

Tough Cop–Soft Cop? The Impact of Motivations and Experiences on Police Officers’ Approaches to the Public

RAGNHILD SOLLUND

NOVA (Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring), Oslo, Norway

Abstract

This article discusses whether different motivations for and perceptions of the police role, either as ‘law and order-oriented thrill-seekers’ or as ‘social workers’ lead officers to adopt different approaches towards the public. The first category police rank-and-file officers’ desire for action and excitement, causing them to perceive policing as a mission, also causes them to have a *distorted* view of reality whereby they perceive members of the public either as significant adversaries or as insignificant ones. For them, ‘real police work’ means chasing and catching villains, and this

delusional picture of what policing is may lead them to enlarge and redefine ‘insignificant criminals’ and thus perceive them as ‘villains’ who merit and justify police targeting. However, as these insignificant criminals—beggars, drug addicts, vagrants, ethnic minority youths, and drunks—are not perceived as actually ‘significant adversaries’, the targeting of and encounters with them also produce fatigue in police officers as these activities fail to comply with many police officers’ desire to ‘catch the villain’, and the encounters are repetitive and tedious. Police

fatigue and stereotyping may entail cynicism due to the ways in which some groups respond to police targeting, such as accusing the police of racism or threatening them with complaints. It is argued that the first type of police officers to a larger degree will experience fatigue and cynicism than the second type of officers—the social workers—who are motivated by a will to ‘help others’, and who receive more rewarding responses from the public.

KEY WORDS: Cynicism, Fatigue, Police strategies, Police types, Stereotyping, Strategies by the public

Introduction

It is broadly observed that police rank-and-file officers may develop cynicism (Waddington 1999c; Reiner 2000; Bjørk 2008). There may be various reasons for this with subsequent consequences. In this paper I explore the relationship between fatigue¹ and cynicism² and see whether these phenomena are related to

the motivations police officers³ had for their career choice and the profession’s actual failure to comply with officers’ hopes and aspirations for the job.

I will see whether some police officers’ motivations shape the way they perceive the police role, what they consider to be the most valuable part of police work, and how this in turn may affect the attitudes they adopt in their approaches to specific categories of people.

I will also explore the hypothesis that the ‘police glance’, which is sophisticated in singling out possible suspects of crime (Finstad 2003), is in fact not only discriminatory but also distorted,

¹By fatigue I refer to a feeling of mental tiredness (Oxford English Dictionary).

²By cynicism I refer to the situation in which a person is sceptical and has little faith in the integrity or sincerity of others (Oxford English Dictionary).

³Most of the police officers involved in the study were in ordinary patrol service. However, officers in the crime prevention unit working with youths as well as leaders were also interviewed.

implying the division of the public in ‘significant and insignificant adversaries’. Encounters with certain groups of the public can entail fatigue, and this may have consequences for the strategies police officers adopt towards citizens. Consequently I will also look at the effects on police of attitudes that citizens adopt towards them.

Methodology

The article is based on qualitative methods including observation of police in patrol service in three police districts in Oslo. I use observation and interview data that were generated with the main purpose of examining the relationship between ethnic minorities and rank-and-file police in Oslo, but which also invited elaboration on the other topics mentioned above. I followed 38 day-, evening-, and night-shifts. Furthermore, I formally interviewed 20 police officers of different rank, age, gender, and ethnicity.⁴ The interviews were semi-structured. Each interview lasted from one to three hours. During field-work, I accompanied 88 different officers on patrol. These were all informally interviewed, for example about their motivations for becoming police officers, their perceptions of the police role, their experiences with ethnic minorities, and their attitudes towards begging and policing of drug addicts. They were also asked questions about incidents that occurred during patrol and the way policing was performed. The research project was financed by the

Norwegian Police Directorate and lasted 2.5 years.⁵

I also interviewed 16 men and 1 woman with ethnic minority background about their attitudes towards, and experiences with, the police. The majority of these informants were recruited through non-governmental organizations. They were 17–35 years old, and most of these interviews lasted 1–1.5 hours.

Background and outline

Many police researchers have noted that police culture among rank-and-file officers often implies that they regard policing and their police role as though they are on a mission, involving action and to ‘chase crooks’ (Choong 1997; Reiner 2000:89; Finstad 2003; Crank 2004; Granér 2004; Gundhus 2006). As Crank says: ‘Real police work engages the vital self, invokes warrior dreams to make a difference in the battle against crime’ (Crank 2004:167). However, those who are most subject to policing are not those that Reiner (2000) defines as ‘good-class villains’, the professional or experienced criminals, even though hunting them is seen as: ‘worthwhile, challenging, and rewarding’ (Reiner 2000:93). As such hunts seldom take place, those most subject to policing are referred to as ‘police property’. ‘A category becomes police property when the dominant powers of society [...] leave the problem of social control of that category to the police’ (Lee 1981, quoted in Reiner 2000:93). They are low-status, often

⁴I sought to interview police officers with different ethnic backgrounds, but succeeded in recruiting only one ethnic minority officer, something which reflects that the majority of the officers are ethnic Norwegians. Five were women, 15 were men, reflecting also that the majority of the officers are men.

⁵The project was commenced in November 2003 and concluded in April 2008. The delay was due to two traffic accidents.

powerless groups whom the majority population see as problematic or distasteful. These are groups who occupy the public space like visible drug addicts, vagrants, prostitutes, youths, alcoholics, and some ethnic minority groups.

Other studies have documented that within the police rank and file there are different attitudes to, and ways of displaying, the police roles which serve to divide police officers into different categories (Muir 1977; Paoline 2001; Finstad 2003; Abrahamsen 2007). Even though such categorization may be artificial, I will develop these findings by seeing how police officers' motivations may interplay with police culture and officers' attitudes towards citizens and their experiences with them. Does the interplay of these factors contribute to, or fail to contribute to, fatigue and cynicism?

I will present police officers' motivations for joining the police force and their perceptions of the police role as they appeared through observations and interviews, before I attach them to consequences of the dominant attitudes for those subject to control in terms of the strategies police officers adopt towards citizens.

As there are two parties in encounters between the police and the public and such encounters imply social interaction, I will see how strategies adopted by the public in encounters with the police may contribute to producing fatigue and cynicism in the police. Next, I will discuss whether the reasons for police fatigue may be the contrast between what many police officers seek and what they actually experience, and also see whether the different attitudes to the

police role make the police officers more or less susceptible to fatigue and cynicism. Consequently I will explore a possible link between police's motivations, their experiences as police officers, and their policing strategies.

Police officers' motivations

When I asked officers what motivated them to join the police, I found that motivations were partly overlapping and not mutually exclusive, as one police officer could express different motivations. Still, motivations were generally reflected in two types of police officers: 1) the thrill-seeker in pursuit of law and order and as a protector of justice⁶; and 2) the social worker who wants no help and work with people.

In both categories there were officers with definite ideological motivations which go beyond the individual police officer him/herself and his/her own needs. A common trait is that they want to improve society. In the first category, however, I also found many officers with more selfish motivations of fulfilling their personal desire for an exciting job.

Those defining themselves as thrill-seekers and defenders of law, order, and justice typically state that to become a police officer was a childhood dream. They would make a clear distinction between the police on one side, and the public in general, but especially 'the

⁶The first category comprises several facets; thrill-seeking, search for justice, and the desire to maintain law and order. This category could therefore have been divided into three categories (Sollund 2007b), but as these categories overlap to a larger degree than the 'social worker' category, I here find it more fruitful to make a cruder divide. This is also justified by the distinction between the 'thrill-seeking law, order and justice-oriented officers on the one side and the 'social workers' on the other.

villains' (*kjeltringer, slask*), on the other side and see them as adversaries. One officer said:

The system reacts too mildly towards criminals—both Norwegians and foreigners. I think people should stand for what they do—I must. If you are caught for speeding you get a solid fine, but otherwise the punishment is too mild. That is my personal opinion.

Such opinions were usually expressed by officers who were new in the police, as those police officers most eager to 'catch a villain' were the young 'hungry' officers (Granér 2004:74–75). Within this category we find the officers who most resemble Muir's (1977) *Enforcers* and Paoline's (2001) *Law enforcers*. These officers may also be like those Abrahamsen (2006) in her inquiry of police officers' personality categorize as 'high on Coercion; low on Dialogue'.

In the first category, officers would typically state that they had always despised injustice, like one female officer who said: 'You become a police officer because you have a strong sense of justice implying to work against that which is wrong.' Still, what was perceived as wrong was often that people who had committed crimes were not prosecuted. Consequently, and as in the quotation above, the justice motivation could even seem self-righteous.

Many in the first category defined themselves as thrill-seekers. They typically stated that they chose to become a police officer because the police profession would provide action, variation, and unpredictability. What one officer says is typical and emphasizes the importance of 'action' in police work.

The villains are often sensation-seekers, just like the police. The reason why the police and villains communicate so well is that they are actually much the same.

A female officer says:

I thought it seemed exciting, interesting and very varied. [...] I am a thrill-seeker.

Such statements may indicate that 'action' is the most important reason why they chose the profession, even more important than maintaining law and order. This may be a dangerous motivation when it comes to the situation for those subject to police control, as is the previous motivation. Thrill-seekers seem to be numerous in rank-and-file service (Gundhus 2006). Gundhus found that risk is perceived as a positive value. Furthermore, the risk aspect of policing is what creates its meaning, because mastering and control of risk by taking steps against potential dangers is a positive challenge and something that expresses courage and self-control (Gundhus 2006:329).

While explaining his career choice and what he likes about being police, another officer says:

It is exciting, challenging and varied. You never know what might happen. You get special ties to the people you work with because you are together with them in dangerous situations. Dangerous situations create ties. You need to trust each other.

This quotation highlights that police work is special and different from other jobs, and because of this and due to its character it creates ties, something which enhances police solidarity

(Skolnick 1994; Waddington 1999c; Reiner 2000; Crank 2004; Granér 2004), and emphasizes the divide between the police and ‘the others’, including both ordinary people and ‘villains’ (Young 1991; Choong 1997).

The second category—the ‘social worker’—can in many senses be perceived as the opposite of the first. The social worker sees his or her role as that of the ‘helper’. He typically likes to ‘work with people’, like this male officer, who says:

I couldn’t decide whether to become a nurse or a police officer but I ended up as a police officer. It was accidental.

Or: I had a desire to work for and help people, and do a job for society.

Like Paoline’s ‘traditionalists’ and ‘law enforcers’, the relationship the first category has to the public is *contradictory*, with the police on one side and the public on the other (Paoline 2001:165). The social helper as a contrast sees him/herself more in line with the public and he/she is there to secure people, rather than to control them. The motivations police officers had for their career choices were closely associated with their perceptions of how the police role should be performed. Officers who said they chose to become police officers in order to maintain law and order would make sure that those who could be suspected of breaching the law would be prosecuted, even though the breach was insignificant, for example possession of minor amounts of drugs. ‘Social workers’ by contrast would often use their discretion to overlook minor transgressions.

Attitudes to policing as manifested through action

As the motivations of the ‘law and order-oriented thrill-seeker’ are transparent in their approaches to the public, so are the motivations of the ‘social workers’ in theirs. In the following I exemplify this by some incidents from the field-work and also show that there are different attitudes to policing, corresponding to the different police types. I will start with some examples of policing conducted by the first category of officers.

Incidents exemplifying policing by the thrill-seeking, law, order, and justice-oriented officers

We are driving in the centre of Oslo and each time we pass a beggar, ‘Jostein’ (one of the police officers) persistently requires that the driver stops the car. Jostein gets out, tells the beggar ‘*Sett i marsj!*’ (‘March’) and takes the cup. The beggars are drug addicts. At the time of the field-work (2004–2005) begging was illegal, while it was (and is) legal to play for music, something which involves Roma from Romania. On another occasion, Jostein demands that a man, who quickly gets on his feet when he sees the police car, that he plays his harmonica for him, as he suspected the instrument was just a pretext for begging. He then expelled him from the area for 24 hours. As a comment to this, ‘Petter’ (one of the other police officers) says with a smile while we watch: ‘I have delivered Jostein’s work schedule to all the beggars so they can avoid the street when he is working.’

The incident is illustrative of the different attitudes to policing and to what kind of activities police officers

should prioritize while patrolling. It also illustrates different attitudes towards those who are subject to policing. Petter in making the humorous remark demonstrated that he did not see it as legitimate to chase beggars, while Jostein did. The fact that the officers can have different opinions which also entail different practices, underlines the officers' degree of discretion (Kleinig 1996; Waddington 1999a; Holmberg 2000; Finstad 2003; Holmberg 2003; Gundhus 2006).

The next incident, which to a larger degree exemplifies how some people may be regarded as adversaries, takes place on patrol at 'Plata', a street where many of the minor drug transactions took place⁷ and where drug addicts hung out. One of the officers observes a transaction among two men and a woman. Both officers jump out of the car and ask what is going on. The woman says she just paid back a 50-kroner bill she owed. The female officer demands to see her purse and the woman admits to possessing a dose of heroin. The police search both men and find nothing, but then the police find hash on the sidewalk. The men deny it is theirs, and as the police find nothing else on them, the men are expelled from the area for 24 hours. The woman begs not to be arrested as she is on her way to a meeting with the child custody authority. She keeps on pleading, even cries quietly, but the female police officer talking to her insists that she must 'go in'. The woman was arrested, handcuffed, taken into custody and stripped, while the men

were released. Afterwards, the officers summarized that the men who sold the drugs went free, while the woman was arrested. Still they did arrest her, even though not to do so would have been more in correspondence with guide-lines given by the head of the station. He said in the interview that he did *not* want his subordinates to 'chase drug addicts for user-doses', something he repeated at meetings overlapping shifts.

The fact that the officers thought they observed a transaction, and very likely did so, enhanced their desire to see someone prosecuted, despite the fact that they ended up with the wrong person. The incident illustrates the difference between the way in which the police act front stage, and what they say back stage. Front stage, they would not give law-breaking citizens the impression that they are 'soft', and overlook crime, as they think this entails more crime. Back stage, they can regret the outcome of such tactics as they may be unfair. But by insisting on the arrest, and thereby putting themselves in this ambiguous situation, this was their own choice, as was the use of handcuffs, although the woman was perfectly calm and very unlikely posed a threat to the officers.

Many first-category officers stated, as mentioned, that they would not overlook transgressions of the law even if they were minor. The next incident also exemplifies this and takes place nearby. The police stop the car and ask three men if they have drugs. Two of them are sent away. The third, evidently drugged, says he is looking for his '*hypper*' (rohypnol, a sleeping drug). The police officer says it is a good thing that he lost it, because then he was 'clean'. Suddenly

⁷'Plata' was cleared on 7 June 2004. The purpose was to prevent recruitment of youths, to limit use and distribution of drugs, and to increase safety in the area (Sandberg and Pedersen 2005).

the officer asks him if he has swallowed anything, takes a hold on his throat and forces him to spit. The man struggles and coughs but nothing comes up. He is expelled for 24 hours.⁸

The reason why the police could perform their work in this way was the lack of other tasks to deal with. They were free to define themselves, within limits of course, how they should police, thus choosing to persecute drug addicts for minor drug offences. The last incident, including the use of physical force, must have been very unpleasant for the man involved, and in the incident with the woman the officers' refusal to comply with her pleading was heart-breaking and, as they realized, also unfair.

The following is also the result of police discretion initiated by a 'law and order-oriented officer'. We are driving patrol when we observe a man sleeping on a staircase. It is a familiar vagrant. The officer comments: 'I have never seen him sleep before. It is strange that he can endure such a tough life.' He then wakes him up, saying: '*Sett i marsj!*' (March!) and chases him. The acknowledgement of the tough life of the homeless signals a hint of compassion. Still, this does not prevent him from depriving the man of some needed sleep in which he molested no one, except by his presence.

It may be in order to preserve the illusion of what 'real police work' is, and to make their daily work lives correspond to that of their dreams, that

thrill-seeker and law and order-oriented police officers are using their discretion to prioritize the persecution of drug addicts and beggars, while other tasks are conducted only reluctantly and, if possible, avoided. Another incident from the field-work illustrates this. The operations centre asked for someone to take care of a stray dog disturbing the traffic in a large road junction. We were nearby but the patrol did not answer the call, even though the situation was dangerous both for the dog as well as for drivers.

Another example from the field-work may also illustrate that many activities are not related to crime and for that reason are not met with enthusiasm by the police, and are even met with cynicism. We were at Karl Johan on foot when an asylum-seeker approached the police and said that he was denied a bingo prize. He said the organizers failed to acknowledge that he had called out and thus had won the prize. He was very upset and also described how he had dreamt at night that he would win, and he said this was the reason why he had put the last of his money in the game. The police officers reluctantly followed him to the bingo hall but, rather than believing him, trusted the organizer who denied that he had called out. There was no reason why the police took the organizer's side except that they attributed the asylum-seeker with little credibility due to his social position, and it would save them work. There were plenty of witnesses they could have questioned. One of the police officers, maybe perceiving that I believed the asylum-seeker, said: 'You [I] become quite cynical'. Consequently, cynicism possibly influenced his attitude towards

⁸Finstad describes a similar situation in her comparison of the police versus the citizen's glance; only in her case the police are wearing civilian clothes. From the police perspective to take a hold on the man's throat is 'efficient police work' and a way of securing evidence, while for the citizen it looks like a strangle-hold. Finstad does not take a moral stand on the procedure (Finstad 2000:205).

the asylum-seeker. When making this statement the officer suggested that over time police officers develop scepticism towards the stories they are told by citizens rather than taking them at face value.

By contrast, when a task can involve action and to ‘take captives’⁹ the patrols may react promptly and use their discretion to fulfil this need. Driving POP patrols¹⁰ was something the officers regarded as ‘boring’ (Gundhus 2006). I was with a POP patrol when we heard on the radio that someone reported a gang fight involving ethnic minorities in another police district of Oslo. The police officers enthusiastically turned on the sirens and drove hastily to the spot, although we were not directed there. There we found no fight, only a handful of youths, but five or six other police patrols and consequently a larger number of police officers than boys. The police were all trying to make sense of what had happened, questioning these youths. It appeared that one of the boys had stolen a wallet during an argument with another boy. The opportunity of action, a ‘*blåtur*’ (‘blue trip’, driving with sirens and light), and of ‘catching the villains’, evidently made all available patrols use their discretion to prioritize the incident.¹¹

⁹Many officers referred to making arrests as ‘taking a captive’ (*ta en fange*), an interesting point underlining the divide between the police and the public.

¹⁰Problem-oriented policing patrol (see Goldstein 1990). The POP-patrols typically work in a more preventative role than the incident-steered patrol directed by the operations centre and are the last to be directed to tasks. For a further discussion of the implementation of POP as a strategy in Norway see Gundhus 2006 and Sollund 2007d.

¹¹The incident has previously been described in Sollund (2006, 2007c)

The fact that ethnic minorities were involved and thus cast in the role as protagonists in the ‘gang fight’ was probably part of the reason why so many police officers rushed to the scene. The A and B gangs, many of whom are of Pakistani descent and with long criminal records, have led the police to concentrate on those who might be suspected of being gang members (Sollund 2006, 2007c). As ethnic minority men are stereotyped as *gang members*, the gang fight not only constitutes action and excitement and the opportunity to catch villains, it also provides the opportunity to deal with ‘significant adversaries’, something which is enhanced by the broad media coverage the gangs have had, including episodes of serious violence involving shooting.¹²

Incidents exemplifying policing by the second category: the social worker-oriented officers

Other incidents from the field-work revealed that many officers adhering to the ‘social helper’ role, would *not* persecute drug addicts and would rather leave them alone, or at most stop and chat. They reasoned this in line with the head of the station, saying that it should not be the task of the police to molest drug addicts, who are in fact sick. One officer typically states:

To prosecute drug addicts just makes them accumulate fines, and this doesn’t contribute to improving their lives at all.

¹²A Google search on ‘*A-gjengen*’ gives 5610 hits, while ‘*B-gjengen*’ gives 53200. Even though many of these have nothing to do with the established gangs in Oslo, the fact that these hits include links to articles in Wikipedia about the gangs illustrates that they have been a part of the Norwegian public reality for a long time.

After he had stopped by some drug addicts and talked to them in a friendly manner, another officer stated that he thinks this is what the police should do, adding: 'They are some poor things. I would not have survived a day in the life they live.' Consequently he did not perceive it as legitimate to stop and search them. Of course, it is possible that even if the police just stop and talk in a friendly manner, this may be experienced as unpleasant as most people will dislike being subject to police attention.

The tasks that the rank-and-file police deal with are much more diverse than the above examples indicate and also provide more room for the 'social worker' to display his/her role. The following incident, which took place a Saturday evening, exemplifies this. I was driving with two officers on ordinary patrol service who both stated at the beginning of the evening that they had become police officers because they wanted to 'work with people'. One of them once planned to become a physiotherapist. Late in the evening, we were called to an incident in which there was a fight involving taxi drivers and young men. One of the youths, 18 years old and identified as the main protagonist in the fight, was driven home rather than being arrested. The officers sat down, talking to his mother who was deeply concerned about her son. Even though this was a Saturday evening, when police presence was in high demand, the officers took their time and gave the mother advice. They appeared more like social workers than control agents.

Another incident in which the police officer involved both had the opportunity

to display her police role as that of a social worker—the helper—and did so, took place during the day-time. The patrol I was in was called to attend a situation in which a man was standing outside the house of his ex-girlfriend. It was said from the operations centre that he was very depressed, presumably had taken pills, and threatened to commit suicide. We found him, and the female officer sat down and talked with the man who was in despair because of his broken heart. He was crying and said he did not eat and had not slept for a month. The officer tried to inquire what he had taken and comforted the man saying she understood how he felt with his love sorrow. The man asked whether it would cause him trouble that there were so many police officers (two patrols) present. She said the police were there to help, but if he returned to the house, then the police would have to expel him from the site, so whether this would come on his record would depend on what he did. She reassured him again that they were there to help him and that the police would bring him to the emergency ward as she was worried about the pills he had taken. She asked him to come voluntarily to the emergency ward, and while they walked she took his arm to support him, explaining that she took his arm not because he was apprehended but because she did not want him to fall. Sitting in the car, again she asked him to come to the emergency ward.

In this incident the role of the police officer was rather that of a helper than that of a control agent. However, there are limits to the extent of the helper's role, exemplified by the fact that the officer said that if he returned to the

site, then he would be expelled. Consequently there was a threat behind the help, and the help was limited by control tasks. Further, after he was delivered to the emergency ward, he was no longer the responsibility of the police and in need of their help. As she said on the radio, she took him there to conclude the case. However, she took a lot of time and showed great patience talking to him.

The police could have acted differently in the situation, as they were called to stop the man from molesting his ex-girlfriend. They could just have showed him away, and, even though unlikely, in the worst case he could have been arrested. The way the officer displayed her police role helped to calm the man and the situation without use of force.

The field notes are also replete with other incidents in which the social worker can display his/her role, for example in relation to psychiatric patients, assisting old ladies home, sending or driving drunk youths home, and so forth. Still, the officers involved may decide to solve the situations differently and rather as control agents. Some of the incidents in the previous section raise questions concerning the strategies police officers apply in encounters with the public. This is something I will dwell on in the following.

Strategies and use of force applied by police officers

Many rank-and-file officers picture themselves as fighting a nearly hopeless fight against crime and chaos (Choong 1997:62; Crank 2004), something which can entail that they prepare themselves for confronting adversaries and situations far more dangerous than what is actually called

for. Fatigue and cynicism may also lead them to confront the population with too little patience. I found that the strategies police adopt in encounters with citizens were typically either ‘high’ or ‘low’, like other police researchers have observed that the police apply different strategies towards the public (Muir 1977; Norris et al. 1992:220; Finstad 2003; Granér 2004; Hallsworth and McGuire 2004). To go out ‘high’ implies that the police officer immediately establishes who is in authority and that he does not accept any ‘nonsense’, while the second strategy is more diplomatic. Those who argue for the first, mostly young officers, want to make sure that the citizen will not try to oppose authority, while those who adhere to the second, typically would say that: ‘It is much better that I go out “low” than having to calm down a situation I myself have ignited.’ The second strategy went hand in hand with the attitude of the ‘social worker’ which resembles Muir’s (1977) reciprocator and Abrahamsen’s (2006) ‘high on Dialogue; low on Coercion’.

One officer adhering to the first strategy says that people will fail to obey him if he goes out ‘low’. He reasons why he always uses handcuffs, indicating that the first strategy and the handcuffs are not only a question about being tactical, it is also a consequence of fatigue: ‘You can become quite emotionally stunted in this job and less humane.’

A less humane approach and cynicism can be produced by fatigue and lead to a lack of empathy. This can be part of the reason why police officers regularly use handcuffs during apprehension. Only on one occasion during the field-work did I

observe that the police did *not* use handcuffs, while this was done in numerous arrests and as the great majority of the police officers say—as routine. There is, however no reason to do so; in fact it may be characterized as unnecessary and illegitimate use of power. The use of handcuffs is regulated in *Politiinstruksen* (Police instructions). In § 3.2. ‘Police use of power’, it is stated: ‘Handcuffs may be used on a person who during apprehension or transport threatens to use or uses violence, or under circumstances in which there is reason to believe that the person will use violence or try to escape’ (my translation).

Obviously there is no reason why the use of handcuffs should be applied as *routine*, as many detainees will be perfectly calm and submissive, and the use of handcuffs is experienced as abuse by those who are subjected to it (Sollund 2007c:125). The reason why police officers use handcuffs routinely is, for many, preventative. In so doing they run no risks. Police officers also learn from each other, and practice may be a stronger teacher than police regulations (Shearing and Ericson 1991; Crank 2004:164; Gundhus 2006). Something which may exemplify this is when a police officer says: ‘We must stop believing that we can forget everything we learn at the Police University College.’ The large majority of the police officers seemed to take it for granted that they were actually applying police regulations by the routine use of handcuffs rather than use of handcuffs being an *exception* to the rule. Consequently—despite the evident discomfort this produced for many detainees—this was not a practice the majority of the police officers even questioned.

This leads to police use of physical power. Several of the ethnic minority informants felt that the police had used unnecessary force against them. The degree of force that is necessary may be difficult to estimate, and it is likely that what the person subjected to power may experience as illegitimate and unnecessary, in the eyes of the police officer may be exactly the amount of power required in order to gain control in a situation or to prevent a situation from getting out of control (Worden 1996; Waddington 1999c; Sollund 2007c). In his presentation of theory and research on police use of force, Worden (1996:32) distinguishes between excessive force (when police use *more* force than is reasonable) and unnecessary force (in which no use of force is necessary).¹³ Routine use of handcuffs is often an example of both.

There are other situations in which the police officers describe it as difficult to draw the line between necessary and excessive use of force. These are situations in which fatigue interplay, involving drunken people out at night. One female officer says:

I have been in situations where I have had to use considerable force to solve the problem, but it has not been ‘over the line’ because the other side has provoked it by being agitated and using a lot of resistance.

Another officer says:

It is hard to determine [when use of force is excessive] because you bend arms and you are afraid to get hurt, and I usually use the force I have ... If I then can have committed abuse ...

¹³This does not of course exclude that in many situations use of force *is* necessary.

[He adds:] I also use ‘the chicken’ [a forbidden stranglehold] often.

As Waddington (1999c:150) says:

[Thus] the injunction to use force only when necessary creates an imprecise guide: the same measure of force might be deemed appropriate in some circumstances and a criminal assault in others.

It is likely that in situations involving drunken people, when the police are stressed and eager to avoid an escalation, they may go out too high and use too much force. It is also likely that if the strategy is to go out high, this may provoke an escalation (Sollund 2007b). As Worden says, officers not only respond to situations, they also create them (Worden 1996:32).

The police are legitimated to use physical power. The question is whether some officers perceive themselves in the right to exercise *more* authority and power than what they are entitled to. First-category officers who tend to think they represent some kind of higher moral, who want to fight injustice and criminality, might feel that this dimension justifies disciplinary action and use of force by the police (Choong 1997) and even what may be perceived as contemptuous attitudes, reflected in derogatory terms (Waddington 1999b; Granér 2004; Sollund 2007a). In an incident in which an old man was stopped driving, the officer said: ‘Were you given your drivers’ licence by mail? It is hard to find justification for such an insult. When two police officers say they have witnessed superiors beating up prisoners in custody, this is likely rather a result of contempt or disciplining than of the need to gain control in a situation. Another incident described by

one ethnic minority informant further exemplifies this:

‘Erik’ describes the incident which started with a pleasant evening out. He and a friend were walking on the sidewalk when he was suddenly attacked by a man who called him: ‘*jævla svarting!*’ (bloody blackie). This entailed a fight and when a police van passed, Erik and his friend started running but were rapidly caught up by the police who arrested them. The police handcuffed them and Erik explained that this hurt a lot. Consequently, in the police car he asked the police to loosen the handcuffs, but rather than loosening them the police officer tightened them, thus causing Erik even more pain.

This was apparently both unnecessary and excessive use of force, and abuse of power. The police officer may, however, have committed this act of violence as a result of Erik’s behaviour in which he tried to escape from the police and resisted their authority. It is further likely that the situation, a fight among three men a Saturday evening, is a situation involving fatigue and stress for the police because it is a situation that is often repeated and where the patience of the police is constantly challenged. Furthermore, by running away, Erik probably also contributed to the definition of himself as ‘guilty’ thus deserving to be ‘disciplined’ by the police (Choong 1997; Granér 2004:195–196). Whether Erik’s ethnic minority background affected the officer’s decision to do so is harder to judge, although it is interesting that the man who provoked the fight was *not* arrested. This contributed to Erik’s definition of the police behaviour as racially motivated. The fact that many police officers

experience that ethnic minorities more than ethnic Norwegians fail to obey orders and tend to quarrel with the police (Sollund 2007a, 2007c) may have made them more suspicious that Erik was the guilty party. Consequently they failed to approach the situation neutrally.

The oppositional responses by Erik may have contributed to *enlarging* the situation into one in which disciplining and arresting a ‘villain’ was required. This incident also indicates that the behaviour by the public towards the police is important for how the police react towards them, as well as to their job. This is the focus of the next section.

Strategies by citizens which may entail police fatigue

Much the same way as police officers adopt different strategies towards the public, people, and especially those with frequent police experiences, adopt different strategies towards the police. These contribute to both escalation and in producing police fatigue. One such strategy is to threaten police officers with complaints to SEFO¹⁴ (the special investigating organ). The frequency of such threats is why many officers do not perceive it as serious to be investigated by SEFO. Several of the officers expressed that to be investigated by SEFO was ‘part of the job.’ However, to receive such threats repeatedly can contribute to fatigue, as it emphasizes the divide between the police and the public and the latter’s opposition to the police. The following statements from

¹⁴On 1 January 2005 replaced by *Spesialenheten for politisaker* (The Special Investigation Body for Police Matters) which directs the investigation of police officers who have received complaints for punishable offences.

police officers show that they experience the *grounds* for the threats as illegitimate, something which suggests that many such threats are pure provocation and expressions of resistance. One senior officer and head of division says:

I have been in SEFO before for serious accusations but I didn’t feel that I did anything wrong, because if you are an active police officer you must reckon to be investigated by SEFO.

Several officers said that during confrontations many people said that they would complain about them to SEFO and in fact did so. However, the great majority of the accusations against the police officers were rejected by SEFO. As one officer says:

You cannot just assume that he must be a violent police officer because he has received complaints; he can actually be a good officer. I have been reported to SEFO a couple of times, if it amounts to six, seven times, you can start looking at the way I perform police work.

Most of the complaints to SEFO were rejected, something which is also the case with complaints to The Special Investigation Body for Police Matters (*Spesialenheten for politisaker*). In 2007, the result of 1373 complaints was that only 6% of the police officers involved got a sanction.¹⁵ Assuming this suggests the majority of the complaints are groundless, they may instead indicate that citizens use

¹⁵See Nettavisen: <http://pub.tv2.no/nettavisen/innenriks/article1656115.ece>. The reasons for this are part of a larger debate including whether police officers under investigation are acquitted because they are investigated by former police officers now in The Special Investigation Body. Acquittals may therefore be the consequence of police loyalty. The unit is now under evaluation See Agderposten: <http://www.avisenagder.no/artikkel.asp?Artid=3656>

the threat of, and actual complaints, to SEFO/*Spesialenheten* as a strategy to deter the police from doing their job. Even though this may be the purpose, apparently this is an unsuccessful strategy.

Another strategy that basically ethnic minority men adopt against the police is to accuse them of racism (Sollund 2007a, 2007c). The officers say it is almost a routine experience that in whatever situation they confront ethnic minority men, they are met with accusations of racism. In addition, they find that ethnic minorities persistently resist authority and refuse to obey orders (Ansel-Henry and Jespersen 2003; Granér 2004; Holmberg 2003). Such accusations may not only be the result of ethnic minorities' actual experiences of being victims of racism, but rather, or also, be a strategy adopted to deter the police from doing their job. In this they may also succeed, as such accusations make many police officers extra-cautious when dealing with ethnic minorities and even make them avoid confrontation (Sollund 2007c).

Whether such strategies are deliberate or not, they do entail fatigue. When police officers do *not* back out, they rather develop intolerance towards those applying such tactics. Consequently, such threats and accusations contribute to police officers' cynicism and affect the ways in which they confront the public, for example by establishing that they will not tolerate any 'nonsense', by going out 'high'. It may also explain the (ir)regular use of handcuffs, use of force, and contempt. However, such attitudes are not only the result of experience, but may also be caused by the discrepancy between what many officers want policing to be, and what it actually is.

The police glance: an optical illusion?

I suggest that the great prevalence of officers adhering to the 'thrill-seeking, law and order category' is why that which seemed most manifest in the observations of Oslo police rank and file is a culture implying that that the police are on a 'mission'. This entails that officers seek and desire situations that satisfy their perceptions of what police work should imply: action, catching the villain, and to expect the unexpected (Manning 1978; Van Maanen 2005; Smith and Gray 1985; Choong 1997; Waddington 1999b, 1999c; Reiner 2000:89–91; Finstad 2003; Holmberg 2003; Crank 2004; Granér 2004; Gundhus 2006). This desire is, however, frustrated in daily patrol service which is mostly characterized by the mundane (Choong 1997; Crank 1998; Waddington 1999b; Sollund 2007c:55–58). This makes police officers seek to enlarge and redefine situations so that they can resemble more the childhood dreams and aspirations, which implies not only a specific *police glance* (Finstad 2003), but also a *distorted* glance on reality with consequences both for the police officers as well as for citizens. This partly explains the kind of policing exerted by the first-category officers exemplified earlier.

Due to the lack of 'real action' those who are cast in the roles as 'villains' and who for that reason are not awarded with empathy for their situation, the beggars and the drug addicts, were defenceless and, compared to the police, powerless individuals. As it appears, the combination of the desire to 'catch a villain' and action, and the lack of events which fulfil these desires, may be a

dangerous one, as suggested by Choong (1997):

Unfortunately, a combination of wanting to relieve boredom and needing arrests can lead some officers to engage in policing which can be viewed by citizens not only as unnecessary, but also as arbitrary and oppressive (Choong 1997:70).

Rather than seeing beggars and drug addicts as miserable and in need of help, they are perceived as villains, and their law-breaking is enlarged, thus justifying the intrusion of police authority. This also has legal and political support (Christie and Bruun 1986). The perception that policing is a mission involving ‘catching the villain’ entails and enforces a distorted reality, an optical illusion creating and harming ‘police property’. The fact that occasions of ‘real police work’ are rare may itself foster its illusion and attractiveness (Granér 2004:135).

Since the majority of the rank-and-file police officers involved in the study act in accordance with such ideals, it is harder for the ‘social workers’ to maintain and achieve support for their ways of policing. This may have been one reason why, in the incident above, Petter did not confront Jostein directly and one reason why he accepted taking part in such policing even though he disapproved.¹⁶ This again relates to the dominance of this policing style for example reflected by several divisions in the three police districts, in which competition had developed about who would make the highest number of arrests during a shift. Other police

officers adhering more to the police role as a ‘social worker’ regarded this as blameworthy. As they said: ‘It is very easy to chase visible drug addicts and thus produce “good statistics”’. Even though in minority, the idea that the police are helpers was expressed and displayed in action by many officers. This also seemed to include a sort of paternalistic notion, implying that as authority, the police also had the responsibility for taking care of citizens. This is in accordance with Granér’s study in which he found that among the officers there was a chivalrous ideal, implying to seek to help and assist people (Granér 2004:131). However, officers should be careful not to extend their help too far, thus becoming equivalent to social workers. This suggests that officers must continually balance how they display the police role not to risk criticism by colleagues (Granér 2004:131–135).

In order to (re)create the police profession in a way that echoes the police cultural imperative to ‘catch a villain’, and to break with the monotony of patrol service during quiet day-shifts, young ‘fresh’ officers especially would take every opportunity for ‘action’ and the phrase: ‘At least we got a “blue trip”’, summarizing a chase in vain, was a common one. Such ‘blue trips’ also served to maintain the picture of policing as filled with action:

When a police officer can engage in ‘real police work’ and play out the symbolic rites in search, chase and arrest, his self-image will be confirmed and his moral enhanced’ (Skolnick and Woodwarth in Van Maanen 2005:283–284).

¹⁶Another reason may have been the reluctance many police officers have to criticize each other directly and openly.

Stories about action and car chases are likewise shared among officers during breaks and patrol, serving the same purpose and enhancing that policing is a mission, underlining the police role as ‘brave and tough’. Such story-telling implies recipe knowledge about how policing should be conducted—‘common sense instructions’—but will also uphold the *myth* of police work as a mission filled with action (Shearing and Ericson 1991; Crank 2004:68, 164), as when Waddington (1999b:295) suggests that police rhetoric gives meaning to experience and sustains occupational (delusional) self-esteem. Consequently, *action talk* is important for preserving the ideals of policing but may obscure its reality.

Police cynicism—a consequence of routine fatigue or a result of the optical illusion?

The distorted myth of police work may entail some negative consequences. When the police persistently look for ‘villains’, they also find ‘villains’. It should not be discarded that police rank-and-file service implies fatigue due to routine tasks involving drunken people fighting, for example. My suggestion, however, is that the way police officers seek situations which contribute to cast specific segments of the population as *slask* (slobs), *kjeltringer* (villains) or ‘assholes’ (Van Maanen 2005) will *enhance* fatigue and entail cynicism. For example, one of the officers says: ‘You are an idealist to start with, but the idealism is soon gone ...’ After the arrest of a familiar criminal, one of the officers said. ‘My mother says that I don’t trust anybody anymore.’ The other officer says: ‘You haven’t become cynical?’ The first replies: ‘I notice that I must make

an effort to not use the “same eyes” when I am not at work’. I ask: ‘Is it easy to become cynical?’ He replies:

A psychologist told me that it is healthy to be sceptical, but that you should not bring such attitudes forward, because it may make it difficult to make new friends. That is why police officers only party with each other.

This quotation suggests that it represents a challenge *not* to become cynical, of which he is aware. Still, through ‘partying with each other’ cynical attitudes are not challenged and may actually also be preserved, even though the awareness of such mechanisms may prevent that cynicism being outplayed in action.

To have to deal with drug addicts, vagrants, and aggressive drunks is annoying precisely because it is *remote* from the dreams many officers had of ‘exciting police work’. Consequently such work may produce fatigue towards these groups because cast in the roles of villains, they are not adversaries with sufficient dignity. Thus, when officers pertaining to the ‘helper category’ criticize others for going after drug addicts in order to produce statistics, the reason is not only that the prosecution of minor offenders makes life more difficult for them. It is partly also that this is not ‘fair play’. When several officers state that police officers and villains are much the same because they are thrill-seekers, this implies that the ‘fight’ that goes on⁴ between the crook and the police is one between equals; the adversary deserves the ‘fight’.

One reason for the fatigue of police officers can be the repetitive character of the encounters they have with certain

groups. Drug addicts are chased and expelled from the site again and again but keep returning, and drunks out Saturday night who are fighting often also oppose police authority when the police interfere. The fact that these are not ‘spectacular criminals’ and that the encounters with these groups are preponderantly repetitive, irritating, tiring, and provoking, is a reason why they produce fatigue.

It is also likely that cynicism develops as the result of officers’ need to protect themselves from getting emotionally involved in all the sad destinies they meet through work. Many of these pertain to groups that ‘must’ accept police interference, something that drug addicts and vagrants do. I was often surprised by the ways in which drug addicts submitted to the police who, without previous explanation or excuses, directly started to search their pockets (Holmberg 2003:153). It is likely that police stereotyping will enhance police officers’ inclination to perceive drug addicts, for example, as villains and ‘significant adversaries’ rather than perceiving them as people in need who for different reasons occupy public space.

It is my suggestion, that while the gang members of Pakistani descent are also stereotyped, they do not in the same way as other groups, like drunks and drug addicts, produce fatigue among the most prevalent type of police officer, the law, order, and justice-oriented thrill-seeker. This is because gangs contribute to define the *importance* of police presence and the *meaning* and *purpose* of being police (Reiner 2000:93). Many Somalis, however, are regularly suspected of being guilty of what in the perception of the

police is more insignificant. Consequently they are not perceived as ‘significant adversaries’ as the gang members are, and for that reason they may also be met with impatience and ‘high strategies’ because they tend to produce more fatigue in the police officers. One senior officer describes, for example, what he saw as a regular and frustrating experience with Somalis, in which he also justifies a ‘hard strategy’.

We don’t go out and hit people directly; we try to be calm and polite and to open a dialogue, but this is useless. And you get this alcohol- and hash-stinking face close to your own, telling you what a racist you are—and then you just have to give orders. You have tried other measures but you mirror the reactions you meet. [...] And we tell them that if you don’t go away you will be arrested, hard against hard, we cannot fight everybody we arrest, that would make us exhausted. That is why we draw some lines and someone understands and stops, but others want to fight the police and end up in the cell.

Such incidents are hardly optimal in satisfying the police desire for action and excitement and for ‘catching the villain’ although they may entail arrest.

Masculine crime fighting ideals versus the ‘social worker’

As the majority of the activities the police deal with during a shift are not related to fighting crime, the thrill-seeker who wants to ‘fight crime’ may be frustrated because the conditions at the time when he/she chose to enrol in the police were misinterpreted. ‘Jon’ is

an example. He had been 5 years in the military and chose to become a police officer because he wanted ‘action and variety’. He hesitated between The Norwegian Military Academy (*Krigsskolen*) and the police, but ended up in the police. He, and many of the other thrill-seeking officers adhering to law and order and justice ideals, had a background in the military—a social environment one must assume is characterized by masculine ideals. It is likely that in approaching the police role with such attitudes it is easy to be disappointed and frustrated. It is also likely that such masculine ideals are brought into and maintained in the police organization. Gundhus (2006) finds, for example, that analytical work is related to femininity, while the action-oriented work is associated to masculinity. This masculinity is also a ‘working-class masculinity’ (Young 1991:191–253; Crank 2004:231; Gundhus 2006:226–227, 341).

One might suggest that the dominance of men in the police rank and file contributes to perpetuating masculine ideals such as crime-fighting associated to ‘real police work’ (Hunt in Gundhus 2006:341). This may be the case, but it is also possible that even women, who could be supposed to ‘soften’ the police organization, rather adhere to such ideals themselves. Finstad (2003) discusses ‘suitable masculinities and femininities’ within the police and finds that the criteria for being judged as a ‘good colleague’ give masculine associations (Finstad 2003:227–230). The women should not display too feminine characteristics such as wearing red nail polish and make up, or be very ‘fragile’ (see also Young 1991). But neither must

they be very masculine. The women with the highest score among colleagues are best categorized as ‘sporty’ (Finstad 2003). Many of the women I spoke to also had their background in the military and were as eager as their male colleagues to ‘get their man’ (Sollund 2007c:48). Maybe they chose a career in the military or the police because they were *atypical* and more oriented towards masculinity ideals than most women (Bjørklund 1995, quoted in Finstad 2003:228, 229). On the other hand, it is possible that precisely because they are in minority,¹⁷ they will try to adjust to the masculine ideals that govern.¹⁸

I did not detect major gender differences in police officers’ attitudes to the police role, and there were actually more male than female officers who stated that they wanted to help people. This may indicate that women experience fatigue towards some groups as much as men because expectations of what the police profession would imply are not fulfilled. This in turn may entail that they may go out too high in encounters with the public and recur to the use of handcuffs due to the development of fatigue and cynicism. Nevertheless, several of the women said that they knew that because they might be physically weaker than their adversaries, they were *obliged* to apply softer, mediating strategies to avoid physical confrontation. This could nonetheless also entail that women more than men will use handcuffs as a precaution.

¹⁷A count from the field-work shows that I accompanied 71 men and 29 women on patrol.

¹⁸It is possible that defining such ideals as masculine, rather than feminine, is a social construction, reflecting old-fashioned prejudice about how gender should be—or is expected to be—played out.

I suggest that police officers who want to fight ‘real crime’ will experience more fatigue than officers who approach the police role with other aspirations, like the ‘social workers’ who want to help people. Because the ‘social workers’ do not have the same desire to fight villains, they will not be as frustrated when the reality of police work is far from fulfilling such needs. Unlike real social workers who develop fatigue because they can see that their help does not really entail real change in the situation of many individuals (Skrinjar 2005:93), the police ‘social worker’s’ role is still different, as providing help is not the main purpose of his role. The ‘social worker’s’ role is one he assumes in addition to or as an attitude through which he/she can succeed in real obligations related to control. Skrinjar even suggests that a ‘helper perspective’ is a likely precondition for handling the control side of the social problem that drugs constitute (Skrinjar 2005:68). Through this strategy the ‘helper’ may meet other and different responses than the *law enforcers* as citizens may respond more positively because the approach of the helpful and friendly police officer is unexpected and welcome. Consequently their approach may entail more rewarding encounters with the public (Granér 2004:133) and produce less fatigue.

One question is: what happens to the ‘social workers’ in rank-and-file service in which masculine crime fighting ideals govern? Is the prevalence of such ideals and aspirations the consequence of the fact that the ‘social workers’ are in minority? Do fewer ‘social workers’ apply for the Police University College? Or are the ‘social workers’ forced out of patrol service because they do not feel at home

with the ideals that govern? Much the same way as preventative policing seems to receive little appreciation within the ordinary patrol service (Larsson 2005; Gundhus 2006; Sollund 2007d), it is possible that ‘social workers’ may receive little appreciation for their approaches to policing by rank-and-file colleagues and, for that reason, leave (Bjørk 2008:92). It is also possible that the ‘social worker’ role may be more rewarding. This may be the reason why several police officers who had previously been working in ordinary patrol service had furthered their careers within the Crime Prevention Unit, focusing on youth. In his study of the Gothenburg police, Bjørk also sees adherence to a more humanistic style of policing citizens as one of four perseverance strategies chosen to counteract cynicism (Bjørk 2008:96–98, 99). In the Crime Prevention Unit, the police officers in my study had more possibilities of displaying the role of the ‘helper’. Although the ‘social worker’ is needed here, this may constitute a problem as ordinary patrol service is left to the ‘crime fighters’.

One option for the frustrated adherents to law and order and justice ideals is that they will turn into *avoiders*—officers who are cynical and burnt-out, holding negative views of the citizens and who merely do the minimum of what the job requires (Worden 1995 cited in Paoline 2001:45), thus retreating as much as possible (Bjørk 2008:92). Another option is to turn into and preserve ‘tough cop, crime fighting ideals’, and in that way continually seek to establish the meaning of being a police officer, thus putting citizens in risk of ‘high strategies’ and contemptuous attitudes. As one female officer says:

The ‘gut feeling’ can develop to racism because we base our decisions on stereotypes. We often meet the criminals who are at the bottom and then prejudices can build up.

Conclusion

I have identified different approaches to the police role in Oslo police rank and file, in which desires of ‘justice’, ‘crime fighting’, and ‘thrill-seeking’ were more prevalent than the ‘social workers’ desire to ‘help people’. The first category’s desires are seldom satisfied in daily policing. For example, to chase drug addicts and beggars does not correspond to the myth of ‘catching the villain’. The way of filling the gap between what policing *is* and what most officers want policing to *be* (by *redefining* situations and *enlarging* individuals to become criminal(s) in order to justify their persecution) is not satisfactory at length. Rather, it may entail frustration and cynicism as those who are often cast in the roles as adversaries are not *significant* adversaries. The ‘hunt’ is too easy and it does not provide action and excitement, rather it is boring and repetitive. The image of what ‘real police work’ is does not correspond to what policing is often about—to meet persons in need, poverty, and crisis.

Groups in such situations can, more according to the ideals of the ‘social

workers’, be seen as they really are—miserable individuals who may be in need of help and who for that reason should not be regarded as villains. Neither should groups who for other reasons occupy public space, like (ethnic minority) youths, be targeted as such.

The ‘social workers’, who approached the police profession with other motivations and a more humanistic attitude than the ‘crime fighters’, rather than excluding people and seeing them as adversaries—significant or insignificant—seek to include and help people. As this was their motivation they are not as frustrated by the profession’s failure to comply with their aspirations, even though they realize that the extent of their help is limited.

Police stereotyping and the widely dispersed illusion of what policing in rank-and-file service is—to ‘chase villains’ and have action, variety, and excitement—entail that both innocent people and ‘police property’ are cast in the role as villains. This focus and the experience this involves may lead to fatigue and cynicism for police officers, which again makes them approach citizens and situations with an exaggerated preparedness which in turn entails escalations and abuse of power.

References

- Abrahamsen S (2006). Police Personality and the Relationship between Personality and Preferences for Conflict Resolution Tactics. Master thesis in psychology. Institute of Psychology, University of Oslo.
- Abrahamsen S (2007). Police Personality and the Preferences for Conflict Resolution

Tactics. Master thesis in psychology, University of Oslo.

- Ansel-Henry A, Branner Jespersen S (2003). Konflikt på gadeplan—når etniske minoritetsungdom og politiet mødes [Conflict at Street Level—When Ethnic Minority Youths and the Police Meet]. Roskilde: Center for Ungdomsforskning, Roskilde Universitet.

- Bjørk M** (2008). Fighting Cynicism: Some Reflections on Self-Motivation in Police Work. *Police Quarterly* 11:88–101.
- Choong S** (1997). *Policing as Social Discipline*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Christie N, Bruun K** (1986). *Den gode fiende* [The Good Enemy]. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Crank JP** (2004). *Understanding Police Culture*. Florida Atlantic University: Anderson Publishing.
- Finstad L** (2003). *Politiblikket* [The Police Glimpse]. 2nd ed. Oslo: Pax Forlag.
- Goldstein H** (1990). *Problem-Oriented Policing*. New York: McGraw-Hill inc.
- Granér R** (2004). *Patrulleranda polisers yrkeskultur* [Patrolling Police Officers' Professional Culture]. Lund dissertations in social work 18. Lund: Lunds Universitet.
- Gundhus HO** (2006). 'For sikkerhets skyld'. IKT, yrkeskulturer og kunnskapsarbeid i politiet ['For Safety's Sake'. ICT, Work Cultures and Knowledge Work in the Police]. Doctoral thesis. University of Oslo, The Faculty of Law.
- Hallsworth S, McGuire M** (2004). *Examining Stop and Search Patterns in the City of London*. London: London Metropolitan University.
- Holmberg L** (2000). Discretionary Leniency and Typological Guilt: Results from a Danish study of Police Discretion. *Scandinavian Journal of Criminology and Crime Prevention* 2:179–194.
- Holmberg L** (2003). *Policing Stereotypes. A Qualitative Study of Police Work in Denmark. Mobility and Norm Change. Volume 4*. Glienicke, Berlin and Madison, Wisconsin: Galda & Wilch Verlag.
- Kleinig J** (1996). *Handled with Discretion. Ethical Issues In Police Decision Making*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Larsson P** (2005). Kriminalitetsforebygging og politirollen. *Nordisk tidsskrift for kriminalvidenskab* 92(3): 249–271.
- Manning PK** (1978). Rules, colleagues, and situationally justified actions. In: Manning P, van Maanen J (eds). *Policing: A View from the Street*. p. 71–90. New York: Random House.
- Muir WK** (1977). *Police: Street Corner Politician*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Norris C, Fielding N, Kemp C, Fielding J** (1992). Black and Blue: An Analysis of the Influence of Race on Being Stopped by the Police. *British Journal of Sociology* 43:207–224.
- Paoline EA** (2001). *Rethinking Police Culture. Officers' Occupational Attitudes*. New York: LFB Scholarly.
- Reiner R** (2000). *The politics of the police*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sandberg S, Pedersen W** (2005). 'Rett fra pikerommet, med ransel på ryggen?' Om ungdom som oppholdt seg rundt Plata [From the Girls' Room with the Knapsack on the Back? About Youths on Plata]. Novarapport 6/05. Oslo: Nova.
- Shearing CD, Ericson RV** (1991). Culture as Figurative Action. *British Journal of Sociology* 42:481–506.
- Skolnick J** (1994). *Justice Without Trial. Law Enforcement in Democratic Society*. 3rd ed. Berkeley: University of California.
- Skrinjar M** (2005). Bilder av och åtgärder mot narkotika(miss)brukare—en reflexiv studie [Pictures of and Measures against Drug(ab)users—A Reflexive Study]. Rapport 2005:1. Stockholm: Kriminologiska Institutionen.
- Smith DJ, Gray J** (1985). *Police and People in London. The PSI Report*. Gower: Policy Studies Institute.

- Sollund R** (2006). Racialisation in Police Stop and Search Practice—the Norwegian Case. *Critical Criminology* 3:265–292.
- Sollund R** (2007a). Canteen Banter or Racism? Is There a Relationship between Oslo Police’s Use of Derogatory Terms and their Attitudes and Conduct towards Ethnic Minorities? *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 1:77–96.
- Sollund R** (2007b). Politikultur og ukultur [Police Culture and Lack of Culture]. In: Fuglerud Ø, Eriksen TH (eds). *Grenser for kultur? Perspektiver fra norsk minoritetsforskning [Limits to Culture? Perspectives from Norwegian Minority Research]*. Oslo: Pax.
- Sollund R** (2007c). Tatt for en annen. En feltstudie av relasjonen mellom etniske minoriteter og politiet [Mistaken for Someone Else. A Field Study of the Relation between Ethnic Minorities and the Police]. Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.
- Sollund R** (2007d). The implementation of problem-oriented policing in Oslo, Norway: not without problems? In: Froeling KT (ed.). *Criminology Research Focus*. p. 175–193. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Van Maanen J** (2005). The asshole. In: Newburn T (ed.). *Policing. Key Readings*. p. 264–280. Willan Publishing.
- Waddington PAJ** (1999a). ‘Discretion’, ‘respectability’ and institutional police racism. *Sociological Research Online* 1999, 4(1).
- Waddington PAJ** (1999b). Police (Canteen) Sub-Culture. An Appreciation. *The British Journal of Criminology* 39(2):287–309.
- Waddington PAJ** (1999c). *Policing Citizens*. London: UCL Press.
- Worden RE** (1996). The causes of police brutality. Theory and evidence on police use of force. In: Geller W, Toch H (eds). *Police Violence. Understanding and Controlling Police Abuse And Force*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Young M** (1991). *An Inside Job*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

RAGNHILD SOLLUND

NOVA (Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring)

Postboks 3223

Elisenberg

N-0208 Oslo

NORWAY

Email: ragnhild.sollund@nova.no

Copyright of *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology & Crime Prevention* is the property of Routledge and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.