a shift or tour of duty is normally reported to the DGL the day before. On those infrequent occasions where it is impossible to do so, the platoon either works one person short, or gets a replacement officer for that tour from the VG. Someone is always absent from any tour because of the assignment of DA (the shift off), so the platoon is never at its full strength.

On certain days of the month, and depending on how each station structures their time, platoons will meet a few hours before an afternoon shift (i.e. in morning) for a few hours of exercise. Usually this is a team effort involving playing soccer, but it is possible for individual officers to go running or work out in a gym. One of the officers on the platoon may have done a course offered by the police establishment on facilitating proper sports training, and s/he will take charge of organizing exercise events for the platoon. Once a month, again before or after one of the shifts (depending on the preference of the Polizeirat), platoons meet for in-house training on a variety of topics. This is designed to make officers aware of important issues and facilitate the relationship between the ranks.

When they are not doing sport or in-house training, officers arrive approximately half an hour before the beginning of shift to change out of street clothes and put on uniforms (that is, if they are not stuck in traffic jams on the freeways, which happened a few times

while I was there). During that time they update each other on personal news, particularly if it is the beginning of the afternoon shift since they usually haven't seen each other for a couple of days. They will gradually drift up to the kitchen and duty room where they will seek out their counterparts from the off-going shift and officially relieve them. If there is nothing pressing, they will gather in the kitchen to drink coffee, discuss personal events and possibly eat lunch. All patrol units are given a handwritten form, a patrol sheet (Streifenzettel), detailing what particular things they must look out for while on the street, and also what jobs they are to concentrate on (for example, checks for stolen bicycles, checks on the beer gardens in summer, controls for traffic light infractions, etc.).¹⁴ Officers also use the time at the beginning of shift to finish paperwork, and to check the logbook for what has occurred on previous shifts. The duty officer prepares the platoon's section of the logbook by stamping it and noting pertinent information. Officers can be called out at any time, but most leave the station for an initial tour of their area within an hour of the beginning of shift. Those officers who do 'rallye' or guard duty will already be gone since their schedules vary somewhat.

The dynamic in the station varies to some degree, depending on which shift is underway. A morning shift is more formal, even in the more relaxed atmosphere of a German police station. Many senior officers are around, catching up on their paperwork. Officers tend to spend the first few hours, before the city gets busy, typing out reports, and then try to have breakfast together. The calls are typically related to offences -- break-ins or false alarms. Afternoon shifts can be very service oriented, with a lot of interaction with

citizens who encounter problems during the supper hour. Parking complaints are also common during this shift. Night shifts concentrate more on noise complaints, drunk driving charges and traffic stops in general (and seem to be the times when encounters are more common with disturbed persons).

When officers leave, they load the vehicle with their briefcases, hats, and leather uniform jackets, check that the machine pistol is in place and record the details of that weapon into a special logbook kept in the car (if a weapon is not in the car, they sign it out at the beginning of shift), and sometimes check to see what extra equipment is available in the car, for example, a camera, measuring tape, or a hand-held stop sign (kelle). If there is no specific call to attend, officers will proceed to areas where recurring parking problems will allow them to write tickets or check something out, or they follow up on work from other shifts (i.e. return to a citizen's home to conclude some paperwork), proceed on work listed on the patrol sheet, or arbitrarily cruise an area just to see what's new.

When officers feel they've spent enough time on patrol (and of course, if they are not required elsewhere), they return to the station to continue any outstanding paperwork, and/or have some coffee and refresh themselves. This cycle may repeat itself several times over the course of a shift. Obviously there are shifts where so much occurs that officers may not get a break between calls. Unlike patrolling in Canada, no officers ever request when they might come in for lunch break; although they do sometimes monitor what other units are doing to gauge when it might be best to return to the station for a

meal break. Sometimes 'hidden' messages went out to units on the road that food had arrived at the station and they should come in to eat. As the area they patrol is quite compact, they are likely to get to a call just as quickly from the station as from a location on the road, therefore the timing of meals or breaks was normally not problematic. Suppers were also usually a communal affair, with most, if not all patrol officers in the station at one time for the meal.

Each station differs slightly, of course, in its approach to shift "habits". The station attached to a larger population in the middle of business and residential sections of the city, was out on the road more sporadically, and dealt with a larger number of people actually coming to the station. The area they had to patrol was also considerably smaller than that of the second station I was familiar with. The second station, which was located in the more industrial end of the city and incorporated several large parks, spent more time on the road, and were more inclined to go into the station only briefly for meals and to do paperwork.

In the station, the officer(s) on the watch primarily answer the telephone and deal with the public through that medium, and help citizens who come into the station for a variety of problems. Watch officers also help out patrol units when they have so many calls they cannot catch up on the paperwork that is being generated. Patrol units will, in turn, take over watch duties for short periods of time, particularly when a shift is so busy that the watch officer has not had time to eat. The dynamic within the duty room can change

rapidly from periods of seemingly chaotic activity involving noisy suspects, officers typing frantically, and units from other stations needing to do additional paperwork, to sudden peace and calm when everyone has cleared out and only a couple of officers remain who are silently filling out forms.

All officers, when doing paperwork, make a handwritten or typewritten entry into a logbook. This entry is cross-referenced to another logbook by last name of the persons involved, and to a third log by the file number assigned to it. This file number is given out in sequential order and passed on to members of the public if they need to talk to insurance companies or refer back to the police on the matter. It is therefore common to be on a call and have a police officer use the telephone in the victim/complainant's house to procure a file number for them. Actual reports are prepared on either a typewriter or computer. Computers also provide access to a number of information nets, for example, the registration of German citizens by address, and the previous record of convictions for citizens.

If someone is brought in to be placed in a cell, a regular check must be made on their well-being and noted in a logbook. There is also a breathalyzer located at each station, and citizens are regularly brought in to check alcohol levels. If they approach the limit a blood test may be ordered; if they are over the limit they must be taken to a medical unit of the judicial branch for a blood alcohol test. Citizens continually come in and out of the station for a variety of reasons. Both victims and the arrested mingle on the watch, some

for short periods of time and others sometimes for many hours depending on the circumstances.

During the shift the DGL watches over the platoon in a number of ways. S/he monitors the radio traffic to aid units in any way possible, checks over paperwork to determine what errors must be corrected before it can be sent on for further processing, assigns units to specific calls that come into the station rather than through the EZ, provides procedural support as officer in charge, and generally maintains a loose supervisory hand over the events that occur while dealing with normal paperwork (i.e. creating the next shift schedule, checking and signing off on the logbook, etc.).

Toward the end of the shift, one of the duty officers washes dishes that have been used, and tidies the kitchen and duty room. As officers return from the last run, they settle down to finish up paperwork for that shift, help the watch answer phones, and start to unwind from the events of the day. If it is the end of a night shift, one of the units might drive to a local baker to procure breakfast for the platoon. Should a call come in in the last 10 minutes of the shift, it is weighed as to degree of importance and if it is an emergency, one of the patrol units will attend. If not, it is noted and passed on to the next shift. Some of the dispatchers will also tell units to pass certain calls on to the next shift if it is close to quitting time. Officers will generally clean out the car (i.e. remove their briefcases, etc.) sometime in the last 15-20 minutes of the shift, depending on their speculations as to whether it will stay quiet. Everyone tends to wait in the duty room

until the incoming shift shows up and relieves them, after which they drift out to the changing rooms.

What occurs afterward depends on which shift has just been completed. Following an afternoon shift, many of the officers will spend the evening together having dinner somewhere or sharing a few beers. Since time is quite short between the morning shift and night shift, officers might take care of personal business, engage in exercise, and get some sleep. Some stations schedule in-house training sessions during this time. Once the night shift is over, and depending on state of fatigue, officers will either get some sleep immediately, or if they are commuters and particularly if they belong to a car pool, will make the drive home. The state of fatigue was always a concern to me, since some of these people had to drive over 200 km to get to their home towns. I was always told not to worry, that they knew their limits, but tragically, one of the officers I worked with was indeed killed in a car crash several months after I had left the field, when he apparently fell asleep at the wheel driving home after a night shift.

Close quarters in a city means that people use the police to react to minor annoyances. Noise complaints are common whether in Germany or Canada, and I have attended as many as seven calls in one night related to this alone. After one of the calls when a woman yelled down to us that there really was a party going on, but it was over now, and she wouldn't have called for nothing (Ich ruf nicht an umsonst), Gisela muttered to me

under her breath that most of the time they do come for nothing (Wir kommen meistens umsonst).

One of the more complicated noise complaints occurred in July when officers were called to a place that I had been to before. A couple living in an older building complained repeatedly about the noise a child was making in the apartment over them. The officers spoke briefly to them, but their reaction seemed to be a bit strange. Paul decided to move things along a bit and told the male complainant to come up to the apartment and talk to the people upstairs himself. He was reluctant at first, but Paul kept pushing, saying that it was his chance to try and sort it out. So he finally accompanied us upstairs. The couple appeared at the door and they tried to hold a rational conversation with the male, saying they had a normal active child who could not be restrained all day, but the male just kept reiterating the question of when the disturbance was going to stop. The man's wife came upstairs and joined his litany. A next door neighbor looked out, and accused the male of throwing a baby carriage out for garbage pick up. Paul and Ben made no attempt to intervene, but let everyone argue for a while. In the end, the complainant got increasingly unpleasant and began to giggle, so Paul told them to go back down to their apartment because nothing was being accomplished. They left, and we went into the upstairs apartment to talk to the couple with the child -- the mother greeted me, remembering that I had been there before with another unit -- and Ben and Paul advised them to initiate some sort of legal action otherwise they would never have any peace. They said that they were already intending to do that and we left them and returned to the complainants'

apartment. Paul asked them what they wanted the police to do. They had no idea, and Paul patiently explained again that the police really can't do anything in such a situation. The male began to get upset again, and Paul said we were needed elsewhere on another call and we would have to go. I turned around and headed out the door, and in that moment the male made some comment about 'getting the people upstairs' and apparently mimicked firing a pistol. Paul immediately asked whether he owned any weapons and then warned him about making threats, telling him to be careful what he did. We finally got to head out into the pouring rain. The entire framing of this noise complaint was unusual in that the officers attempted to resolve the problem by bringing the two disputing parties together in face-to-face discussion, without success.

Responding to break-ins is an important aspect of police service, yet can also be frustrating in the limitations of what can be done. Citizens have different ways of dealing with this type of violation of space and loss of belongings ranging from calmness to hysteria. Being able to stabilize a situation and restrain citizens from the first impulse to "clean up", and thereby ruin whatever clues might be left, is crucial to reducing the frustration component of such calls. Obviously, at times this is impossible, as occurred in a rather curious incident in July, where nothing had actually been taken. The inhabitant woke up at night to see someone leaving her apartment and found some half-eaten cheese and an open bottle of champagne on her kitchen chair. Because she was a doctor and had to work a shift she delayed calling the police until later in the afternoon. When we arrived, the locksmith was there installing new locks for her. Edmund called the KDD to

explain the situation, and informed the complainant that the locksmith should actually stop working until the Kripo had had a chance to take a look around. The woman stated rather sharply that she had a shift in an hour and couldn't stop the locksmith now, particularly since she paid him by the hour. Edmund said fine, but it would make it all that much more difficult for the Kripo to do their work and subsequently make a satisfactory report.

Much of police work is also based on having citizens become actively involved in identifying problems and suspects. With break-ins this is usually an after-the-fact situation, when neighbours finally notice something is wrong. These situations tend to be based largely on conducting a simple routine sequence of viewing the site and asking questions for reports, but occasionally have their more dramatic elements. In March, a couple living in an apartment building called to report that there had been a break-in in an apartment one floor up, and they also had descriptions of two suspicious males in the area. The Kripo were called, but we took a quick look at the apartment before they arrived. The door had been kicked in, and the floors were littered with garbage and hypodermic needles. Paul and the downstairs neighbor walked straight in to the back of the apartment, while I hung back a bit with Edmund. As I watched Paul proceed in, I heard the sound of metal on leather, and turning around found that Edmund had drawn his weapon and was entering another room in a crouch. He very carefully checked that room and the one beyond and found nothing, although he told me later that he drew his weapon because he thought he heard a sound in there. The entire apartment was empty though.

We all returned to the couple's apartment and waited for the Kripo to show up. A team of zeglars called in a few minutes later, saying they had two possible suspects in view, and wanted the man to come around and see if he could ID them. The zeglars showed up themselves to drive him by the suspects who were now being detained by a uniformed patrol. While he was gone, the two officers conversed with the woman, who offered us coffee. It was interesting to watch the officers walk around and look at pictures and souvenirs that were displayed. They asked the woman about the subject of the photos and pictures, and then conversed with her about the building and the tenants, and commiserated on the terrible state of the apartment upstairs. Then the conversation moved to the previous difficulties the couple had with the upstairs tenant and his friends, and concluded finally with the general state of crime today and how it's getting worse all the time. Having gone full circle from personal to global themes, the conversation began again on personal matters, but in a more humorous vein; Paul joked that the woman could have a ride on the helicopter that was circling in the area, and by this time the woman was so comfortable with the officers there, that when the zeglars returned with her husband (who could not positively ID the two suspects) and asked for some plastic wrap to secure a piece of evidence, the woman laughingly bossed all of the officers around who could not manage to get a piece of plastic torn off of the roll. Shortly after this, the Kripo arrived to take over the investigation.

Procedures

The paperwork burden on police officers is quite heavy, something they have in common with officers in Canada as well (Ericson and Haggerty 1997:296). As each platoon is organized to have one officer on duty within the station each shift, it is not uncommon for patrol officers responding to minor calls to inform members of the public that they will have to go to the station to have a report made. This happens, for example, in cases of theft from vehicles.

As in Canada, the dissemination of information to bystanders is done on a need to know basis; this can sometimes cause irritation on the part of those observing an arrest with resistance on the part of the suspect. Citizens may end up being told quite bluntly that it is none of their business. Sometimes members of the public who call police for a minor event, may take frustrations out on the police, and if this becomes serious enough to hinder a police officer in doing his or her duty, a verbal warning or caution (Platzverweis) may be given. This informs the citizen that if they do not desist from their behavior they can be taken into the station and be charged with obstruction.

Searches are usually conducted with careful adherence to people's rights; but at times seemed to be undertaken with only a minimal amount of explanation to the person involved. In one situation, a woman had been robbed by a young male who had subsequently escaped into the subway system. Several young males matching the

description were stopped and their pockets and knapsacks searched, usually with the minimal explanation that they matched the description of someone involved in a robbery. In one case, no explanation was given at all, and the youth was just asked whether the officers could have a look in his knapsack. He complied without question. Legally, police must have a reason for a search but are not required to state why a search is underway -- it could be for safety when someone is arrested -- but even in the above case, a police officer must be able to produce probable grounds for the reason for a search (Gallwas 1993:92).

Similarly, when doing traffic stops, police are also not legally able to search a person's car or trunk without a reason. By law, however, drivers must carry a roadside emergency kit. Since most people tend to carry such an item in their trunk, and police officers can legally request to see the kit while conducting a traffic stop, access to the trunk of a vehicle is subsequently gained.

Police regularly set up traffic controls on the freeways, when almost every vehicle that comes by is waved down for a quick licence check and particularly to gauge if any alcohol has been consumed. These controls are usually done by EH or Bepo personnel, but occasionally regular patrol units do them as well. If a person is suspected of drinking, they are taken back to the station for an alcotest. While coordination of this transport is usually smooth, on one occasion an officer made the decision to drive a motorist to the station alone, while his partner drove in the male's vehicle. This is technically against the

police regulation stipulating that officers may not drive solo at night, and certainly not with someone in the back seat. Even in these situations though, officers must often make a personal judgement on what is the best action to take, and tend to try and favor the citizen.

At traffic accidents, sites are usually measured and diagrammed as part of the report. More serious accidents, or those involving potential disputes, may warrant the taking of photographs. Most minor accidents, if they are uncomplicated events, are dealt with very simply, by having people move their vehicles out of the traffic flow, and exchanging cards with basic information regarding the identities of drivers and the addresses of insurance companies. Officers encourage motorists, whenever possible, to go this route rather than having the police write up reports, because that usually leads to the necessity of having to write a ticket for someone. It is also less expensive for motorists to admit to committing a traffic violation; if the officer feels a charge must be laid in the case of motorists who do not accept the responsibility of their actions, the price of the corresponding ticket goes up.

Once the motorists are underway with the exchange of information, police officers can leave on other calls, and this was occasionally done even when there were obviously negative feelings between the drivers. If officers are dispatched outside of their area to an accident, they must go to the area station to make an entry in their logbook, as well as noting it in their own. Some accidents will also require that a special traffic unit be

dispatched, for example, when a child has been struck by a car, or when the driver at fault does not have a local residence, and certainly if diplomatic staff are involved.

If an accident involves a transport truck, or even if a truck is simply checked at a convenient stop, drivers must show their automated record (tachoscheibe) of their mileage and speeds; this disc also records how long they took for rest stops. Officers can give drivers a ticket and pressure them into taking a rest stop if their record shows that they haven't been sleeping enough on long hauls.

Police procedure also means, at times, approaching things in the most direct way possible. Officers will certainly take a hand in clearing the street of debris after a traffic accident -- a broom is a standard piece of equipment found in the trunk of every cruiser -- and officers certainly do their share of pushing vehicles off of roads if they are blocking traffic. In one instance, a vehicle was blocking a streetcar by only a few centimeters, and one of the police officers on site actually requested a few bystanders to give us a hand in lifting the car over a few inches so the tram could get by. In that situation, it was impossible to get hold of the owner of the vehicle, and because a streetcar was involved, which runs on fixed tracks, it was necessary to apply an immediate solution.

Officers must also sometimes take a direct hand in ensuring that citizens act with some responsibility towards their neighbors, if they seem to be incapable of courteous and thoughtful behavior on their own. One call involved a very drunk party goer who had

vomited over the side of a balcony, onto the rear steps of the kitchen of a rather busy restaurant. The restaurant owner complained to the police, who went over and determined who had done the deed and escorted a male in the apartment downstairs so that he could clean up the mess.

For some officers, getting there fast is a challenge, and there is occasionally a danger that they will overdo it. This may mean that the officer who is not driving that day, may try to instill some type of calm into the driving partner. For example, in May we got a call that there was a car on fire at a parking garage, and Fritz tore over there at such a speed, that Artur felt compelled to say, "You know, there's no one dying there, o.k.". Not too long after, he added, "There's no panic, Fritz, don't panic". We arrived to find a lot of fire trucks and a very smoky second level of the garage. A parked vehicle had burned (just the interior, not the motor) and it seemed a bit suspicious. The firefighters said someone must have set the interior alight, and that the building sustained a small amount of damage.

Since Munich possesses a superb subway and train system, it also attracts those who are looking for a quick way to commit suicide. A television documentary on the rail system estimated that statistically every German train conductor would get at least one suicide over their working lives. One of the days when I was heading up to Station B (which I needed to get to by subway), I was delayed for the first hour of the shift while a suicide victim was pulled off the track farther down the line. Some of these attempted suicides

would have to spend time in the station before they could be transferred to Haar, the psychiatric hospital.

In March I had spent a few hours at the library in the Polizeipraesidium at the beginning of shift, and therefore missed my two partners dealing with a disturbed male who had tried to commit suicide in one of the subway stations. They brought him into the station to wait for transport to Haar, while they did paperwork. The male was placed in one of the interview rooms which had windows to the duty room and the radio room, so that people could keep an eye on him. And maybe it was just as well that I wasn't along when they picked him up, for he was very agitated, occasionally shouting at people in the station, threatening to kill them (this was also addressed to me at one point). He also managed, despite being handcuffed to the chair he was sitting on, to throw an ashtray across the duty room, and shortly thereafter tried to walk out, cuffs, chair and all. Albert and Fritz manhandled him back into the interview room, and Paul, who was duty officer that night, berated him for throwing the ashtray and told him he'd better behave himself. It took almost three hours before an ambulance came to transport him to the psychiatric institution.

Domestic disputes were among the most common calls I attended, both in doing research with Canadian police as well as in Munich. These calls take a lot of psychological energy and are extremely "anticipatory", that is, officers never really know what they will encounter in these situations. In both countries, I have attended calls where women have

physically attacked their male partners, but the more prevalent event is the opposite scenario. Obviously, not all domestic disputes are physically violent; they may simply involve two or more parties in verbal disagreements that upset citizens in the immediate vicinity as well. The usual procedure is to try and separate the parties primarily to collect the stories without inciting further inflammatory exchanges, but also to establish some peace in the neighbourhood for other inconvenienced citizens.

In one instance, just after midnight in April, two men at the top floor landing of a building began arguing over whom the woman would stay with (she was the girlfriend of one male and had had a relationship with the other). When the two officers arrived and asked what the story was, both men began shoving each other. Robert and Gustav stepped between them and separated them. We all started back down the stairs so that the officers could get the argument out of the building, but didn't get very far because both males were still yelling at each other. As their body language was fairly aggressive, one officer took one male a few flights lower, while the other officer remained with the second male to try and calm him down. I remained one flight above all of them with the woman involved. Both officers tried to get the males to calm down, and the male on the landing just below me (who was with Robert) was particularly aggressive. Since the hallways of apartments in Germany are generally operated by lighting systems which switch off after a few minutes, the lights kept turning off during the altercation and had to be switched back on several times. Finally, because we were all separated out, too many people reached for the light switch at the same time, and the entire stairwell light system

shorted out. Both officers were fortunately carrying flashlights and switched them on, to continue the discussion, although Gustav who was much farther down, finished getting the particulars from his party first and told him to leave the building. Meanwhile, the male with Robert became more vocal, and Gustav had to tell him a couple of times that he couldn't deal with anything the male was telling him at that point, because his first priority was to try to keep him quiet since other people in the building were trying to sleep. When Gustav checked the stairwell and said his party had left the building, we headed back down to the cruiser, this time with the man and woman arguing all the way. At the car the male was asked for his ID, and the woman finally stormed off. She reappeared at her window (on the fifth floor), and the two began yelling at each other again. Gustav and Robert told them both to be quiet and let people in the building sleep. Once she had disappeared from the window, the male was asked whether he would leave quietly, and he said he wouldn't. Gustav immediately said that he could then accompany us to the station. The male was searched and cuffed and put into the back seat of the car. At that point, a friend of his happened by and asked what was going on. He was asked by the officers if he could take him home and the friend agreed to do that, saying there was no point in taking him into the station. Gustav agreed and released him. While he was removing the cuffs, the male asked for Gustav's name, saying that he had just had an operation on his wrist and that the police would be hearing from him if his hand was damaged by the cuffs. Gustav didn't respond, and as the male started walking off with his friend, he turned and shouted that police weren't welcome in Hasenberg (the area of town we were in). Gustav responded that if he had to come back that night because of him....

The male was far enough away at that point, so his next comment was unintelligible; Gustav called back "Hasenbergler."

Obviously, the volatility of these situations can draw in the officers involved, particularly if they are young, male officers (Dantzker and Mitchell 1998:174-175), and they are wearied by dealing with similar events on an ongoing basis with little to show for their efforts. In the above case, the impartiality that officers are supposed to always display, breaks down and Gustav floods out the encounter by resorting to the same name-calling that the detained male utilizes.

As alcohol plays such an important role in Bavarian culture, it is inevitable that police must deal with their share of fights. During my time there, however, the majority of fights tended to be over long before police arrived, so officers really only needed to verbally mop up the situation. For instance, in July dispatch sent out several units to one of the beer halls where there was apparently a large fight going on. When we arrived, two heavily intoxicated males were staggering out, one with a cut lip. Apparently the injured male started a fight and his best friend popped him one to shut him up. The aggressive male was still angry about something and yelled several times, his friend trying to calm him down. They both headed back into the beer hall, and we were close behind. Paul and several other officers from another station separated everyone and control was established. Paul got the information he needed for the report and eventually both intoxicated males were released and tottered out. This situation was resolved fairly easily

with the help of enhanced police presence and a citizen who, although employing somewhat drastic measures, still had enough presence of mind to try and control his friend.

Sometimes though, intoxicated or panicked people do damage not only to themselves but to physical objects, like windows and doors. One night shift in July we drove by a man standing beside a phone booth with battered hands and blood dripping on the sidewalk. He told the officers who approached him that he was locked into a pub after closing time, and felt a desperate need to get out, so he smashed his way through some glass. Walter called for an ambulance and asked that a zeg unit be sent to the pub to take a look at the actual damage. When the ambulance arrived the man was driven away, and we went over to the pub. The damage was considerable; the male had smashed his way through three glass doors. There was glass all over the sidewalk and a chair was lying by the front door with blood on it. The zeglers left and Walter tried to reach the owner of the pub without any success. Meanwhile, the fire department had arrived and they sealed the place with two new sheets of glass (they have a unit that carries panes of glass). Walter wrote a note to the owner and left it inside the door.

This incident was procedurally interesting in terms of how police, ambulance and fire-fighters cooperated to quickly resolve a problem that we had essentially discovered by accident. These agencies, similar to those in Canada, will occasionally employ disparaging rhetoric about each others' capabilities to do the job properly. On the whole,

though, they do establish a solid, cohesive working relationship that ensures a smooth performance in critical situations.

The refugee camps in the Munich area provide their own set of challenges. Aside from the fact that the drug trade is moving into the camps, and various political groups establish organized bases from them, they also become the site for interpersonal conflict and ethnic aggression. This is largely because people seeking asylum are placed in these camps without giving thought to the various warring political ideologies that may exist between peoples from different countries.¹⁵ Free time for a lot of the male refugees also means that they get involved in games of chance, which can carry their own volatility. One case involved a black male who had had his face slashed with a bottle over a dice game. The use of broken bottles as weapons is a recurring theme in these fights, leading to varying levels of damage that officers must deal with on an immediate basis, and longer-term effects of fear that refugees suffer which officers may only be able to deal with in a limited way.

For example in July, two males got into a fight near a bus stop in the area of the Olympic park. When we arrived one male was still clutching the neck of a broken bottle, of which Gustav immediately relieved him. Neither of the males was interested in discussing their argument with police, and the smaller male (who was apparently the victim) was told to come to the station the next day to press assault charges. As he seemed visibly afraid that he would be attacked again when we left, the officers drove him to a refugee camp north

of the city where he was staying. On the way he broke down and cried, and although the officers tried to talk to him, he didn't offer any other information. Gustav's final response was to say to him that it was all over and to take it like a man. Obviously, when training and procedure reach their limits, the natural cultural and verbal abilities of the individual officer take over; in this case Gustav, as a young, and somewhat inexperienced male officer, responded from his own cultural perception of what appropriate male behaviour was in such situations.

Checking the identity of persons is a fundamental part of police work. As in a number of other countries, citizens are required by law to identify themselves to police officers when requested. Choosing not to do so can create unpleasant situations. For example, in May, as we were approaching a traffic light, one of the officers saw three older, shabbily dressed men who were standing in a doorway drinking alcohol. Both officers asked for identification from all three. One male offered his documents, and another said he didn't have it with him, but offered his name and address which were duly noted. The third male, who was seriously drunk, refused to identify himself. An officer searched him and found a wallet which contained several documents all with different names on them. Leo asked him what his real name was, and the male refused to respond, so Leo informed him they would be going back to the station to clear up the matter. The male began yelling and swearing at Leo, who grabbed him by the arm and propelled him towards the van. The male fell to his knees, and Leo told him not to start that (falling down) and to stand up. He was packed into the van and asked again whether he would identify himself, and

when he again refused, we drove to the station. Along the way he suddenly stated that he would tell the officers his name, but Leo said that since we were almost there, we would go in and sort it out inside.

Once inside, the male was hostile again for a while, trying to get up and walk out, and Leo and Andreas spent some minutes struggling with him to keep him sitting. Eventually the male calmed down and gave Leo his name, which was run through the computer and came back negative. Leo told the male that he thought he had stolen the wallet, but the man insisted it was his. After additional checks had been made and came back negative, Leo showed the male that his money was still in the wallet before handing it back to him. It was explained to him that he had to identify himself when stopped, and then he was released.

Person checks with zeglers can take on additional undertones regarding the types of information gathered. In April, we followed a young male for quite a while as he tottered along the streets. When he was finally stopped for an identification check, he admitted he had just gotten high on drugs. The zeglers rolled up the sleeves of his jacket, and found needle tracks on his arms, although he insisted they were old. He was then searched for drugs, and questioned at length about his habits. When his ID check came back and they had an established name on him, he was also asked about the habits of his brother and sister, and other acquaintances, and where his friends were going currently to buy drugs or hot items.

One of the facts of life that the Munich police must deal with, is that the city itself can be a political hotbed at times, and the police must therefore be able to deal with terrorist acts, including the planting of bombs. Therefore, any call that reports a suspicious package or suitcase is dealt with very seriously.

In February, a citizen called in to report a suitcase standing by a parking garage with no one in sight to claim it. We looked around the area first to try and get a context for why a bomb might be left there, but there was no obvious reason. Johann and Heinz approached carefully, and looked the suitcase over before touching it. Further examination didn't reveal anything out of the ordinary, so they decided to open it. There were some old vacuum cleaner parts inside. The man who called it in came up to look at what we had found, and felt a little sheepish for calling the police over nothing. Johann told him that he did exactly the right thing. The officers noted the man's name and other information, and packed the suitcase in the trunk to take it into the station.

Likewise, in June there was a call that a suspicious package had been found outside the offices of an insurance firm, which also contained, on a lower floor, the offices of one of the local political parties. We went over to have a cautious look at it. After checking it out from the stairwell, Johann and Bruno decided to call in an officer who handles an explosives dog. We waited downstairs until the handler and his dog drove up. We went up to where the box was lying in the hall, and the officer told us to wait on the floor below, while the dog did his stuff. The dog was commanded to look for explosives.

After a short period of time, we heard a series of rattles and the handler told us we could come up. We climbed the stairs and saw the dog lying nearby, happily chewing on a rubber bone, and the officer began to carefully pry the lid off the box. Inside were just printed forms. Once outside, the dog was allowed to play for a while before hopping in the back of the police van.

Dealing with terrorist acts has its impact on police practice. All stations in the city receive directives when ethnic violence flares, to prepare for possibilities of tension directed at them. At one point, a note added to the daily work sheet asked that all officers to be careful on patrol, particularly when we were stopped at traffic lights, because there had been some firebombings of police vehicles in other areas of Germany that June.

Relationships with partners

Part of the attraction of becoming a police officer lies in the fact that officers do tend to support each other through tough times. This lies at the root of their connection with each other and is what helps keep the work relationship and the work organization so strong.

While women on the platoons I worked with seemed to be treated with respect and camaraderie by their male colleagues, I did hear stories from some women of problems with male officers at other stations due to sexual harrassment. The rhetoric about female

officers that seems to be so common in North American police departments is also present here; several male officers told me that while the women they worked with at the station were good officers, in general they believed that women were not suited for police work and could not do as good a job as a male officer. In practice, the officers I observed at work created a cohesive unit regardless of gender with no particular differentiation in assignment of tasks or expectation of performance.

Officers, because of their training, learn to rely on the help they can give each other, and can be quite proud when their “teamwork” extends throughout the city and beyond in coordinated efforts to find criminals. On the level of being partners, they also support each other in many small ways, for example, in discussing and justifying why tickets were torn up, or why certain actions were taken. Often they cited personal experience in some previous event with another partner for why they should be careful in dealing with a current call. They are also able to identify the point where it may be expedient to let one member of the team take over at a particular call. I have certainly seen skillful verbal interactions, where one officer will try to reason with an illogical and recalcitrant citizen until the point where his/her partner sees that officer begin to get a bit impatient, and then there will be a smooth interruption by the partner who will assume the explanation duties until s/he begins to get impatient, and so forth.

Sometimes, though, partners get impatient with each other, and as one officer said, they tend to feel fairly free to tell each other when they don't like something. One of the

officers on the platoon, Fritz, was something of a character who told it like it was, but had to deal with the consequences of that as well.

In June we were called to a gas station where two Turkish males had apparently broken beer bottles against the wall of the gas station, vandalised a couple of bicycles, and then got into a fight with four young men (two of whom were the owners of the damaged bicycles). The two Turkish males then ran off with the four males in pursuit, and when we arrived the zeglars were in the process of bringing them all back. Fritz was rather irritable that night, and made a comment about citizens who had to call police about every little thing. We drove one of the complainants in to the station to give a statement (the zeglars brought the others), and Fritz rolled down his window and complained bitterly about the heavy smell of garlic emanating from our passenger. At the station, Edmund took Fritz aside and asked him if he really had to complain so much about the garlic smell in front of the complainant. Fritz retorted that it almost made him sick. They began the paperwork with the zeglars; both antagonists had imbibed a lot of alcohol. Fritz looked glum and grumbled throughout the process. Two hours after the initial call, the zeglars took the Turkish males away for blood samples, but Fritz and Edmund still had half an hour of paperwork to do before we could head out again.

Officers may also publicly chew each other out, as happened in a case where one officer made it clear how irritated he was that one call attracted so many police units, when it was quite obviously not that important. Usually though, disapproval of actions is kept to

more private channels, which can sometimes mean a quick and humorous piece of advice that what an officer is contemplating might land him with a complaint if he gets the wrong person, or to chewing partners out in a joking fashion regarding their driving skills. Sometimes, those attempts can be spurned.

On a March night shift, a citizen called regarding a dog barking in a car. The dog had apparently been in there for about two hours. The doors were tried and the car was found to be unlocked. With the computer down, it was not possible to match the plate with a driver and address. The dog was alternately barking and showing its teeth in fear. The citizen opened the door completely then, and the dog leapt out. He circled the car warily from a distance and never came close to us despite the various coaxing tactics used. Both officers were upset with the citizen's ill-considered action because they would be at fault if the dog got hit by a car. Meanwhile, the citizen had departed. Ben complained loudly and bitterly about the citizen who released the dog; Fritz commented to him quietly that he thought the citizen was still hovering in the shadows across the street. "Dass ist mir Wurst," Ben yelled (I could care less). Fritz hunted through the car for papers, while Ben tried to coax the dog back. Fritz found an envelope with a name, and a radio request to the communications centre revealed that the woman had no telephone. I accompanied Fritz on the drive over to her apartment while Ben waited with the unlocked car. A younger woman answered the door when Fritz knocked, and she told us that it was her mother who borrowed the car to visit friends. After phoning a few people from a neighboring phone booth, the woman decided to get a second set of keys from her brother

and told us she would meet us back at the location of the car. Fritz and I returned to find Ben talking to the mother, and the dog trotted obediently around her feet. The woman received a ticket for leaving her car unlocked.¹⁶

Quiet complaints were also made to me; on one occasion, both officers of the team came to me separately during a shift to discuss the shortcomings of their partner (one was too “by the book” and the other played too fast and loose). Occasionally, only the application of a nonverbal cue is required for an officer to perceive something is not appropriate. This happened during a domestic dispute where we met a woman who was waiting outside her apartment. She was barely able to explain what had happened because she was weeping so hard. Apparently her husband had been drinking steadily for three days. We went up to her apartment and found him sitting on the sofa. During their earlier argument he had thrown a bottle against the glass doors of a cabinet, smashing both. The woman stated he was aiming the bottle at her, and that he had also thrown a chair. Their baby was unharmed, but a five-year-old daughter had fled the apartment. Both Edmund and Ben talked at length to discover what was going on and tried to resolve the situation. The couple had only recently married after living together for a number of years. Talking got the situation nowhere, and it was understood that one of them would have to leave for at least the night in order to let the situation calm down. At first the woman was asked if she had anywhere to go, but she cried so intensely that they tried to persuade the male to leave. He telephoned a couple of people, but no one would take him in. He slumped back on the couch again saying that he tried, and the woman began screaming at him

because it was obvious that she would have to be the one to leave for the night. Ben told her to go and find their daughter and come back to pack a few things. While we waited, Edmund asked why they even got married if they had already been fighting over the years they'd been living together. The male didn't answer, and Ben rolled his eyes at Edmund. Edmund commented to the male that he didn't have to answer that question. He added though that people tended to get married because they love each other. At this point, the woman returned with her daughter and packed up some clothes. Edmund stayed to monitor the situation and chat a bit, while Ben went into the hallway to radio the station for a computer check on the male. When he came in again, he paused in the doorway and waved me over, whispering that the male had 17 hits for violence and that we needed to get this situation finished before Edmund "unbuilt" everything. We moved back into the living room and when the woman had finally packed, we left with her and the children. As we exited, Edmund commented that the male should sleep on it and spend some time the next morning really thinking about what he was doing to his family and himself.

Individual styles of officers may not always mesh well. In the above situation, while one officer was concerned about the outcome of the incident because of his partner's mediation style, in the end, the resolution was undoubtedly the only real option possible and was not significantly stressed due to individual personalities. Extremely volatile situations, on the other hand, might be negatively affected by a problematic personal style. Most officers, therefore, will devote some time to understanding each other's

interaction styles, ideally to utilize them in sophisticated ways, or at worst try to find ways around them.

It is not uncommon, before a “notification” call, for officers to discuss their capabilities with regard to handling or talking about death. One officer willingly admitted on the ride over to a notification of death due to a traffic accident, that he preferred his partner do the talking because he always started laughing. His partner told him she would leave him in the car. Threats to leave officers in the car are part of the subculture, particularly when you get officers who are “diamonds-in-the-rough” and tend to have a more brusque way of communicating.

A case in point: it was just after 4:00 a.m. on a June night shift, and we were in the station. Another station had called to say that people living in our precinct would have to be notified that a relative of theirs had been killed on a highway a few hours earlier. Edmund, mindful of the lousy mood that Fritz was in that night, asked him in a mildly amused tone whether he was going to be of any use in the task. Fritz, who was getting his jacket on, told him that if he liked he could just take me along and leave him in the station to finish his paperwork. Edmund paused at the door and asked again if he was going to approach the task properly. Fritz glared at him and said that he would probably still have to knock Edmund's glasses off his face before the end of shift. While they looked each other up and down, I glanced back into the duty room where a number of officers were avidly watching this exchange, and I commented that they should stay close

to the radio because I would probably be calling for backup soon. Everyone laughed and Edmund and Fritz broke their stare and left the station. We drove over to the address. As we got close, Edmund again asked semi-seriously how Fritz felt and what he was going to say to these bereaved people. Fritz said he had no problem if Edmund wanted to go in alone with me. Edmund looked at him in silence for a long time. When we arrived, Fritz did come with us, but in the end, no one was at home and we left with a certain amount of relief.

Long shifts, particularly the wee hours of a night shift, are times when police officers try to find ways of amusing themselves to stay awake, keep sharp and alleviate the boredom of non-active times. In the station, officers will often fill out crossword puzzles in the early morning hours of a night shift. Out on the road it is not unusual to start telling jokes, or even to sing (during my fieldwork we ranged from Beatles' songs to excerpts from "Figaro" and "Carmina Burana"). The German equivalent of the stereotypical North American doughnut shop, is the ice cream parlour, and during the summer months officers often pick up a cone during a shift, and head to gas stations and McDonald's during the late night hours when everything else is closed.

In patrol units, officers do not work regularly with only one partner, and therefore do not develop the long-term connections to only one person that might be evident within other units. However, unlike patrol units in the Ottawa police, Munich officers do work with someone from their platoon every shift. This means that the platoon as a whole becomes

more cohesive, and more communal in many ways. While there will still be particular groups within a platoon who will tend to spend more off-duty time together, during work hours the greater understanding of each other's weaknesses and strengths gives them better opportunities to observe, commend or censure their activities based on more personal perceptions.

Summary

Germany has had an interesting history with regard to its policing services. The current police service owes some of its founding structure to American influence immediately following World War II. The process of restructuring policing at that time was concerned essentially with demilitarizing and decentralizing.

The organization of the police service differs from Canadian police on a number of levels, primarily in its less paramilitary structure. As well, officers can enter laterally into specific service levels depending upon schooling attained, rather than working their way up through the ranks. In addition, the shift structure rotates over a very short period of time, with officers tending not to live anywhere near Munich. The length of training time is far longer than the typical North American training. And the uniform style is also quite different, with tan, green and pale yellow being the standard colours across Germany; this helps maintain a relatively non-threatening image for police officers on the street.

As with many cities in Germany, Munich has its share of terrorist and extremist acts to deal with. An ongoing conflict exists between the Turks and the Kurds, which has led to violence. Several Turkish businesses were targeted by Kurdish firebombs during my stay, and a few visits to the refugee camp within our jurisdiction had to do with seeking out and arresting Kurdish suspects, as well as searching their rooms and belongings for illegal partisan materials. As the Turkish consulate was also within the jurisdictional boundaries of one of the stations, and there was an infiltration and hostage situation in the embassy in 1993 (Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern 1996:23), officers who had guard duty there were sometimes very quick to raise the alarm if any suspicious activity was seen in the area.

A close eye is also kept on any activities and materials that relate to the Nazi era. Two youths were arrested, for example, at a soccer game for possessing fan patches displaying a slogan common to that time. And when a large influx of skinheads was imminent, on the anniversary of Rudolf Hess' death, the Munich police combined forces to arrange that none of the skinhead members arriving en masse by train were allowed to disembark. The trains eventually pulled out with all skinheads still aboard. All posters that commemorated this anniversary were pulled off of walls by police units as soon as they were found. In an isolated incident, a woman pressed charges not only of assault against a neighbor, but also reported him for political agitation, because he had documents and other materials that indicated he was involved in the organization of right-wing activities.

Accountability, in the nature of the complaints process, is dealt with through civilian members of the police service in Germany. At the time I spoke with members of this division, no formal type of analysis or study was done on complaints received. There are approximately 500 complaints a year for 6,500 police personnel (although this may not be only sworn police officers). Of those complaints about 90% are either dismissed or are dealt with on a fairly informal disciplinary level, through unofficial reprimands by superior officers, or through in-house training. The remaining more serious 10%, go through one of two possible avenues: they may be dealt with formally through the department and may include the payment of a fine or a formal reprimand placed on the officer's record; or, it may go before a judge who can lower an officer's pay or rank, or dismiss him/her from service. The preference is for in-house methods, as the more formal and public route may take 4-5 years to resolve. If an officer breaks the law, of course, they are dealt with as any member of the public would be.

Complaints from the public tend to be about minor things: an officer wasn't wearing a hat, looked untidy, spoke in too loud a tone, "looked angry", or said something inappropriate. Very few complaints are received by ethnic minorities. There were, at the time I was in Munich, no known complaints against any female officers.

The structure of policing discussed above is relevant to cities. Differences exist in connection to policing in smaller towns and rural areas. Although no fieldwork was done in such a setting, several police officers indicated that some of the differences included

occasional lack of personnel if several calls came in at once, closing of stations in very small towns on some holidays, and the absence of an actual night shift in places. In the latter situation, an officer might actually be at the station, but allowed to sleep during the night with a phone nearby in case a call did come in.

The next two chapters deal with specific categories of patrol work, couched in a basic analytical framework originated by Goffman. While this allows for a particular delineation and telescoping of events, the important consideration for each of the narratives discussed is either the mediating effects of culture on the encounter (Chapter 4), or the communication strategy employed within the interaction (Chapter 5).

CHAPTER 4: CULTURE AND POLICE

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the mediating aspect of culture and subculture on the interaction between police and public. After a look at some of the generalizations that have been made of German and Bavarian culture, specific narratives of police work are discussed. These range from taking complaints about “insults”, to dealing with traffic accidents, and reactions to death, among a few others. Finally, I reflect on the cultural structure as it affects women and ethnic minorities in their roles as police officers and citizens.

The Influence of Bavarian Culture

The literature on culture, and specifically the relationship of socialization and enculturation to development of personality and self in the individual, indicate that there can be certain concepts, traditions, and even attitudes that a large group of people pass on to one another. In this sense, those concepts and attitudes are shared; they are concepts that all of the people within a national boundary would be aware of and react to in certain ways, which sets them apart from people located in another national boundary. In other words, at least some of what people are exposed to regarding generalized sociocultural concepts, becomes part of individual personality during the enculturation process (D'Andrade 1990:153).

As an example, one could consider the debate on national unity that has been occurring for decades in Canada. Although, there may be very individual responses to the question, the point is that this is a fundamental national question which engenders thought and opinion in everyone within Canadian borders. As such, the question of national unity becomes an integral part of the 'Canadian psyche', something for which we are culturally recognized in other countries as a defining principle of what it is to be Canadian today.¹⁷

The stereotypes of the German "character" tend to be based in a mix of the more recent concept of "barbarian", and from romanticized visions of Nordic myths (von See 1994:38). The essential message given by not only many early texts on the Germans, but also reiterated through many later cultural works, is the idea of the warrior, of the ecstatic nature of a warlike folk, intense connection to women as the center of family and men as the originators of higher social life, and the notion of "purity" as an integral characteristic of those who belong to the German 'tribe' (von See 1994:16,24,36,62,105,321).

Obviously, these are stereotypes based on particular historical events for some German people at specific periods in time. As with all nations, there are many things that contribute to the creation of broad national concerns and individual attitudes. And although many Germans might humourously attach the label of "serious" to northern Germans, and "extroverted" to southern Germans, particularly Bavarians, (Ardagh 1995:xiii, 29, 188), this is painted with a broad brush and doesn't adequately expose the underlying individuality of people. There are, however, a few general cultural aspects

that remain important in German society, which ultimately have an effect on the parameters of the policing function.

There is still a relatively formal aspect to German society, and even young people tend to display a certain politeness (Ardagh 1995:186). This formality can be most commonly experienced through forms of address. Not only is the language structured with both a formal and informal “you” (*sie* and *du*), but the use of any type of title is greatly valued, and people can become upset if those titles are not respected (Ardagh 1995:181-182). Therefore, anyone holding a doctoral degree can expect to be addressed not only formally with the ubiquitous ‘Mr.’ or ‘Mrs.’ (adult women are no longer differentiated by marital status), but also with the title ‘Doctor’ immediately afterward. This is being relaxed somewhat by the younger generation, but police officers still tend to adhere to the most formal modes of address possible when dealing with members of the public. Ardagh (1995:187) also comments that it is common for people who have worked together for many years never to use first names (the casual use of first names by strangers which we find so common in Canada, is not encouraged; even shopkeepers who know you for years will still address you as Mr. or Mrs.). This was not completely true for the police context, where most officers of the lower two service levels, address each other by first names, while interactions with higher ranking officers were more formal.

As with all industrial societies, Germany is also a stratified class society. Many of the ethnic minorities entering the country are taking over menial jobs, and the German

working-class are upgrading their status (Ardagh 1995:174). Just as formal modes of address are important, so too do occupations indicate general status among the populace. Among Germans, the stratification towards occupations already occurs while they are children, when they are streamed into specific school systems designed to prepare them for academic or professional or trade careers. Therefore, occupational status and the possession of titles generate more formal types of interactive strategies between police and public.

In conjunction with formality and status is a general tendency for rigorous attachment to rules and laws in Germany. Ardagh (1995:518) illustrates this through the following quote:

‘In Germany’, so the old saying goes, ‘everything is forbidden except what is specifically allowed. In Britain, everything is allowed except what is specifically forbidden. In France, everything is allowed, even what is forbidden. In the Soviet Union, everything is forbidden, even what is allowed.’

Laws and regulations became extremely important immediately following the war years, when the resultant chaos needed to be put into some kind of order. Because the system had been so badly distorted by Hitler, a very well regulated society was nurtured after 1945, and the laws put into place were obviously well intentioned. Part of the problem today, though, is that there are so many rules and regulations that the structure has

become increasingly burdensome, and the popular feeling is one of disillusionment (Ardagh 1995:519), which was expressed to me by several police officers.

Bavaria is known for a rather conservative and traditional approach -- it remains largely Catholic (Rovan 1998:641) -- but is often seen by many non-Germans as the quintessence of what it is to be "German" (Ardagh 1995:29). Munich, which lies in the southeastern corner of the state, is often considered to be Germany's "unofficial" or "secret" capital, and is a dynamic city which attracts large numbers of people each year (Watson 1994:56; Ardagh 1995:64). Among those who arrive in Munich are Germans themselves, who have indicated in polls that it is the city they would prefer to live in if they left their own (Ardagh 1995:65), as well as refugees from eastern and southern Europe, who see this city, if not as their new home, as a through-station on their way to other destinations.

Munich's roots indicate its early religious nature. The name of the city itself refers to the Benedictine monks who had already established a church in the area by 1050 (Fenzl 1994:12). The childlike monk that appears on the shield worn by Munich city employees, including police officers, stems from a design in use in the early 1300's (Fenzl 1994:19). Munich was recognized as a city in 1158 (Fenzl 1994:21), and is still in some ways perceived as a village with over a million inhabitants (Ardagh 1995:35). The old inner city is compressed into a space less than a mile across and contains many museums, hotels and cosmopolitan shops, as well as a world-class opera house (Ardagh 1995:65). It is no wonder then, that Munich has been described as opulent, exuberant and the most

“Paris-like” of all the German cities (Ardagh 1995:64). In addition to this, the city also attracts large industries like automotive and aerospace firms, and a booming electronics industry (Ardagh 1995:97).

While Munich is cosmopolitan in the area of high art and culture, it also cultivates a more down-to-earth brand of leisure found only in the beer halls. McCormack (1991:188) comments that like ancient Egypt where the hieroglyph for bread and beer was one and the same, so one can understand the Bavarian relationship to what they jokingly consider their ‘fundamental nutrition’. Many of the important festivities center on public occasions that have alcohol as a grounding element, from the ‘Volksfest’ held in even the smallest towns, to the largest gathering of the beer-consuming public at Oktoberfest (Ardagh 1995:225). The first warm days of spring are heralded with family cycling tours out to the nearest beer garden. It is undisputed that the relationship between alcohol and leisure is powerful in Germany, and particularly in Bavaria. And even though drinking and driving is not treated lightly by police, many citizens still drive after several beers, and get away with it, perhaps due to a higher personal tolerance to alcohol on top of the greater public acceptance of drinking.

It is interesting to note that while Bavaria is quite conservative, there seems to be relatively little overt trouble regarding extremist action against refugees in the state. This might be because it is remembered that it was in Bavaria that the fledgling growth of Nazism was nurtured (McCormack 1991:24).¹⁸ Today’s neo-Nazi movement, while

potent on a small-scale, has no major charismatic leaders, and is heartily opposed by the majority of Germans (Ardagh 1995:497). This abhorrence is also grounded in a collective feeling of guilt regarding the legacy of the Second World War, even among relatively young Germans. In recent years the media and schools have been adept at bringing this national guilt into the open (Ardagh 1995:498), and discussion of it is starting to lift some of the heaviest burden from the shoulders of the young. Obviously part of the lessening of guilt is simply because the generation who participated is slowly dying out (Ardagh 1995:501). But this legacy still resonates with most Germans, many of whom dislike discussing concepts like “nationalism”, and a good number of whom are not proud to be German (Ardagh 1995:507). Only 21% of the population indicate pride in being German, whereas 80% of Americans display pride in their nationality (Ardagh 1995:577).

Despite this lack of national pride, many of the police officers and other Bavarians I spoke with did not understand why anyone would want to leave their homeland to settle elsewhere (McCormack 1991:46). I saw this very clearly in the desire of police officers to be transferred back to stations in or near their hometowns once their required service time in Munich had been completed. This theme of the general German attitude toward “Heimat”, the homeland (Watson 1994:56) has been picked up by many writers. This attitude was expressed by some people in the context of a more specific wish that “outsiders” should also have that same feeling of ‘homeland’ for their native country and not choose Germany as a place to settle (McCormack 1991:46). This discourse reflects

the reality that Germany has become an “immigration country” like the United States (Hohendahl in Habermas 1994:xv) and that the influx of immigrants is changing the face of German society.

Contrary to ideas that Germans have toward settling elsewhere, they are great travellers; tourism has become a national obsession (Ardagh 1995:218). While many Germans take trips to destinations around the world, and in fact this type of travelling has been cited as one of the key factors for increasing the acceptance of ethnic workers (Gastarbeiter) and their cultures within the country, many consider that true leisure is about getting back to nature. Germany’s parks and forests are an integral part of modern tourism (Ardagh 1995:149), and therefore more distant destinations like Canada have always been important in the sense of promoting that connection to mountains and woodlands.

It is not a simple or fair task to generalize the culture and personality of Bavarians (McCormack 1991:266). Again, while there are certainly Bavarians who are less formal than others, and definitely some Bavarians who do not drink beer, they are still encompassed by some culturally significant symbols which are brought into their awareness from the day they are born, and to which they must, at some point in time, evince some sort of reaction. These things certainly have an impact on the parameters of policing on a national and regional scale.

Policing in Munich

Whatever type of police subculture is in place, it is always mediated to some degree by the culture at large. Therefore, the police in Germany, while having a similar occupational mandate as police services in other democratic countries, are still not quite like any of those other police cultures.

A number of factors contribute to this, ranging from gendered enculturation to police training to the type of physical space officers occupy in the station. It is cultural practice and expectation in general that sets the tone for who these police officers are within specific contexts.

Police officers are trained to incorporate a healthy dose of suspicion into their daily activities. How that suspicion plays out is interesting in a comparative sense: while Ottawa officers tended to conduct themselves as if all citizens had the potential to physically harm them, Munich police officers operated more on the suspicion that citizens were trying to con them. This had interesting ramifications for the issue of officer safety.

When I first went on patrol in Munich, I recalled my experiences with the Ottawa police and attempted to react according to what I had learned from them. Upon entering buildings where it was known there was a domestic dispute (which has an extremely high potential for having things go wrong) I would proceed cautiously up staircases, kept my

eye on doors and hallways, and always tried to keep a wall at my back. This was a common pattern of action among the Ottawa officers with whom I had worked. I was therefore quite startled when Munich officers paid no real attention to any of these things, and concentrated only on wading into the thick of whatever the situation was and pulling apart the disputants as quickly as possible. This method seemed to work for them since nothing ever went wrong.

Similarly, while on patrol with Ottawa officers I had occasionally been told to remain in the cruiser when we were doing traffic stops (again, a situation with a high “danger” level) because my partner thought something didn’t look right. In Munich I often found myself on the passenger side of the vehicle keeping watch over what was going on in the vehicle, while both other officers were with the driver. I never took that role lightly knowing that I might very well be the first person who saw trouble coming, but it interested me that the Munich officers obviously didn’t have the same kind of cultural experience, or didn’t process their experience in the same way that North American officers do regarding traffic stops.

This reflects again on the issue of personal space. Only once in my time with the Ottawa police did I observe a citizen rest his hand on a police officer’s arm. In Munich it was almost a daily occurrence that some type of casual physical contact would be made between citizen and police officer. It is obviously not that police officers are trained to allow this, it is because the cultural norms regarding body and space are incorporated into

daily police practice, regardless of what official police policy might wish regarding police safety.

Personal space and police safety are only two areas in which there are considerable cultural differences in police and public activity in Germany, as opposed to another country. Other cultural considerations are more subtle, reflecting broader concepts of appropriate human contact, and may at times not vary at all from the Canadian context.

For example, service-oriented activities demand a common level of interactive performance. When citizens or truck drivers ask for directions, common courtesy prevails and directions are given. On one occasion, when the directions had been given and the cruiser was a distance away from the truck, one of the officers suddenly remembered a railroad underpass the truck would have to get through, and wondered whether the truck would have the clearance. He knew what the height of the underpass was and he and Johann had a quick conversation regarding their estimations of the truck's height. They decided that he wouldn't make it, and Heinz slowed down until he saw the truck approaching in the rearview mirror and turned on the blue lights. Johann rolled down his window and waved the truck driver down and asked if he was over the height of the underpass. The driver nodded and Johann told him he wouldn't make it through, suggesting an alternate route he could take. The decision to take this action was also based on ensuring that accidents do not occur, and in Germany it is not an uncommon occurrence to have a truck crumple while trying to get through a low underpass.

The plight of children is always a matter of concern for police officers regardless of country. This ranges from finding parents of lost children to dealing with toddlers left locked in cars during the heat of summer. In July, a passerby called to report that a child had been left for far too long in a locked car. By the time we arrived, the mother had already shown up and was holding the crying child. The child seemed to be all right but was red in the face and had been sweating around the neck. The passerby who called said the child had been in the car for about half an hour. Edmund told the mother that if she hadn't come, he would have been forced to open the car at her expense. He was also very clear in telling her that it was too hot for a child to be left in a closed car, and that he hoped it was a lesson for her. Philip said that as a mother she should know this. The mother and passerby began to exchange heated words, and Edmund cut in saying there was no point in arguing and they should be happy nothing had happened to the child.

Officers also get involved when the possibility of danger to children exists. In such cases the degree of the problem is considered and suitable discretion is applied. On the way back in to the station for dinner one night shift, a cabriolet went by with the roof down because it was so hot that evening, and in the back seat were four girls. We pulled up beside them at a red light, and Alfons (who was driving) spoke to the adult couple in the front, saying that with regard to the weather it was certainly fun to be doing what they were doing, but he would like to know if they could explain how the four girls in the back were secured. The mother explained that they were just going around the corner and Alfons nodded and said "Bauen se mir ja kein Unfall" (do not create an accident on me).

Bruno shook his finger at them, but grinned. The cabriolet pulled away, and as we continued on our way to the station, the two officers praised themselves for their friendliness on such a hot day. In reality, they altered their language and nonverbal behaviour in such a way as to smooth out their “authoritarian” status to preserve some dignity for the adults in this situation.

Concern for citizens is not only expressed regarding the children that police officers come across. Often their interest in the lives of citizens is expressed in small acts, simple interactions that indicate their recognition of each other as human beings involved in the same community. This can be something as simple as bantering with a driver at a red light. In one case, we stopped beside a car loaded with a variety of household goods and other items that they’d obviously just picked up from the flea market nearby. Philipp stuck his head out the window and asked the people in the car whether their day at the flea market had been worth it. They grinned and answered in the affirmative, adding that they were now on their way to go swimming, and waved as they pulled away.

It could also mean offering a small service, like one afternoon when we were in the station, and a couple of officers noticed that a driver across the street seemed to be having problems getting up a very steep ramp entering a parking garage. A couple of the officers conferred with each other after watching the driver’s increasingly precarious attempts, and they went out to give a hand. After organizing a rope and giving some instructions, they used one of the cruisers to get him off the ramp and into the street.

Sometimes their concern leads them to do things they should not normally do, like very occasionally offering a ride to a hitchhiker. This happened one night shift, when a hitchhiker was found up on the freeway, and both officers were saying that he was going to get hit. He was called over to the window, and the male explained in English that he had been dropped at that point by his ride and he didn't know how to get home from there. Both officers looked at me and asked what he was saying. I translated, and the officers asked where he was going, which wasn't very far, but they thought it might be best if they drove him there instead of risking an accident on such a busy thoroughfare. So they put his pack in the trunk and we drove him to where he was staying. When they dropped him off he commented that both officers were really nice to offer him a ride and shook hands with them. This type of activity becomes very important when considering the visibility of the police and the speed with which people come to generalize and stereotype groups of people. Police often become the targets for dislike and contempt as a whole based solely on the experience of one contact or exposure to negative media (Reiner 1992:171-173). Ensuring that "humanizing" contacts are common gives a more personable and approachable face to police organizations.

The concern for, or the presence of, animals are another way officers can connect or distance themselves from the public. Certainly, mounted patrols in both Canada and Germany find that horses can attract members of the public into making contact with officers. More often, police are the agency that citizens think of first when it comes to dealing with dead, lost or stray animals. Dogs would occasionally appear in the station to

be watered and played with until the owner who had lost the animal could be located. The most unusual animal event that occurred while I was there, involved a snake.

We had just come back from patrolling the lakes on a July afternoon, when a call came in that sent us up there again. A citizen had complained about the presence of a snake at one of the nude beaches. The complainant thought it was not a good idea to have a snake there with all of the kids around and wanted police to come and remove it. We arrived to see a couple lying on a blanket, the snake beside them, and a group of fascinated kids around them. Walter really didn't like snakes, so it was left to Traudl to do anything that involved approaching the snake. Walter ended up interviewing the owner of the snake, a woman, who was topless at that moment, and though he disliked snakes he was very calm. Meanwhile, Traudl held a lengthy conversation with Oskar back at the station, who in turn conferred with the district patrol supervisor, trying to find out what permits were required to own a snake. The woman got dressed and put the snake in a basket and sat in the car. Walter also got in and started checking through various manuals regarding regulations that could possibly be construed to govern snakes at the lakeside. Oskar finally called back and said that this particular snake seemed to be on the endangered species list and that we had to bring it and its owner to the station. Oskar spent the rest of that shift trying to clear up what the snake's status was and where it should go. Eventually it was passed on to someone who had experience in handling these creatures.

Just as they show concern for those not able to care for themselves (like children), they also are concerned for each others' well-being. They do not seem to feel any loss of face if they request help in dealing with a situation, and look out for each other even in the most innocuous of situations. They are proud of their teamwork, and enjoy each others company between shifts. By the same token, they are also quick to point out mistakes, although this tends to be done in a more humorous vein. Quite often officers would fend off being told about mistakes by recognizing the problem themselves and joking about it in a self-deprecating manner. Phrases like "I'm crazy" or "am I ever stupid" were common prefaces for moments when officers brought out their foibles when they were together. Although this behavior didn't occur in public, officers also did not have problems indicating to a citizen that they had made an error and apologizing when appropriate.

Comparison of Events

In this section, as in the complementary section in Chapter 5, some specific types of calls and police practice are discussed which demonstrate particular issues of culture (in this chapter) and communication (in the following chapter). In the spirit of Goffman's "frame analysis", the particular categories of calls that have been selected represent the primary frameworks in which police officers frame their responses. Therefore, when the dispatcher or platoon chief relays a message that a unit must attend a call involving a

death, or a confused person, police officers already have a basic interpretive frame, in other words, a primary framework, from which to initiate interaction.

It is the citizens themselves, who may alter the primary framework through unexpected rekeyings or breaks in frame. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to separate out discrete events, because in the doing of policing it is often the case that a call of one type turns into another type, or the call turns into a complicated interaction involving varying issues and events occurring in a consecutive and sometimes even simultaneous manner.

The events chosen tend to be cases where either specific aspects of cultural expectation are displayed, and/or where examples of rekeying have occurred in the interaction between police and public. The five frames of interaction that have been chosen are 'traffic accidents', 'hit-and-run', 'confused persons', 'death', and '*beleidigung*'. Traffic accidents were chosen specifically because of their ubiquitous nature; all police services deal with accidents, and this particular category provides a chance to solidly establish a comparative link between cultural as well as communicative expectations in both Canada and Germany. Hit-and-runs are events that both countries deal with, and are particular types of traffic related situations, but in Germany they become a featured part of police work due to the spatial design of cities. As such, German police focus significant portions of interaction time on dealing with hit-and-runs, whereas Canadian police do not encounter this to the same degree. Responding to calls that deal with confused persons is also a common aspect of policing in both Germany and Canada; however, while there are

interactive similarities between both countries, this particular type of interaction begins to display a few subtle alterations couched predominantly in cultural expectations. Death is the fourth category, and although police services in both countries must regularly deal with this event, my exposure to death rests almost exclusively with the German context. Therefore, this section begins to relate encounters between police and public that are not placed in a comparative structure, and from which only templates of interactive patterns on the part of German police may be extrapolated. Finally, the category of *beleidigung*, which can literally be translated as “insult”, is something that is unique to the German context. The cultural expectations within this type of frame are most clear, although it is not possible to place this in a comparative structure. These five frames are designed, therefore, to allow for a progressive discussion of encounters and expectations, moving from events that allow a high level of comparison to those for which there are no comparable structures in Canada, and shifting from events that are more general in terms of human contact, to those that become increasingly personal.

Traffic Accidents

The procedures at traffic accidents in Germany tend to be largely similar to the procedures followed in Canada. The entire context of an accident is dependent on the information which needs to be gathered, ascertaining whether people have been physically injured and what damage has been done to vehicles, and clearing the site.

Responding to a typical Canadian traffic accident would be as follows: police receive a call indicating an accident has occurred and proceed to the site. A preliminary look at the vehicles determines the severity of the event, what types of immediate evidence must be gathered (i.e. measurements, photographs), and vehicles are moved as quickly as possible to the side of the road to ensure traffic may flow with a minimum of hindrance. Officers, either during this process or immediately after, question both drivers to ascertain when the incident occurred and what precisely happened in order to determine fault. Basic questions are then asked in connection with the documents that drivers produce, ensuring addresses, phone numbers, licence plate numbers, expiry dates, and other conditions for driving are correct (like having seatbelts buckled, or wearing corrective lenses), and discrepancies are noted. Driver's licence, insurance papers and vehicle registration will be checked by the officer. If the accident is severe enough, statements are made by the drivers, and tickets are issued. At any time, the interaction may be interrupted by the arrival and immediate needs of the tow truck or ambulance (Richter 1992:96-100).

In Munich, this basic pattern is exactly the same, although the parties only produce their licence and registration papers. Insurance companies don't issue documents which drivers carry, although drivers must exchange information for insurance purposes.¹⁹ The forms that officers must fill out require names, addresses, telephone numbers, the licence plate numbers of all parties, what damage was incurred, whether there were any injuries, and a general statement of events.

Citizens' expectations center on effective management of the situation which means essentially receiving clear information and instructions on how to resolve their predicament. The greater the confidence and clarity that officers bring to the event, the more successful the interaction, although hearing negative statements or information of any kind may leave citizens feeling less than satisfied. The age of citizens did not have as much impact on general interaction, although it did generate occasional shifts from more formal to informal modes of address. Gender precipitated no overt changes in approach, although male citizens were, in general, more demanding when asking for information and more focused on displaying knowledge (whether accurate or not) about procedures, whereas female citizens were initially more caught up in dealing with the consequences of the situation and only gradually, if at all, manoeuvred themselves into the position of displaying knowledge. For some citizens, the situation they found themselves in seemed critical enough that repeated flooding out activities, like crying, become an integral part of the frame.

In April, we arrived on scene to find four young people gathered around a car with fairly hefty damage on the rear fenders. A young woman was very distraught -- she had been driving. Under questioning it came out that she was only 17, and had no driver's licence, but thought she could drive home from a friend's place because it wasn't that far. They were all transported into the station. The female driver was asked to do an alcotest, but on two attempts to blow into the machine she couldn't get the machine to register. Gustav said they'd try again in ten minutes. She turned away and Gustav said very loudly

“This is crap!” as he bent over the machine. I could see that he meant the technology because they obviously thought something was wrong with the machine. The young woman looked startled though, and began to cry again, and Gustav and Andreas looked at her with some concern realizing that she must have thought the comment about the machine was directed at her. There was momentary confusion on their faces, and then someone else in the room jumped in and told her she could sit down and wait and they began to ask her questions again, and the moment was over. She was still very distraught though, and while they were asking her questions one of the officers said quite kindly that she didn’t have to be so upset anymore, that everything had happened already and it was over now. She tried to blow into the machine a third time and still couldn’t get a register, so they had to take her for a blood test.

The above narrative is interesting because of Gustav’s internal bracketing around the malfunctioning of the machine, which the young woman miskeyed (thinking that the comment was about her), and which she managed to rekey into the original frame again by crying, which is a flooding out activity. Similarly in the following narrative, Paul ends up engaging in a momentary internal bracketing, that is stopping the normal activity for a moment, by upkeying when he interacts with an onlooker.

A problem that officers deal with both in Canada and in Germany at accidents is the “rubber-necking” that goes on. Citizens are naturally curious, and in both countries the tendency to want to slow down and have a look leads to traffic slow downs with no real

contact between citizens and police. In both places, there are always citizens who will stop to offer help and then move on if aid is not required. In Bavaria, however, it is not uncommon to have citizens also offer unsolicited advice. In one instance, on a March afternoon, a male driver accused a female driver of backing into him and denting his licence plate. The damage was virtually unnoticeable. The female driver, however, had refused to give her name and address to the male driver, so police were called. Paul and Johann checked the damage and told everyone to hand over their papers. They got out the paperwork, and filled out the cards, and basically did everything that these people could have and should have done on their own. Paul was somewhat irritated by this, seeing it as an unnecessary waste of his time, and finally lost his temper at one of the neighbors who kept yelling advice from a third floor window, among which was an offer to lend a camera so everything could be photographed. Unfortunately, this citizen's advice kept coming just at those intervals when the officers were achieving some consensus between the two disputing parties and kept throwing the discussion into upheaval again. Paul finally asked the neighbour what business it was of his, and if it was absolutely necessary to shout so the whole neighborhood had to know what was going on.

This kind of interactive context between onlookers, police and the citizens actually involved in traffic accidents, was something that occurred quite often in Germany. This activity was not just the helpfulness within the context, as might occur in Canada, but included as well discussion of the event and offering of advice to anybody actually

affected by the accident. Of course, police officers themselves can engage in this type of banter, depending on the context.

In both countries, officers will at times not just offer advice, but make moralistic comments regarding citizens' activities. This gets toned down somewhat in Canada (Richter 1992:73), where the ability to display non-judgmental attitudes in frontstage settings is a culturally expected aspect of police intervention. However, in Germany the opinions that police officers hold can often be an important part of a social control mechanism that may soften the police intervention, although they can take on paternalistic tones with full details about what might have happened to citizens if the situation had been worse. Once again, things that would be considered backstage behaviour in Canada tend to shift into front regions; as has previously been discussed, this is already evident in the spatial context of a police station, where complainants, suspects and victims mingle in the same room while officers deal with them.

A scenario that led to a typical display of this kind of commentary occurred on a night shift in June when we were called to an accident scene where a drunk driver lost control of his vehicle and rather spectacularly wrapped the front end of his car around a tree. He came out of that accident with a gashed forehead and possible broken nose. Since a blood test was required, we followed the ambulance to the hospital. The doctor wanted to clean him up before drawing blood for the test, so we watched while the driver was stitched. Paul provided the blood sample kit and the doctor drew the blood, and the officers

watched that it was properly signed and sealed. After a mass of paperwork was done, Paul told the man that he hoped he'd learned a lesson for the future and that he was very lucky that nothing worse had happened. The male agreed and we left to drop off the blood sample.

Sometimes it was not just discussion, but practical help that officers would give to aid citizens in need. While officers did this in Ottawa, they were more conscious of rules to absolve them of this kind of service than officers in Munich were, and were armed with lists of alternate agencies that citizens could call for more common complaints. The less common acts beyond their duty were things that officers in Munich dealt with quite readily. It was a clear and sunny day in May. A courier pulled out of a laneway bordered by a high hedge and hit a bicyclist. The cyclist was an older woman and had been slightly injured, so an ambulance was called to transport her to hospital. The courier driver was very shaken and cried throughout the statement she gave to Fritz. After Gisela talked to the victim, she measured the accident site for the sketch. Since the victim didn't live too far away from the accident scene, Gisela and I loaded the bicycle into the trunk of the cruiser and transported it to the victim's home, where Gisela informed her relatives that the woman had been in a minor accident.

The courier in the above narrative can not be considered to have flooded out, since crying was part of the ongoing interaction for her. Expectations of what women will do in traffic accidents was never overtly discussed; there were no implications that women

would be more emotional or try to get out of accepting responsibility for events that occurred. The only time that officers seemed to think women dealt with things differently was an accident that occurred on a sunny August afternoon, when two women clipped each other as one turned into a side street. The damage was so minor that Johann and Philipp explained the police really didn't need to be involved. One of the officers got out the yellow cards so that the women could exchange information for insurance purposes. Both women discussed the situation while the two officers listened without comment, and the women very quickly reported that they had agreed on how they would deal with the situation, so the officers were not required anymore. The incident took less than five minutes. Both officers commented on how they thought it was great to deal with these women drivers, since they were so logical and decisive about the situation.

The following narrative contains a less usual structure for a traffic accident with a couple of internal brackets, as well as a complete break in frame for one officer when he had to take part in an event that had no connection to the primary framework whatsoever.

Two male drivers were waiting for the police with their fairly seriously damaged vehicles. One driver went through a red light, hit another car and then lost control of his vehicle, ending up on the median. With a little more speed he would have gone over the barrier and plunged onto the freeway underpass below, which could have had serious consequences with the traffic on that late June afternoon. Horst took photographs and measured the site. Andreas did the paperwork, and city workers arrived to fix the light

standard that was also damaged. Meanwhile people drifted by, and as usual, several of them asked directions. Eventually I ended up in the driver's seat of the cruiser, listening to Andreas ask the routine questions for the paperwork. I was also, at that point, the one positioned to answer the requests for directions. Andreas finished with his driver and let him go, continuing to work on the accident forms. One of the city workers then noticed that someone was pasting posters onto an electrical box, which is not allowed, and Andreas dropped the paperwork and ran across the street with the worker to check it out. Horst came back to the cruiser to call for a tow truck and asked me what was going on. I jokingly told him that Andreas had an "Einsatz" (a call) and explained what had happened. Horst just grimaced and shook his head. He got into the car beside me to finish his paperwork, and I took Andreas' clipboard and looked over the forms. Eventually Andreas returned saying there was no point in charging the poster-hanger because there was too much other stuff already pasted onto the box, making it difficult for a charge to hold up in court. Horst went back to the car on the median to take some more photographs and the tow truck finally arrived.

The internal brackets, in other words the momentary stopping of activity within the primary framework, occurred when the city workers came to repair the light standards and an officer had to talk to them, and when citizens themselves stopped activity because of a need to ask directions. Andreas, of course, broke frame and completely shifted his primary framework when a city worker asked him to deal with the male hanging posters.

As the above example shows, police attending traffic accidents are highly visible and usually stationary for significant periods of time. Access to an officer, then, is usually quite easy for citizens. In Canada, as in Germany, this means that quite often other citizens will approach an officer who is dealing with a traffic accident to ask a question. Most of the time this will be a request for directions, or the nearest location for a gas station, etc. Activities that actually take an officer away from an accident are not as common, but in both countries someone would be expected to deal with it. In Canada, a citizen would more likely be directed to another agency, or told to contact the station if it involved a more protracted request because only one officer might be present at the scene. In Germany, because two officers are partnered, it is more likely that one of them will take a look at a peripheral request in order to assess the action that needs to be taken.

It was always interesting when I became not just an observer of the frame in place, but became a participant whether through inclusion by a police officer or because a citizen cast me in that role. It was then my responsibility to decide whether to carry out an appropriate response within the existing frame, or whether to exclude myself and try to direct the citizen back into the frame, as in the following example.

In July, a unit from another station was detaining a young woman who was very drunk, until a car from the patrol zone I was working in could arrive. She was listed on the police computer network for possession of drugs. Apparently, she had run full tilt into a parked car with her bicycle, and although the car was not seriously damaged (just a

couple of dents), a couple of witnesses in apartments above street level saw the accident and insisted that she remain until the police could get there. Bruno and Alfons ascertained that she lived a couple of doors down and told her to take her bicycle to her basement lockup so that she could go to the station with the other unit. She stored her bicycle and came out again looking somewhat anxious. The officers of the other unit told her to go with them, but she approached me (I was the only female present) and asked if there wasn't any other way to deal with all of this. I just told her to go along with the colleagues. They coaxed her into the car and drove off while Alfons took a statement from the male who owned the damaged car.

In this case, for a time I became the communicative focal point for the young woman. My entry into the frame on the coattails of the police provided me with a certain validity in the eyes of this citizen; being female and in civilian clothes structured me as more approachable and potentially holding some type of authority which she believed could provide a way out of the situation. It was certainly not uncommon that members of the public addressed me in the initial stages of an encounter, or when the attention of uniformed officers was involved in other activities and they could not listen to the ongoing tale citizens tend to engage in. In this sense, the expectations of citizens with regard to my role was based either on my gender, or on my presence as the "anomalous" plainclothes figure who potentially had enough authority, in their eyes, to step in if other avenues closed.

Flucht (Hit-and-Run)

'Flucht' is the term for hit-and-run involving vehicles that get sideswiped or damaged with no one taking responsibility. These incidents usually involve a great deal of paperwork (which means a lot of swearing from officers when one comes in shortly before the end of shift), and they are common incidents in a small country with high automobile density and towns that have an abundance of very narrow streets. A typical event, and hence a primary framework, that police officers deal with in this type of call, would involve a citizen reporting a vehicle that had hit one or more cars and fled the scene. If citizens actually see the hit-and-run they might note some of the characters on the licence plate, and/or the type of vehicle involved. Partial plates involve a certain amount of detective work in trying to match them with potential suspect vehicles, and occasionally officers do get lucky in matching things up. Most of the time there are too many permutations to provide a good possibility. While one officer sends as much information in to the dispatcher as possible, the other officer takes a statement from witnesses, or the owner of the damaged vehicle. As soon as one officer is free of those basic duties, other evidence can be gathered, the scene will be measured and a diagram sketched for the report. If other cars have been affected but the owners are not present or can't be located, notices are left on their windshields asking them to contact police and/or to bring their vehicles in for trace analysis. The flow of events in this type of frame is also similar in Canada, but occurs less frequently. The spatial construction of streets and

the availability of parking in general in Germany, means that on most shifts the platoon will be dealing with at least one hit-and-run.

Police officers often have to do follow-up work for previous shifts or other stations on hit-and-runs that have occurred, in essence continuing a primary framework with a change in personnel. This can lead to a number of scenarios, quite often meaning that police have to make repeat visits to get something cleared up. One of these follow-up calls netted no results as far as the driver was concerned, but brought out other problems. This is a good example of a citizen rekeying the frame to address something which is of great relevance for her, and which is something that officers themselves were not sent there to deal with.

In June, a unit is sent to an apartment to see if a male can be found who was wanted for drunk driving and two hit-and-runs that he committed that day. A woman answered the door -- she was his wife -- and let us in. We sat down in the living room and she explained that her husband didn't live there anymore, that he was an alcoholic who was prone to violence, and that she was worried if she said anything and he heard of it, he would try to retaliate. Although there was a male and a female officer present, it was only the male officer who spoke to her.

Albert told her that as his wife she didn't have to tell us anything about where her husband was, and that our presence didn't have anything to do with her but only with her

husband. She explained again about his alcoholism and her fear of violence and Albert looked down at his hands and stated regretfully and rhetorically, "Yes, what can we do." She then said she would be happy if her husband could be locked up for his alcoholism, and Albert told her that was not possible unless he was dangerous to himself. The conversation returned to where he might be located, but Albert stopped himself in mid-sentence with the resigned comment, "Yes, well, you don't wish to say anything about that". She repeated that it wasn't that she didn't want to say anything, she was just afraid of what might happen to her if she did. Albert stood up, and as we headed for the door, told her that the police would probably be coming by again to look for him and she should be prepared for that.

This interaction displayed expectations coming from disassociated viewpoints. The frame is one that is originally constructed by police, namely the need to locate a male who has been involved in a hit-and-run. The wife constructs her interactive frame from the perspective that she is dealing with an alcoholic and abusive husband and needs to find a way to resolve that, or minimally to protect herself from problems associated with this man. Since officers cannot remove the problem, her only choice then is to protect herself by not revealing anything. This is precisely what the officers do not want, and therefore the verbal interaction reflects not only rhetorical regret that this woman will not comply, but also warns her that what she least desires, the continuing presence of police, may keep occurring until they have located him. This is not a satisfying interaction for either party, although police may feel they have re-established some of the initial frame by informing

her of their intent to keep looking for her husband. This tactic of returning to the initial frame they enter with, regardless of what else occurs during the interaction, ensures that police officers can continue with other calls for service in a timely fashion. If they began to alter their frame depending on citizens' desires, it would change the face of policing from quick and discrete responses for service, to a more time-consuming (albeit more satisfying) problem-oriented approach.

On a night shift in August, we turned onto a street to do a slow patrol, when the dispatcher reported there had been a hit and run a couple of corners behind us on the same street. So we turned around and found a white van whose driver had supposedly damaged a car nearby. The owner of the van seemed somewhat confused by what was going on (he was a member of an ethnic minority), and stood off to one side while a zegler unit, which had also responded to the call, took a look inside the van. The male was Polish, and the zeglers had been working for some time on cases involving bicycle thefts done by a few Polish rings working in the area. Similar vans are often used to transport bicycles to secure areas before moving them out of Germany.

The owner of this van tried to explain what happened and was very insistent that he didn't hit the car. Wilhelm called back to the station and got the addresses of the witness and the owner of the car. He left to talk to both of them. Fritz got out the paperwork, and the zeglers departed, satisfied that this van was not one that they were looking for. Fritz asked the van driver a few questions and worked on the papers. Wilhelm showed up

again and told Fritz to forget it all and return the ID and licence to the driver. Wilhelm quietly told Fritz that the damage to the car was old and the witness was a “self-important” type who hadn’t really seen anything.

In this instance, the motivation for how the primary framework was keyed by the citizen doesn’t seem to rest on a situation that actually requires police, but on some other kind of quick and personal judgment made by a citizen. In this case, it was an out of frame activity that Wilhelm engaged in, that eventually resolved the situation for Fritz and the van driver.

This reference to the “self-important” witness, reflects on ideas of labeling which we all employ, but is refined in the occupational culture of the police. Among many police cultures specific labels are employed to refer to different strata of criminals; “bad guys” is a generic term used in many places, van Maanen wrote of the “asshole” (Crank 1998:159-160), Ericson noted the term “pukers” (1982:66), and among Ottawa police the bad guys are classified as “lowlifes”, “shitheads”, or “pukes” (Richter 1992:83). These are obviously negative labels describing largely those who contravene the law. This very overt type of labeling of criminals either does not exist in German policing, or was not displayed to me (and is therefore subculturally maintained as true back region behaviour). Labeling of this sort, whether rightly or wrongly, is a police short-hand focusing attention on certain groups or individuals within a police officer’s territory who are most likely to cause them trouble. On the other hand, not only criminals but ordinary citizens may be

labeled, which has been noted by Ericson (1982:66), and is used as a way of re-framing certain experiences by German police as well. In the above event, the original frame of the hit-and-run was treated as a typical call until it becomes obvious that the witness has no concrete story to tell, and then the frame is rekeyed on the basis of a classification that the witness falls into, namely being a 'self-important' type who wanted some attention.

Confused Persons

One of the tasks that police are often called for is to deal with people who are disturbed or confused. While in Germany it always impressed me how willing passersby or neighbors were to be involved with people who did not seem to be able to orient themselves or take care of themselves. Quite often members of the public ensured that persons were comfortable and kept an eye on them until police arrived, and were particularly solicitous of the elderly.

The types of confused persons that police are called to cope with ranges from elderly citizens who are suffering from Alzheimer's, to those who become aggressive when under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Schizophrenics or psychotics provide their own level of challenge, being sometimes fairly quiet but extremely nervous, and at other times lashing out at everything around them. The primary framework then, reflects the fact that when police receive a call for a confused person, they begin from the basis that they will be dealing with someone whose reality and actions will not reflect the consensus reality

most people are dealing with. In these situations, officers are extremely aware of the unpredictability of the situation, and the fact that there may be a limit to the extent they can maintain the upper hand over someone's behaviour. Crank refers to this as "edge control", the ability to recognize when the edge of predictable versus turbulent action has been reached, and how to construct appropriate responses to it (1998:124-125).

Late one afternoon in March, a citizen called police after hearing her female neighbor shouting and smashing things for most of the afternoon in an apartment next door. The neighbor was waiting outside the woman's apartment for us, but was told that due to the unpredictability of the woman, it might be better to wait in her own apartment. After the neighbor had retreated, the officers knocked and the disturbed woman let us in. The apartment was dark but from the light in the hallway, we saw tumbled furniture and coffee grounds strewn everywhere. Alfons turned on some lights; the woman screamed that they hurt her eyes and yelled at us to leave. She shouted that we were giving off rays like her television and that Alfons was a mutant who wanted to get inside her. Paul left to contact a doctor, and Alfons and I stayed in the apartment. At one point she rushed Alfons, who attempted to calm her but she hit out at him when he grasped her arm to stabilize her, and then retreated to a corner when he released her. Paul came back at that point and Alfons told him that he wouldn't stay in the apartment any longer with her. Paul, who sometimes has a somewhat malicious sense of humour, asked if he was afraid of her. Alfons very calmly stated he wasn't, and explained that she seemed to be getting worse with us in the apartment and that we should leave her alone until the doctor

arrived. Paul nodded and with a wry smile said he would actually be afraid to stay with her. He removed the keys hanging by the door, and surreptitiously tried them in the lock on the way out to make sure one would actually open her door. Out in the corridor we waited for the doctor, listening at the door occasionally to make sure she was still moving around and hadn't injured herself. A psychiatric assistant finally arrived and she was let into the apartment to talk to the woman. On her determination, the woman was admitted to hospital for psychiatric observation.

These types of calls can therefore go through a number of rekeyings when they turn from make-believe, into fabrications, and sometimes even contests. An interesting aspect though, is that because the frame itself must take into account all of the behaviors that may potentially break the frame in a normal reaction, things like flooding out, and downkeying become an integral part of the primary framework a police officer must cope with. The break in frame essentially only occurs when someone else who shares normal consensus reality with an officer enters the picture (like a psychiatrist or medic), who can then initiate a different framework which may break the frame or at least be part of the out of frame activity.

Obviously, if people seem to be injuring themselves, or if they are being a nuisance, regardless of which country one is in, citizens will be quick to call the police to resolve the matter. There are no cultural differences between Germany, or Canada, or probably Britain or the States in this regard. Particularly when the disturbance falls into the realm

of a noise complaint late at night, citizens just about anywhere become irritated and want the matter resolved immediately.

At four in the morning, during April, we got a call to go to a building where several people were complaining of a “klingel terrorist” -- a doorbell terrorist -- who was going around ringing their doorbells and running away. On arrival, the officers had to deal with a lot of upset people who had discovered that the perpetrator was one of their neighbors. He was an 85 year old man who seemed somewhat confused and stated that he had heard noises in the building and that the first thing he could think of was to ring all of his neighbors’ doorbells to ask for help. Although he didn’t actually stay to talk to any of the neighbors, they caught sight of him and were worried enough to call police. A quick look through the building didn’t reveal any cause for alarm, and just to reassure him, the officers checked his apartment briefly to make sure there were no intruders in there. Robert and Gustav told him in as clear a manner as they could that if he heard noises again he should call the police first because that was what they were there for, and not to ring all of the doorbells in the building at four in the morning.

This kind of event shows clearly that in democratic societies cross-culturally, one of the tasks that police are required to deal with are the kind that Bittner (Klockars 1985:16) has identified as the “something-ought-not-to-be-happening-and-about-which-something-ought-to-be-done-NOW!” situation. It is clear for the citizen that if it is an immediate event over which they have no control, that the police ‘ought’ to be the ones to do

something. Even if the situation is not so pressing, police are seen as having the access to tools and information that might help resolve a problem more quickly than a citizen might be able to deal with it.

In Germany, as in Canada, police are often called when elderly citizens, who are suffering from Alzheimer's or who confused in some way, seem to be in trouble. This type of call exemplifies the service function of the police and is one of the areas where knowledge of the community and a strong connection to it can be extremely valuable in establishing a positive presence. One April afternoon, an elderly woman was found crying on a street corner and a passerby brought her to a nearby kindergarten to await the police. She knew her name and her son's name, and said she wanted to go and see him. At first she said he was in Karlsruhe (a city quite a distance away), and it was explained to her that it was too far to go there right now and that the officers would take her home. Meanwhile a computer search was being done on her name, and although it took quite a while for the dispatcher to get back to us, they found no address for her. Leo asked her if she knew anyone in this area, and she looked confused, but when he mentioned the name of a local priest she said she recognized the name. Leo suggested that we drive over to the priest, and at first she agreed, but on the way out of the kindergarten she decided it wasn't a good idea and started to walk off. Leo ran after her and took her hand and finally persuaded her to come with us. We drove to the priest, who immediately recognized her and greeted her by name. He told Leo that her son worked at a nearby community center, and we drove her over to deliver her into his care. Her son wasn't all that pleased to find

out she had been wandering around in a confused state, but eventually drove her home. As we left, we passed the kitchen of the center where they were just organizing coffee and cake for a meeting, and when Leo stuck his head in the doorway and jovially inquired what kind of cake they were serving, the ladies laughed and gave him a slice.

Sometimes, though, citizens are faced with a dilemma which they believe requires an immediate solution, and yet is something that officers cannot help them with, except to offer sympathetic words. It seemed to me that Germans were less discriminating regarding the reasons for which they would call police when it concerned one of these types of borderline calls, and quite often the nature of policing in Germany connects with the service aspect of policing in ensuring 'peace of mind' for its citizens. This ties into one of their more recent advertising slogans: 'If it doesn't seem right, call your police'. The slogan can also be seen as an effort to encourage the public to see their environment in the same way that police are trained to do, in other words to recognize incongruity, the unusual, and those things that are out of place (Crank 1998:176).

For example, in May, a doctor called us because an elderly patient of his was confused and was refusing treatment, and none of her family could continue watching over her 24 hours a day. He did not openly say that she was endangering her life, which was the only thing the officers really needed to know in order to take her to Haar (the psychiatric hospital). The doctor insisted that the officers should see her anyway. So we drove there and her niece talked to us for a while about the situation, saying that it was getting very

difficult to watch over her, that she wouldn't take her medication and wandered about in a confused state, and that she couldn't be there to watch over her all the time. The officers then spoke with the elderly lady who didn't seem to be a danger to herself but simply somewhat confused. Johann charmed her by saying that the police were worried about her and wanted her to live for a long time, and that she was a sensible lady and wouldn't she please take her medicine. Both Artur and Johann told the niece that they didn't think she should be admitted to Haar, and advised her to go through another social service agency to get a daily visiting nurse.

About one week later, someone found an older woman trying to get into an apartment building, but who didn't seem to really know where 'home' was. She looked very familiar to me, but it only came to me after we arrived at the address we found in her purse that she was the woman who was not taking her medication. The superintendent lived in the apartment next door to her and let her into the place. Paul took a stern and somewhat patronizing tone with her, telling her to take off her jacket and shoes so that she would stay inside and not wander off anymore. She looked at him in a confused way and Alfons reiterated in a more gentle tone that she had to stay at home now, that it was three in the morning and she should go to bed. She sat there and looked at us, making no move, so finally Paul helped her off with her jacket and shoes and told her again to go to bed.

Cultural expectation dictates respect for the elderly, which was how the above call began. Only when it appeared that the elderly woman did not understand did the verbal technique contravene interactive expectation and Paul treated her more like a child. When this measure did not have effect, Paul chose a more immediate and personal response, which still lies within cultural permissibility, and that was to physically connect with her in removing her jacket and shoes. Closure of similar situations in Ottawa involved remaining with the person until a third party could arrive, or visually checking on the address and neighborhood more frequently, but never utilized this type of physical contact (Richter, fieldnotes, 1991).

The above narrative is but one example of primary frameworks that can get constructed around one particular individual. Officers in any one zone quickly come to know those citizens who tend to wander off repeatedly, and although the system is not well designed to keep track of these repeat 'wanderers' (paperwork must be filled out completely from scratch every time an event like this happens, even though officers may already know them well enough to ask whether it is Mr. or Mrs. So-and-so when they arrive at a location), the officers themselves become cognizant after a time of repeating a similar primary frame each time they come in contact with these individuals.

Sometimes officers rekey the primary framework once they understand that the most efficient way to deal with the situation is to "go along" with the story that the citizen is

reporting; in other words, officers incorporate a certain amount of benign fabrication in the frame.

For example, in July an elderly woman called police because she thought her neighbor kept entering her apartment while she was out to steal and break things and slash her furniture. She showed us where the carpet fringes were supposedly cut off, but it was obvious they had just worn off with age. We listened to her complaints for several minutes, until Paul changed the flow of her thoughts and talked to her about riding, as he owns a horse himself. He pointed to me and stated that I was a rider too, and lied that I owned my own pony. The elderly woman immediately asked me if I could use a hat and a pair of riding breeches. I smiled and thanked her but said that she should keep them. She returned to the reason for having the police there and began to list what her neighbor had stolen and damaged, and Paul told Bruno to write it all down, while winking slightly at him. Bruno played along and scribbled a bit as she talked. She showed us various things in the apartment that she thought had been damaged, but there was really nothing there to indicate her version of events was correct. Finally Paul said that the neighbor would be punished for what she had done, but that we had to leave because other people needed our help as well.

Similarly, in August a woman called to report that an unknown person had broken into her apartment. She knew this because the bathroom door was hanging a bit crooked, an electronic game console had been moved away from the wall slightly, a bathroom cabinet

was now standing in her living room, and the casters on an office chair had been damaged. Fritz and Alfons wandered around and repeatedly examined these things; a couple of times they moved into another room or the hallway to talk things over, and I stayed with the woman to essentially give the officers some privacy to confer. It was obvious to me that something was rather strange about the situation. The officers asked her several times if anything of value had been taken, and she always said no, until Fritz mentioned her jewellery. She thought for a moment and went to get her jewel box. After rooting around in it she stated that a couple of things were missing, but she was not very definite about what was gone. Fritz told her to sort out her jewellery methodically, but she didn't listen. Both officers then informed her that they needed to get some paperwork and after looking at me, headed out into the hall. I waited with her, but she didn't pay any attention to me, merely spent the time looking through her jewellery box. When Alfons and Fritz returned, Alfons told her point-blank that her story didn't seem to make much sense and there was nothing to indicate that a break-in had actually occurred. She was somewhat flustered and worried that Alfons had checked her out on the computer, but in the end was most concerned that her locks be changed. One of the officers advised her to talk to the manager of the building, which she was reluctant to do, saying that the officers should give her a file number or something to satisfy the manager that there was a reason to change her locks. The officers agreed to do this and we left.

Back at the station we talked about the case, and agreed there was something strange going on, despite her complete calmness and seeming rationality when relating her story.

Alfons raised the question of how one could know when something had occurred for real when you were dealing with a person who obviously occupied a different reality. We discussed possibilities like what the scene would have looked like if there had been a real break-in, and pondered why someone would pick through a jewellery box to take only a couple of items and carefully close all of the little boxes in her jewel case if it was a real theft. Alfons figured, as he went out the door, that we would hear from her again (and she did call on a subsequent shift with a similar story).

Stories told about cases, and the discussion of possibilities attached to particular events is common to all police cultures. Where these stories are allowed to be told can vary; often these tales are aired during down time after a shift (Crank 1998:15, 166-167), although they do appear during shifts as well. In Canada, officers are expected to leave the station after roll call and remain on patrol for the duration of their shifts unless they bring someone into the station for processing. For them, the narration of tales occurs in snatched meetings in parking lots over a quick cup of take-out coffee. These tales are constructed for the rank-and-file only, and may carry back region expressions and reveal knowledge of occupational competence and subcultural values. In Germany, officers are frequently in the station between bouts of preventive patrol, having coffee in the kitchen or talking in the duty room. This places the telling of tales into a more ambiguous space regarding back and front stage behaviour. Not only do middle management officers have an opportunity to listen in on stories, members of the public may also be exposed. In this sense, the tales told are pointedly about competence and strategy and general morality.

Narratives that reflect aspects of subcultural values may be halted until doors can be closed, or the make up of the audience can be ascertained.

Death

All police officers must deal with death. While citizens expect gentle and caring officers to impart the news that a loved one has died, competence in such a situation will vary depending on the individual officer. While I never had the opportunity to see Ottawa police deal with this, logically officers in both countries will face similar difficulties associated with notifications of death and dealing with the dead on scene. A death is often encountered when a neighbor notices that someone in an adjoining home has not been seen for several days, and tries to find ways of checking out the status of that person. Sometimes it is only the police who can be called to do this. While a number of these types of calls I attended turned out well, and the person had merely had a fall and was incapable of getting up, occasionally we were not so fortunate. This is one of the few types of calls that have police officers essentially casting the primary framework of response to death in a preliminary key of a "technical redoing", since more often for this call than any other, officers discuss who will handle things like viewing the body or talking to relatives, and sometimes commenting on the nature of the call in either a serious or joking manner. In essence, they go through a practice session of sorts to ensure that they will be able to deal with the initial trauma.

On one afternoon shift in May, that type of talking through centered on a previous contact with an elderly gentleman, who didn't seem to have answered his door for several days. Paul and Edmund had been there the week before when he had had some difficulty, and they got a key delivered to a local aid organization so that meals could be delivered to him. He apparently had not wanted to go in to a hospital at that point.

On the landing outside his door, we found three days worth of foil wrapped meals stacked one on top of each other. Edmund flipped up the letter box but couldn't see anything inside. Paul commented that since the meals were still there, it didn't look very good. After repeated efforts to attract the elderly man's attention a locksmith was called. During the wait, Paul angrily commented on the social workers who would accept a key and then leave three days worth of meals outside the man's door without checking on him.

The locksmith arrived and opened the door. Unfortunately the male inhabitant was already dead, and had probably died in difficulty; there was blood and excrement all over the kitchen floor. We left and sealed the door. At the car the officers filled out paperwork while we waited for the coroner. When she arrived, Edmund took her up to the apartment to view the body. She could not determine the cause of death so the KDD (Kriminal Dauer Dienst) was called.

When there is a death, officers often must rekey activity when the curious hover, when dealing with medical personnel, when Kripo or KDD officers show up in the event of an indeterminate cause of death, and again when relatives show up who are in distress. All of these components occurred on my last morning of patrol in Munich.

A citizen called reporting the death of a woman in her home. We arrived to find the apartment swarming with medical personnel. The woman had supposedly died of a heart attack, but the medical people could not swear to that as cause of death so they called police and the Kripo in. We discussed this at the front door, out of sight of the body which was around a corner of her apartment corridor. Therefore, the first moments of engagement with the situation had nothing to do with the dead woman but only with the initial professional framework of the medical personnel on site. With all of the medical people walking in and out and the officers talking to them to establish particulars, I elected to stay near the front door to stay out of the way and watch the proceedings. Most of the medical people finally left and both officers headed to the back of the apartment to talk to the remaining medic and fill out forms. I stayed near the front door to await the Kripo. When I finished my notes and decided to look into the kitchen to see how far the officers had proceeded, I turned the corner and finally came face to face with the body. For the first time I felt a sudden shock at seeing death. As it had not been possible to determine the cause of death nothing could be disturbed in the immediate area around the woman, and her nude body was still lying in the hall outside her bathroom. It stopped me short and I remained near the front door, since I would have had to step over her body in

order to get to the kitchen where Alfons and Fritz were sitting. The door to the apartment had been left slightly open to allow the Kripo access, and as I was waiting there a woman showed up saying she was the cousin of the dead person. She asked if she could come in and see the body. I asked her to wait a moment, and went back to the hallway leading to the kitchen where the body was, and called to Alfons to come over. I explained the dead woman's cousin was at the door and wanted to see the body. Alfons approached her and told her it was not a good idea to view the body yet -- that he wouldn't do it if he were her -- and suggested that she might want to sit down in the neighbor's apartment and rest a bit as she seemed to be in a bit of shock. The woman and Alfons knocked on the door of the neighboring apartment and the older woman who answered was immediately solicitous of the cousin, letting both she and Alfons in to do some telephoning. Fritz stayed with the medic in the kitchen, although he came to the front occasionally to confer with Alfons, and finally Alfons left the cousin in the neighbor's apartment to return to the paperwork that Fritz was completing. Once the medic left, however, Alfons returned to the neighbor's apartment and had a long talk with the cousin, explaining exactly what had and would happen in this case. Fritz finished up the paperwork, rushing by me a couple of times to get some fresh air whenever he caught a "whiff" of the dead body. I hadn't noticed any real odor, but this could also be because I stayed near the door of the apartment. I was still waiting to let the Kripo in, when Alfons returned and he waited with me. We made small talk about the case in serious tones, but occasionally lapsed into more humorous comments. The Kripo finally arrived and the papers and case were transferred to them.

The use of humour is an important subcultural attribute; similar to other professions that deal with emergency and trauma situations, police officers resolve incongruity, tension and distress through humorous banter. This is back region behaviour in all police services, and is not designed for display outside of the group that understands its purpose. In the above case, only when all of the necessary procedures are dealt with, and only when police officers are present, can the impact of the event be acknowledged and dealt with. A more detailed discussion of humour appears in the next chapter.

Beleidigung (Insult)

This is one of the peculiarities of the German legal system, and reflects what Ardagh (1995:520) describes as the “extremely litigious” nature of the Germans. *Beleidigung* translates literally as “insult”, and what it means in a legal context is that a citizen has the option to charge someone with ‘*beleidigung*’ if s/he feels that they have been insulted in any way. In the North American context we might imagine it as if a citizen could charge someone with slander or libel through the police rather than treating it as a civil matter in the courts. While citizens seem to cherish this particular option, police officers tend not to use it, knowing that it usually becomes a rather hollow action with no real results. Citizens, however, utilize this as a mechanism for establishing control over social behaviour which is seen as inappropriate. Therefore, citizens expect police to take them seriously when they initiate this charge. Police officers acknowledge their concerns, but subsequently try to rationalize or coax citizens into withdrawing from this action.

To offer one of the more extreme examples, when I arrived at the station on one afternoon shift in August, a couple of the officers said I had to read one of the entries in the log book because it was one of the most bizarre examples of *beleidigung* they'd ever seen. I read in the log book that someone made a charge of *beleidigung* against a waitress in a restaurant because he had to wait 15 minutes for his beer and a menu, and he felt insulted by that.

Difficulties between police and citizens with regard to "*beleidigung*" are certainly possible, and one of the most interesting occurred on an afternoon shift in March. We were told to meet one of the parking control officers who was having difficulty with a passerby. We found a very irate *Polizeihostesse* (*politesse*) and an angry male passerby. His female companion was waiting farther up the street and crying. Apparently the woman had bumped the bag of the *politesse*, who in return commented "*muss dass sein*" ('is that necessary') and the female passerby had apologized. The male then responded with an obscenity. The *politesse* replied that she did not have to accept such insults and was going to call her colleagues, which the male invited her to do.

The officers told the *politesse* that they would take care of the paperwork, as she had informed them that she wanted to charge the two passersby with "*beleidigung*". The *politesse* left to continue working and the officers asked the two passersby for their story. They indicated that the *politesse* had been verbally provocative first and they had just reacted. The female passerby was crying steadily throughout this and explained to the

policewoman present that she had applied for landed immigrant rights and was technically on probation and could not afford to be in trouble with the police. Sonya kept reassuring her that this didn't really even concern her and that she shouldn't worry about it.

When the officers had finished the paperwork we returned to the station. Ben thought this was a situation where a little racism (*Fremdenfeindlichkeit*) was involved, since the politesse was not known for her love of immigrants.²⁰ The officers, however, also gave her a little benefit of the doubt, saying she had to listen to a lot of complaints and abuse as a parking control officer, and she probably had had enough that day. Neither officer thought her case would come to anything though.

In the above case, the bracketing for the framework in which the police actually became involved, occurred when the politesse decided to call a unit in. While she was present, the key of the frame involved a particular problem (the insult itself) seen from two different motivational sides: the passersby, who insisted that the politesse had initiated the conflict, and the politesse herself, who seemed to have an underlying motivation regarding the presence of foreigners. Once she left, the frame was broken not only by her absence, but by the flooding out of the female passerby, who managed to rekey the interaction to one that no longer reflected the problem of "beleidigung", but now focussed on her status and how trouble with the police would affect her personally.

This case, however, also exemplifies the problem areas that police organizations in general must deal with. Reactions by police personnel that push the envelope of expected interactive patterns, can easily fall into the area of abuse of authority and certainly do nothing to improve their image on a local level. Police subcultures, however, do maintain an element of collegial support or solidarity, which often leads to giving officers the benefit of the doubt. Complicating the situation in Germany is the fact that officers can counteract personally offensive action on the part of citizens through a charge of 'beleidigung'.

Usually, though, when insults are trained at police officers they tend to turn the other cheek. As private citizens, the picture may change for certain individuals, but once in uniform officers largely display a tolerant attitude. In July, for example, we were all in the kitchen at the station eating lunch. Ben noticed that the gate to the back parking lot was standing open, and because the station had instituted special security measures due to firebombings at two other stations (one measure being that all gates into station parking lots had to be kept closed), Ben went out to shut it. While he was outside, the manager of the building in which the station is located rushed out to him, and started yelling at him to keep the gate open. Everyone in the kitchen piled to the windows to watch the event unfold. Ben stayed very cool while he shut the gate, glancing up at the third floor where the offices of the station chief were located, while the building manager (who is a civilian) swore at him. As Ben strolled back into the building, the manager dropped a few insulting names.

Sonya, who was acting platoon chief, entered the kitchen and discovered what was going on, and she went out to the yard to explain to the manager why the gate had to be secured. In the kitchen, Bruno raged about the insults, and when Ben returned, advised him to charge the manager with “beleidigung” which the other officers agreed with. Ben shrugged it off, although it obviously bothered him because a few days later he met with the station chief to discuss the incident.

So police do tend to avoid reacting to insults, probably because they are exposed to the paperwork process often enough to feel it isn't worth the hassle. In the above situation, despite the fact that Bruno was essentially encouraging a break in the frame through downkeying, Ben didn't take any specific action until much later, and even then it was a fairly muted response.

It is important to note that Ben did discuss the events that had occurred with the station chief, who is an officer at the executive level. This establishes an organizational difference between German and Canadian policing in that the organization does not adhere to a rigid chain-of-command structure. While the easiest and most logical person to approach with an issue would be the next highest officer in the command hierarchy, in Germany officers feel free to contact any superior up into the lower ranking executive level without having to pass concerns through intermediary officers.

Police also develop simple ways of dealing with irate citizens who might be inclined to insult them simply because of their presence, and that is to non-verbally, and only later verbally let a citizen receive the full impact of the police “gaze” or full scrutiny, accompanied sometimes by a stock phrase like, “do you have a problem”. The following is an interesting example of a frame that includes a type of fabrication (uniformed police in an unmarked car) to which citizens may react in one way, and must then rekey in order to avoid the potential of having “beleidigung” turned back on them.

On one afternoon shift in April, there was really nothing much happening on the street, so I transferred to a civilian vehicle with two uniformed cops, Gustav and Horst. We went out with the hopes of doing some traffic control, but the weather got very bad (snow, etc) and the citizens were driving very carefully. The officers made one stop and drove up on the sidewalk in order not to block the slippery street. While the stop itself wasn’t remarkable (other than that each occupant had some type of previous charge listed on the police computer), it was interesting that a bicyclist came by swearing at all of us because we were blocking the bike path. He went first to the car the officers had stopped and yelled a bit at those occupants. They must have told him to check at our vehicle because he turned back to us. At that point Horst started to get out of the vehicle and asked if the bicyclist had a problem. The male took a look at Horst’s uniform, asked if they were really police officers and rode off.

In a similar vein, on a July afternoon, officers were called to provide backup for a couple of zeglars who were watching a Roma couple selling carpets. At their request we were to park close by but out of sight to await their call, because we were in a marked cruiser and might have scared the suspects off if they were aware of police presence. It was brutally hot, and there were cars in every parking spot in the immediate area, so Edmund parked in the shade on the sidewalk bicycle path, leaving only enough room for pedestrians to walk by single file along the hedge beside us. We waited for the zeglars to call, occasionally commenting on something, but mostly we passed the time in lethargic silence. People hurried by us; a few looked at us curiously, but no one stopped, until an older man happened by and asked in a very irritated and rhetorical manner if it was really necessary to park so close to the hedge. Edmund shouted that we were on a call and Ben added that we had to work too.

It is usually older citizens who query or make remarks about police behaviour; youths may mutter comments but are usually not as overt in challenging the social implications of police activity. In Canada, police cars parked across sidewalks might get critical looks but verbal responses were not utilized (Richter, fieldnotes, 1991). Again, in Ottawa, citizens and officers maintained a physical distance that was rarely breached; therefore, unless a citizen has a specific question to ask an officer, they tend not to approach a parked police vehicle. In Germany, bypassers added two other general interactive strategies to parked police cars, either making complaints about vehicles

“inappropriately” parked, or offers to buy officers coffee or ice cream (which is the stereotyped German equivalent of the doughnut).

This notion of *beleidigung* is something that citizens obviously like to play with; on the one hand, they are very quick to threaten to call the police when they are the targets of ill-chosen words, but on the other hand, they certainly have no real compunction about speaking their minds if something doesn't suit them, and apologies are rare. It seemed, at times, that the high standard of formality, with its supposed resulting courtesy, bogged down in the heat of the moment. In fact, when an apology did occur, it was usually by a non-German.

In August, I arrived at Station B one day, a couple of hours after the afternoon shift had started (having completed the night shift at Station A only a few hours before, I needed some sleep in between), and the platoon chief, Oskar, immediately asked me to do some translating for a young American male who needed some help. He had been arrested a day or two earlier for using a motorized skateboard on the pedestrian mall downtown. His skateboard was confiscated and he was released. For some reason the paperwork had come to Station B (north of the downtown area) and as he was returning to the States in two days, he wanted to have his skateboard back. He was having difficulty obtaining it, and in a calm but irate tone informed me the police had lied to him and that they stole his skateboard. He apologized to me for his anger, and commented that the “guys” at the station seemed to be doing their best, but he wanted to make a complaint against the

officers who arrested him (who were not members of this platoon). I went back to Oskar and told him the story, and he provided me with the file number of the case and the telephone number and address of the district attorney, where he assumed the skateboard had to be. Oskar also made commented to me that he would be complaining as well if he were in the young man's shoes, and called over to me as I walked back to the front desk with the information, that I should also pull the names of the officers who did the original paperwork (since they were the ones who "lost" the skateboard) and give them to the male as well. The young man was still upset about the situation, but thanked us for the help as he left.

In this case, the situation ended up being reframed to some degree because this young man and I could conduct police business in English and connect on some common points of similarly shared culture. Oskar, despite his open and quick response with information, removed himself from the interaction, leaving me to deal with it. Therefore, this was one of the more anomalous situations that occurred with regard to the overall cultural impact, even though the interaction went smoothly and the young man received precisely the information he requested with no difficulty.

Impact of Gender and Ethnicity

In the previous chapter, it was mentioned that while women do still have a battle in terms of gaining political and professional access to some things, and while stereotyped joking

behavior and rhetoric exists around both sexes, by and large women do tend to be respected.

The conservative character of Bavaria can be seen in the traditions surrounding women. While women are entering public arenas much more easily now, they are still under-represented in many of the higher-ranking positions (Ardagh 1995:172). Even though there seems to be a lot less 'machismo' among German males than in some of the latin countries, and men genuinely enjoy the company of women (Ardagh 1995:190), the great downturn of women's emancipation that occurred under Hitler due to his idealization of women as mothers only, still reverberates in professional and public life. This can be seen in the area of policing. While women have been involved in plainclothes with the Kriminalpolizei (that service which deals with operations normally involving detectives, as well as specific types of scientific and lab support) for a long period of time, women had only been doing uniformed patrol work in Bavaria for approximately five years at the time I did my fieldwork in 1995. This means that actual time patrolling the streets was even less, since the training time for officers in Germany is quite lengthy.

The rhetoric around women in policing is similar to the typical discussion among male officers in Canada. Essentially it is the small amount of physical work that captures the attention and which females supposedly cannot handle as well. In one station the joking reference to the "Maedchenstreife" (girl's patrol) defines a shift composed of station duty, guard duty and rallye, which means that you're not out on the road doing 'real' police

work. All of these comments though are usually followed up with the revelation that the female officers working with them are in fact good officers, and the self-deprecating observations by a couple of male officers that they were probably a bit old-fashioned.

Held also discusses the impact of gender on her work. One of the things I had once speculated on with some of the male officers was that perhaps female officers had more difficulty learning the non-verbal signals indicating someone was ready to fight. I suggested that this was due to gendered upbringing, and some of the males thought that that was a plausible connection. Held (1992:60) makes a similar statement, reflecting that males are more intuitive when it comes to making that decision about physical intervention.

One of the arguments is also still about training women who then become pregnant and leave work for either a short-term period or permanently. I must admit that on hearing that argument I reflected that a study on the amount of time many male officers spend off of work due to sports related injuries might actually level out that consideration. But again, this type of work attitude seems to be dependent on whether individuals can rise above the rhetoric because one senior ranking male officer was quite adamant that there were more than enough officers available to cover empty positions while a woman was on maternity leave, and therefore that argument was illogical.

The few female officers I came into contact with said that they never experienced any overt harrassment, although one of them did say that when she first started one or two officers did act inappropriately (although she did indicate that this was perhaps due more to individual personalities rather than being attached to the police culture). Policing in Germany, as in most countries, is still a male-dominated profession, and the overall occupational environment obviously reflects the norms and values of the majority. As Kerbo and Strasser (2000:59) point out, Germany has a fairly high level of gender inequality with relation to wages and the "glass ceiling", and underlying this is a fairly traditional viewpoint of gender roles. However, the impact of the feminist movement in North America and England has created a framework which may perhaps allow for a smoother process of change.

Whether it was done consciously or not, there was certainly a cultural expectation of when it might be more efficient to let a woman take the lead on a call. Those situations involving sexual assault were obvious circumstances, and in the one event where we were called in to deal with a woman who had just given birth and, in indicating an aggressive desire to leave, had kicked one of the nurses. Since most of the night staff were female, the two male officers I was with let me enter the hospital first, and in fact all of the verbal interaction taking place was addressed to me, even though it was only the male officers asking questions.

When it came to children, both male and female officers tended to work in conjunction. Children were often asked whom they wished to remain with during a call, and when they needed to be watched while an interaction was taking place, the officer who was not as immediately involved, whether male or female, took over. Obviously when I was present, that task sometimes fell to me, but I certainly remember a situation where a male officer wandered off to talk to a couple of kids practicing piano while I remained with the other male officer while he interviewed their mother.

With regard to difficulties with ethnic minorities and foreigners (Auslaender), the cultural problem that police are increasingly dealing with, is related to the fall of the borders. One DGL that I spoke with said that obviously police were the first to dislike those foreigners who stole from banks and committed assaults and killed, and pointed out that Germans who did those things were also disliked but that you couldn't throw the Germans out.

As a result, some officers tend to be more aggressive regarding identification checks of visible minorities. Most officers I spoke with agreed that visible minorities were stopped more for the simple logistical reason that it was some of those people who would be in the country illegally. One officer did mention that an obvious offshoot is that German citizens who looked like members of an ethnic minority would probably also be stopped more. Other officers also commented that appearances had much to do with it: a visible minority male with his family would likely not be targeted, while a suspicious young German male might be stopped more than a member of a visible ethnic group. Several

officers did comment however, on the prevalence of foreign names on the arrest sheets that are also increasingly associated with violent crimes. One officer stated that if it were statistically possible to prove to him today that Germans were the “dangerous” group rather than some of the ethnic minorities he dealt with, he would be very happy to react more strongly towards them. It is therefore, a somewhat subjective, and certainly a complex situation, although in general officers are aware that they can’t start believing that all ethnic minorities are representative of one negative strata of society.

The citizens themselves, tend to be of the same mind, and welcome people from other countries who are willing to work hard and be good neighbors, but there are occasionally flare-ups. When citizens become angry about something and one of the interactants is a member of an ethnic minority or a foreigner, it was sometimes the case that the resultant shouting between them took on racist overtones.

One example that sticks out as a blatant response by an angry German over a trivial matter occurred one August evening. A citizen had called to say his apartment was being flooded by something from the apartment upstairs. It is one of the peculiarities of German culture that the police often get called when a washer overflows, and this was the case here. While we were waiting for the fire department to mop up the mess, the upstairs inhabitant returned from grocery shopping. He unlocked his door explaining that he had started a load of washing before he left, and that was probably the cause of the problem. Sure enough, the drainage hose had slipped out and released water all over his

bathroom. He was quite shocked at the mess, and was very quiet and apologetic. He explained that he had no insurance to cover such an event. The people from the downstairs apartment came up a couple of times to complain bitterly, and one male could be heard throughout the stairwell as he referred to his upstairs neighbor as the “foreigner artist” who should go back to where he came from.

While this was not a common response, it might be seen as indicative of the concern regarding new types of criminality entering Germany, and, as mentioned before, the increasing prevalence of violent crime associated with ethnic names. It led one DGL to comment that the citizens of Germany might have to alter their cultural expectations of how police should interact with them in the future, to accommodate the growing risk of encounters with some citizens and visitors. It is still possible today for a police officer to be called on the carpet to explain his/her action as s/he approaches a higher class citizen with a firearm drawn; part of the cultural expectation still seems to insist that an officer should err on the side of courtesy rather than on the side of personal safety. With the country having to deal with increasingly violent crimes though, the style of policing may have to start shifting to a more cautious one in order to protect not only its officers, but its citizens.

Summary

The cultural expectations that both police and public operate under can be very important in determining what kind of a police service is in place. In Germany, the essential character is of access to police, whether in being able to get into a station to talk to an officer, or feeling able to speak to an officer on the street and even connect with them in ways that would be perceived as a violation of personal space in Canada.

Citizens and police have an underlying cultural expectation that they can speak their minds with each other, although when the interaction between two citizens becomes insulting, legal ramifications may ensue. Citizens and police also take a much more active role in being the service agency that tries to help out as much as possible when citizens require aid, particularly those elderly people who are disoriented or who are suffering from Alzheimer's. Even though some cynicism creeps in when officers deal with a few aggressive and disturbed citizens on a repeat basis, in general the strong German emphasis on family and personal responsibility for each other comes to the forefront and is the fundamental framework from which officers and citizens engage.

The next, and final chapter, revisits the same frames of police activity discussed here, but adds the component of communication strategies to cultural expectations.

CHAPTER 5: COMMUNICATION AND POLICE

Introduction

This chapter deals with the same categories of interaction as the last chapter did, therefore the primary frameworks in place are exactly the same. What is added to the grounding in cultural expectations and responses are relevant communicative aspects of interaction. First, a few particular elements of the German language and its impact on police communication in general are considered.

Statements and Strategies

In terms of producing effective or persuasive speech, the audience must link up what they know of the speaker's stance and interests, the overall performance, and the explicit and implicit meanings of the words (Brenneis 1978:166; Borgstrom 1982:315). Effective speech works when the hearer begins to identify with the position of the speaker (Borgstrom 1982:321). Added to this, if a recognizable frame has been entered, the efficacy of the speech carries more weight due to the expectation of certain types of speaking; therefore, words will carry more weight depending on which frame we are in (Goffman 1959:9-13; Tannen 1993:35,41).

The type of speaking that police officers do needs to be effective and is fundamentally persuasive. It is also the cultural recognition of the officer's role and position that adds support to the words that are spoken, and if the frame has already been dictated by a citizen in the sense that they have requested police to be there, officers are in a position to function solely through the use of verbal interaction. Skolnick and Fyfe (1993:38-39) discuss the range of 'force' that officers employ in order to ensure compliance, moving from simple presence which is the most common method of affecting the behaviour of citizens, to the most serious use of force, namely lethal or deadly force. In Skolnick and Fyfe's hierarchy, the next most common method officers use, after presence, is that of verbalization. This can take a couple of forms: that of persuasion, which they designate as an "adult-adult interaction", and that of the 'command' voice. Persuasion is designed to engage citizens in a reasonable, non-authoritarian dialogue that clearly explains what the problem is and the steps required to resolve it. As long as citizens reciprocate in the same vein, no other options need to be considered. Should citizens become uncooperative, the command voice is employed, which means that officers become increasingly reliant on their legal and bureaucratic positions to tell people in an unequivocally authoritative manner that their compliance is required.

Speaking to members of the public in Munich follows many of the same formulae that Ottawa police utilize (Richter 1992). The overriding basis of communication is couched in the law and the requirements surrounding that. In general though, German police officers are also encouraged to be cautious about being overly "military" in their speaking

patterns and to remember that their uniform is not sufficient to establish control in situations (Zentraler Psychologischer Dienst 1988:17). The authority that they bring to interactions has to be found in the knowledge that they possess of their craft and the law, and must always be tempered with empathy and the ability to be reflexive about personal performance (Schmalstich 1993:1-2). This emphasis on empathy is an aspect that is only beginning to appear in training for community-oriented police officers in North America, a radical departure from the normalized stance of neutrality which often has the effect of making officers appear uninterested and/or distant (Kidd & Brazier 1999:39-40).

A particular aspect of the German language creates a necessity for certain types of stances which are not the case in North America. German, as with several other European languages, has both a formal and informal version of “you” (*sie* and *du*). Part of the assessment of a situation that officers must make before they start speaking, is what type of status the suspect or complainant might hold that would necessitate using the formal “you”. Generally, any person who looks as if s/he has attained the age of majority, is addressed formally. In certain cases this becomes more problematic, for example, in one instance where a male driver involved in an accident looked like he was in his teens, one officer addressed him formally, while another officer later used informal address. Held refers to this difficulty several times (1992:21, 43).

This has interesting ramifications within the internal police hierarchy, where people who know each other well and have worked together for a time, tend to lapse into the informal

mode of address within the first two service levels, regardless of rank. Officers at the highest service level (Hoherdienst) are however, always addressed with the formal 'you'. This serves to maintain a type of boundary between these service levels which will not be surpassed despite efforts to facilitate interaction between officers of all ranks. I remember one meeting I attended between myself, the platoon chief and the station chief: with the platoon chief and I operating on an informal basis and the need to address the station chief on a formal basis, it continually threatened to throw the meeting into confusion.

One fundamental difference between German and North American policing is the lack of radio codes. We are familiar with the fact that North American services use "10-codes" as a shorthand for requests and the type of calls they are on (10-4 for example stands for 'acknowledged'). German police do not make use of such a system, therefore, everything that is said on the police radio is open and not coded in any way. Normally, this works quite well, although the press does tend to monitor the police bands and sometimes arrive at big events before the police show up.

Occasionally, this open type of communication leaves room for the personal idiosyncracies of police officers and dispatchers alike to make it over the airwaves. All officers get to know which dispatcher will allow some verbal liberties, and which ones demand a strict professionalism. Over the course of the night shift radio discipline can sometimes become quite lax (Held 1992:75). Certainly, the dispatcher or a ranking

officer on the street will humorously intervene to put a stop to this behavior, but most of the time individuals remain fairly attentive to what they say and when they might be close to crossing the line.

People who are not in control, whether through alcohol and drugs, or due to anger in interpersonal conflicts, offer particular challenges for both verbal and non-verbal communication. Dealing with street people, some of whom are also alcoholics, is part of the natural course of events for police. Some encounters can be troublesome, and sometimes officers respond with concern. In one instance, a citizen had called that there was someone lying in the bushes outside an office building. It was late on a March evening and getting fairly cold. Johann spotted a male, heavily intoxicated, who was sleeping it off on the ground under some bushes. The male seemed fairly groggy and incoherent so rather than spend time asking about identification Johann simply told him that he should go to the train station where it was warmer and he could sleep more comfortably.

Sometimes it is just revelers who cause problems, or create disturbances, when they become intoxicated. For example, one February night shift, the officers were dealing with a minor traffic accident when a drunk male came up to us and asked each officer "Haben Sie eine Zigarette?" (Do you have a cigarette?). Both officers said they didn't.

"Ich habe auch keine", the drunk male replied. (I don't have one either).

“Dass ist klar, sonst haetten Sie nicht gefragt,” responded Bruno (That’s clear, otherwise you wouldn’t have asked).

“Was machen Sie da, Strafzettel aufschreiben?” the drunk continued (What are you doing there, writing up a ticket?).

“Ja, aber das interessiert Sie doch nicht”, Bruno answered (Yes, but that shouldn’t interest you -- it’s not your concern).

“Dass interessiert mich ueberhaupt nicht!” yelled the drunk (That doesn’t concern me at all) and he walked off muttering about the habits of the police.

During this exchange officers kept working on filling out forms and communicating with the citizens involved in the accident, while casually responding to the drunk. Only when he infringed on their work was full attention directed to the inebriated male as he was told it wasn’t anything that concerned him. Throughout the interaction with the drunk male, both he and the officers addressed each other with the formal ‘you’.

Domestic disputes have their own points of combustion, and in Germany communicating with your police officer may involve not only verbal interaction but physical contact of a persuasive nature. On a night shift in July, the station received a call that an ex-husband was making threats against his former wife. They were both waiting for us on the street. She explained that he had been threatening her with physical violence and shrank back suddenly when he raised his hand to interrupt her. He was quite loud and aggressive and admitted to drinking alcohol. The officers talked to him at some length to determine what

the exact nature of the problem was; apparently he had been told to stay away from the apartment, but he insisted that some of the furniture and appliances in the place were his, and he wanted them immediately (particularly the television). The woman eventually said she would come to the station to press charges in the morning, and went back into the building. Edmund then talked to the male, telling him that everything would look different in the morning and he should go home and get some sleep. The male agreed and started to talk again, continually patting Edmund on the shoulder and then tried to shake my hand. I did not reciprocate and Edmund stepped in saying that I, too, wished him a good evening. By this time a couple of neighbors had appeared at the windows a few times to shout down their outrage at being kept awake. It finally appeared that he would go -- we watched him totter off -- and then he swung back to the apartment building, saying he wanted to get his TV right now instead of in the morning. Edmund and Heinz decided to take him in. He was transported to the station with no difficulty and was put in the cells because he refused to stay seated in the duty room. Once his name was run through the computer they discovered about 15 hits on him for assault bodily harm.

Keeping people physically away from each other is obviously a necessity when dealing with physical confrontation, but trying to make them understand the big picture may also be a strategy. It was interesting to hear Edmund trot out the same phrase on a number of occasions to get citizens to put enough time between themselves and the event so that they could think clearly about it. For example, in July we headed to an S-bahn station²¹ where two of the railway police were waiting with a complainant. The male complainant

was upset because another man had damaged his bicycle and then left. Artur and Edmund talked to him briefly, during which time the other male returned and insisted on telling his side of the story. Both men began to get angry and started moving in on each other. Artur and Edmund told them to remain apart and then moved between them when the accused asked Edmund to hold the complainant so he could punch him out. Both males were told that they should leave the situation alone for the moment, think over what they were doing and if they were still upset they could press charges the next day. As there was no significant damage to the bicycle, the complainant was told to take the bike and leave, which he did fairly quickly. Edmund told the antagonist that everything would look different in the morning and he should just go home and sleep on it.

Physical contact has long been utilized as a way of communicating through non-verbal means, and police officers certainly have the right to touch people in very direct, coercive, and even intimate ways (Kidd & Braziel 1999:17). Citizens making physical contact with police officers though, is far more common in Germany than in North America. The contact that citizens make consists of either tapping, patting or grasping the arm, or less commonly the shoulder, of a police officer. Tapping someone on the arm or shoulder is a request for attention; patting on the arm is an attempt to sway or convince someone to see your side, and in some cases to convey sympathy; and grasping the arm, while occasionally conveying regret, is most likely in the policing situation to be a mechanism for trying to gain control. One of the more interesting citizen-initiated physical contacts occurred close to midnight in July, when police had been called to a physical assault

which left a male more seriously injured than the police realized. We arrived to find a drunk Turkish male waiting for us who stated he was hit over the head with a heavy rubber implement by a white male who was still at the scene. The sons of the Turkish male corroborated the story. The officers spoke with the other male and he said the Turkish man attacked him with a knife which he then supposedly threw into a bush. The two boys said they didn't see a knife. A search was initiated; another unit and a couple of zeglars arrived on the scene to help. The Turkish male moved toward the white male as if to push him, and Bruno stepped between them to separate them. Bruno tried to talk to the white male, while the Turkish male tried to get Bruno to feel the lumps on his head. Bruno ignored him. The Turkish male grabbed Bruno's hand, but only when Bruno's fingers came into contact with the male's hair did he seem to realize what was going on, and he jerked away. The males began arguing again about what actually happened, with the police officers trying to get a single version of the story while keeping order. At one point the Turkish male came over to me and wanted me to feel the lumps on his head. Finally, he was handcuffed because he was just too uncontrollable and taken to the station for an alcotest. While there, he collapsed and was transferred to a hospital where doctors discovered he had a concussion. In this case, the Turkish male, albeit intoxicated, opted to try direct physical contact with officers to persuade them of his story. While this might be attributed to different cultural standards of communication, the relevance lies in the response of the police officers. In Canada the male would have been contained in some way much sooner, perhaps simply by telling him to remain in a certain spot without

moving or by being placed in a police car. In the German scenario, this male was left to wander from person to person for a considerable time before being spatially controlled.

Part of a calming strategy that I have heard several police officers use is to put the responsibility for resolution of a situation in the hands of the antagonist. This tends to be a very simple verbal tactic of asking people to suggest how they would handle the situation themselves. For example, in February neighbors reported that a divorcing couple were arguing about the presence of the man's girlfriend in the apartment. The soon to be ex-wife apparently hit the man over the head with a beer glass; he still had traces of blood on his face when officers arrived. She kept screaming at him until Artur and Ben shouted at her to be quiet and let the male tell his side of the story. When he was finished, the woman was invited to speak regarding her version of the event. "Ja, was machen wir dann; machen Sie mir ein Vorschlag," Artur finally said (Well, what are we going to do here; what would you suggest). The man responded that he wanted his ex-wife out of the apartment.

Artur then asked who was responsible for the rent on the apartment, but both said they shared it and they both reiterated that neither one was going to leave. Artur then asked the man if he was responding that way because of his pride, and the male immediately agreed that he was. Artur commented then that this situation could not go on as it was and that one person would have to give way or the problem could not be resolved. He looked at the girlfriend and suggested that she leave before anything else was decided,

and appealed to her common sense in seeing that this situation could not be allowed to continue in such a volatile vein. She agreed, and after a brief discussion with the man, both of them and the officers left the apartment.

Also potentially serious are those occasions where communication links between citizen to dispatcher/station to police units develops an error along the way. While some of these cases are low key and can be fairly easily rectified, there were certainly times where officers believed they had to act quickly resulting in a blue light run that is unnecessary. For example, in April a man came into the station to say that some garden sheds had been broken into. He reported that the first instance had occurred about 14 days before, and someone had just done another break-in about an hour previously. The man in charge of the radio that night heard a few words and took immediate action -- the result being that everyone thought the break-in was happening at that moment -- and several male officers went racing out without clarifying the details first. The female duty officer attempted to intervene without success, and she and I looked at each other helplessly. My partners also headed out the door and I went after them. Several units tore off with lights and sirens going. At the garden allotment, a number of units (including zeglars) pulled up with absolutely nothing in sight and no idea of where these break-ins were supposed to be. Gradually it came out over the radio that they had already occurred an hour ago. The zeglars were disgusted and made comments over the radio that that could have been clarified before we left the station. The uniformed units were disappointed and irritated with the zeglars because they felt the zeglars gave the impression that they knew

everything better. A discussion on this call resurfaced repeatedly over the course of the evening, Max stating at one point that everyone reacts but no one really knows what is going on. In the end the blame was laid equally at the feet of the complainant who had given inaccurate directions, and the radio officer who should have taken a few seconds to clarify the situation. One unit drove the complainant back out to the gardens so they could have a look around, and before leaving the station the complainant contributed a bit of cash to the platoon's coffee fund by way of apology.

This incident regarding the break-ins at the garden allotment illustrates police officers' frustration at having to act on incomplete or even entirely wrong information. The fault can occur anywhere along the communication chain, whether it is a citizen who is panicked or too brief, a dispatcher who has misunderstood, or the police officer him/herself who is at the tail end of a real-life version of that old party game involving a whispered comment that gets passed along until it evolves into something completely different at the end. Sometimes misinformation can mean putting themselves into potentially dangerous situations, like the shift in May when a dispatcher reported that a citizen had seen suspicious persons trying to break into an equipment trailer behind a house. Not only did we rush over there, but both officers approached the site with weapons drawn, only to find out a short while later that the whole event had occurred over an hour earlier.

Most often misinformation means having to shift the primary framework of interaction very quickly to accommodate a quite different type of event. For example, one night shift in June the dispatcher sent us to a location where a fight was apparently occurring over a car. At the address the officers found a man and a woman who desperately needed to get their car out of a parking lot that had been locked up for the night. They were business partners and still had to use the vehicle that night for a pressing engagement. Ben, Philipp and the man managed to manoeuvre the gate off its hinges so that the car could be retrieved, and then the gate was rehung. At the end, Philipp called the dispatcher and just said that the parties had resolved their difficulties before we arrived.

One of the more serious events involved a number of problematic elements, including an erroneous identification of the type of call officers were responding to, and malfunctioning equipment. This situation had the potential to turn into a very ugly event, and because of that Edmund and I were the center of “war” stories for a few days after that, since we were the two who had initially faced the volatile part essentially alone.

It was early in the evening in June. We drove over to the refugee camp with all the bells and whistles going; the call was regarding a fire that was supposedly raging there. When we arrived, the fire department had trucks all over the place, so we had to park a considerable distance away from the gate leading into the compound. Artur shrugged as we jogged along, saying that it was more important anyway for the fire department to get through than for us to be close to the action. We finally entered the compound and

headed toward the buildings to which a fire official directed us. We walked between a couple of the long buildings toward a large crowd of people at the far end, who were gazing at something beyond our line of vision. When we turned the corner of the building and threaded our way through clumps of onlookers, we found a group of firefighters with their medical kits open. At this point, we were the only police unit present, although I heard sirens in the distance and assumed that more police units were on the way.

In the middle of this group of firefighters was a knot of young black males, all yelling at each other, one of whom had several bandages on him. All of them were making aggressive gestures at each other, the bandaged male at one point pulling out his genitals, to show a bleeding wound. The firefighters looked at the two police officers and essentially said 'do something'. Artur tried to call for back up on the portable radio but it wasn't working, so he disappeared around the corner of the building to try for a better location, and most of the firefighters went with him. I debated whether to go with him, but at that point three of the males began fighting again and a couple of others circled them looking for opportunities to get involved. When I saw Edmund step towards them, I felt that I should remain with him. Edmund stepped forward again and shouted at them to quit, but had to retreat when the fighting escalated. With only one police officer there, five very angry males fighting (possibly with knives since there was a lot of bleeding going on), and a crowd of about thirty onlookers who might have interests in representing one faction or another, there was no realistic way to control the situation. The fight

finally made its way around the corner of the building, where Artur was eventually sighted again. Edmund waved him over and Artur said he still hadn't been able to raise anyone on the radio; by this time there was a lull in the fighting and the combatants had moved apart. Artur, being a much larger man than Edmund, was able to place himself between the antagonists and kept shoving them apart when they started moving in; meanwhile, Edmund raced off to the car to try that radio. We actually waited only a short time before uniformed officers and zeglars from several surrounding stations poured onto the scene. Artur and one of the zeglars pulled down the leading antagonist and cuffed him, while other officers subdued the other combatants, several of them suffering from wounds that we learned later had been inflicted with knives and broken bottles. We headed back to the station with the less seriously injured males, while a couple were taken to hospital, and a few officers remained behind to search for the weapons. After translating the English statements that the males gave the officers, we discovered that the whole thing occurred because one party insulted another's manhood.

Comparison of Events

As in Chapter 4, the frames here are the same, and are intended to continue the cultural narrative that has already been constructed. In addition though, particular aspects of verbal communication are discussed that contribute to culturally/subculturally mediated expectations of action and interaction. Particularly relevant are those verbalizations that

reflect on some of Herbert's normative orders of the subculture, like the discourse around safety, bureaucratic control and the law.

Opening and closing strategies that police officers use, tend to be fairly uniform regardless of society and regardless of social occasion. Phrases like, "Hello, what happened here?", "Do you have some identification?", "Where do you live?", are standard for establishing who exactly police officers are dealing with. Obviously, when a person is arrested, or is required to give a blood sample, there are specific ways of stating this that will satisfy any requirement the courts may make.

There are standard forms of speech that are important elements of communication between police and public. For example, an inquisitive or imperative "hallo" is often used by officers to catch people's attention or as an interruptive statement when trying to regain control over an argument. Held (1992:55) refers to this, and it was certainly used commonly by police officers in my experience. Other typical aspects of communicative competence have already been listed above. The following sections, however, contain a few more unique examples of communication as they occur within the German context of police/public interaction.

Traffic Accidents

The typical verbalizations that get attached to a traffic accident in Ottawa include questions like: “about what time did it happen”, “can I see your documents”, “are you still living on --- street”, “can I have your home telephone number”, “is there a business number”, “approximately what speed were you travelling at”, “how old are you”, “did you have your seatbelt on”, and then a subsequent request for statement of events (Richter 1992:102-103). After this the officer determines who was at fault, and what the charge on the ticket will be.

One of the very first calls on my first day of patrol allowed me to understand what an ordinary traffic accident was like in Munich, and let me establish an understanding of the primary framework by which police operate, which included the basic verbal interactions concerned.

The female driver of a car lost control of her vehicle and slid into the rear of a car stopped at an intersection. Her car was damaged by the impact, although the car of the male in front of her sustained no real damage. After the cars were moved into a side street, Edmund and Artur took down information to write out a ticket for the female driver and a warning for the male driver who had forgotten his licence. The questions asked were for basic information, and sometimes consisted of only one-word questions:

“Wo wohnen Sie?” (Where do you live?)

“Postleitzahl?” (Postal code?)

“Beruf?” (Occupation?)

“Wer ist der Halter von dem Fahrzeug?” (Who is the owner of the vehicle?)

Once the paperwork was filled out, Artur spoke to the male driver and said that if they were being thorough he would also have received a ticket for failure to produce a licence, but he had the discretion to let him off with a warning.

As has already been indicated in a previous chapter, verbal interaction between officer and citizen can sometimes be in the nature of offering advice, or at the very least presenting the picture from the officer's point of view. On an afternoon shift in February, a male driver took a curve with too great a speed, and practically drove head on into another car. Photographs were taken as soon as we arrived. Bruno asked me to help him measure the scene for a diagram while Albert talked to the drivers. When some quick basic measurements had been taken and recorded, Bruno got into one of the cars with the driver at fault to do the paperwork. He noted the basic information, while the driver insisted it really wasn't his fault. Bruno commented that in that case, they probably shouldn't be taking any photographs because with that evidence it really didn't look good for his case. The driver shrugged, and Bruno recorded a lengthy verbal statement from the driver, explaining to him when they began that he was not there to decide on guilt, but just to take down the facts.

Similarly, on a June afternoon, an elderly woman drove into a van as she turned into an intersection where the traffic light was not working. Visibility was excellent that day, so she assumed that everyone else would watch out for her and that she didn't really need to do a lot of checking before proceeding into the intersection. She did not want to admit that she was at fault. Edmund told her not to say that she had the right of way in front of anyone else, otherwise she might find herself in a driver's education course again, and she could lose her licence. He told her that he was giving her good advice in telling her that she shouldn't repeat her comments. After he mentioned that he would be a bit lenient with her today, she received a ticket, and was told to exchange information with the other driver for insurance purposes.

In both of the above cases there is a purposeful intermingling of the requirements of law and bureaucratic control with the individual discretion of each police officer. This is typical of the Ottawa police as well, however, the advisory aspect of the communication is much more pronounced in Munich as well as the more conversational pattern in which these interactions are structured. This reflects again on the idea that police in North America have been much more concerned with affecting neutrality in their interactions, rather than incorporating a more overt pattern of empathy.

This presentation of the big picture from the police officer's point of view can include making comments that are intended to be humorous, but which also have a sting to them. At one very minor accident in April, which normally shouldn't have involved the police,

a driver insisted that officers needed to be called and the other party eventually caved in. This was a mistake because the driver who insisted on police presence, was actually the one at fault. Horst smiled at the driver at fault, to take the bite out of his words, but informed him that he was now the fool. Since the driver had insisted so strongly that police come to the accident, the officers were forced to declare a party to be at fault, and he would now be the recipient of a 75 DM ticket, which he could have avoided if he had just agreed to exchange information with the other driver.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, humour plays an important part in the police subculture. It remains largely a back region activity, utilized as a coping mechanism for trauma, and to deal with events that are incongruous, ambiguous, and even threatening to a police officer. This latter aspect can be seen in jokes made about organizational changes, for example, how police officers deal with the command hierarchy, as well as community demands that the organization must incorporate like affirmative action programs. In addition, it can be used to pass on cultural knowledge about dealing with dangerous situations or which areas of town are less safe than others. In Ottawa, for example, an officer once joked that in a particularly tough area of town there was a bylaw that you had to have been charged before you were allowed to reside there (Richter 1992:69). In Munich, the humour about the organizational hierarchy is not as obvious; more common are jokes or humorous articles about the expectations of citizens and how they deal with officers. So one of the documents that made it onto a Munich police bulletin board was a piece that originated in the United States, but was passed on to

German police colleagues through the Saskatoon Police. The article focussed on the contradictions in police work, for example, that a citizen might be quick to complain about how lax police are in dealing with juvenile delinquency until it is that citizen's child police have in custody; or how citizens complain that police race through their neighborhoods, but are up in arms if it takes longer than ten seconds to respond to their call; and certainly, that citizens expect police to be beaten in their work, but if a police officer has to control a citizen by hitting them with a baton it is immediately considered police brutality, etc.

The back region humour also reflects on police practice. One of the examples that appeared in an internal police publication was a cartoon depicting an officer at the station's radio console, contacting a unit on patrol with a fake call using coded words for the number of pretzels and sausages that the unit needed to bring in to the station for lunch, and a quick reminder, still in code, not to forget the mustard.²²

Front stage use of humour is designed to alter the dynamics of an encounter for all kinds of reasons, or simply to allow citizens to relax in the presence of a police officer. In traffic accidents, therefore, mediating a satisfactory settlement between drivers, and managing to keep the exchange light, is the preferred way of organizing citizens involved in an accident. For example, in March we got a call for a three-car accident. The first car braked suddenly to make a last minute turn and the third car was following the middle car too closely and rear-ended it. All three drivers offered their documents and their stories,

but the damage was really minimal. The third driver was told she was at fault because she obviously hadn't maintained a proper braking distance, but Paul and Edmund asked all the drivers if they wanted to just exchange information and deal with their insurance companies. That way the police wouldn't have to do any paperwork on it, and the third driver would avoid getting a 75 DM ticket. The drivers all agreed to do this and laughed when Paul suggested that the third driver could put the 75 DM she had saved on the ticket toward the cost of repairs.

Practical jokes, gallows humour, and just having fun when routine sets in are all important ways of establishing connections between people who may end up relying on each other in life and death situations. Practical jokes particularly, can become a way of breaking in newer recruits, and are therefore, in some ways, a teaching tool. For example, on one afternoon in May, I was paired with two male officers, Max and Andreas, towards the end of the shift. Andreas had done station duty earlier, and had spent most of his time writing up an accident report for a man who had come into the station regarding a pole he had run into. Andreas, who had not been a patrol officer for very long, was told by Max that the acting platoon chief thought they should swing by the accident scene to take a look. Andreas looked a little doubtful, but the acting platoon chief (who was an inveterate practical joker), told him that he would have to do a sketch of the pole. Andreas laughed and said he would do no such thing, but once on the road Max convinced him that a sketch of the accident scene was required, and finally Andreas got out some paper and began drawing. Andreas took it very well when both Max and I

began laughing, and Max then explained what the actual procedure was in such situations, and told Andreas not to be embarrassed because they all had to go through practical jokes like that when they started working on the street.

Of course, some jokes that start innocently, end up falling flat. Like the time we pulled into one of the police gas pumps to fill up, and Edmund and I conversed about various things, while Albert got out to clean windshields, etc. Edmund also got out then, and in order to keep the conversation going, I rolled down my window, but stayed in the car. As a joke, Albert stuck the gas nozzle through my window before he began to fill up the tank, but he didn't realize that there was a bit of gasoline still in the hose, and he ended up pouring it all over me. I thought it was pretty funny, and so did a lot of other people back at the station who kept nonchalantly pulling out their matchbooks and lighters whenever I was around, but Albert kept apologizing profusely for the short remainder of the shift. I must admit though that I felt sorry for the people on the train who had to sit near me on my journey home that night.

Humour is used sometimes in self-deprecating ways, like Alfons, who is a tall sturdy man and who once referred to himself as "a man who was as tall and strong as a tree -- they called him 'Mr. Bonsai'". Activities are also talked about humorously, like Heinz who once had to write up a report about some drugs found in a particular part of a toilet, and after asking several people about technical terms, reflected in his dry way how difficult it was to write about a "shit house". Similarly, logical actions, like physically shifting a car

or a trailer a few feet so that it won't block a driveway anymore – instead of calling a tow truck – leads to self-congratulatory commentary about how the report should read: “through courageous and dutiful physical effort, supervised by Karen, the trailer was shifted three meters to the rear”. . . and so on.

One of the funniest things I saw, also reflected on the status of ranking officers. One night shift in March we were all in the station, and Albert was just working on a problematic report regarding multiple witnesses to a fight. Albert had turned around to ask Herbert, the platoon chief, how to document seven or eight witnesses because he had never had that many before at one incident. Herbert was standing toward the rear of the duty room. Seated in front of Herbert, but with his back to him, was Otto. He must have assumed that the question was addressed to him, because he immediately began giving Albert advice, leaving Herbert standing there without being able to utter what he, as ranking officer would have recommended in the situation. Herbert then looked at me and made a gesture indicating Otto had a big mouth, and then shrugged. I started laughing. Edmund then said to Herbert that he really didn't have to bother coming in to work anymore. Herbert looked down and with great resignation, slowly removed his gun from his holster and laid it on the shelf behind him. Edmund started laughing with me and other officers in the duty room started to look up to see what was going on. Otto, meanwhile, was still offering advice. Herbert looked at me and shrugged again, and then ripped off one of his epaulettes and threw it across the room. With officers starting to wander in from the kitchen to see why everyone was roaring with laughter, Otto finally

figured out that something was going on behind his back. He turned to face Herbert just as the second epaulette flew by him. He looked at Herbert and seemed bewildered for a few seconds, while Herbert merely looked back at him very quietly with a sphinx-like smile on his face. Otto then got up and picked up the two epaulettes, brought them back to Herbert and bowed deeply to his ranking officer while he handed them back. Someone yelled that Otto should bow even deeper, but Otto rallied and retorted that that had been deep enough.

Humour, therefore, is a profoundly important way of dealing with aspects of the job. As just one component of the overall communicative package of strategies that police officers muster, it becomes obvious that there is an ethnographic richness to grappling with not only non-verbal activity, but also what is being said. Both things together provide an intricate layering of the multiple realities that officers contend with on a daily basis.

Sometimes the primary framework changes in order to accommodate a completely unrelated activity, as in the following case. The initial call was not a traffic accident, but before we left the scene, officers had to rekey their frame to deal with an accident. In this case, it was also one of the most pointed examples of what a well-aimed stare can do in place of a lot of verbal manoeuvring.

The original call, which occurred in March, was to deal with cars that were blocking an entryway where a truck wanted to unload. Tow trucks can only be called though when a vehicle can't get out of a private residence or business, not the other way around. Paul and Alfons ticketed a number of the cars and then Paul spent a short while talking to the business people affected. Alfons returned to the police car to sort out his ticket book. Meanwhile, the truck driver attempted to manoeuvre his vehicle into a better position for unloading, and managed to smash the headlight of one of the vehicles blocking his path. Alfons winced and Paul returned to the car to get out his ticket book. The driver received a 75 DM ticket, which he complained about bitterly, considering that the cars blocking his way had only received 20 DM tickets. Paul explained that he had to give him a ticket; he couldn't just ticket one driver on a lesser infraction and ignore the more serious one. The driver complained again, and Paul stared at him and asked what he was supposed to do. The driver shrugged and looked away. Paul continued staring at him until the silence became too long, and then reiterated that there was no other way he could do it. The driver made no further comment and accepted the ticket.

Eye contact can be an extremely effective way of establishing control in situations, particularly when coupled with stern facial expressions and a confident body stance (Kidd & Braziel 1999:17). Because police officers function on an observational basis when looking for things that don't fit the pattern, they develop an ease with using what can best be described as 'scrutiny'. While this gets toned down when dealing with citizens in most encounters, it can be utilized to great effect in a one-on-one interaction to establish

authority. This style of 'scrutiny' was relatively common among Ottawa officers, but was used less obviously by Munich police in general, and was associated more with individual styles that officers cultivated. Paul was one of these officers who relied on using 'the gaze' to control interactions of all kinds.

On one occasion in June, a van hit a car in a parking lot but there was no major damage. While Alfons began the paperwork, Edmund disappeared around the side of the van to take a look at the plates, and shortly thereafter, Alfons looked around and asked me where Edmund was. This interested me because even in seemingly innocuous situations they keep track of each others' whereabouts.

The driver of the car was obviously irate; he kept trying to interrupt Edmund while he was asking the van driver a number of questions. Edmund finally said that it wasn't polite to interrupt him, that he was talking to the other driver and when he was finished he would let him talk. The car driver agreed, but shortly thereafter interrupted again and kept doing so repeatedly until Alfons finally yelled at him to stand on the other side of the van because it was difficult to listen to two people speaking at the same time, and surely he could understand that. He told him again that he would have his turn to speak soon. Edmund finished talking to the van driver, and both drivers began to argue again. The van driver was deemed to be at fault, and he tried to talk his way out of it, but Alfons told him he really couldn't see how the car driver could have had the speed the van driver claimed he did going through the parking lot, so it must have been the van driver who

overlooked the car. Despite this, both drivers still argued and explained. Alfons then told them they had to exchange their information and handed out the yellow cards on which they could record addresses and insurance companies. He and Edmund then discussed what they still needed to do regarding the report. The car driver returned and was upset that he had to give his insurance number to the other driver when he was not at fault; he said he had had thousands of accidents and never had to do that before. Alfons tried to explain several times, with great patience, that filling out the cards had nothing to do with who was at fault, it was purely to do with the insurance. The car driver didn't seem to get it though, and Alfons finally got impatient. He stated that if the car driver knew better than the police what he was supposed to do then he should just go ahead and do it. He then shook his head and said to the car driver: "So was hab ich noch nie erlebt." (In essence: I've never experienced such a thing before in my life.)

The above narrative is full of out of frame activity and internal bracketing and downkeying. Both officers indulged in an interlude where they discussed procedures that still awaited them without having to attend to the drivers. There was a continual process of internal bracketing, when an interview was repeatedly interrupted by the driver of the car, and a final downkeying when Alfons broke his normal behavioral pattern to indicate to the driver his impatience at being told by a civilian what the procedures were, and essentially devolved into his taking on a 'parental' role when the authority of 'police officer' was rejected.

This call also reflected on the idea of safety for police officers; both Alfons and Edmund kept careful track of each other's whereabouts, which occurred on other calls as well. Police are obviously trained to conduct their work in safe ways, however, how that plays out in different cultural contexts can also vary considerably. In Ottawa there is an expectation that police will approach members of the public much more cautiously, and therefore during a traffic stop citizens know that they must remain in their vehicles until officers approach, and ideally should not move around too much inside their vehicles until police understand that they are searching for required documents. In Munich, the expectations of citizens were different; they do not begin such interactions by thinking themselves under suspicion of anything. Therefore, citizens commonly exited their vehicles and approached police officers still in the cruiser, or searched back seats or even the trunk of their cars for documents before police officers had even made any contact. These movements were never contained in any way, although they could have been extremely dangerous for officers. So while officers keep track of each other on calls, their interaction with citizens is largely much more relaxed with regard to considerations of danger. It is also important to note that this never seemed to be a problem, and reflects again on the cultural expectations citizens have of such interactions. As one station chief pointed out during a discussion on this theme, you can give officers all kinds of training on safety issues, but how do you retrain the citizenry at large to accept that the actions police officers may take during encounters are in fact, safety oriented.

Impatience occurs often on the part of citizens, and police officers actually have the tendency not to downkey to a citizen's face, but to save that type of grumbling for backstage discussion. On an August afternoon shift, we had to get to an accident scene which was right next to some road construction. Gisela, who was driving that day, had to stay in the car because the traffic streaming by was so heavy on the narrow street that it blocked her exit. The accident turned out to be relatively minor and Ben talked to both drivers while Gisela filled out paperwork. While she was writing, a construction worker came over to her window and was irate because people kept parking in a no-stopping zone next to the construction site. He told Gisela that she should be ticketing and towing, not just sitting there. He then left. Gisela continued writing, but soon after said that people like that, who try to tell her how to do her job, get on her nerves. This reworking of her authority in a back region discussion is very common among police in both Ottawa and Munich.

The internal brackets that citizens themselves construct within a primary framework, may cause problems for officers. The following scene is interesting because it is one of the few times officers chose different modes of address based on the ages of the citizens involved.

Late in the evening in August, two cars crashed practically head on at an intersection one block away from the station. There were no injuries to drivers and passengers, but the cars sustained considerable damage. A lot of people were hanging around to gawk, and

Johann finally told them that he only needed the parties there who were driving the cars and that the rest could leave. A woman got very upset, saying that she was a witness, but if he was going to have that kind of attitude she had better things to do than hang around. She started crossing the street against the red light and Johann called after her as calmly as possible that she didn't have to cause another accident and to be careful. Albert and Johann talked to the parties involved; the driver at fault had three male companions with him, and the other male driver was in a leased vehicle. Albert did a sketch and I wrote down the measurements for him. When this was done, one car was pushed up onto a sidewalk. They tried to move the second car but it was so damaged it couldn't be shifted. Johann asked the driver of the leased vehicle, an older male, who was not deemed to be at fault, to sit in the cruiser while he took a statement. Albert used the hood of the cruiser as a desk to take a statement from the very young male driver who was at fault. Albert told the young man it would be in his best interest not to say anything that could be used against him. He asked a lot of general questions for the form and finally requested the driver at fault to read the statement over and sign it if he was in agreement. Meanwhile, Johann had finished his statement, and asked the group of younger males travelling in one of the cars, to help him try to shift the second car even a bit so that traffic could flow more easily (not that it was very heavy after midnight). They did manage to move it farther toward the sidewalk, and Johann called a tow truck. While we waited for it to appear, Johann swept glass off the street. Albert got both drivers to fill out the yellow information cards for insurance, addressing the older male formally (with "Sie") and the younger male, who was probably not much older than 16, informally ("du"). Johann used

the formal mode with both. Two tow trucks arrived and both cars were hauled away, after which the fire department arrived to clean up liquid from the street. This call took about one and a half hours to process.

The differential use of pronouns is interesting in this case. Shifts between pronominal honorification reflects not only a power relationship, in other words who is controlling the interaction, but also how the individual officers are reading the variables contained within the situation (Agha 1994:278-280). Johann was dealing with the older male who was not at fault in the interaction and therefore extending the formal pronoun to the teenaged male was a natural transference. In addition, since Johann had dealt with an irate onlooker earlier, he may have felt an overall formal response was required in order to maintain a general atmosphere of authority. Albert, on the other hand, dealt almost exclusively with the young male and his friends; utilizing the informal pronoun in this case establishes his own status as the controlling element on scene.

Flucht (Hit-and-Run)

The following is a fairly standard call for a hit-and-run, involving asking sequences of questions which are designed to fill out paperwork and determine what further types of action need to be taken. Hence, there are questions about passengers and possible injuries, and whether the bus needs to undergo trace analysis. Asking as many detailed

questions as possible saves time later in the station when officers begin the immense amount of paperwork this type of incident generates.

It was early on a May night shift when a driver sideswiped a bus and didn't stop. Since a large scrape was found on the fender of the bus, it was assumed the damage to the car must be considerable. The basic information was taken and radioed to dispatch so that a search could be initiated. Then both officers settled on seats in the bus and filled out forms, asking questions of the driver in random syncopation.

Philipp: Verletzte haben wir keine im Bus? (No one injured on the bus?)

Philipp: Was hat der Bus fuer ein Kennzeichen? (What's the licence number on the bus?)

Philipp: Wo ist denn der Unfall passiert? Gleich da vorn in der N---strasse?
(Where did the accident happen? Just up there on N--street?)

At this point Philipp was interrupted by a bus inspector who asked whether the bus would have to be kept for forensic analysis. Philipp replied that that would probably be the case.

Gisela: Wie viele Personen waren mit Ihnen im Bus -- viere oder? (How many people were with you on the bus -- four wasn't it?)

Philipp: Wann war der Unfall? (When did the accident occur?)

When these basic questions had been answered, the driver gave a statement which was recorded and read back to him. Philipp then took photos of the damage and we returned to the station for over an hour of paperwork on this item.

This call occurred on the very first day I went out on patrol, and what struck me immediately was the casual manner in which the male officer made physical contact with a citizen. This bit of non-verbal communication seemed to be an integral part of the interaction with the citizen, who seemed to be in shock over the accident. As has already been stated, police officers utilize physical contact in many ways during the course of their work, but our image tends to be of the use of coercive force, not this very simple gesture of human connection.

It was a clear day in February, and a young man was cut off by another driver. In attempting to get out of the way, he swerved, lost control, and hit a high sidewalk with the left front wheel, sustaining a broken axle. The young man was able to give a partial plate, which Edmund asked about a couple of times to ascertain how sure the man was regarding the plate. Both officers made eye contact when the subject of the partial plate was discussed and both wondered later, at a distance from the driver, whether it was worth it to call in only a partial plate, and decided to note it in the log-book only for follow-up. Later when the tow truck had arrived and the man was watching the procedure, Edmund laid his hand on the driver's shoulder to direct his attention again to Albert who needed him in the car again to fill out some forms.

Once again, the above narrative shows a momentary out of frame activity where officers essentially ignore the immediate reality while determining how best to engage the procedural aspect of policing.

The following narrative is an example of what originally should have been a simple call which turned out somewhat differently than expected. Although the primary framework is set as a hit-and-run, another citizen enters later on and breaks the frame for all of the other interactants. That frame break must then be dealt with first before the primary frame can be engaged again and the encounter brought to a conclusion.

It happened on a May evening when the officers did a back-up call on a hit and run. We went to the home of the driver who was bewildered about what had happened earlier in the day. While driving home with a colleague he had come into close contact with another automobile. He knew he had had a narrow miss but didn't think he'd hit anyone, and this was apparently corroborated by the colleague with him. The complainant, however, had called in to the station to say she was now injured. So it was necessary to get the full details down on paper.

Fritz spent considerable time making sure he had all of the details straight, even to the point of drawing diagrams on scraps of paper to ensure he understood properly.²³ We all went down to the street to look at the car and did take some photos, but because there was no damage to the complainant's car, there was no need to tow this vehicle.

Just as the officers were finishing, a drunk male who was acquainted with the driver came by and talked to him for a while about the accident. He then started to become verbally aggressive, chastising the driver for wasting taxpayer time by calling police (which the driver did not do). As he was beginning to create quite a bit of noise and it was getting rather late in the evening, Paul summarily told him it wasn't any of his business and asked him to leave. The male started to move toward him, but Paul was quicker and stepped in his path. They eyed each other for a while, Paul telling him again to leave and tapping him on the chest with a flashlight. The man began backing away and when he turned to go, Paul pushed him slightly in the back to move him along. The male turned around quickly and they eyed each other again, Paul moving in on him until the male backed away. During this last maneuvering, Paul repeatedly told him to get lost, and to be quick about it. The male wandered a bit farther down the street and seemed to hesitate, and Paul said in a very decisive tone to Fritz that they should just take him in to the station and be done with it. At that, the male disappeared rather quickly. The officers concluded the rest of the business with the driver and told him what would be happening with his case, and left.

Later that shift, we discussed what had happened. Fritz said that he thought there would be a fight and I had to agree. Paul commented that he thought so at first too, but then realized that the male was a bit afraid, so he wasn't worried that the guy would really challenge him. After that, both officers told a couple of stories where physical altercations had occurred on calls they were on. The longest narrative concerned a similar

situation both officers had attended but where the roles were reversed, and one of the officers had been hit before the situation was controlled. These tales incorporated comments by the officers on the good or bad use of body and space and why the first instance failed while the one they had just finished was successful. This might explain why Paul chose to react in the way he did, building on experiential knowledge of what had not worked before, and again emphasizes their abilities and understanding in maintaining 'edge control' (Crank 1998:124).

Police can control the participants in a frame by using a physical space to parse the frame, or bracket it, into useful segments. Most commonly in traffic situations the space utilized is the police car itself. The German police car is an interesting space; it doesn't contain any physical barrier between the front and back seats that would create a safe space for officers while transporting suspects. However, this lack of barrier ensures that the inside of a police car is more amenable for use as a quasi-office space with all members of the public. The following narrative illustrates this usage, as well as being a significant communicative event for me.

Late on a March night, an unknown driver hit a parked car, which was in turn impelled forward with such force that two cars ahead of it were also damaged. The driver fled but left some trace evidence which was gathered. The owners of the car were all waiting and their information was taken by Albert and Otto. While this was being done, a couple who had witnessed the accident came down from their apartment and stated they had a

complete plate number of the vehicle at fault. This was immediately relayed to the dispatcher. The owner of one car sat in the cruiser where Albert filled out a form -- I sat with him to listen -- and when she left, Otto got in the back seat to chat about the situation (it was a very cold night). When they had sorted a few things out, Albert asked me if I would invite the other driver to get in the car so that they could finalize some of his paperwork, and I got out and asked the male if he could go and see the "kollege" (colleague). This was the first time I referred to police officers in public as "colleagues", although that term had been used to refer to me in front of citizens and other police officers before.

Often citizens just walking by while officers were engaged in a hit-and-run report would stop not only to chat, but to offer to buy coffee or ice cream. This occurred in the following instance, which also illustrates how two officers on a call may also need to rekey the events taking place depending on which citizen's perspective they are operating from.

In August, a witness saw a car backing into a parked vehicle, leaving a decent dent, and then driving off. Gisela asked the witness to sit with her in the cruiser and got the description of the car and a plate number, and other particulars. Albert requested an address for the plate number, and the dispatcher got back to him with a nearby address for the hit-and-run driver. He headed off to find her, reappearing after several minutes and after Albert gestured something, he and the driver at fault walked off down the street

together. Gisela continued with her paperwork, and asked at one point where Albert was. I told her that he and the other driver went down the street together, and that I picked up from his gesturing that they were probably going off to look at the car that did the damage. Gisela kept asking questions of the witness, and while she was writing information down a man appeared at her window, accompanied by his wife, and asked whether he could buy the three of us each an espresso. Gisela looked at me and the witness, and then turned back to him thanking him for his kindness, but saying that we would pass this time. He and his wife waved and walked off. Albert returned with the hit-and-run driver and I heard her say that she had been parked down the street for an hour and a half. Albert asked the witness if she could pick the car out and whether she was sure about the plate. The witness replied that she gave an approximate description of the car already and that she was not quite certain about the last number of the plate, but that that was all she could say. She read and signed the paperwork that Gisela had prepared, and left. At this point another woman showed up -- a friend of the hit-and-run driver who had been there at the time of the accident -- and they discussed the actual position of the cars during the incident with the officers. Gisela then took a statement from the driver at fault, while Albert began other paperwork. Albert told both women that the car would have to be towed; they argued and pleaded with him to try to find a way out of having it towed, but Albert said it couldn't be done any other way. The driver at fault was very upset about this and said she would talk to a lawyer. The friend of the woman began to chat with me in a congenial way, making it one of the rare circumstances where a citizen asked about my status. When the paperwork was done on the driver, she

got out of the cruiser, and wondered what would happen if she just got her car and drove off. Albert said he would have to follow her to prevent her from doing that. This exchange didn't contain any significant tension, but since both women headed toward the car before Gisela was finished with her work, Albert elected to walk with them. The car was ultimately towed, the women went on their way, and the officers spent some more time getting measurements for the sketch that would be appended to the report.

In this encounter, citizens tested the boundaries of their options to ascertain what the potential police response might be. Although this was done in a congenial manner, it did rekey the interaction for the officer, who then had to proceed through the rest of the encounter with a sense of suspicion regulating his actions.

Confused Persons

The verbal interactions used with those not sharing consensus reality can often be very important in calming down a situation. In the case of the elderly quite often the non-verbal interaction in a gentle touch can make them a lot less anxious, particularly if they are only momentarily disoriented. Using too much verbal communication, particularly if it demands a rapid change of theme, may make an elderly person more confused.

In April, an elderly woman had come into the station to report the theft of some bank passbooks at her home. The problem was that she hadn't re-registered her address and

couldn't remember where she lived. So Horst and Traudl drove her to her last known address, which was no longer where she lived. As this was an old age home, one of the administrators was found and she gave us the new address. The elderly lady was hesitant to go with us, still sure that she was actually in the right place, but Horst was very reassuring and cheerful in coaxing her to drive over to the next location. This turned out to be the right address and the officers stopped by her rooms to check whether she hadn't just mislaid her bank books. Horst asked respectfully whether we could help look for the books. The rooms were searched fairly thoroughly, but nothing turned up. Horst reassured her that he would follow up on the matter and inform her what happened. He got the address of her bank from the house administrator and we left.

In this case, although there was an initial problem in finding her current domicile, the focal point of the citizen's concerns was never lost. The dialogue centered only on simply constructed questions regarding the lost bank books, and repeated reassurances that something would be done.

Part of the practice of reducing anxiety for an elderly person also centers on breaking the frame of being involved in a police-oriented situation, and easing into a friendly interaction with the individual involved. This may mean rekeying the frame to be more of a congenial "visit" with an elderly person, asking them about their life and experiences, and just engaging in casual banter.

For example, in May an elderly woman was sitting in front of a nearby hospital with a couple of the nurses. They had called because the woman was lost and couldn't get around very well, and needed to be taken home. She had obvious difficulty moving, and Alfons practically lifted her into the car. She had her address with her, so we drove her back to the old age home she currently resided in. On the way she and Paul discussed her hometown and family, and whether her children came to visit, as well as the secret to a happy old age. She was obviously concerned about being forgetful and a burden, but Paul kept saying that they were there to help her and steered her into amiable chatter to ease her mind.

As was discussed in the last chapter, the framework surrounding a confused person may be constructed in installments, rather than as a one time only event. In other words, officers frequently deal with the same people over and over again, and quite often in the same context as well. This means that not only are police called back to the same place repetitively, but engage in the same verbal interaction as well. As an example, in April an elderly woman known to the platoon called once again (officers responding said they had been there before) to say a neighbor below her was drilling and pounding with a hammer. His apartment was completely dark when we arrived at the building. She was waiting for us at the top of the stairs in great distress, tears streaming down her face as she talked to us. Eduard spoke with her, asking if the noise had stopped for now -- we hadn't heard a thing as we came in -- and she said yes, but that it would start again as soon as we left, and it had been going on this way for nine years now. He told her she should try and go

back to sleep now, since the banging had stopped and that we would go and take a look. On our way downstairs we paused at the neighbor's door; Eduard even lifted the flap on the letterbox to listen but we heard nothing. As we left, Eduard commented that it was too bad, but he really couldn't do anything for her.

On April 22, the same woman called to say her downstairs neighbor had pushed her and threatened her when she went to speak to him about the noise. Again, she was in tears. She showed the officers a letter from an attorney, stating that she was pressing charges against the downstairs neighbor, but she couldn't go any farther with it because she didn't have enough money. The officers told her that she could get legal help for free and said they would locate the address for her and drop it in her mailbox. We then went downstairs to talk to the neighbor, who was quite aggressive and upset; he even pushed Gerhard on the shoulder to indicate how he had shoved the woman out. He was vehement in stating that he hadn't done anything, that none of his neighbors had ever heard "drilling" noises coming from his apartment, and that he was at the end of his rope. The officers listened to him, but told him he didn't have a right to push the woman no matter how much she irritated him. He became more upset and the officers told him loudly and firmly that he could not handle the woman in that way, and if they had to come back for that he would go to the station with them. They informed him that he was lucky that she was not pressing assault charges. In cases like this, officers themselves don't always know how to interpret what is going on; all they can rely on in the end are the actions that infringe on the law. As long as the elderly woman relates her story of "noise"

which cannot be corroborated, the verbal interaction can only explore the areas of reassurance that officers will check things out. Once the neighbour acts, however, the verbal techniques can get more specific.

One of the things that often happens on a call, is that officers have moments where they disattend the frame. In other words, when they take time to discuss appropriate procedure between themselves before engaging or re-engaging with members of the public they are conducting an out of frame activity. This is particularly important for police officers in order to determine how each partner interprets the idea of discretion and its application in a particular situation.

In one situation a woman called to indicate concern about her deeply psychotic mother who was not answering her door. On arrival, the woman explained that her mother had had a psychotic episode the night before during which the door to her apartment had to be broken down. Unfortunately, the same night the woman's father suffered a minor cardiac complication and had to be taken to hospital. The woman had spent the night there and was now returning to her parents' apartment to procure some clothes and other items for her father, but her mother would not open the door. We went up to the apartment and heard the television going. The officers tried a number of things to get the mother to open the door -- knocking, pounding, ringing the doorbell, calling out that the police were there -- but nothing worked. An attempt was made to reach the manager of the building to see if there was an extra key, but she was not at home. Fritz even climbed half way out

of a hallway window to see if the apartment was accessible from outside, but although a window was open he couldn't reach it. Johann reluctantly called for the fire department to come and open the door and went downstairs to await their arrival, while Fritz took down all of the pertinent information from the daughter. Eventually the fire department arrived and they got to work on the door. While they were doing that, Johann and Fritz spent a significant amount of time discussing how they should write up the report on this call; both were concerned with how to justify breaking down the door. When entry was achieved, the older woman was discovered sitting comfortably on the sofa watching TV, completely unconcerned with the chaos going on around her. Johann talked to her for a while, gently admonishing her for not opening the door and saying that the fire department had better things to do than break down her door every time she didn't answer. He also said that we had been worried about her, and if she was able to answer the door she should.

In this situation, the discussion the two officers had regarding the report reflects on their need to decide how to manipulate the circumstances of an event that are somewhat uncontrollable (Crank 1998:130). Here officers had to coordinate discretion on how to handle the situation, the views that others might have of their competence in manipulating options, and the bureaucratic requirements that need to be fulfilled. Therefore, the primary focus of this interaction is in fact not even the encounter with the citizen, since her concerns did not mesh at all with the responsibilities of everyone else on scene, but

with the two officers who were dealing with the control and outcome of a 'disorderly' event.

Among the possibilities for rekeying a frame in the German context, is the alteration of forms of address. Police officers, almost without exception, address everyone regardless of the circumstances with the formal "you". While some officers will occasionally approach certain citizens with an informal mode of address, members of the public themselves can also take the initiative to try and alter the frame they are operating in.

For example, late one night in July we arrived at an apartment where the pyjama-clad resident was rather good-naturedly preventing a older male from gaining access. The male was rather insistent that he actually lived in that apartment. It quickly became obvious that the male was thoroughly intoxicated. He tried to shake the officers' hands and repeatedly patted them on the shoulder or arm while they were discussing the problem with the apartment resident. The resident didn't know much more than that the man kept pounding on the door and believed that he lived there. While they tried to get more information out of the older man he became very insistent that the officers address him with "du" (the informal 'you'), but Bruno and Alfons both responded that they couldn't do that, that they would adhere to the more formal mode of address. Finally the man dropped a clue as to his identity and where he belonged and Alfons asked the apartment resident if he could use the telephone. It turned out that he lived in the next street, and after a protracted and almost comedic episode of trying to keep this man on his

feet long enough to get him into his building, his apartment door was finally opened with the aid of a long-suffering neighbour who said she would ensure he was all right.

Occasionally, the primary framework can be constructed around interactions which only occur on the telephone. Telephone calls are, of course, the common initial contact point between citizens and the police organization, and the telephoned request for aid is primarily the mechanism for creating the frame to which police officers will respond. When the telephone call becomes a conversation, fairly precise bracketing and out of frame activities can occur.

In one episode, at five in the morning, Albert, Philipp, Gisela, Sonya and I were draped over the chairs passing the time until the end of shift. The phone rang and Philipp answered. It was another station calling to say they'd had a report from a concerned citizen who stated a woman named Juliana had called them (the citizen was slightly acquainted with her) and that she sounded like she was a bit depressed. The apartment building where Juliana lived was known to the caller, but not Juliana's last name, so Philipp said he would do some checking and let them know. A bit of discussion then ensued with Sonya as to the necessary lengths they needed to go to, but Sonya thought it should be checked out just in case something was wrong. So Philipp got onto the computer and did some searches and finally located Juliana's telephone number. He dialed and we waited. His first words were, "Ja, Ruebennase" (saying essentially "turnip nose", as if that were his name), and then he got into a very curious chat with Juliana

about bathwater, and what was new. Eventually Philipp hung up and phoned the other station to explain that Juliana sounded “wohlauf” (in good humour) and that she was just dialling numbers all over Germany to chat with people. When he finished that call he explained to us that she had answered the phone with “Rumpelstiltskin” so he thought his response was appropriate.

The competence displayed by this officer is an example of the “effective control” officers must assume in uncertain situations (Herbert 1998:358). By a simple use of an unusual greeting or opening statement, Philipp gained access to the young woman’s frame of reality and was able to reach a positive conclusion. The entire frame surrounding this event was bracketed several times when Philipp had to discuss strategy with his supervisor, locate the young woman, telephone her and talk to her, and then report back to the station that had passed on the initial request.

Death

This was the first death I attended in Munich , and it revealed a number of considerations regarding behaviors appropriate to this type of event. Difficult deaths like this also mean that the officers technically engage in some internal bracketing of events, when they, and not the citizens, must go and view the body. This internal bracketing also allows officers to engage in some backstage verbal behavior that is not designed for the ears of citizens.

In March we went to an apartment building where a citizen found the body of a roommate. He and another friend, who was staying in the same apartment for the last few days, had noticed a bad smell, but thought it was just the pipes. Since the dead roommate had just moved in at the beginning of the month and said he worked late shifts, they didn't think much about why they hadn't seen him lately. The roommate who had found him was suffering from severe reaction, shaking and clutching at his chest. Over the telephone to the station, Paul found out the deceased was 25 and had a few hits for drugs. The officers filled out a number of forms and then went down to view the body. Another roommate waiting in the apartment was gently asked to go upstairs to stay with the young man; when the apartment was clear, the officers looked at each other. Paul and Gisela had already had congenial words in the car on the way to this call regarding who was going to have to see the room with the body first. They continued the discussion here. Paul went to the window a few times to get fresh air. Finally he said he was going to open the door just long enough to get a good look and then we'd leave, stating that we women didn't need to look. We did anyway. Holding our noses we all stood in the doorway and looked around, then shut the door and trooped up to the other apartment where the roommates were waiting.

The coroner was called and she arrived shortly after, and the officers went down to the apartment with her. Paul stormed back and forth from the door to the window because he couldn't stand the smell, while Gisela and I stood in the doorway and watched the coroner take a good look. The deceased male was dressed, still on his knees but slumped forward

onto his shoulders and face, which was turned away from the door. The doctor said the flesh was decaying. We all went upstairs again and called the KDD (Kriminal Dauer Dienst) to send someone over since cause of death couldn't be satisfactorily determined. The coroner sat at the kitchen table and finished her paperwork. Friends of the male who discovered the body fussed over him, while we three sat and looked at each other.

Throughout this interaction, the discussion between officers on who would look at the body and when, and how the condition of the body could be described was back stage behaviour. Front region verbalizations were restricted to the circumstances regarding the discovery of the body, and gathering basic information on the background of the deceased.

The verbal interactions surrounding death can be very interesting, and sometimes humorous, and are usually strenuously kept away from public ears. It was interesting though, that some of that grisly verbal humour did make its way over the airwaves at times, and this was facilitated by the fact that there were no descriptive codes available which would couch police communications in more presentable terms in case the "public" was listening.

I very quickly developed the habit of listening to the radio traffic while waiting for things to happen either in the station or in the cruiser when the officers were finishing their paperwork. Toward the end of the fieldwork period, I occasionally stayed in the cruiser

while the officers were finishing information gathering at “standard” accidents, and there were some evenings where the radio communications spoke volumes. One August evening was an especially mixed bag, when I heard the results of an earlier call where units had been sent out en masse to capture some suspicious persons in a locked building after hours (they found no one after all their trouble), a call that a woman had just returned home from the airport and that her suitcase was making strange noises, and that someone had jumped in front of a train and units were needed to search and secure sites up and down the track because body parts were scattered at separate locations. Later conversations confirmed that although the foot was attached to the locomotive, they were still having trouble finding the head.

Beleidigung (Insult)

The notion of insult is never really discussed when it applies to citizens dealing with police, yet officers must often mutely accept the verbal abuse that citizens heap on them. Aside from the many times that police are challenged with respect to what they can and cannot do, something that Held (1992:119) writes about rather eloquently,²⁴ there are all too often occasions where police become targets for general anger. This occurs because citizens tend to see the uniform surrounding a person first, rather than the person in the uniform (Kidd and Braziel 1999:16).

This anger towards police could be seen as grounds to lay charges of 'beleidigung', but this rarely happens. What may occur is that police respond in kind, which although potentially cause for a complaint that might be lodged officially with the platoon commander, station chief, or higher ranking police official, is largely accepted by Bavarians as an appropriate reaction to a difficult situation. The situation might also change rapidly from acceptance to anger if the citizen's expectations of what police 'ought' to be doing for them cannot be done.

For example, late in June, a woman called police because her elderly mother didn't want to get out of the bath tub and go to the doctor. Ben asked a few questions to ensure there was no emergency, and explained that unfortunately the police could not do anything because they weren't allowed to just handle someone like that if it was not an emergency situation. This was patiently explained several times, occasionally with the corollary that her mother was a grown-up and would have to make up her own mind what she wanted to do. The woman asked how she was supposed to cope with this situation and couldn't understand why three people could show up and not help out. Both male officers again stated that they were not allowed to touch anyone in such a circumstance, and that she should call her doctor or a medical organization to send some type of a home care worker. She didn't think they would send anyone. She then asked again if we couldn't just come in and do it quickly, stating that the police were very quick to handle people in other situations ("Sie greiffen aber schnell zu ..."), and commented knowingly that she watches TV after all. Ben responded that she watches too much TV and said she had a nerve

saying that to us. Bruno also added that it was really great that she wanted us to help out and in the next breath complained about us.

The conversation circled again over the ground covered, that she should call a medical organization. She then mentioned that she had called the ambulance once before, and that those medics had helped her out in a similar situation. Ben told her she should do exactly the same thing again because the police were not able to do anything in this case. She got upset again, reiterating how quick the police were to handle people in other situations and that she would have to think about what to do regarding our lack of help. This was a difficult situation because the male officers were put in an awkward position of having to weigh the cultural expectation of service against bursting in on an elderly woman in her bath for a non-emergency situation. When the verbal strategies designed to resolve the situation failed, it quickly degenerated into insults levied by both parties, leaving everyone dissatisfied.

In the following two narratives, the *beleidigung* occurred as an out of frame activity, which very quickly rekeyed the frame the officers were engaged in at the time. Both cases involved citizens calling police derogatory names, when they thought they were in a position not to get caught.

In August, two of officers, Ben and Philipp, drove me to the Olympic Stadium, where I was to spend the evening watching officers direct security for the Rolling Stones concert.

We drove in through the back gate of the park and made our way slowly towards the stadium. There were hundreds of people walking in the same direction. Whenever we hit a pocket of space, the cruiser accelerated until people appeared ahead of us again. It was a very warm evening, and the officers had the windows rolled down. We were discussing the upcoming concert when Ben slammed on the brakes and leapt out. His startled partner yelled at him to wait, asking what was going on as he also sprang out of the car. I got out too, but elected to stay with the car because both officers had dashed off without locking up. Ben was speaking to two women, but he was too far away for me to overhear the conversation. When he came back it was evident that he was very angry. We all got back into the car and I inquired what was going on. Ben indicated that he had heard one of the women say “Scheiss Bullen” (translated colloquially as ‘damned pigs’), and he wasn’t going to let that pass without challenging it.

This was only one example of the reactions to such direct verbal insults that I had asked about earlier in April. On one shift, I asked Max and Andreas whether it bothered them to be called “Bullen” and they said normally it didn’t, because you usually can’t take it seriously when some of the people they deal with let loose. Usually you try to take into account the level of intoxication, the non-verbal behaviour going on, and the general situation. Max said it would bother him most during those times when he’s in the process of doing a normal police function (i.e. a traffic stop) and he tried to approach someone courteously and they began to swear at him. Theoretically, he could charge them with

“beleidigung” which would cost someone a couple of thousand Deutschmark, if it made it through the courts.

A couple of months later, I was on patrol with Max and Andreas on a night shift. Shortly after one in the morning, the officers decided to swing by McDonald’s since they were hungry. As we drove into the parking lot both officers heard a young woman shout “Bullen!”, as she and another woman were heading toward a car. Max pulled up behind their car and both officers got out to do an ID check on the young women. While they were getting information, they commented on the derogatory name that the young woman shouted at them, and indicated their displeasure on hearing the term. A male citizen wandered over, questioning what the officers were doing, and he was told to go about his business. He informed the officers that he was going to hang around to make sure the two women were all right. The two officers took the information down and called it in to be checked, and when it came up clear, they told the two young women to be careful what they said in the future.

In these situations, as has already been indicated, officers rarely utilize their option to charge citizens with “beleidigung”. The need for police officers to maintain control and authority can be a double-edged sword, though. Obviously, if officers in general are not respected and are perceived to be without authority, the impact they have on any encounter will be minimal. However, this need to have respect is something that is frequently challenged by citizens (Crank 1998:63). The attempt to re-establish authority

then begins to take on an importance that goes beyond the event that precipitated it, and may ironically contribute to the very image of "Bullen" that police officers wish to control.

Officers obviously mediate in cases of *beleidigung* between two citizens, and placing the case rationally before the parties involved can often completely resolve the event. In the following case, the *beleidigung* was the actual primary framework that officers were called about, although it had occurred only after another problem involving the citizens. This is therefore a situation where initially police are responding to one primary framework, while the citizens have already entered the rekeying of a frame.

It was a night shift in July. During the evening officers were called to a street where a bus driver had refused to move further until the police mediated a dispute between him and a couple on the bus. Apparently the child of the couple had been scrambling over the seats of the bus and the driver had asked them to keep her under control. The parents did not do this, and shortly afterwards the driver had to brake suddenly, causing the child to fall forward against a seat back and split open her lip. The father became irate at this and swore at the bus driver. The bus driver informed him that he didn't have to take that kind of attitude and if he was going to cause a problem, he could get off the bus. The couple refused, and the bus driver brought his vehicle to a halt until the police could get there. Johann and Gisela, after getting this story from the driver, approached the male passenger and spoke with him. The male insinuated that the driver was driving dangerously.

Johann told the male that the bus driver would not purposely harm a child, that he must have braked for a good reason, and it was not logical to swear at the bus driver for that. They were all adults, after all, and could handle the problem between them rationally. Johann also explained that the bus driver could charge him with “beleidigung”, and that it was the parents’ responsibility to ensure that their child was sitting securely. At this point a bus company inspector arrived and reiterated all of Johann’s statements to the male. Meanwhile, Johann spoke to another passenger on the bus to ascertain that the braking wasn’t extreme at all. Gisela and Johann listened to the bus driver and the male discuss the situation -- tempers were still somewhat high -- but made it clear to the male that he needed to be more attentive to the actions of his child, and convinced the bus driver that a “beleidigung” charge would not be worth the trouble. This is, in some ways, the quintessential case regarding the value that Germans place on calling each other to account for the speaking patterns they use. While plain speaking is part of the Bavarian character, there are still boundaries placed upon this behaviour and infringement will result in reaction. And although officers technically share the same rights to charge for “beleidigung”, their preference is usually to take it in stride if it is directed at them, or try to talk the disputing parties out of action if citizens are involved.

Impact of Gender and Ethnicity

Although two women are not allowed to patrol together, and the rhetoric among male officers is at times disparaging, among the top-ranking officers the impression of women

in uniform is very good. They are considered to have a calming influence, and may facilitate more rational responses from people in various situations. It did happen to me that when I accompanied four officers and a very drunk male to the medical offices attached to the judiciary for a blood alcohol test, the male was visibly agitated with the presence of the male officers and said that he would submit quietly if the male officers left and I stayed in the room. Naturally, multiple interpretations can be attached to this event considering the male's intoxicated state, but at the very basis of this event is a choice made by a citizen for the presence of someone who seemed least "threatening".

Female officers I spoke with said that they recognized that because of the predominant male culture in place, they needed to be able to take whatever habits the males had, including the joking behavior and the rhetoric about women's capabilities. They did not consider this to be a significant difficulty, however, and rather enjoyed their ability to mix in with the fun, and be able to perceive it rationally.

Officers in a large city must often deal with members of ethnic minorities who do not speak German, and it was always interesting to watch the effort police went to to ensure the message was getting across. Many officers speak enough of a second or additional languages to be able to communicate quite well. Sometimes third parties were deputized to do the translating (and quite often that was my job), and sometimes officers relied on key words and gestures to deal with immediate concerns. Anyone who was arrested received counselling in their own language at some point in the proceedings. On the

whole, police officers were very conscientious in ensuring that ethnic minorities understood what was going on.

For example, on a June afternoon two women required the presence of police because of an altercation regarding a parking spot. The first woman indicated that the second drove into her leg because she wanted the spot. Since the first woman insisted on going to her doctor to have her leg checked, a lot of paperwork needed to be done. Fritz took the injured woman to the car to get her statement, while Johann spoke with the second woman. He explained to her that she would be charged because she purposely hit the other woman. The woman immediately pulled out her cellular phone to talk to her husband, and after Johann also spoke with him it was decided that she would wait to talk to her lawyer before making a statement. Johann told her (and the husband via telephone) that he would note on the paperwork that she couldn't speak German very well in order to make sure that her rights were not violated.

Some ethnic minorities may end up getting upset and irritated if they are targeted by police more than other citizens. In one case, a Polish driver was pulled over on a routine traffic stop on a night shift in May. He was very obviously irritated and asked why he had been pulled over. Leo asked him whether he had had anything to drink that day, and he angrily answered "tea". Leo then shook his head at the driver, and commented that "he was healthy, drove a nice car, and lived in Germany -- life was good, and now the police

were just doing a routine traffic stop, so what was the big problem?' The driver didn't have anything to say to that, so Leo handed back his documents and we left.

Political correctness hasn't made the same type of inroad here as in North America, although there is a certain amount of sensitivity to categorization of people. Held (1992:37), for example, confirms one of my experiences that it is no longer acceptable within the police organization to call a certain ethnic group "gypsies"; they are now to be referred to by their particular ethnic background, i.e. Roma or Sinti.

Derogatory comments are used though, by a handful of officers between themselves to refer to ethnic minorities. Orientals are sometimes called "Schlitzaugen" or "Schlitzis" (referring to eye shape), and this is intended by some officers to be derogatory, but it does seem to be used by some others as a "cultural" marker, in other words, a way of categorizing a particular ethnic group. It was difficult for me to see this in any way other than as derogatory, but does seem to be intended in general as a classificatory term, much like we would utilize "Anglais" or "Quebeckers" as a mode of differentiating reference. One of the brackets regarding the intentionality of terms like this that I became aware of, although don't have enough data yet to completely support, is that it was more likely that an officer who intended terms like this to be derogatory, would during interaction with members of ethnic minority groups, address them with "du" (the informal 'you') rather than the formal "Sie".

Police officers will sometimes take the opportunity to try and instill in citizens a more tolerant attitude toward ethnic minorities. In one case, an officer attending a domestic dispute tried to tell the irate Turkish boyfriend that it really wasn't the end of the world if his ex-girlfriend wanted to start a relationship with a black man. In another instance, an older woman in hospital was gently told by an officer that just because her cleaning lady was Yugoslavian, that didn't necessarily mean she stole her ring. Sometimes, though, the commentary is just part of a larger discussion on the general ills of German society and it is difficult to insert homilies on being neighborly.

In fact, one perception among many officers is that if any citizen is going to apologize to them about something, it will be ethnic minorities. Interactions with ethnic minorities on things like break-ins, missing children, etc., are characterized by courtesy, above all things. On one call in July, the worried parents of a young daughter who hadn't called home at the appointed time, apologized for having bothered police with such a matter, and I am still uncertain that Johann convinced them they did the right thing, although he tried repeatedly to reassure them. Held has also written about this tendency for ethnic minorities to apologize for calling police, even when they have a perfectly legitimate reason for doing so, while for some German citizens police are an institution that can be treated with contempt (1992:72).

The attempt by German officers to help in situations where ethnic groups are concerned can sometimes devolve into confusion and an inability to resolve a situation. Early on a

night shift in August the station received a call indicating that a significant sum of money had been stolen from a woman about to embark on a tour bus for Poland. The other passengers were all Polish citizens returning to their homeland for a short visit. The woman was severely distraught, crying and screaming, and she identified a male whom she thought stole the money. Johann asked the male to step off the bus and allow police to look through his money belt. He did have a lot of money with him which was temporarily confiscated by the officers. Johann and Fritz counted it a couple of times and recorded the amount in their notebooks. After this there was lengthy discussion with the tour director and the bus driver, the woman, and with each other, while all of the other passengers waited in varying stages of impatience on the bus. Johann and Fritz finally decided to ask for further advice on procedure. Over a considerable period of time, both officers debated actions to take, listened to the female passenger suggest strategies, got on board the bus to consider searching passengers that the woman vaguely indicated as possible suspects, and so on. By this time, another officer had arrived to tell the two officers on the bus that they would have to extricate themselves quickly before they did something stupid. They are advised to get I.D. and let everybody go. Johann said he realizes all that, but he felt very strongly that he had to do what he could for this woman, and decided to check only the belongings of the first suspect. The third officer reiterated that they had to be careful because the bus had been delayed for a long time and they were bordering on a holding without cause situation. Nothing was found in the suspects baggage. Throughout this the woman was alternately crying and discussing strategy, and finally stated she would kill herself if she didn't get back her money. Johann spoke with

her quietly but firmly, saying money was not a reason to kill herself and if she kept talking that way the officers could bring her to a hospital to ensure she didn't harm herself. In the end, officers had to let the bus go with nothing resolved, leaving everyone feeling dissatisfied.

Summary

The communicative practices police in Germany engage in are similar to the types of information gathering that need to be done for paperwork and court proceedings in Canada. Differing communicative practices center on the procedural absence of "10-codes" which mask activities discussed over the radio in Canada, the basic linguistic structure of honorification (or modes of address) which formalize interactions in Germany, and some cultural practices like being able to speak your mind as long as you are willing to risk a charge of "beleidigung".

An ability to stay calm and be persuasive, and also having a facility for benign fabrications rests as much on individual personality here as it does anywhere else. These communicative approaches are obviously intended for citizens, but just as important are the conferences police have with each other regarding procedures and the types of behind-the-scenes talk that can make police work much easier.

CONCLUSION

Cultures are dense in values and beliefs, rituals, habits, full of historical prescriptions and common sense that guide action.... Culture is the mind that thinks, that takes in information from the world around it and acts on that information in predispositive, though not wholly predictable, ways (Crank 1998:5).

The distinguishing characteristics of policing in Germany are dictated by culture on three levels: the national, the local and the subcultural. National culture reflects the legacy of World War II, which had a direct effect on both the reconstruction of the German police as well as establishing acceptable parameters of police conduct in the minds of the public. Local culture can be identified broadly as Bavarian which gets focused in particular ways through the urban Munich scene. This local culture also has influence on the policing styles that are expected to be employed. And finally, the police culture in Munich, which although connected to western police cultures in general through its place in the criminal justice system, is different as well by virtue of the cultural location in which it rests. This text contributes to the policing literature in the sense that it discusses the cultural implications behind what is similar or different in daily police practice when compared to another police service.

When I originally began my M.A. fieldwork with the Ottawa police, the focal point of that research was to look at communicative practices the police used when dealing with members of the public. During that time on patrol, I learned many other things that are

important to daily street-level policing, encompassing not just linguistic styles, but also how to produce certain pieces of paperwork, how important the physical presentation of an officer was, and how to stay safe while attending a call. This knowledge established a framework for me of how I thought policing would be done everywhere, and therefore, when the opportunity arose of doing research with police in Germany, I took a myriad of assumptions with me to Munich. Primarily, I assumed that the essence of “being there” would invoke the same feelings, reactions and thoughts about policing that I had had in Ottawa. It was with some surprise and chagrin that I realized within hours of my first day on patrol that I no longer had a framework from which I could operate and needed to start from the very beginning again.

The essence of reconstructing my operating framework meant trying to find the anchor on which I could locate some type of shared experience. Obviously, symbolic interactionism provided the initial viewpoint, allowing the interaction of the moment and the subsequent negotiation of roles to take precedence as the source of data (Berg 1998:9). With the uncertainty of interaction between police and public, however, it was important to be able to interpret the situation from a specific scaffold that would allow not only the participants, but also me, to make sense of what was going on. This is where the importance of Goffman’s work on face-to-face interaction became relevant, since he understood that the participants might have a stronger commitment to playing out an interaction according to a prescribed ‘system’, or ritual, or frame, rather than to express themselves in unique or uncontexted ways (Kendon 1988:38). Therefore, one of the first

things that was familiar to me, was the general linguistic style with regard to encounters like traffic accidents.

The props and stage settings for the frame of 'traffic accidents', is no different in Canada or any other place that has streets, automobiles, and drivers. Since these events require police officers to guide citizens to a resolution set down by law, it is also no wonder that the verbal interaction will be framed around similar needs for information. So these events, which I have discussed using Goffman's idea of framing, became the familiar ground from which I could anchor myself. Everything after that demanded that I relearn what constituted cultural competence, not only on the subcultural level of the police occupation, but also the larger cultural customs and expectations that further refined the encounter.

The larger cultural picture is based in issues of identity and nationality, the present construction of the criminal justice system in which policing is located, and the recent history of Germany which resonates in the police organization in particular ways. As German nationality is based on bloodline and not on soil,²⁵ the culture at large is based quite strongly on a certain sense of homogeneity (Kerbo & Strasser 2000:106). This also has meant that police services are essentially white. With the influx of refugees and the long presence of guest workers, though, the face of the population is quite diverse. As with all other nations that are home to peoples from all over the world, Germany also has its share of difficulties. With a history, though, of totalitarian leadership that was cruelly

inhumane to certain sectors of the population, any difficulties that do arise around ethnic minorities tends to be placed under a microscope. And while there are undoubtedly some officers who maintain prejudice against ethnic groups, most German police officers are acutely aware of their position in the public eye with regard to such issues. A 1997 poll found that Germans in general are less likely to hold racist attitudes than are people in Belgium, Austria and France, and the attacks on foreigners that made headline news in the years immediately after the fall of the Berlin wall have dropped dramatically (Kerbo & Strasser 2000:104). Still, the crime rate has risen steadily in Germany over the last few years – between 1994 and 1996 it jumped by 15% – and it is thought that the high level of unemployment after unification is contributing to the problem (Kerbo & Strasser 2000:99, 104).²⁶ Added to that is the fact that Germany is a choice final destination for many poorer Eastern Europeans, and during the early 1990's almost half a million immigrants entered Germany every year (Kerbo & Strasser 2000:105).

The historical impact on German police organizations has meant focusing the philosophy to one of 'closeness' and accessibility to the citizen (Buergermaeche), and removing any connection to things military that might jeopardize the image or encourage militaristic behaviour among police personnel. This has had an impact on the style of uniform officers wear, the types of 'tools' they carry with them, as well as the overall structure of the organization. For example, the amount of military-type drill and exercise done in training has been reduced, and there is no roll call or parade before the beginning of a shift where officers are inspected and expected to evince the disciplined behaviour of

military speech and address. Nor does the station itself carry a military atmosphere; instead personnel interact far more like workers in a business office, and officers are certainly not constrained by chain-of-command interaction. While this looseness of approach may cause minor difficulties, as with any bureaucracy, there are enough regulations in place to ensure a common standard of presentation and practice. One of the benefits may in fact be the lessening of a common stressor in police departments, that of the heavy weight of the supervising hierarchy above the rank-and-file officer (Seagrave 1997:166).

Germany is still very much a class society, with particular expectations of courtesy and respect attached to the status one holds. When it comes to encounters with police officers, this is a strong underpinning for appropriate interaction. It means that anyone of adult age regardless of state of intoxication or rage or caught in the act of committing a crime will be addressed with the formal pronoun and any titles that apply. Germany is also a rule-bound society (Kerbo & Strasser 2000:5) which means that citizens will call police for all manner of problems and concerns because of the expectation that somewhere there is something officially written that will regulate the matter. In addition to all this, there is also a very strong sense of community present in Germany that ensures neighbours look out for each other, even if sometimes it feels like they are regulating each others' affairs. A study done by Hofstede in 1991 on value orientations in a number of countries found that Germans tended to be far more group-oriented than the more individualistic approaches of Canada and the United States (Kerbo & Strasser 2000:6).

The local culture in Munich reflects not only this very strong sense of community even within an urban setting, but also a blend of rustic and cosmopolitan tendencies. Munich is steeped in the cultural icons of Bavaria which are quite often thought to represent German culture at large. Artifacts like lederhosen, beer steins and edelweiss-embroidered cow-bell straps are largely aspects of southern German culture; northern Germans can get quite offended if visitors assume that these symbols apply to them as well. Bavarians, however, are proud of these cultural roots, and themes of nature and community festivals appear constantly. The Munich police regularly send a team of officers to community festivals to establish a neighbourly presence, in addition to making sure nothing goes wrong, and holds an annual open house inviting members of the public to meet officers and learn about policing in their city.

One of the things that gets attached to festivals is alcohol, and German citizens have a curious relationship to that; while police are quite diligent in sweeping regularly for drunk driving, there is a general public tolerance towards the use of alcohol which must, of course, leave individual police officers in an ambiguous position at times. During the year I was in Germany, its citizens consumed on average 17.5 liters of wine and 139.6 liters of beer per person (Kerbo & Strasser 2000:103). The use of alcohol has been considered a particular part of police subcultures, however, in the German context it is difficult to locate the point at which cultural imperatives end and subcultural tendencies take over.

On the subcultural level, German police cultures display some of the characteristics that North American police cultures have traditionally been assigned, but also diverge on some points. Obviously, the German police, like all other western police services, participate in a community system that involves many other public, private and criminal justice organizations in providing services related to public order and the control of crime (Crank 1998:18). This means that much of what they do is recognizable on the surface as the same work that police agencies in England, or the United States or Canada do. When we think about how the work is done, it becomes much more useful to look at police activities in conjunction with the type of work they are assigned to do (like patrol), and the norms and values that become a pertinent part of policing within a particular societal context. Therefore in Germany the subcultural characteristic of machismo, which includes things like always being right, and stronger, and in control to the point of authoritarian action, becomes less relevant because of public expectations, historical ramifications, organizational and training structure, and community and cultural values at large. All of these things lead to the individual creation on the part of each police service, of appropriate customs and traditions for doing their work (Crank 1998:23), which are always mediated by the unknown encountered in every call for service (Crank 1998:94). Future research into the nature of the German police subculture would more fully reveal the extent to which the traditional values of the occupational culture, as described for American and British police, are incorporated into the organization.

In the German context, custom involves incorporating courtesy and respect for status into each interaction, while also allowing experience to guide officers through situations of greater disorder that may threaten to dissolve into charges of 'beleidigung', but may also only need a reprimand and some pointed advice. All of these things are permissible aspects of police/public encounters in Munich.

Custom in Munich also dictates that citizens have access to their police. This may be taken as part of an overall mission statement of the organization, but can also be seen in the manipulation of space in encounters between police and citizens. The station, first of all, is usually located in a building normally designed for citizen use. It can be connected to other public and private buildings, and has no special architectural features that would tend to distance the space from public use. In many North American cities, on the other hand, stations are often designed as monolithic, fortress-like structures, with very few windows. Inside a German police station, as soon as citizens enter the station, they will be able to see many of the platoon members at work; in the Ottawa police station, on the other hand, citizens must first negotiate access through a commissionaire and may only come into contact with one or two other officers assigned to desk duty in particular units. Unless they have actually been arrested, they will not likely come into contact with any member of the platoon working that day. Again, because of all of the openness within German police stations, all members of the public whether victims or suspects, will be in contact with each other in marginal ways, unless the volatility or seriousness of a case

demands separation; in North American stations, members of the public are commonly strictly segregated depending on the category they fall into.

The police vehicle, as well, tends to be a different physical space. With no barrier between front and back seats, the car becomes at times a more dangerous place if officers have an unruly suspect on their hands, but can become much more accessible to members of the public who may take refuge in the vehicle and have unproblematic discussions and contact with officers trying to aid them. Even proxemics have different norms attached to them, in that citizens and police have a tendency to make friendly contact, like patting a shoulder or arm, with each other on a regular basis.

This, of course, has ramifications for police practice in ordinary contexts; citizens expect not to be treated like criminals, and therefore the manipulation of subcultural characteristics like suspicion and safety take on a different tone. While police do still work from the general subcultural emphasis on figuring out what is wrong with a picture, suspicion is generally implemented in less overt ways by Munich officers. This lack of suspicion means that engaging in encounters that are traditionally fraught with anticipation and tension in the Canadian context, involves utilization of suspicion only after the interaction begins to show signs of breaking down. Therefore, German police are more likely in normal, daily police work to behave as if the encounter is merely a problem to be solved rather than a hazardous work environment. This is mostly due to the negotiation of expectations within the encounter on the parts of both the public and

the police. For example, the expected parameters of interaction within an ordinary traffic stop are much different in Germany than in Canada. In Canada, citizens already have a cultural awareness that when a police officer pulls them over to check their licence and registration, that they should remain in the car and wait for the officer to approach them, and while they are waiting to remain as still as possible. In Germany, this scenario rarely plays out. Citizens, if they haven't left their vehicles to approach the police car, are rooting about in their glove compartments, back seats, and in a couple of cases even the trunks of their cars, to have their paperwork in hand by the time the officer approaches. This type of behaviour is extremely uncommon in Canada, and would be unthinkable in the United States, where citizens are more and more often instructed in careful steps on how to exit their vehicles, while an officer shelters behind the open door of a cruiser. With the collapse of Iron Curtain borders over the last decade, however, the nature of crime has also altered, and research needs to be done on how the police organization is adapting to the changing realities of crime, order, and safety.

Access to officers, and their willingness to drop suspicion until relevant, are key elements of police conduct in Munich. This sense of access was extended to me not only in the area of moving around within the organization, but also in sharing in the lives of some of these officers, and underscores a fundamental difference between German and Canadian policing. In Ottawa, officers seemed to find their safety in distancing themselves from the "outside" world, while in Munich, safety for these officers seemed to lie far more in maintaining ties with the community at large.

In February of 1998, I returned to Munich for a few weeks. The purpose was not just to visit the stations again, but to discuss an early draft of the dissertation with as many of the police officers as I could manage to meet, in the short time that I had. I was overjoyed by the response. All of the officers from Station A reconvened (several of them travelling the lengthy distance from their home towns to have dinner together one evening), and approximately a third of those from Station B. Most of the officers who had allowed me to observe their work were already posted to other towns, therefore the old platoons were no longer in existence, and I could no longer relive the essential dynamic of the group, but this was to be expected. While I was there, though, it struck me that one thing was fundamentally different which I hadn't ever completely understood before. That was the loss of anticipation.

It had been my practice, during my fieldwork, to walk from the train to the police station before every shift, and I unconsciously mapped out the heightened sense of anticipation for that day's or evening's shift on each successive corner or street that I traversed. This geographical locating of being drawn into the potential uncertainties ahead remained with me long after I had left Munich, and was the one thing that I looked forward to recapturing on my return. With a sense of surprise, and some disappointment, I did not feel the same way on my return in 1998. And of course, that was because I was not about to head out on patrol for a shift, but was merely visiting. It was the first time that I recognized the powerful ways in which the involvement in police practice and negotiating of encounters with the public affect mind and body. If custom, law, and bureaucracy are

the meat of all police/public interaction, then anticipation becomes the salt, and flavours every encounter in which officers and citizens engage.

APPENDIX A

Chart of Ranks and Service Levels

Service Level	Rank
<p>MITTLERER (Rank and File)</p> <p><i>Green stars and piping on uniform</i></p>	<p>Polizeimeister Polizeiobermeister Polizeihauptmeister Erster Polizeihauptmeister*</p>
<p>GEHOBENER (Middle Management)</p> <p><i>Silver stars and piping on uniform</i></p>	<p>Polizeikommissar Polizeioberkommissar Polizeihauptkommissar Erster Polizeihauptkommissar*</p>
<p>HOEHERER (Upper Management)</p> <p><i>Gold stars and piping on uniform</i></p>	<p>Polizeirat Polizeioberrat Polizeidirektor Leitender Polizeidirektor</p> <p>Polizeipraesident</p>

* These ranks may not be used in some Laender

ENDNOTES

1. Jefferson (1990:16) defines paramilitary in the simple terms of “the application of (quasi-) military training, equipment, philosophy and organization to questions of policing”
2. Or “overhearing” as Easthope puts it (1974:98).
3. Of course, being accepted is not necessarily a one step process; this too is continually being renegotiated, and carries its own worries which adds to the stresses of being in the field.
4. Curiously, the very last call I responded to while on patrol in Munich, was also a “blaulicht fahrt” when an alarm went off at the postal sorting station.
5. The actual rank of the station chief is dependent on the number of personnel under him/her -- they could be from the highest level of the gehobener service level, or from the lower ranks of the hoehere.
6. Although the one session of in-house training I observed, on the communicative relationships between officers and superiors, did not seem to be enthusiastically received.
7. Just as a personal example, I still maintain several close connections with officers in Germany, whereas contact with officers I did research with in Ottawa is almost non-existent today.
8. The military focus of training has been reduced since women were introduced into uniformed policing.
9. Some officers still get caught despite the usual notification through the grapevine that senior officers will be out on the road that day just looking for infractions like that. After one officer was caught, the platoon commander was very diligent about reminding officers to buckle up and wear hats for a period of time.
10. The tensions between uniformed patrol officers and zeglers was based on miscommunication; both of the uniformed officers had returned to their car when the zeglers were talking with the neighbor, to discuss requirements for the logbook and get on the radio, and when the zeglers finished their discussion with the citizen, one of them stopped by the car and accused the officers of leaving before all of the work was done. Ben was irritated and commented that maybe the zeg should talk to his partner, since he had already told him what the uniformed officers would be doing next. We parted company with all four officers upset at each other, but later at the station the zegler did apologize to Ben for jumping to conclusions.

11. The Munich police even hired a hairstylist to cut the hair of several female officers in an attempt to encourage them to try shorter haircuts.
12. One of the teams came into the station on one night shift, laughing hysterically because one of the patrol units had to head out in a vehicle where the acceleration was suffering somewhat, and this unit crept by them on an emergency run with a sick sounding siren and the driver wiping condensation off the fogged windshield with a tea towel. Guess you had to be there.
13. The numbers are not the actual coding used in Munich.
14. The Streifenzettel had been eliminated in most stations by early 1998.
15. The refugee camps comprise barracks-style accommodation for singles, and small rooms for families, in large temporary shelters erected on empty lots.
16. Both officers complained about the time spent on this call, and thought this would be a perfect example of the types of calls citizens should pay the police for.
17. National unity was one of the key topics of conversation throughout my stay in Germany, and indeed, when one looks at German journal publications that relate to Canada, by and large these articles deal with the Quebec question.
18. Hitler, in fact, made Munich his headquarters in the 1920's (Ardagh 1995:67).
19. Although people don't carry insurance documents, each licence plate does carry a stamp issued by the city when the plate is registered and the driver can produce insurance documents. If the owner decides not to pay insurance after the plate has been stamped, police may be informed and authorized to remove the stamp from the plate.
20. This was confirmed during a conversation I had with her a few months later, wherein we discussed German nationality and she seemed quite adamant that just because you are born on German soil doesn't make you German -- her analogy was that a cat giving birth in a fish shop still has kittens and they will never be considered fish.
21. These are short-distance trains serving the immediate outskirts of the city; rapid transit.
22. This is from an unknown German police publication, but the cartoon is attributed to Officer Berger, October 1991.

23. Later he asked me if he had sounded dumb asking so many question over and over again -- I told him no, that he obviously had to clearly understand what had occurred, although later I did wonder what the citizen thought of that interaction.

24. "Dann beginnt er einen Vortrag darueber, wann, wo und ob ueberhaupt wir jemanden anhalten duerften, welche Rechtsbelehrung ich ihm jetzt zu geben haette, dann einige Andeutungen ueber den Sinn und Zweck der Institution Polizei allgemeiner Art und schliesslich besteht er darauf, den Grund zu erfahren, weshalb wir ihn angehalten haben und zwar sofort" (Held 1992:119).

Essentially: 'Then he begins a lecture on the subject, when, where and if we can stop someone, which legal caution I am now required to give him, then a few intimations about the purpose of the institution of police from a number of angles and finally he demands to know why he has been stopped and to be quick about it'.

25. In the spring of 1999, this law was changed which should allow members of other ethnic groups to acquire citizenship more easily, and hence, become police officers. This is another ripe area for research.

26. In some parts of the former East Germany the unemployment rate has gone as high as 25%.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agha, Asif
1994 "Honorification". in Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 23, pp. 277-302
- Ahire, Philip T.
1990 "Re-writing the Distorted History of Policing in Colonial Nigeria" in International Journal of the Sociology of Law, Vol. 18, pp. 45-60
- Alderson, J.C. and W.A. Tupman
1989 Policing Europe After 1992. Proceedings 4-7 April, University of Exeter
- Americas Watch Report
1987 Police Abuse in Brazil: Summary Executions and Torture in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. December. New York: Americas Watch
- Ames, Walter L.
1981 Police and Community in Japan. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Anderson, David M. and David Killingray (eds.)
1991 Policing the Empire: Government, Authority and Control, 1830-1940. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Anderson, Nels
1923 The Hobo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Ardagh, John
1995 Germany and the Germans. London: Penguin Books
- Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern
1996 50 Jahre Bayerische Polizei. Munich: Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern
- Bayley, David H.
1991 Forces of Order: Policing Modern Japan. Berkeley: University of California Press
1985 Patterns of Policing: A Comparative International Analysis. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press
- Becker, Harold K.
1980 Police Systems of Europe: A Survey of Selected Police Organizations. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher

- Becker, Howard, Everett Hughes, Blanche Geer, and Anselm Strauss
1961 The Boys in White. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Berg, Bruce L.
1998 Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences. Boston: Allyn and Bacon
- Bickham, Terry and Allison Rossett
1993 "Diversity Training: Are We Doing the Right Thing Right?" in The Police Chief, November, 15(22):43-47
- Binder, Amy
1995 "Media Depictions of Harm in Heavy Metal and Rap Music" in Readings in Deviant Behavior, (Alex Thio and Thomas C. Calhoun, eds.), pp. 422-434, New York: Harper Collins
- Birth, Kevin K.
1990 "Reading and the Righting of Writing Ethnographies" in American Ethnologist, 17(2):549-557
- Bittner, Egon
1967 "The Police on Skid-Row: A Study of Peacekeeping" in American Sociological Review, 32(5):699-715
- Black, Donald (ed.)
1984 Toward a General Theory of Social Control. Vol. 1 & 2. Orlando: Academic Press, Inc.
- Blumer, Herbert
1969 Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Bogdan, Robert
1972 Participant Observation in Organizational Settings. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press
- Borgstrom, Bengt-Erik
1982 "Power Structure and Political Speech" in Man, June, 17(2):313-327
- Brady, Ivan (ed.)
1991 Anthropological Poetics. Savage, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Braunthal, Gerard

- 1993 "The Rise of Right-Wing Extremism in the New Germany" in The Domestic Politics of German Unification (Christopher Anderson, Karl Kaltenthaler & Wolfgang Luthardt, eds.), pp. 97-113. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Brenneis, Donald and Fred R. Myers (eds.)

- 1984 Dangerous Words: Language and Politics in the Pacific. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.

Brewer, John D.

- 1991 Inside the RUC: Routine Policing in a Divided Society. Oxford: Clarendon

Brogden, Mike

- 1987 "An Act to Colonise the Internal Lands of the Island: Empire and the Origins of the Professional Police" in International Journal of the Sociology of Law, Vol. 15, pp. 179-208

Busch, Heiner, Albrecht Funk, Udo Kauss, Wolf-Dieter Narr and Falco Werkentin

- 1985 Die Polizei in der Bundesrepublik. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag

Chaika, Elaine

- 1990 Language: The Social Mirror. Boston: Heinle & Heinle Publishers

Charon, Joel M.

- 1995 Symbolic Interactionism: An Introduction, An Interpretation, An Integration. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus (eds.)

- 1986 Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley: University of California Press

Collins, Randall

- 1988 "Theoretical Continuities in Goffman's Work" in Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interaction Order, (Paul Drew and Anthony Wootton, eds), pp.41-63, Cambridge: Polity Press

Crank, John P.

- 1998 Understanding Police Culture. Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing

Dalton, Russell J.

- 1993 Politics in Germany. New York: Harper Collins

- D'Andrade, Roy G.
1990 "Culture and Personality: A False Dichotomy" in Personality and the Cultural Construction of Society (David K. Jordan and Marc J. Swartz, eds.). Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press
- Danns, George K.
1982 Domination and Power in Guyana. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books
- Dantzker, Mark L. and Michael P. Mitchell
1998 Understanding Today's Police. Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice Hall
- Desroches, Frederick J.
1986 "The Occupational Subculture of the Police" in Police, Race and Ethnicity (Brian K. Cryderman, ed.), pp. 39-51, Toronto: Butterworths
- Douglas, Jack D., and Frances C. Waksler
1982 The Sociology of Deviance. Boston: Little, Brown and Company
- Easthope, Gary
1974 A History of Social Research Methods. London: Longman
- Ely, John D.
1993 "The "Black-Brown Hazelnut" in a Bigger Germany: The Rise of a Radical Right as a Structural Feature" in From 'Bundesrepublik' to 'Deutschland' (Michael G. Huelshoff, Andrei S. Markovits, and Simon Reich, eds.), pp. 235-268. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press
- Ericson, Richard V. and Kevin D. Haggerty
1997 Policing the Risk Society. Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Ericson, Richard V.
1982 Reproducing Order: A Study of Police Patrol Work. Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Fairchild, Erika S.
1990 "The Uses of Research: Politics, Academics, and the Police in the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany" in Criminal Justice Review, Spring, 15(1):5-21
1988 German Police. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publisher

- Falter, Josef
1995 Chronik des Polizeipraesidiums Muenchen. [1986] Munich: Muenchner Sicherheitsforum e.V. Muenchen
- Fardon, Richard (ed.)
1990 Localizing Strategies: Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press
- Fenzl, Fritz
1994 Muenchner Stadtgeschichte. Munich: Bruckmann
- Fielding, Nigel
1988 "Competence and Culture in the Police" in Sociology, 22(1):45-64
- Filstead, William J. (ed.)
1970 Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement with the Social World. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company
- Fogelson, Raymond D. and Richard N. Adams (eds.)
1977 The Anthropology of Power. New York: Academic Press
- Foote, Daniel H.
1993 "Policing Japan" in The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 84(2): 410-427
- Forcese, Dennis P.
1992 Policing Canadian Society. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, Inc.
- Francis, David W.
1986 "Some structures of negotiation talk" in Language in Society, Vol. 15, pp. 53-80
- Fu, Hualing
1990 "Patrol Police: A Recent Development in The People's Republic of China" in Police Studies, Fall, 13(3):111-117
- Gaines, Larry K., Victor E. Kappeler, and Joesph B. Vaughn
1999 Policing in America. Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Gallwas, Hans-Ullrich
1993 Polizei und Buerger: Rechtsfragen zu polizeilichem Handeln. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag

- Geertz, Clifford
1988 Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
- Giddens, Anthony
1988 "Goffman as a Systematic Social Theorist" in Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interaction Order, (Paul Drew and Anthony Wootton, eds.), pp. 250-279, Cambridge: Polity Press
- Glaeser, Andreas
2000 Divided in Unity: Identity, Germany, and the Berlin Police. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Goffman, Erving
1974 Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
1961 Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates. New York: Anchor Books
1959 The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books
- Gudeman, Stephen and Alberto Rivera
1989 "Columbian Conversations: The Strength of the Earth" in Current Anthropology, June, 30(3):267-276
- Habermas, Juergen
1994 The Past as Future. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press
- Harnischmacher, Robert and Arved Semerak
1986 Deutsche Polizeigeschichte. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer
- Hasenfeld, Yeheskel (ed.)
1992 Human Services as Complex Organizations. Newbury Park: Sage Publications
- Heath, Shirley Brice
1983 Ways with Words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Held, Annegret
1992 Meine Nachtgestalten. Munich: Piper
- Herbert, Steve
1998 "Police Subculture Reconsidered" in Criminology, 36(2):343-369

- Hildebrandt, Helmut
1990 Professionelle Polizei. Stuttgart: Richard Boorberg Verlag
- Holdaway, Simon
1983 Inside the British Police. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Humphreys, Laud
1975 Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places. Chicago: Aldine
- Hutnyk, John
1987 "The Authority of Style" in Social Analysis, August, No. 21, pp.59-79
- Jackson, Michael
1989 Paths Toward a Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry. Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Jefferson, Tony
1990 The Case Against Paramilitary Policing. Philadelphia: Open University Press
- Kendon, Adam
1988 "Goffman's Approach to Face-to-Face Interaction" in Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interaction Order (Paul Drew and Anthony Wootton, eds.), pp. 14-40, Cambridge: Polity Press
- Kerbo, Harold R., and Hermann Strasser
2000 Modern Germany. Boston: McGraw Hill
- Kidd, Dr. Virginia, and Capt. Rick Braziel
1999 COP Talk: Essential Communication Skills for Community Policing. San Francisco: Acada Books
- Kim, Yongjin
1987 "Work -- The Key to the Success of Japanese Law Enforcement" in Police Studies, Fall, 10(3):109-117
- Klockars, Carl B.
1985 The Idea of Police. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications
- Knight, Amy W.
1988 The KGB: Police and Politics in the Soviet Union. Boston: Unwin Hyman
- Kramer, Jane
1993 "Neo-Nazis: A Chaos in the Head" in The New Yorker, June 14, pp. 52-70

- Krasmann, Susanne
1993 Kontingenz und Ordnungsmacht: Phaenomenologischer Versuch ueber die Polizei. Muenster: LIT Verlag
- Leuninger, Herbert
1993 "Asylbewerber in Deutschland -- Zum Verhaeltnis von Politik und polizeilichem Auftrag" in Immer dazwischen (Manfred Murck, Hans Peter Schmalzl and Hans-Martin Zimmerman, eds). Hilden: Verlag Deutsche Polizeiliteratur
- Liang, Hsi-Huey
1992 The Rise of Modern Police and the European State System from Metternich to the Second World War. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Liebow, Elliot
1967 Tally's Corner. Boston: Little, Brown and Company
- Lynd, R.S., and H.M. Lynd
1929 Middletown. New York: Harcourt Brace
- Malinowski, Bronislaw
1960 Argonauts of the Western Pacific. [1922] New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, Inc.
- Manning, Peter K.
1988 Symbolic Communication: Signifying Calls and the Police Response. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press
- Markovits, Andrei S. and Simon Reich
1993 "Should Europe Fear the Germans?" in From 'Bundesrepublik' to 'Deutschland' (Michael G. Huelshoff, Andrei S. Markovits, and Simon Reich, eds.), pp. 271-289. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press
- Matthews, Fred H.
1977 Quest for an American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Mayhall, Pamela D.
1985 Police-Community Relations and the Administration of Justice. New York: John Wiley & Sons
- McCormack, R.W.B.
1991 Tief in Bayern: Eine Ethnographie. Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn Verlag

- Mehra, Ajay K.
1985 Police in Changing India. New Delhi: Usha Publications
- Meltzer, Bernard N., John W. Peters, and Larry T. Reynolds
1975 Symbolic Interactionism: Genesis, Varieties, and Criticism. London:
Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Ng, Sik Hung and James J. Bradac
1993 Power in Language: Verbal Communication and Social Influence.
Newbury Park: Sage Publications
- O'Connor, Robert
1993 "Western Methods Reach Eastern Europe" in Law and Order, 41(4):38-43
- Opolot, James S.E.
1992 "The Resilience of the British Colonial Police Legacies in East Africa,
Southern Africa, and West Africa" in Police Studies, Summer, 15(2):90-
99
- Perinbanayagam, R.S.
1985 Signifying Acts. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press
- Perloff, Marjorie (ed.)
1988 Postmodern Genres. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press
- Prus, Robert
1996 Symbolic Interaction and Ethnographic Research. Albany: State University
of New York Press
- Redemsky, Dieter
1991 Schnellinformationen fuer Polizeibeamte. Stuttgart: Richard Boorberg
Verlag
- Reed, T.V.
1992 Fifteen Jugglers, Five Believers: Literary Politics and the Poetics of
American Social Movements. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Reiner, Robert
1992 The Politics of the Police. Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Riches, David
1986 The Anthropology of Violence. Oxford: Blackwell

- Richter, Karen E.
1992 Words of Authority, Words of Control: Speaking as a Police Officer. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Carleton University
- Roach, John and Jurgen Thomanek
1985 Police and Public Order in Europe. London: Croom Helm Ltd.
- Robinson, Cyril D. and Richard Scaglione
1987 "The Origin and Evolution of the Police Function in Society: Notes Toward a Theory" in Law and Society Review, 21(1):109-153
- Rohrig, Lothar (PHK)
1989 "Zwei Modelle auf dem Pruefstand: Kommunikation als Mittel der Konfliktloesung" in Deutsches Polizeiblatt, 3/89:12-15
- Romig, Clarence H.A.
1977 "The West German Federal Police" in Journal of Police Science and Administration, 5(4):451-455
- Ross, Marc Howard
1993 The Management of Conflict: Interpretations and Interests in Comparative Perspective. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Rovan, Joseph
1998 Geschichte der Deutschen. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag
- Rubinstein, Jonathan
1973 City Police. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux
- Sanjek, Roger (ed.)
1990 Fieldnotes: The Makings of Anthropology. Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Saville-Troike, Muriel
1982 The Ethnography of Communication. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd.
- Schieffelin, Edward L.
1985 "Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality" in American Ethnologist, November, 12(4):707-724
- Schmalstich, Hans-Juergen
1993 Sprachliche Bildung des Polizeibeamten. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg

Schmidt, Michael

1993 The New Reich: Violent Extremism in Unified Germany and Beyond.
New York: Pantheon Books

Scott, Elsie L.

1993 "Cultural Awareness Training" in The Police Chief, November, LX(11):
26-28

Seagrave, Jayne

1997 Introduction to Policing in Canada. Scarborough, Ont: Prentice Hall
Canada Inc.

Sen, Sankar

1986 Police Today. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House

Shane, Paul G.

1980 Police and People: A Comparison of Five Countries. St. Louis: The C.V.
Mosby Company

Shearing, Clifford D., and Richard V. Ericson

1991 "Culture as Figurative Action" in British Journal of Sociology, 42(4):481-
506

Sheptycki, J.W.E.

1993 Innovations in Policing Domestic Violence. Aldershot: Avebury

Siebecke, Horst

1972 Die Herren der Lage. Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik

Skolnick, Jerome H., and James J. Fyfe

1993 Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force. New York: The
Free Press

Smith, Sheldon

1993 World in Disorder: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Global Issues.
Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc.

Sperling, James

1993 "German Security Policy and the Future European Security Order" in
From 'Bundesrepublik' to 'Deutschland', (Michael G. Huelshoff et al,
eds.), Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

Der Spiegel

1991 "Kapituliert die Polizei?" in Der Spiegel, 14 October, No. 42, pp. 28-57

- Spradley, James P.
1980 Participant Observation. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston
- Stoller, Paul
1984 "Sound in Songhay Cultural Experience" in American Ethnologist, August, 11(3):559-570
- Stratton, Jon
1990 Writing Sites: A Genealogy of the Postmodern World. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf
- Tambiah, S.J.
1973 "Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View" in Modes of Thought (Robin Horton and Ruth Finnegan, eds.) London: Faber & Faber
- Tannen, Deborah
1993 "What's in a Frame? Surface Evidence for Underlying Expectations" in Framing in Discourse (Deborah Tannen, ed.), pp. 14-56, New York: Oxford University Press
- Thomas, W. I., and F. Znaniecki
1927 The Polish Peasant. New York: Knopf
- Tipton, Elise K.
1990 The Japanese Police State: The Tokko in Interwar Japan. London: Athlone Press
- Turner, Victor and Edward M. Bruner (eds.)
1986 The Anthropology of Experience. Chicago: University of Illinois Press
- Van Maanen, John
1988 Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
1978 "The Asshole" in Policing: A View from the Street (P.K. Manning and J. Van Maanen, eds.), pp. 221-238, Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear Publishing
- Vincent, Claude L.
1990 Police Officer. Ottawa: Carleton University Press
- von See, Klaus
1994 Barbar, Germane, Arier: Die Suche Nach der Identitaet der Deutschen. Heidelberg: Universitaetsverlag

Watson, Alan

1994 The Germans. Toronto: Mandarin

Whyte, William Foote

1993 Street Corner Society. [1943] Chicago: University of Chicago Press

1984 Learning from the Field: A Guide from Experience. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications

Wikan, Unni

1991 “Toward an Experience-Near Anthropology” in Cultural Anthropology August, 6(3):285-305

Williams, James L. and Adele S. Serrins

1993 “The Russian Militia: An Organization in Transition” in Police Studies, Winter, 16(4):124-128

Williams, Robin

1988 “Understanding Goffman’s Methods” in Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interaction Order, (Paul Drew and Anthony Wootton, eds.), pp. 64-87. Cambridge: Polity Press

Wolfe, Nancy Travis

1992 Policing a Socialist Society: The German Democratic Republic. New York: Greenwood Press

Young, Malcolm

1991 An Inside Job: Policing and Police Culture in Britain. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Zentraler Psychologischer Dienst

1988 “Konflikte und Beschwerden: Eine empirische Untersuchung zum Spannungsfeld Buerger-Polizei”. Unpublished document. January, Polizeipraesidium Muenchen