

Police and Public Funerals¹

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Durkheim and his followers alerted us to the role of collective representations such as funerals, processions and parades in pre-literate societies. These classic studies, elegant and detailed, have stood the test of time. Goffman has asked whether these events, along with memory and tradition, produce social solidarity in the twenty-first century. Perhaps social solidarity is enacted by such events, rather than reflecting norms, values, and beliefs. If so, how is this new kind of solidarity accomplished over the course of these events? We have few close studies of these modern public events, other than Warner's classic, the *Living and the Dead* (1959), and Bellah's ideas, via Rousseau, of the role of "civic religion." These ideas are inadequately articulated, given an ethnographic warrant to link structure and function. This paper begins with a description of a funeral of a police officer in 1974 (Manning, 1977), compares this with a police funeral in 2011, and addresses two questions: how are they different? And what do these collective representations tell us about modernity? Are police funerals different from others in the public sphere (not those honored who served in the fire service or the military)? The paper uses a semiotic analysis of funerals, police and public, as a window into the features of modern celebrations and processions. Given the relevant codes used to analyze the processions, the differences are salient. The contrast between these processions and their role in social integration in modernity raises the need for future research.

Keywords: funerals, police and public, ceremonies, rituals, semiotics, codes, processions

Introduction

While Durkheim and his followers taught us much about collective representations, their role in modern industrialized societies is debated (Warner, 1959; MacIntyre, 1981; Goffman, 1983; Bellah, 1967; Bellah et. al., 2008; Alexander, 2004; Valeri, 2014).² Do memory, tradition, and celebration produce social solidarity in the twenty-first century? On the one hand, our clues about the integrative role of symbols are derived from classic studies of preliterate societies, and on the other hand, we have few tight, systematic empirical studies of symbolization and its role in modern societies³, among which is the brilliant

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1. This is in part a reflection written following a trip to Cape Town, South Africa and lecturing at University of Cape Town, April 15–22, 2013.

2. More radical versions of modernity based on the power of the media and the illusions they create have been rendered by Debord (1967) and Baudrillard (1988).

3. A famous and often-cited source is an essay by Shils and Young (1953) about the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. These monarchical occasions, such as weddings and funerals, are increasingly rare and anomalous rather than representative.

and comprehensive work, the *Living and the Dead* (Warner, 1959). The argument of the relevance of modern ceremonies proceeds by analogy as it would appear. What “glue” holds together modern, diverse, complex, highly literate, mass-media-saturated societies? This paper uses funerals and a semiotic analysis as a window into modern celebrations, with police funerals as a case-in-point. These police funerals as a social form are contrasted with “public non-military funerals.” Several gaps in current knowledge are thus revealed.

Carrying out this analysis requires a truncated history of my interest in funerals as celebrations. In 1974, as a Fellow of the Department of Justice, I began writing a field-work-based study of policing in London, exploring the role of information, ritual, and the sacred. It was published as *Police Work* (PW) (1977). The assertion that policing is a kind of dramatic performance was set out rather abruptly in the first chapter of the book. I used a newspaper report of the funeral of a police officer, and linked this funeral to the semi-sacred character of policing, the source of its high regard in modern industrialized societies, and the meanings that it has for its practitioners. I claimed that policing was something of a collectively-supported dramatic performance. While the differences between American and English policing were explored, I was explicating the relationship between facts, information, noise, and ritual in the context of police work. I argued that the claimed rational administration of policing was implausible, given the structural limitations on crime-relevant information, the discretion on the ground, and the lack of systematic planning and policy.⁴ I further claimed that the police were overloaded with facts and unable to synthesize the information they had. This imagery, as one might call it, was a piece of an argument attempting to define and elaborate the police mandate, or what valid claims the occupation possesses in a complex division of labor. They had an impossible mandate, yet were rising in social status. A final assertion was that the elevation of the police into a higher level of status was a result of their being seen as sacred, and being surrounded by myth and ritual. In brief, the introductory chapter was an introduction to the analysis of policing as a kind of street-drama. Later chapters argued that the modern pseudo-scientific claim of the police to control crime had no basis in evidence at that time, and that the mandate was in effect “impossible” if the police were to be held accountable to their claims of crime control. They were displaying and were the beneficiaries of an accepted “dramaturgical truth.”⁵ In effect, the 1974 police funeral was a cynosure of the occupation’s claims amplified and elaborated by the media. There

4. Later volumes, the *Narcis’ Game* (1979) and the *Symbolic Communication* (SC) (1989), were designed as explorations of case-making unconstrained by information and sense-making due to the coding and screening of citizens’ demands. Again, the question was the relationship between information and ritual. *Policing Contingencies* (PC) (2004) was an exploration of the new impact of the mass media on images of the drama of policing in the context of the drama of control. In PC, using Goffman’s *Frame Analysis* (1974), I explored how it is that the framing of “policing” as a collective representation was a variable, not a constant, and how it was shaped by mass media amplification and the compression of symbols. The *Technology of Policing* (2008) was a continuation of the exploration of the gap between new forms of information processing such as crime mapping information, and the disconnect between these resources and policing on the ground.

5. This term was suggested to me by Michael Raphael.

was another subtext, which was to elevate the discussion of the police above a non-critical description of their activities.

The theme of the book, however, was implicit. How is it that we turn secular or profane objects or organizations into quasi-sacred ones, as Durkheim argues? That is, how are potential contradictions between an organization claiming to be operating on the basis of “facts” or information, and the mysterious, the sacred, and the awesome perception of policing performances resolved? How is the gap between the *map* (the representation of policing as a sacred, valued, and honored occupation) and the *territory* (the facts of everyday life and the experience of policing) resolved? (Bateson, 1972). Is it some sort of magic? (Durkheim, 1961: 57–58). I argued that a dramaturgical framework, emphasizing the power of collective representations, ritual, and myth, permitted an analysis of such problems, and implicitly that the funeral was a kind of miniature re-enactment and representation of the drama of policing. I saw funeral as loosely connecting modern rational policing with the imagined past.

This paper proceeds as follows. In order to reframe the threads of this argument, it is necessary to review some aspects of Durkheim’s paradigm as it has been applied, revised, elaborated, and set in modern contemporaneous societies. This will permit an analysis of formal moving celebrations with a focus on funerals and related processions. North American funerals and funeral processions are mannered, constrained, formally ordered, and well-known social forms with a set of well-known functions. I am concerned here with the middle-class Christian form more than the detailed content of the funeral itself. The comparative semiological analysis of these forms suggests some of the limitations of the Durkheimian paradigm, as well as a re-framing of my earlier analysis of a police funeral. This is a preliminary case analysis which is the basis for extracting some codes for comparison of funerals, and then seeing the metaphoric clusters, the connotations and denotations within the codes.

What follows, then, is an analytic ethnography that considers two comparisons: between the 1974 police funeral, and a more recent police funeral in January 2011, and a comparison between the police funeral as a social form with a public funeral of an “average citizen”, i.e. not a member of the police or the military, and not a celebrity. I call the one form a police funeral and the other a private funeral even though both are public celebrations. The key distinction is based on the occupational role of the dead person, namely a police officer who dies in the line of duty, and the consequences of this for the nature of the procession. The events are described briefly, and contrasted in terms of identifiable codes. The two forms possess both similarities and differences.⁶

6. One difficulty is addressing the theoretical question of the relevance of such events is that any such funeral procession and funeral is embedded in other secular activities such as the wake, the reception of visitors in the home, the pre-gathering for each of the activities, related secular activities such as a city council’s honoring of the dead, political statements, media activities-stories, interviews, pictures, blogs, and the social media. Potentially-violent riots and demonstrations that are forms of political expression, flash mobs, and moving dances such as the “second line” of New Orleans funerals are near-family members ritually, but also outside the consideration of this exercise. I confine myself here to the visible processions, not the embedded or consequent social formations.

Perambulatory Celebrations

Modern societies, as did pre-literate societies, celebrate themselves in visible, marked, labeled, declaimed, and known public expressions or social forms which might be called perambulatory celebrations (Marin, 1987). These celebrations are variously ritualized, or feature redundant, repeated actions, and shared sentiments. They are, of course, both forward and backward looking, combining facets of the past, indications of the future, and exhibit ambiguous multivalent symbols (those with many references) that point neither forward nor backward. They contain much of that which is out of sight, merely taken as tacit background expectations, assumed, and unquestioned by participants. These are part of a family of social activities, and subject to various descriptive terms: riots, demonstrations, dances, parades, funerals and the processions of which they are part, and each always embedded within dynamic smaller units of social organization (gatherings, groups, dyads, or triads).⁷

While the distinctions between a parade, cortege, procession, and demonstration as social objects or social facts are important (Marin, 1987, Valeri, 2014), they share several foundational features. First, there must be an assembling prior to the event and a disassembling after, although this may ending be chaotic, disuniting, and not well-marked by symbols or rhetoric. These are dangerous because openings and closings are fraught with the potential for a transformation into other social forms once united. The movement of the celebration through space and time itself is “outside the law and therefore dangerous” (Marin, 1987: 224). That is, the procession violates everyday tacit rules of the road, walking, driving, or cycling, and the honoring of other everyday courtesies such as greetings and departures while en route. This moving assemblage is real as it moves through space, giving off symbolic and teleological signals. Second, such bodies are moving through space in some order, spacing and with a “certain orientation” (Marin, 1987: 222). The procession moves through time, interrupts it, and freezes it. They capture time out of time (Falassi, 1987). Ritual occasions are meant to be timeless and, in some sense, tap “universal” emotions. Third, there is a varying sense of theatricality, a sensitivity to, and a response (or not) to the audience that supports the performance. The nature of the orientation motivates the participants over the course of the occasion (Marin, 1987: 223). They are signaling their participation, real or implied, to each other as well as to the audience. This may include commands, indirect and indirect signals for turning and moving, and sounds of music. Fourth, they possess a repetitive structure. The messages, whether about death or life, are cumulative, consistent, and repeated. There is a “forbidden space” that is off-limits to normal circulation and movement. The used-space that is forbidden is complemented by the liminal space or boundaries of the sacred space. Any such perambulatory activity as it moves through space redefines the meaning of the occupied space, the boundaries of that space, and a more distant space as it moves. This spacing may have a ripple effect, e.g., traffic jams, delays, or a re-routing shading the meaning of

7. Funerals and processions of military and fire service personnel are not treated here in detail due to space limitations. They share many features with police funerals and are ritually close cousins.

nearby spaces. Fifth, structurally, they are similar or paradigmatic in the sense that they communicate messages about politics, culture, and civic life. They serve to make visible or actualize the relationships between participants, which are otherwise either unknown or denied. The nature of this invisible connective tissue is problematic. Although the precise nature of the modern sacred remains under discussion, it is difficult to fault W. Lloyd Warner's definition which was advanced and then applied in the *Living and the Dead* (1959), i.e., a ceremony, whether sacred or secular, is something produced by a group in honor of itself. The group sees itself performing for itself. Finally, the interaction between spectators and actors is variable. As Turner (1969) writes, such events transform a real or specific situation and implied social relationships into a marked relationship temporally and socially defined. The funeral ritual operates as a process by which a body is moved from the social state of "alive" to "dead," but notionally, it changes the relationships between participants. It marks the liminal phase of such transitions.

Funerals

In the conventional paradigm, drawn in part from Durkheim, funerals and ceremonies are considered to function variously to arouse, produce, and sustain collectively shared sentiments. These are in part stimulated by the visible: badges, flags, pictures, totems, and icons featuring known heroes that represent past images and valued aspects of the group that is featuring them. The visible also indirectly reinforces and dramatizes normative standards and tacit conventions of behavior, even when they appear in the guise of caricature, e.g., clowns and fools. Through this involvement in the occasion, some massification of emotion occurs, blurring the lines between self and other, or the group and the individual. The rhetoric used is variously elevated or formalized or radically vulgarized to alternate the emotional impact. Such events feature characteristic forms of address, honorifics, tone of voice, rhythm of speech, and volume. The effects of the occasion are productive. They produce a sense of hope, continuity, solidarity, or shared fate, and an attachment to a past, i.e., a reproducible future. They are full, fraught with and filled with collective representations of various kinds, secular, and sacred. After the fact, they may stimulate stories that have a social reality in themselves as contestable social facts. That is, stories, recollections and other narratives produce a new set of emotional sparks and interpretations. As they become more distant, they may take on a more mythical status as truth. They are self-referential, and thus, self-sustaining as each repetition calls out the previous feelings and their marked character. Perhaps this is most touching when such occasions raise unanswerable questions such as the nature of life, death, the afterlife, the meaning of life, its continuity, and the sustainability of individual lives.

Modern Celebrations

Unfortunately, none of the crisp and detailed analyses found in the works of Evans-Pritchard (1940, 1956), Turner (1969), Leinhardt (1961), and Leach (1954), for example,

much advance our thinking about the subtle and rambling nature of modern celebrations and their rituals. We are blinded perhaps by admiration for the brilliance of the masters in depicting tribal and other pre-literate ceremonies (Cohen, 1985: ch. 1). They work as metaphoric analogues, persuasive, plausible, and sensible performances that by indirect reasoning apply in Newburyport, Buffalo, and El Paso, Texas (Keesing, 2012). The works of Abner Cohen (1993) and Anthony Cohen (1985) are exceptions.

Goffman (1983), a Durkheimian in spirit and a student of the anthropologist W. Lloyd Warner, categorically rejects the idea that there is a deep and fundamental source of order and ordering arising *from* modern rituals. In his view, they are a means or an occasion by which emotions and their possessors are tied together without any fundamental grounding in norms, values, ideology, or community standards.

In effect, Goffman argues that the emotions are aroused, but whether this indicates “shared meanings” and normative agreement of solidarity is an open question (See also Lukes, 1975). Goffman (1983: 9–10) writes plainly of this:

You all know the [Durkheimian] litany. A critical feature of face-to-face gatherings is that in them and them alone we can fit a shape and dramatic form to matters that aren't otherwise palpable to the senses. Through costume, gesture, and bodily alignment we can depict and represent a heterogeneous list of immaterial things, sharing only the fact that they have a significance in our lives and yet do not cast a shadow: notable events in the past, beliefs about the cosmos and our place in it, ideals regarding our various categories of persons, and of course social relationships and larger social structures. These embodiments are centered in ceremonies (in turn embedded in celebrative social occasions) and presumably allow the participants to affirm their affiliation and commitment to their collectivities, and revive their ultimate beliefs. Here the celebration of a collectivity is a conscious reason for the social occasion which houses it, and naturally figures in the occasion's organization. The range in scale of such celebrative events is great: at one end, coronations, at the other, the two-couple dine-out—that increasingly common middle-class network ritual, to which we all give, and from which we all gain, so much weight.

Goffman (1983: 10) continues in this vein; he downgrades ceremonies even as he appreciates their interactional significance. While they are not without importance, their importance is problematic:

Now although it seems easy enough to identify the collectivities which ceremony projects on to a behavioral screen, and to cite, as I have just done, evidence of the critical contribution the shadow may make to the substance, it is quite another matter to demonstrate that in general anything macroscopically significant results from ceremony—at least in contemporary society. Those individuals who are in a position to authorize and organize such occasions are often the ones who star in them, and these functionaries always seem to be optimistic about the result. But in fact, the ties and relationships that we ceremonialize may be so attenuated that a periodic celebration is all that we are prepared to commit to them; so what they index is not our social reality but our nostalgia, our bad conscience, and our lingering piety in

regard to what is no longer binding . . . the categories of persons that come together in a ceremony (and thus the structures that are involved) may never come together again, ceremonially or otherwise. A one-time intersection of variously impinging interests may be represented, and nothing beyond that. . . . In sum, sentiments about structural ties serve more as an involvement resource-serve more to carry a celebrative occasion-than such affairs serve to strengthen what they draw from.

The Role of Such Celebrations

These lengthy and provocative quotes are intended not to reduce the value of studying ceremonies as much as to caution against the assuming the sources of the effects attributed to them. This argument presents something of an enigma insofar as the functions of interest, solidarity, unity, collective invigoration, and mutual collective efficacy remain, yet the means by which these are facilitated are unclear. Implicit in Goffman's critique is an argument found in detail in Keesing's paper (2012) that deep knowledge, clear understanding, and emotional investment of the participants may not be necessary features of a ritual. The role of "culture" remains central, but the question of what constitutes culture in modern industrialized societies is still debated. Certainly, they have an integrative function in highly differentiated societies, but this role may be more an occasion for reflection than for social integration. However, as Goffman has written (1959: 2), there is always some sense of the assumed, the tacit, and the invisible in any interaction: [people] ". . . will be forced to accept some events as conventional or natural signs of something not directly available to the senses." To some extent, it is necessary to hold the Durkheimian maxim in mind that ceremonies and related rituals are as much about themselves as anything else, or "playful unto themselves." Their power as performances is still visible, and, in fact, they have been given new life and power by modern reflexivity in the looping, amplifying and reframing of visuals via the various social media and media networks.

Police Funerals and Processions as Celebrations

In order to examine the role of ritual and ceremony in modern societies, I begin with a summary of my analysis of a funeral for a murdered police officer in Washington, D.C., in 1974. As I argued above in the introduction, the purpose of the example was to highlight the role of the police as collective representations, or social facts *sui generis*, both for the society at large and for officers, their friends, and families. Funerals are windows into dramaturgical organization as well as honoring the dead.

My initial analysis drew, implicitly at least, from the classic paradigm of funeral observations in pre-literate and tribal societies, and was combined with Jack Douglas' (1971) cogent observations about how modern public ceremonies and politics deny the complexity of moral choice and feelings. The salience of his observations is pointed in regard to policing. I quoted Douglas' book in 1977; ". . . the very centrality of the police role in

maintaining our sense of public morality requires it to be contradictory, demanding the management of so many diverse expectations and audiences.” (Manning, 1977: 13).

Police funerals are a form of muted collective behavior, and are powerful political expressions loaded with connotations of power, violence, sacrifice, governance (who's in charge), and “religion” in the Durkheimian sense. They share a sense with parades that they encompass messages that communicate a celebration of the whole. Their power issues from the self-celebratory nature of the event with the mutuality of audience response. The more riotous, the more episodic, the touched-off spontaneously, and potentially-violent expressions are set aside. The funerals discussed here are composed of a series of units or syntagmatic chains in that they are socially-occasioned one at a time to constitute a whole, but they are also synecdoche-like as they are experienced in some sense as parts of a whole. They are also paradigmatic or metaphorically unified in a known meaningful domain. They are public ambulatory celebrations of an orderly sort, well recognized, labeled, and attended routinely by most North American citizens. Perhaps their power arises because the stream of experience is simultaneously coded both diachronically and synchronically. In this way, the details or contents as well as the forms become memorable, and generalizable across events, times, and places. They contain moving, repeated, and simplified repetitive communications that are shared. Such spectacle-like events can degenerate and be transformed from one of the basic forms to the other in short time or in the long-term: funerals become parades; riots produce funerals; funerals become the basis for riots. It is likely that they all communicate at three levels: the indexical or individual level of the participants and the event; the ceremonial (about the nature of order and orderliness), and the sacred (about the justification for the order) (Rappaport, 1967, 1971). The use of the sacred here refers not to religion, but to those things set apart and seen as occupying the arena of the invisible.

Police funerals are in part codified, and websites on the internet provide some guidance in this regard for those who plan and implement them. There are many advisories on the Internet for police funeral protocol, dress, manners, and procedures to be observed following a death.⁸ The death is celebrated, and the ceremony that surrounds it cannot be totally disentangled from the larger political context and local traditions (Warner, 1959). I have attended a large police funeral, gathered pictures and other materials from the Internet, and interviewed many police officers in North America and Ireland about police funerals and police deaths.

The following section compares and contrasts two police funerals, one from Washington D.C., in September, 1974, described in *Police Work*, and one from Toronto, Ontario, Canada, held in January 2011, and documented on YouTube. I then try to extract some codes for further semiotic analysis.

8. There is a small but significant literature on police officers' experience with death, delivering death notices to next of kin, and joking to reduce their anxieties about death. Articles on the troubles associated with policing the funerals of Margaret Thatcher and Princess Diana resonate with ironies: certainly, police policing police funerals is a special case of funerals. Of course, police do police their own funerals, direct the traffic and parking, lay out and protect the route, and orchestrate the event inside and outside the church.

A Police Funeral, 1974

The stage was set for an analysis of a funeral just after the title page of PW by a dedication and by a lengthy quote from *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1961: 243), that contrasted the sacred and the profane. The quote ended with Durkheim's caution of the tendency for societies to convert "... sacred things into the other". In PW, a police funeral in Washington, D.C., was characterized as reported event in the *Washington Post* September 25, 1974. I quoted the priest, Father Dooley, who described the policing encounter that led to the young officer's death, and quoted the *Post's* description of the procession to the cemetery. The funeral was unusual since the officer was the first black female officer killed on duty, a result of bad judgment on her part, as well as the first black female officer killed.⁹

I then enumerated the themes symbolized by the funeral (these appear in slightly modified form in the second edition of PW (1997: 20–24, from which I quote). I connected them with society at large and police officers in their role. I wrote that the themes illuminate the meaning of the police to their audiences in urban, industrialized societies. They include both a passive dramatization of these themes as well as an active reproduction and amplification of these same themes and others. The police receive the goodwill of the people. The police, to many audiences, represent the continuing presence of the civil body politic in everyday life—they represent and dispense authority. As a bureaucratic force, they stand ready to maintain order using available force, up to and including fatal force. Police symbolize the capacity of the state to intervene, and the concern of the state for the affairs of its citizenry. In that sense, they are a conservative organization, standing in for an dramatizing of the role of stability and continuity in an imaged present and future. The police have elevated the rule of the state in civil life to centrality, identifying with this entity and its symbols, and have called upon this close association as justification for their occupational activities. This symbolic partnership is one of their primary weapons in the public political arena, where resources, particularly money, prestige, and job security are contested. In many respects, they have cultivated and amplified their role with the strategic use of the media, the control of information, and their own pageantry.

The police officer is a iconic extension of the police organization as a collective. The police role conveys a sense of *sacredness* or awesome power that lies at the root of political order and authority, the claims a state makes upon its people for deference to rules, laws, and norms. The ideology or belief system in our society makes this secular sacredness and authority a direct function of the state itself. Thus the officer has an awesome, mysterious, and dangerous quality, dead or alive. The police, and by inversion, the death of a police officer, also represents the means by which the political authorities maintain the status quo. They act in the interests of the powerful and the authoritative against those without power and without access to the means to power. But not only do they serve this function, they serve to maintain the relative placement of social groups upon

9. It was later reported that she had followed a suspect into a dimly lit parking garage without back-up and was shot.

the political-moral ladder. Taken together, the sacred or semi-sacred nature of the organization and the officer makes a doubling effect played out or performed in the funeral. When an officer dies, it threatens the maintenance of this ranking system; the symbolic means by which it is coerced when necessary is shown to be mortal, and society as an organic unity is shown to be dependent upon the constant reestablishment of its own outlines and boundaries. When the priest at the 1974 ceremony, Father Dooley, pointed out that an attack on the police was “an attack against the country,” he was pointing to both the absolutistic morality of the police and to the implicit stratification in that order they are believed to maintain (p. 22). Finally, there is an irony in a funeral of an officer in so far as the death of an officer raises the question of impermanence, the fragility of social life and, hopefully, the dramatization of its continuity. I wrote that this drama with its associated public media coverage indicates and reaffirms the centrality of formal social control in everyday life, and it provides a legitimate occasion for the dramatization of the palpable police presence.

The first chapter of *Police Work* argued that such occasions with their associated media amplification masterfully connected the police death and policing to conventional absolutistic morality, the law as a reified conception, and by implication, justice. In effect, the funeral indicated and symbolized a sacrifice for the whole; a funeral rite, and a hope for security and continuity. The list was wrapped up in a holistic metaphor revealing a window into the modern sacred. But the celebration is not only about “the police,” but by extension, their role as a surrogate for authority in general.

However, any such secular-sacred event, always shown and reported as held in Christian churches before nominally Christian audiences by the media, have the potential to become a semiotic jumble or puzzle for officers. It brings to consciousness that which is denied, that of death on the job. The funeral echoes discordant themes. As I wrote in 1977 (p. 23):

To police officers, the death and funeral of an officer have occupationally derived meanings. They are evoked by the imagery of the ceremony, the collective acting out of the occupation's mission, and the display of many of their most sacred symbols. The central thematic meanings, not surprisingly, grow from the officer's view of the occupational role. The police confront the public on many occasions as an adversary, and distrust of people in general is widely accepted as an occupational tenet. The officer views himself as isolated while performing a dangerous task, and he turns to other police personnel for friendship, support, and physical protection in crisis. When an officer is killed in the line of duty it affirms the danger of the public, the isolation of the officer, and the vulnerability of the force. Insofar as the police see their social status as a group as dependent upon the evaluation of their activities by those who also seek to maintain the present ranking of social groups, the loss of a member is inferentially linked to the continuing capacity to maintain these status boundaries and, in a fashion, to mark the boundaries of the society itself (Durkheim, 1961: esp. 434-49).

I wrote further (p. 24) that the police gain a sense of mutuality and solidarity from the ostensive loss:

Collective celebrations serve to recoat moral bonds, to elucidate the norms of the society, to symbolize deference and respect for the police as a moral unit (Durkheim, 1961: 447–48). The ironic consequence of collective rituals marking the passing of a member is the reassertion of the significance of life within that moral unit and, in the police case, of the respect and dependence of the society upon the police. Conversely, when a police officer views the ceremony, he or she must consider the implications should he or she be killed in the line of duty. Certainly, it must be reassuring to see the turnout of fellow officers, their solemn gathering for a single officer (who could imagine him- or herself to be the very person so honored).¹⁰

I then wrote (I am paraphrasing here) that the mobilization of a large body of officers in uniform transmits messages about their mutual identification with the police organization, and speaks to the reality of the occupation as a formal social control. The uniformed appearance, the collective response to the event including attendance in uniform and coordinated action in the movement of personnel from the funeral to the cemetery, alignment and saluting at the proper time, and orderly dispersion, all symbolize a coherent public reality of the occupation (p. 21). Furthermore, the link is made in the ceremony between the individual death and the collective honoring of the occupation as a whole, and this honoring is extended to the “police family.” Caring for widows and orphans has historic roots in the occupation (1977: 24).

Many themes are suppressed, or seen only by audiences other than conventional majority. There are several notable connotations observed in a generic police funeral. The dramatization conceals as well as reveals. Let us re-consider this formulation. What does this characterization omit? The police, an agency of social control as well as an actor in the drama of social control, are also an occupation of considerable and rising status populated still overwhelmingly by white men of working-class origin, an occupation also traditionally linked with conservative politics. They enforce and reinforce the status quo ante, and if that is re-defined, they enforce the new version of that social reality. They act in the interests of the state as defined contemporaneously. The members of the group in turn are bound together by their interests in not falling in the status- and class-orders; seeking pay and status honor; controlling the conditions of their work, recruitment, determining the bases for access to the job, and the nature of the training. These quasi-secular matters remain neatly out of sight in such occasions and in the everyday life of citizens in general, while the quasi-sacred matters are promoted, elevated, and symbolized by the media and participants in the ceremony. These include violence and its consequences, targets, and meanings; uncertainty and its eruptive potential; danger

10. Moreover, the funeral and death raise the unanswerable question: when and how will I die, if I do die? When? What happens then or next to me and to others? In many ways it raises questions implicit and unspoken in all rituals: what is the relationship we share to that which we can't see, understand or control? Do I control my fate?

and its lurking presence; an the denial of disruption, death, and the selective presentation of facts and other themes. There are other negative themes, that is, the dirty-work side of policing, the disrespect encountered; the criticism and unrelenting interest of the media in crime, criminals, and disorder; the boredom of the work; the constant reminder that the work is never done and seldom done well (Waddington, 1996). Of course, on the other hand, the mystification and elevation of policing to an honorable status and an unquestioning acceptance of their practices is not shared by a large proportion of minority populations (Manning 1991: 150–3). The power of the dominant minority or majority is expressed in the representations of modern ceremonies. Generalizations about the shared collective feelings aroused by a police funeral are assumed by the media. But it is more likely that the combination of mystification and idealization of the role, amplified by the modern media obscure and confound core values that are claimed in the ceremony. My analysis was sociological, structural, and loaded with inference.

The nature of the connection between the audience, the text, and the feedback that established authenticity was unexplored in my exposition (See Alexander, 2004), but is considered in my conclusion. Now let us consider a more recent procession and police funeral.

Police Funeral, January 2011

The procession and funeral chosen for analysis here is in part a reflection of available imagery. I used Google to search under the words, “police funeral.” I found a recent, quite-large police funeral. It was a huge, sprawling event held in Toronto with an estimated 10,000 police officers and other quasi-service authorities (fire, EMS, border patrol, and court officers) attending from all over Canada and from New York State. The *Globe and Mail* (January 18, 2011) wrote that there had never been such an outpouring of police for a funeral in Toronto. The funeral, following the procession, was a secular/sacred event, held not in a church, but in Toronto’s Civic Centre. A procession with the body was made from the Civic Center to the cemetery. Fortunately, both the procession and the funeral were photographed, video-taped, and posted. The YouTube visuals were taken from many angles and do not feature the celebration from the beginning to the end from a singular vantage point. Unfortunately, the available videos shift back and forth in focus and targets as the procession proceeds. There is no voice over. There is some irony in the death as it was not obviously glorious; the officer was run-over and killed while trying to stop a man driving a large stolen snow plow. It was nevertheless in the “line of duty” and thus qualified the family for benefits.¹¹ The first aim is to describe the procession in some detail and then to entertain some ways to code and systematize the information. This will require later discussion of semiotics as a means to categorize and compare and con-

11. Regardless of the circumstances of death, poor judgment or folly, any death other than by natural causes or suicide is honored publicly. Suicide is always a contested and problematic decision in the case of death. Death in the line of duty is defined variously by North American cities and states, and does not mean simply death with on duty (traditionally, police are always on duty, although union contracts have now limited and refined this).

trast aspects of the procession. Here is a brief description I have assembled from Toronto newspaper reports and the videos.

The cortege was silently led by police cars with lights flashing and these were followed by the horse escort, four mounted Toronto officers in black uniforms featuring fur caps on black horses with black covers. They are the honor guard carrying both the Canadian and the City of Toronto flags. The Toronto Police Department's emblems were affixed at the front. There is a clearly observed spatial array and a marching order, an opening and closing, and a featured casket. There were eight uniformed men walking beside the hearse and two following, one of which carried the officer's cap on a cushion, and the other carried a Canadian flag on a cushion. There are some 50-plus lines of 6–7 police officers across from Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary, as well as New York State Troopers, county police officers from New York State, and representatives of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in their luminous, scarlet formal dress. They all rode or walked slowly with eyes front without attending to the by-standers on the curbside. Those standing by are an ambiguous, unrecognized "audience." Toronto officers flank the profession on both sides of the street, and salute as the flag passes.

While the other segments are notable for their uniforms and number, the Mounties are the visual cynosure of the parade other than the hearse itself. Their 19th century origin, formal uniforms, elegant and precise marching and movements as they pivot around corners cries out tradition, continuity with the past, and a hope for the future in spite of this death.¹² The Mounties are remarkable in their Stetsons, lanyards and holsters, dark cavalry boots, dark blue trousers with a yellow stripe, their uniforms adorned further with emblems of honor, service, rank, and skills. These bright variations ironically make the dark and uniform uniforms more salient as a kind of border around the magnificent 19th century regalia of the Mounties. The "Mounties" are archaic, totemic icons.

Following the officers, there is a large group of two to three hundred black-dressed civilians (who may well be officers out of uniform). The uniformed officers, other than the Mounties, march in a desultory fashion, while the black-dressed participants ambled slowly. This undifferentiated segment also included fire personnel, emergency personnel, and other governmental employees who come out of nearby offices to observe the spectacle. The speed and pacing of the march was uneven depending on the segment. While the march proceeded punctuated only by the commands "Forward," "March" and "Halt," for the RCMP units, the sounds of the combined drum and pipes corps from the many police organizations were large, loud, and provocative.

Second only to the preeminent dress and position of the Mounties in the procession are the pipe bands. The sound of the pipes and their dress challenge them for salience visually and acoustically. The well-regulated dress of the bagpipers and drummers is vivid, unique, retrograde, and detailed, including the sporrán, the kilt and doublet or over-

12. The RCMP has a special mounted squad that parades in dress scarlet uniforms, guidons flapping, every summer throughout Canada in stylized and integrated, circling, complex formations. It is called the "musical ride" (www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca) and can be seen on YouTube. An image of one of the formations, "The Dome," is featured on the Canadian \$50 bill.

garment, the cap with the dark tassels, and the pipes themselves adorned with badges and insignia. The shrill, piercing, loud, sharp, and unexpectedly echoing sound of the pipes, meant to motivate people to kill and die in war, contrasts with the somber heavy atmosphere, the rain, and the dark winter morning. With the pipe bands are the loud drums, beating either a pounding sound for the large bass drums, or the slow rat-tat-tat of the snare drummers hitting the edges of the drums rhythmically, keeping time and underscoring the slow and steady nature of the march. Above the marchers, flags are held aloft from the ladders extended from fire trucks, while overhead, helicopters drone and slice the heavy air, beating out a background of uneven sound. It thumps the eardrums. Noise, music, and silence contest for the air and the attention of the marchers. The long strings of those honoring the dead proceeded through the city without regard to traffic signals, signs, or intervention from other vehicles: the route was closed and blocked to other traffic. One video moves to the marchers as they enter a tunnel prior to coming up into the site of the funeral, the Toronto Convention Centre.

Now let us reorder the elements in the procession, the units from which a picture can be assembled. This is a mannered, organized, coordinated process, controlled in spite of the large numbers of strangers gathering, marching together and assembling to march to the Civic Centre. There is an honor guard carrying flags as well as a horse phalanx, the Toronto Police honor unit, with flags on flag poles topped with a black scarf leading the parade. The order was set by the uniformed officers and their keeping a similar pace and their movements to commands. The participants kept pace in time with arms swinging, taking semi-orderly footsteps. The speed was set by the commands of the officers walking at the edge of the parade proper. The hearse is the focal point of the procession, and is accompanied by eight uniformed walkers, four on each side, and followed by an officer holding the dead officer's cap on a cushion. It was presented to the spouse along with the flag at the closing of the funeral ceremony.

The stopping and starting was uniform and patterned the timing and spacing for the non-marching participants. The Mounties keep time even when not moving forward. The march is slow and orderly, restrained but resolute, pressing on toward a target or ending place, but somewhat uneven (it turns out that the ceremony was delayed for more than an hour because of the record turnout of police officers who wished to attend). While some groups are distinctive, the mix of marchers is paramilitary, consisting of police, fire, EMS, and parking-enforcement people. Many of the non-uniformed marchers are police participants. The segments of the parade are marked by the variation in marching; the uniformity within some groups; the contrast between uniforms and non-uniform dress; variation within the uniformed officers, some set off by the eye-catching scarlet tunics and contrasting hats, red hat bands on Canadian officers and other regalia; the motorized, horse-riding, and non-motorized participants; those with large visible weapons (or not); and within the marked vehicles, the motorcycles with flashing lights, and the large vans and SUVs, and the red and white striped, marked patrol cars.

The separation of groups roughly marks the differences in status between police organizations, between uniformed police and others, and between those marching and the

standing, peering, immobile audience. There are abundant other uniforms with associated emblems, medals, badges, and symbols of rank.

The audience is ignored by the marchers, while those in the audience are focused intently on the marchers and mirror their somber faces. The marchers are resolute, blank of face, unemotional and unresponsive to any putative or extant audience. They look straight ahead, except at turnings. The audience in turn was frozen still, moving only to take pictures, or to make videos. They do not wave, smile, gesture, call out or yell, or seek the attention of the individuals marching. The demeanor of all is serious and somewhat detached. They are rigid, attentive, and frozen in place.

There are many vehicles. The theme is "bigger is better," remains an implicit proposition in the parade, although there are no military vehicles such as Hummers, tanks, or troop carriers. The largest vehicles are the hearse, the large stretch limousines that carry the family, close relatives and friends, and several police SUVs.

Sound and silence contrast mightily. The aural atmosphere is quiet and mood-instilling, but punctuated by the occasional burst of quiet motorcycle engines; the surprisingly shrill, penetrating, unexpected dystrophic cacophonous bagpipes with their powerful contrasting notes and undertones; and the variation in snare drum time-keeping and the thump, thump, thump of the bass drums. The helicopters hover overhead, and their throbbing sounds bounce off the buildings below. The light is gray and the warm cold and still; the flashing lights on the motorcycles indicate a crisis and a warning.

In part, an echo of past modes of honoring the dead, horses and the dogs accompanying their handlers were the only visible animals in the parade.¹³ They are symbolically members of the police family with rank, names, duties, health, pensions, and retirement benefits. They join in and symbolize the generality of the grief associated with the occasion.

The contrast of color is striking; while the dominant color is black, the color most associated with mourning in Western societies, there are emblems and decorations on the marching police officers, and the Mounties stand out in their striking, unique, and vivid formal uniforms.

The parade's end is heralded by a number of trailing, vivid, shiny fire trucks. This funeral procession, a large, well-attended public parade, ended with a secular funeral in the Toronto Civic Centre. It was a secular/sacred ceremony (Warner, 1959: 212-213) in that it celebrates, at one level, the death of an officer, and at another level, the nation state and its traditions. The ceremony (Valeri, 2014) in the Centre included the singing of the Canadian national anthem by a Toronto police officer, a commentary from the wife of the dead officer, the Chief of Police of Toronto, and other speakers. They spoke of the officer and his loyalty and courage. It featured neither conventional religious iconology, nor a priest or clergyman of any faith: a raised dais supported a speakers' podium, flags, flowers, and a picture of the officer. It did not feature patriotic themes. Above the stage was a

13. Two officers, one carrying a shovel and one wheeling a small wheelbarrow with "police" and red and white stripes on the side- a miniature of a Toronto patrol car complete with decorations- follow to collect the horse manure.

large seal of the Toronto Police Department. The casket was placed in front of the stage. Bagpipers played as the casket entered and left the venue. There was further procession to the cemetery that did not involve all participants.

Police Funeral Summary

The police procession is characterized by orderly, slow movements that are coordinated through time and space. The participants are dressed in dark colors with one exception in the Canadian case, the RCMP, are somber and serious, and most of the active participants in the parade are in uniform. They are oriented not to an external audience but to each other, and to the occasion as a self-referential matter. The existence of the audience is only tacitly recognized even though it is essential to the performance. The vehicles are official and governmental and carry seals, emblems, flags, and icons that identify their special role. It is quiet except when the wail of the bagpipes and the crash and thump of the drums rent the air. Animals perform as part of the ritual; they are being honored by their participation and visible role, and their appearance emphasizes their high status and importance within the police service. The procession proceeds without the usual impediments and obstruction of traffic signs, lights, or other vehicles. All of these taken together are an ensemble with powerful, redundant, and cumulative messages.

There are several differences between the two police funerals. Among these differences are the degree of secularization of the Toronto funeral, held as it was in the Civic Centre decorated with city and police emblems and presided over by a chaplain, and the Washington funeral in a church presided over by a Catholic priest. The reported Washington speech of the priest elevated the death as a sacrifice and linked the death to religion and patriotism. This mix of patriotism, policing, and the fire service, all as semi-sacred honorable occupations, is perhaps uniquely American or North American. In Canadian police funerals, unlike those in the U.S., members of associated occupations, such as the fire service, ambulance corps, and auxiliary police officers march or walk toward the end of the procession. The participation of the RCMP marks a conflation of the sacred and the secular that does not visibly exist in connection to policing in the United States.¹⁴ While the FBI and the Secret Service that guard the President and Vice President and their families may be “semi-sacred,” they are never on display “off duty,” and prefer anonymity in dress and demeanor.¹⁵ These federal agents do not appear at local U.S. police funerals, have no uniforms, nor are they linked to the history of the nation—its revered history. They have civilian status and are a modern early-twentieth-century innovation. The themes in these North American funerals are typically syncretic, drawing on Celtic traditions such as bagpipes and drums, traditional kilt-based dress, the firing of

14. For example, in June 10th 2014, a funeral for three RCMP officers was held in Moncton, New Brunswick, and shown on YouTube. In effect, it was a specialized funeral not only for police officers, but members of the much-admired force. It included required aspects, and found only in a funeral honoring dead Mounties.

15. The rather obvious appearance in dress and manner of Secret Service officers and a visible watchfulness and nervous manner makes them dramaturgically a contradiction. They must be visible in many ways to carry out their duties, but this exposure also gives off other signs that make them both vulnerable and obvious. Whether this “front” , in Goffman’s terms (1959), serves to deter villains is debatable.

volleys or “last radio calls” at the end of funerals, the use of loud noise to mark the ending of the funeral, modified military rituals, as well as nationalistic rituals in regard to the flying of national flags and incorporating them into the service. 16

Semiotic Analysis

The purpose for collecting and describing these observations and data are both very indirect and indirect, is to recast them into a simpler, yet more-powerful format. A preliminary outline of a semiotic approach, an approach resting on the science of signs, will guide subsequent comparisons of the two police funerals, and of these to the public funeral.

Semiotics

Semiotics, the science of signs, or more broadly, a mode of social analysis that seeks to identify, analyze, and interpret how signs perform or convey meaning in context, has a rich history. I use the modified pragmatic approach of Eco (1979), one that focuses on what signs mean in a social context, rather than in some presumptive code or formulation. Semiotics is based on a language model of meaning in the sense that semioticians see social life, group structure, beliefs, and practices as functionally analogous to the units that structure language. All human communication is thus a display of signs, something that must be interpreted or read. A sign is something that means something to someone else in a social context. A sign is composed in the first instance of an expression such as a word, sound, symbol or even a picture and a content or something that is seen as completing the meaning of the expression. So an expression, “Kim Kardashian,” is linked to the context of sex; a lily is an expression linked conventionally with death; and a SUV is a kind of automobile. Each of these connections is somewhat arbitrary: many kinds of links exist between an expression and a content to constitute a sign and to link signs together.

Sociologically, the task is to identify the relevant expressions and contents and the signs in context and to link them. This depends on the perspective of the observer. The term interpretant is a short hand for the context within which the sign is seen. If the interpretant changes, the meaning of the sign changes. Semiotic analysis in Eco-style is based on several key assumptions. The model of analysis is language, the contrasts and oppositions that allow understanding across words, between them, and as groupings of similar meaning. This model is predicated on the central unit of the sign, that is, an expression (an eight-sided red traffic sign), and a content (stop). The connection be-

16. It has been reported to me (personal communication, Nigel Fielding) that in the UK, such police funerals are not held, perhaps because deaths in the line of duty are rare, and that in Brazil they are unknown (Graham Willis, personal communication). The cross-cultural relevance of police funerals is yet to be explored in detail and in connection with social structural and historical features. A key would appear to be the degree of trust in the government and the trust of the police as representatives of government. When these are in some high correlation, police funerals tap into this conflation of the police, the sacred, authority, and governance. The same conflation can be seen in the honoring of dead fire service personnel in elaborate funerals.

tween the two is made not by logical or predetermined knowledge (that which everyone knows), but local cultural knowledge of a subtle and often unreflective sort. The signs can be variously grouped, by their proximity (metonymy), as parts of a whole (synecdoche), as grouped by similar meaning or association (metaphor), or both within a given message or unit of analysis, e.g., in a parade, or across forms such as perambulatory celebrations. Signs thus symbolize or stand for social relations in two senses; they both describe them and constitute them.

In order to work with signs, or to make them work for us, they must be seen as a function of a *code*. The code is a general means of making sense of signs, e.g., a Morse code, a code for semaphore, or a computer code. Although there are several sorts of signs, indexical, iconic, and symbols, the primary concern here is with symbols or signs that refer to something out of sight, or convey meaning indirectly through cues that indicate the usages at issue. These categories or codes are bounded and distinctive. The derivation of such codes is an extrapolation of social knowledge as well as from the knowledge of coding. The code provides explicit and implicit rules for encoding and decoding groups of signs with social salience, attaching expression to content, a sign or signs in a series of association, or in sequence. These encoded relationships are best shown diagrammatically, whether the analysis is synchronic (at a single time), or diachronic (cross-sectional, over time). When dealing with an ensemble of signs that are connected socially, the question is how they are associated and in what detail (by denotation, connotation, or more general association). These associations can elicit cognitive, emotive, or mystifying responses. Denotations stay close to the matter at hand: a 4.0 means 'excellent'; 3.5 means 'good', etc. For example, Scotch (an expression) has five distinct categories or contents, examples of which are single malt, made from a single grain (rye, or wheat); blended malt, (made from blended grains); and blended Scotch whisky (made from grain and malt). These can also be seen as connotations of degrees of excellence, expense, or status rather than a description of the distilling process. When unexamined belief-based connections are made between denotative and connotative signs, such as the uniform of a police officer showing the honor, dignity, and integrity of the occupation, cultural assumptions are revealed.

Thus, in a given cultural system, power and authority stabilize potentially floating and arbitrary expressions, and generate "sign concreteness." The primary ordering ideas or perceptual tools that operate are ontological, and seize on time, space, number, and quality to identify relevant classification systems and signs. These are generic categories that order sensations of taste, touch, hearing, smell, and feeling. However, the event at issue is always a product of the social order in which the event lies.

Codes and Funeral Analyses

I argue that it is possible to identify codes or modes of clustered signs that are bounded and identifiable and function to make the messages of the funeral procession apparent and recognizable. The codes contrast with each other. They have notable boundaries on

their extension, some of which are blurred, and others that are more precise in nature. They are logically ordered internally by denotation, connotation, and metaphoric association.¹⁷

Now let us consider codes, how the codes are related, and then the differentiation within the codes in regard to the two general social forms of the police funeral and the public funeral. These forms are part of a larger set of human celebrations of the living and the dead, but the focus at this point is upon the codes that can be applied to the analysis of the funeral. The derivation of the head term, 'funeral', from which the others flow, is a culturally-shaped exercise of inference and explanation. I argue that there are 11 terms that order the analysis of processions: 1. Order: the order of appearance of the units in the procession; 2. Sound: the accompanying sound or lack thereof-meaningful silences; 3. Space: the spacing between the units of the procession; 4. Movement: speed, direction, and degree of close coordination of the movement; 5. Color: the color(s) displayed by the units; 6. Dress: the nature and the variety permitted and observed; 7. Demeanor: the emotional tone of the participants; 8. Conveyances: the means by which movement is achieved in the procession; 9. The Audience(s) for the participants in the processions; 10. Animals: what animals are featured and how; 11. The management of traffic, and driving behavior. Each of the codes has sub-categories which further refine them.

These might be called "fuzzy codes" insofar as they overlap and complement each other in a kind of communication system. For example, the conveyances, if motorized, determine the range and kind of speed and ability to create and sustain the order. This is less possible with longer caravans, or with those that feature walkers, participants on horseback, or with larger vehicles such as fire engines and trucks. Dress and color are obviously related culturally since the range of acceptable colors given to formal dress is restricted in North America. The nature of the orientation to the audience and demeanor are related in the sense that sadness is not individual, but a product of the communicated mutuality of emotion (Durkheim, 1961: 440-2). These blurred boundaries raise the question of the sharpness of the codes and categories used in any essentially perceptual scheme.

A Private Funeral

The codes developed for the analysis of the police funeral as a social form can now be used to compare that form with the celebration/procession of a private citizen of non-celebrity status who has not been accorded a military funeral. I draw largely on my experience as a participant and observer of funerals and their processions. Funerals are governed fairly loosely in North America, and the rules and procedures are more formalized

17. The concept of a code is subject to debate because it is an inferred context in which messages are made meaningful. Obvious examples are the Morse code, the code of the heliograph, and the semaphore. They work in a consistent fashion to produce messages. However, the meaning of the string of messages over time is a question of metaphoric association; how is a message like others or others grouped? How are these groups of messages related or associated? The code does not answer these questions.

and understood for Catholic funerals than for Protestant funerals. Jewish funerals are governed by the 24-hour burial rule. This reduces the possibility of elaborate planning and execution, but these funerals are still governed by well-understood procedures. This outline is based on a middle-class Protestant or Catholic funeral in which the procession is from the church to the ceremony, and then to the burial ceremony (whether a body is featured or not).

In general, a public funeral procession displaying grief over the death of a person or persons is an everyday event in any large city. It is witnessed often: a string of cars moving at a recognizable pace from somewhere to a cemetery through public streets now blocked to permit rapid and uninterrupted movement, in order, at a distinctive pace, silently, in dark large cars with dark windows, with a trailing tail of other vehicles, and escorted by police cars or motorcycles. One assumes that the occupants behind the darkened windows are sharing their grief out of public scrutiny. This, of course, is culturally and religiously patterned. The procession does not observe normal traffic signals or signs, and thus proceeds at a steady unimpeded pace to its destination. This is true in theory, although interruptions in the processions arise throughout, even with police leadership and control over the flow of traffic. The speed is noticeable as it is steady and constant for the entire procession, and generally below the posted speed limit. The effect of close, constant pacing between vehicles marks the event from other traffic, and other parades or unitary movements (e.g., a house moving through town, or a "wide load"). Its distinction is its sacred character and association with distant forces and beliefs not associated with moving an uprooted house or a wide load, which remain totally secular operations.¹⁸ The vehicles are in eye-monitoring proximity to insure moderate, consistent spacing and order of the vehicles. The vehicles contain unknown occupants hidden by the darkened windows, speed and the skill of the drivers to move the procession. The large hearse and black vehicles contrast with everyday traffic, and are the first to arrive at the location and exit after the completion of the ceremony. All these are indicators of the relative high-status of the family, kin, and close friends of the dead person. In general, the appearance of the procession is non-religious since no flags mark the religious significance of the ceremony or the typical procession.

Let us take up the data organized by grouping the codes by similarity into five groups: (a) ordering, spacing, movement, and traffic management, (b) sound, (c) color, (d) dress, demeanor and the comportment of the audience, and (e) animals. These are analogically related as they communicate similar messages about an aspect or feature of the procession. These grouped codes can be called paradigms, or metaphoric clusters.

Consider first the matters to do with ordering, spacing, and movement through space and time, including conveyances. The *ordering* of the units in the procession is typically planned in advance, discussed with the participants, and perhaps with the funeral director and their staff. The prearranged time and place is known. The tiny flags placed on the right front fenders of the funeral vehicles are indicative of the special nature of this

18. I suppose moving a still-holy church or building, or a holy relic of some kind, would produce a kind of sacred/secular movement through a city or town.

procession, as are the flashing lights of accompanying motorcycles or police vehicles and the darkened windows of the leading vehicles. There are no walkers, cyclists, hangers-on, or other non-participant vehicles in the procession. There is a consistent *spacing*, and attention is paid to the gaps between vehicles. Efforts are made to keep the entire string together, without interruption from other vehicles. This is not always possible in practice. In part, this spacing is sustained by having all the involved conveyances keeping their lights on during the day, and these processions are always held during the day. The lights create an anomaly, and clearly mark the procession. Except for periodic efforts to catch up and maintain the spacing, the *movement* is slow and deliberate, and under the marked speed limit. This by itself makes the procession notable, and contributes to its unique status. It resembles a caterpillar in shape and speed. The *conveyances* at the head of the procession are large, black, often with windows darkened, and are driven slowly. The vehicles carrying family, kin, and close friends follow the hearse driven by the staff of the funeral home, and the following cars are undistinguished, except for their head and tail lights being on during the day. The marked nature of the featured vehicles, their color, position in the procession, size, and darkened windows, and immediacy location just behind the larger, labeled hearse (usually with the name of the funeral home discretely painted on the side) are the most salient distinctive features of the procession, but in every case, the anonymity of the dead and the intimates of the dead are screened and protected. There are no helicopters, large fire or emergency vehicles, no large flags flying, no bicycles, or no accompanying walkers beside the hearse as often used during police or firefighter funerals. The string is managed through time and space by the *traffic management* authority of the police. The movement is cautious, the driving careful and mindful, and the spacing, although uneven, is intended to be consistent and similar from front to back. The operative speed is in part set by the police cars or motorcycles that lead and end the procession. This procession moves as a symbolic unit: there is no honking, jockeying for position in the queue, no individual lane switching. These are all contrasts to normal driving behavior. Underlying this uniformity of collective action is a kind of tacit code of traffic control. There is a semi-sacred, specially-marked, and labeled space for the beginning and ending of the procession. It may be a three-part movement: from the assemblage to the church or site, from the site to the cemetery, and from the cemetery to the point of dispersal. Each transition point is clearly marked, and the funeral itself is the transitional or liminal segment of this three-part transitional process. The route is planned, the movement noted and made semi-sacred for this time and place by limiting access to others, and elevating the significance and priority of this cavalcade. The temporal and spatial movement each alters the places through which the cavalcade moves and the role of others not directly involved. Unlike the processions of a president or of celebrities, the speed and consequence of such processions is modest. These funeral processions are not stopped except for unexpected traffic accidents or traffic jams, bridges that are up or blocked, very severe weather. The procession is given unchallenged priority.

There is little *sound*. The procession proceeds in silence, and there are no verbal commands or orders given to maintain the flow of the procession. The entire serpentine col-

lection is silent except for the accompanying background traffic noise.¹⁹ The only exception is the noise from the police cars or the motorcycles (with muffled sounds). The canopy of silence, somber mood, and muted talk is maintained over the course of the event.

The *color* of the key units in the procession and the dress of the participants is distinctive when seen. The color of the caravan is varied, with the central vehicles, often large “stretch” vehicles or upmarket massive SUVs carrying the family and key mourners, being black. The other vehicles that make up the procession are marked by their position and vary in color. These matters mark the difference between central actors in the drama and peripheral friends, or fellow mourners. Minor color difference results from the small flags, or any decorations on the central vehicles. The preferred *dress* for the occasion, setting aside the accompanying police officers in uniform, is almost proscribed: black, somber, restrained in style, modest, without bright accessories such as scarves, jewelry, bright belts or earrings, and low heels. The dress for women may be topped off with black head gear, while black suits, shoes, ties and hats (if any) are required, with white shirts being the male standard. Of course, dress is unrevealing in the procession, but somewhat standardized in the funeral itself. Some matters of contemporary fashion and culture alter the acceptable ritual dress. While veils and hats were required in the past, they are now less likely even though the general rule is that the family’s grief should be contained and remain an ironically ‘public’ private grief in middle-class white society. Thus, sunglasses are considered bad manners, although videos from Florida and California suggest this is no longer a rigid proscription. In this case, they protect the revelation of intense emotion, thus relieving others’ shared distress, or may be associated with manly toughness or with military and police style, or conceal private thoughts from being revealed (some of which may be deemed inappropriate).

The *demeanor and the audience response* are consistent. The governing demeanor is sad, restrained, somewhat inflexible and unrelenting, slow in response, physically or somatically controlled, and one acts to “pay one’s final respects.” The theme of the modern funeral is restrained without jokes and humor, the talk is quiet, semi-formal, respectful, and full of honorifics. Animals are used as conveyances in urban funerals except in the rural small town west. Ironically, for the ninth point, there is no audience for this; all those viewing the procession are unintended and uninvited participants. There are passing cars, pedestrians, and people who look, but their focus of attention is fleeting and irrelevant to the participants in the string. These unseen, immediately-affected participants shaded by darkened windows, are silently proceeding through city streets, moving through space and time, altering the meaning of the drive for others, perhaps, those who in effect do not respond. The grief in the air is shared and converted into feelings of inconvenience. These people might be considered as the non-audience in that they choose not to be present, but are, regardless.

19. The silence is a cultural variation as I have seen a procession in Boston where traditional folk music was playing loudly from a brightly decorated car.

There are no *animals* visible in the procession, although dogs, cats, birds, or other pets may be riding in the vehicles in the procession. They do not feature in the procession, either on top of, leading, or prancing in the course of it. This varies in the Far West and Southwest where horses are a central part of the Sheriff's organization, and are used frequently for ceremonies, as well as for routine control of parades and demonstrations. Horses do take part in police funerals and are quite visible, but are not visible in public funerals.

Observations: Similarities and Differences

There are similarities and differences between the two funeral types, demonstrating the distinctive features of the police and private funeral and facilitating further discussion later in the paper of the nature of modern perambulatory celebrations (Falassi, 1987; cf. Marin, 1987). These similarities and differences convey a series of denotative points that distinguish the two types of formal celebrations.

The Logical Extension of the Semiology of Funerals

For purposes of illustration, I have tried to place the perambulatory celebration in the context of life and death (See Figure 1, next page). I draw on both descriptions, but clearly the Toronto procession is more detailed and is captured in part in video and stills from the day. Figure 1 below shows a preliminary array of codes and messages gathered within them, with a focus on the expansion of the differences within and between the citizen and police funeral. The primary concern now is to identify the ways in which the units of overt relevance can be noted and organized into domains of sign categories that resemble codes. Looking at these as arrayed in a metonymical fashion, or as parts of a whole performance, it is clear that they are framed metaphorically as well. The social effect of these ceremonies is that they play on both the internal contrasts between the units within the form, as well as the similarities and differences across them. The "private" funeral provides a contrast to the abiding character of public celebrations, and the features of the police funeral link it with both the ceremonial and the sacred, that is, the mysterious, awesome, dangerous, and distant factors that are both out of sight and powerful.

The relationships are diagrammed from left to right and branch outward to show contrasts. 'Society' or 'beings' is the head term from which 'live' branches out, and then 'dead' is used as a contrast. Live persons live in two social worlds, the everyday world or the secular world, and in the sacred or celebratory world of parades, etc. Those social objects considered dead reside in two worlds as well, those of the world of the buried and forgotten and the world of the yet-to-be-buried. The procession and funeral fill the liminal space between being dead but not buried, and the buried dead. The second break following the celebration of the dead is the distinction between military or police and citizen funerals. This is a contrast between the degree of formalization of ritual attending the funeral and the procession, taken as a whole. The distinction between the police and

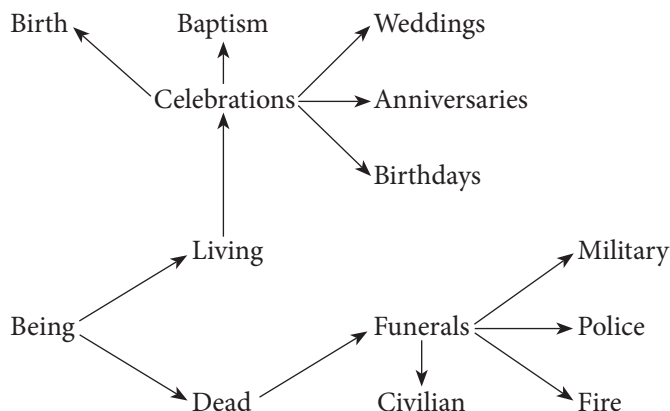


Figure 1. Funerals and Processions

all three kinds of funerals are collective representations that are about the unknown, the distant, awesome, and mysterious. This feature is indicated by the silence, the formality, the order, the emotional tone of the event, the mutuality of attention, and the sharp focus of attention and respect. The emotionality of the event is ironically indicated by the “unemotional” demeanor and body discipline shown by the participants. While within a given code, or contexts within which messages make sense or are given meaning, there are distinctive features, the codes and their analogical functions indicate how the messages in one coding system resemble those in the other coding system. The event, or the procession, thus has a distinguishable and distinctive form. The messages communicate consistent messages, at some level, about what is seen, what is felt, and what is not seen or is imagined.

Similarities and Differences

Consider further now the comparisons in both the similarities and differences between the two police funerals studied with formal, ritualized, non-military, non-celebrity funeral processions and celebrations.

There are some direct parallels or *similarities*: both types of funerals proceed in an orderly sequence, marking distance and pacing periodically; they move to a semi-sacred destination or target unencumbered by routine traffic signals, signs or rotaries, and have precedence over everyday traffic as a result of police escort. They have a mysterious, awe-inspiring, and emotionally-loaded aspect that is not entirely understandable. They are visible, public, focused, named, and known events of a recognizable familiar character. They are in some sense linked to ceremonial and sacred meanings with associated feelings. Attention, one might say, is “elsewhere,” with the invisible and sacred. They have clear beginning and endings, prior assemblages that are orderly and organized, i.e., openings, destinations, routes that are known and marked, and endings with associated rituals partings or closings. Both caravans move slowly through their routes that are made

accessible by traffic control, planning, and discussion. They move slowly and collectively, with mutual recognition a powerful aspect of the visible coordination. Cars in the caravan may mark their engagement in it by putting on their lights (this is a signal of unity when the procession streams through a red light or stop sign, or enters a freeway en masse). The primary distinctions are between the hearse, the following family cars, and the rest. The rituals themselves are hushed, the manner of speech surrounding the event is quiet, somber, formal, non-jocular, and punctuated with honorifics. Distinctive colors are only those between the black hearse and the other vehicles. They are visible, highly marked, and dramatized, mannered and stylish, therein obtaining a quiet demeanor and sound (with the exception of helicopters and bagpipes and drums); the primary vehicles are black, as are the costumes. The audience to the procession is a tacit presence and operates both mythically in regard to the role of the sacred elements and immediately in regard to those included. The demeanor is restrained and even somber.

There are also notable *differences* between the two social forms. There are no walkers accompanying the public funeral, and by protocol, they surround the hearse in a police funeral. The following walkers, a few on each side of the hearse, bring the flag and the hat of the fallen on cushions. In the police funeral, there is abundant, strident and loud sounds, often by bagpipes and drums, both large and small. The order is fixed. The sound is heard and followed by silence and its next appearance unknown to the participants. One pipe band usually leads off the procession, and another may bring up the end of the procession. This percussion marks the transition (Needham, 1967). The public funeral is silent. Even the *sounds* of accompanying motorcycles, if any, are muted. At the end of a police funeral, secondary notes of sacrifice such as having a radio call to a patrol car parked near or outside in the cemetery made to the dead officer (call means the officer is still on duty, and the call denies death), or firing a volley of shots in the air are performed. This indicates the sacrifice or communication between the sacred and the profane world through the intermediary of the victim (Hubert, Mauss, 1964). *Color* is significant and indicates important differences between the groups within the procession. The police funeral procession features uniforms that are well-adorned with medals, badges, shoulder patches, signs of rank, caps with emblems, and contrasting hat bands. They are not plain. Some formal uniforms require wearing gloves. The uniform trousers may be of distinctive colors with a visible bright stripe. The uniforms contrast with each other depending on the particular police organization, and with the civilians marching in the parade, and with the bagpipers in kilts and the honor guard in elaborate formalized costumes. Weapons are a part of the formal dress for Mounties, for example, and may be worn out of sight as a part of the on-duty uniform ensemble. Thus, there is variety: costumes, uniforms, dark suits, and outer dress. There are many flags in the police funeral, some displayed above the parade, some held aloft by marching honor guards, while some are displayed on uniforms as icons and badges. There are sometimes small flags on the fenders of the key vehicles to mark their role in the procession, but they are secular in nature. While the police funeral often attracts a respectful and engaged audience standings with focused attention on the procession, the public funeral goes largely unnoticed except for

those ensnarled in the resulting traffic obstructions. The absence of an audience in the police funeral is made dramaturgically relevant by the expressions and rigid posture and gaze (eyes straight ahead, head uplifted) and lack of concern for the audience. This, of course, is a key difference between funeral and celebratory parades where the interaction of the performers and the crowd is essential. The focus of the mourners is elsewhere, and upon the ceremony itself as it communicates to itself by its actions. In the police funeral, there are visible and important animals, namely dogs accompanying their handlers, and horses leading the parade. There are none featured in urban public funerals.

Additional Complexities

Figure 1 is a collection of codes and associated denotations are united metaphorically and then reframed as ceremonies that contain indexical (individual features) ceremonials (social organization) and sacred features (those referring to the higher order) that unify the observations presented (Rappaport, 1973). As Warner (1959) has pointed out, all such “levels” are communicated at the same time in symbols that have many features and emotional loadings. They are polyvalent or multivalent (Turner, 1969) in the sense of complex and overlapping meanings attached to the signs. This is yet another way of stating that they are both self-referential, pointing to and marking the occasion as well as pure symbols pointing to matters outside, above, elsewhere, and present by their absence. The question of levels of communication within a ceremony remains accepted, on the one hand, and on the other, a morass of inconsistent terminology (Valeri, 2014).

That is not to say there are no variations in funeral processions, but rather that codes are a way of highlighting that which dramatizes, and makes the nature of the social occasion visible and recognizable. They frame similarities in that they are set apart ecologically, temporally, and socially, marked by sound (absent or present), a common feature of rituals. Consider now the denotations and connotations within the 11 codes outlined in the previous discussion to help to further semiotically differentiate the codes.

Consider, then, the five codes used above and their internal differentiation.

The code of order, spacing, movement, and traffic management. The ordering of the units in the procession replicates a social scale of importance with the key escorts at front and rear, the hearse at the forefront following, and in the case of the police funeral, the uniformed participants are next, followed by non-uniformed officers of various sorts. Thus, military notions of rank order the sequence after the front-most units, those leading the procession, and/or guiding it. The spacing between the units is more consistent and maintained more easily since all traffic has restricted access to the police funeral parade route. Efforts are made to formally coordinate the differences in speed of the walkers, motorcyclists, and mounted officers. There are contrasting variations within and between the segments of the procession as denoted by variations in dress and stylistic movements within the units, e.g., members of band units, marchers, walkers, and occupants of vehicles. Movement is a contrast between orderly, measured, and tight formations (members of the RCMP or the Toronto Police, and musical bands), and the

amble of the civilians, other governmental civil servants, and non-uniformed officers. Conveyances vary in size, shape and purpose, and vary by marked and unmarked trucks, cars, and motorcycles. The hearse remains the central symbolic vehicle.²⁰ Traffic management itself is a dramaturgical exercise: it involves the closing off of streets in advance for the planned route of the processions, restricting entry to places and streets; guiding and directing traffic in visible and effective fashion is itself a dramatic performance; violating everyday traffic rules as a sign of both police power and the power of the sacred endeavor over the secular; altering traffic arbitrarily during the course of the processions, e.g., closing intersections without notice for long periods of time; breaking speed limits to assist the movement of the convey; and altering traffic patterns just to move participants from the central gathering places to the proper place to begin marching. The management of the movement includes the dispersal at the end of the event-directing traffic from the church or cemetery, and the buses and conveyances that return the marchers to central locations. While the funeral procession has a targeted destination at which a ceremony is performed, dispersal after the burial may be tedious and involve many points from which to which participants retreat. It might also be said that such major events call out for *post hoc* informal celebrations involving drinking, tales, and musings about the person honored, the occasion, and the job. These are a continuation of the movement and traffic control issues in the area surrounding the point of dispersal.

The code of sound shows a strong oppositional contrast between loud (drums, pipes, helicopters), soft (motorcycles, marching feet, other vehicles), and silent (marcher, the audience), with the punctuation of the police celebration by very loud and unpredictable sounds being characteristic and perhaps an essential feature. Notice that even very heavy duty vehicles of a utilitarian sort are quiet in stark contrast to the bagpipes and drums and the hovering whirl of the helicopters and the silence of the marchers. The variation in sound over the course of the police funeral is a dramaturgical matter as well as producing a variation in attention, that is, sharp, unexpected, and demanding and silence and undemanding of attention. Such variation has a more powerful effect on attention than does either constant silence or loud, persistent sound. There is a contrast also within the sounds of the types of noise, which is denotative, and music which is profoundly metaphoric in combining harmony and melody.

The code of color and dress. The predominant colors are navy blue and black which contrast sharply with the scarlet tunics of the RCMP. Dress shows a contrast between formal and informal style, with great detail seen in the case of formal wear. The elements

20. In two recent funerals of Boston firemen, the caskets were carried atop a pumper and held in place by ropes and held by fire men standing alongside the casket. This simulates the hearse with walkers used in police funerals. See:

National Volunteer Fire Council Funeral Procedures for Firefighters: A Resource Manual. 1992.

Sponsored by the United States Fire Administration Federal Emergency Management Agency. Available at: http://www.firehero.org/resources/departments/sops/funeral_procedures.pdf

Final Farewell to a Fallen Firefighter: A Basic Fire Department Funeral Protocol. Peters, William C. 1993. Fire Engineering, Saddle Brook, NJ 07662. Available at: http://www.harvard.ma.us/Pages/HarvardMA_Veterans/doccs/FireFighters_FinalFarewell.pdf

of the uniform are a fashion ensemble or a paradigm with denotative distinctions noted within parentheses. These are the associated elements: coats (formal uniform, others), hats (caps, broad brimmed Stetsons, bearskins, everyday wear), trousers (everyday/uniformed [Toronto police/ others/ RCMP yellow stripe]), kilts, footwear (every day wear boots/shoes; uniform boots/shoes, cavalry boots), weapons (visible and non-visible), emblems of achievement (rank, medals, badges, campaign stripes, or shoulder patches) worn on uniforms. There are also other conventionalized adornments associated with the RCMP uniform: the lanyard, the pistol, the exterior crossing leather belt, bright buttons, and gold trim. Again, military notions of rank stratify the participants even as they are unified in their mourning for a lost comrade. The demeanor and emotional tone is consistent: non-affected, neutral to sad, rigid, unmoving, stolid, resolved, and other-worldly which is contrasted with less-formally dressed units in the parade. The audiences for this sort of performance are those present on the street, differentiated by officers saluting each others, one's fellow officers and participants in the procession, and the world-wide media. The media presence can no longer be ignored as a feature in the planning and the presentation of such events.

The code of animals. Animals featured prominently in the Toronto procession in part because they were coded as indicators of the proximity of the sacred. Horses are powerful symbols that are associated with their role often as sacrificial beasts in combat and in riots, their role in the early history of the RCMP as a mounted gendarmerie in the West of Canada, especially in the provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, and their mysterious nature, serving as colleague, fellow officer, and a large, powerful animal. They echo the past and its connection with the emergence of national authority, governance, and Canadian patriotism. Dogs are more immediate colleagues, more secular in nature as their role is totemic of crime-fighting, identifying villains, chasing them, capturing and detaining them in fearlessly undertaking their assigned duties. They are faithful, cannot object verbally, reliably respond to command, and are family members in the households of their handlers. These dogs are icons of unwavering loyalty.

Observations

The analysis began with an overview of the funeral and related procession conducted in 1974, proceeded to a description of a recent and modern 2011 police funeral, and a public funeral. The police funerals were contrasted with the typical public funeral of a non-military character. A semiotic approach was introduced as a way of simplifying some of the complexities of funeral processions. Based on re-analysis and observations, 11 codes were presented: order, sound, space, movement, color, dress, demeanor, conveyances, audience(s), animals, and the management of traffic. These were presented diagrammatically in Figure 1 as one part of the major divisions in society between the living and the dead, and related celebrations, in particular to the transition from being pronounced dead to a socially-sanctioned death. The analysis of the internal differentiation within the codes unpacked them. Similarities and differences between the two police funerals were

less emphasized than the similarities and differences between the public funeral and the police funeral. It is clear that the police, military, and fire-service commemorations are a family of semi-sacred celebrations easily distinguished dramaturgically from ordinary funeral processions. They are all larger than life; collective public performances that play on the connection between the occupation and the society and its well-being, featuring massive, lumbering expensive vehicles, loud noises, huge flags often flying above all or dangling from cranes hovering and punctuating the procession, echoes of patriotism, honor, service, untainted heroism, and duty regardless of the nature of the actual death, and commanding public attention both proximally and in real and fantasy time through the international media, and social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and other social websites.

Several matters require consideration in the context of conclusions. What are some clues to the meanings of modern ceremonies? Some clues might be noted in comparing modern funerals with the funeral featured in *Police Work*. Does Goffman's (1983) analysis hold up concerning the banality of modern ceremonies? It is a tenuous claim, as the actual feelings of those involved are seldom studied closely in modern societies unlike in preliterate ones (Turner, 1969). Certainly, the multiplex levels of communication that are being displayed suggest a very powerful, concentrated attempt to wrap together collective feelings, material matters (costumes, vehicles, instruments, animals), social organization (the police as an organization) and something beyond the occasion, unseen, unverifiable, and distant (these points are taken from Warner, 1959). The activity accompanying the funeral may or may not include references about or to spirits or holy figures. But the display does communicate the size and density of the police-as-a-group; it is an epideictic or self-reflexive display (Rappaport, 1967: 26). As Bateson (1972: 178) has suggested, such occasions feature "mood signs" or indications of shared mutual feeling, and an open display of this. These are easily identified such as the wave that circumnavigates the stadium at sporting events, applause when a face is shown on the big screen above the basketball court, and singing "Take me out to the Ball Game" during the seventh inning stretch at a baseball game. In Boston, victory is noted by singing "Sweet Caroline," the connection to the game, the Red Sox, or the city is unclear. Clearly, the audiences to which the display is directed towards varies. If it is true that ceremonies operate in some way by reframing "mood-signs" or expressions given and given off as celebrating the unseen and the unknown, rather than the here and now, is it true that modern gatherings are unified in their reflections upon and reactions to others' mood signs? This might be a connection between information or dense facts, or differences that make a difference (Bateson, 1972), and the repetitive, redundant elements of a ceremony. In other words, the emotional or phatic aspects of the communication, that is, the socio-emotional aspect, cannot fully cover the anomalies that arise in the course of the ceremony (Valeri, 2014). Several examples of this are noted above. The traffic contingencies that separate and divide the caravan arise, yet it must be seen as connected metaphorically as a cavalcade of cars in a semi-sacred procession. The police are a metaphoric unit, yet they cannot march together consistently, and there are evident status differences between the RCMP, the Toronto po-

lice, and other police units, as well as between the honor guard, the cavalry, and the rest. These are the anomalies that lead to change in the ritual itself (Goffman, 1974: 345–77; cf. Turner, 1969).

Another issue of interest is the contrast between the police and the public funeral. These are revealing of the claim of “sacred-ness” or the quasi-sacred status of the modern police. The distinctive features, which are listed above, are the signs of collective representations, representations of something else, those about death, patriotism, occupational honor, and sacrifice. In the public funeral, there is an absence of these qualities displayed overtly. Certainly, the other functions listed above about the functions of a funeral held are quite visibly. The question arises, though, whether these are sacred events in the sense of featuring religious sanctity, although not in the parade, but perhaps in the ceremony. In the Toronto parade and funeral, there were no prayers, no priest or clergy leading the service, and the speeches were delivered only by police colleagues and the wife of the dead officer.

These analyses pose questions that have long preoccupied scholars of cultural sociology and comparative sociology. Do such ceremonies blur and confound the social reality of everyday life and reduce the “gap” between experience and the ideal, namely, the normative and the imagined? How is this accomplished if not with reference to the resources of traditional beliefs, values, and norms? This ever-present gap (Bateson, 1972 following Korzybski, 1933) is one between the territory and the representation of that territory as a map. The first is the actual physical reality of a place and time, and the other is a symbolic, miniaturized version of it.

Structurally, modern society has a variety of memories, myths, and a repertoire of boundaries and status-systems. How are they conflated in performances? Anthony P. Cohen (1985) has challenged the myths of equalitarianism, inevitable conformity, the simplicity of face-to-face societies, and, of course by extension, modern, post-industrial societies. In effect, his argument is that the overt symbolization of unity and conformity always masks complexity, status hierarchies, and exclusionary boundaries. There are reversals that sustain mysterious outward boundaries, some of which are masks. Even the past is symbolized differentially to maintain the appearance of conformity as transformation occurs (this is also analyzed in detail by Warner, 1959). Modern police parades mask the status hierarchy within and between the police groups, the rank and specialization that exists, and the medals, awards, and achievements of individual officers, including the one who has died. They also mask the nature of the death and elevate the unity of all, even if the cause of death is dubious (with respect to the decisions made that lead to the death), or the nature of the death (suicide is rarely pronounced for police officers). What do “on duty” and “in the line of duty” mean when policing is claimed to be a profession and a superordinate role? What is the relevance of the achievements of the officer? Reference is made, for example, to being a “role model” and demonstrating a “shared commitment to duty and to service” at the Toronto funeral. The appearance of a maintained unity, as Cohen remarks, may be “misleading and false” (p. 40). They may not commemorate unity and a glorified past, but ambivalence toward policing and police

(Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz, 1991). The large Canadian funeral parade might be an example of what Freud called, in interpersonal terms, “over determined”, or large and glorious as a result of negative public and media reactions to policing in Toronto. As Rappaport observes as well, the analysis of a ritual, in part because it speaks to matters out of sight and unverifiable, ought to distinguish the “operational environment,” the visible parts and consequences of the observed rituals, and from the “cognized environment” or awareness of the actors involved in such a ritual. In this regard, the operational environment is one of uniformity, equality, simplicity, and conformity. Police funerals operate as manifestations of the power of collective will over death (Warner 1959: 488–9).²¹ It may not be necessary for the participants to share the meaning of the symbols in depth or be connected to them explicitly to larger questions (Keesing, 2012).

While semiotics has been charged with being an approach that lacks the capacity to analyze change, it is possible to imagine a work based on semiosis, or changes in the emotional content of the signs displayed in the procession. This could be accomplished by charting the effects of order on catharsis and emotional investment and involvement of the audience(s), or the effects of sequences of action by units, e.g., drum and bugle corps, marching officers, or an elaborate casket or cortege. Such considerations are more salient in parades than in funerals. These are diachronic analyses; the present is synchronic in large part, viewing the procession as a string of units analyzed by codes, and differentiations within the codes.

In modernity, there appear to be ripple effects stimulating large public ceremonies that are not realized as in traditional formats and occasions. For example, a young boy asked to for cards from his heroes, police and firefighters, and a convoy of police from several states appeared at his home in Virginia (with gifts from 80 agencies) (*Boston Globe*, Dec 21, 2012). After the Boston Marathon bombing, an *ad hoc* race was organized as a fund-raiser (*Boston Globe*, April 16, 2013). A foundation was begun for the victims, and it achieved enough fame to produce a couple of young men making fraudulent claims (*Boston Globe*, June 11, 2014). The death of any person publicized in the media produces secular piles of objects, flowers, dolls, toys of various sorts, cards, mini-posters, and pictures. These *ad hoc* celebrations without ritual are modern versions of the sacred, and the reflexivity touched off by the modern celebrations is diffuse. But it does not arise from beliefs and feelings produced by association with totemic objects; it is visual, and the signs are mood signs rather than icons. Doubtless, these ripple effects are amplified by social media with has many portals, audiences, and channels of communication, textual, iconic, e.g., Google Maps, Google Earth, pictorial, aural (voice mail), and videos. What is clear from the effects of tweeting and “trending,” false and misleading ideas, pictures, and songs can stimulate simulated crises, disasters, and celebrity tragedies.

21. The June 10th 2014 funeral in New Brunswick featured some several thousand RCMP officers marching by a fixed camera point (shown on YouTube) for more than 20 minutes. Given the small posting of officers in this rather remote Maritime province, it is clear that officers travelled considerable distances to participate. It is possible that the funeral occasion involving the burial and celebration of the death of three officers rather than one, mobilized official action to have more officers in attendance.

Modern police funerals are likely to be captured in sound, pictures, and videotaped by amateurs and professionals, a result of the light, inexpensive camera equipment that has been developed in the last 15–20 years. This means, of course, that these videos will be found on YouTube and other social media. Comments on such events are often “tweeted”, that is, written about as they unfold from participants or observers, and then “re-teweeted”, circling the world in seconds. These visuals can then be reproduced, framed and reframed, edited, “photo-shopped,” stored, archived, reviewed, and assembled with other narrative frames, e.g., in fictionalized movies, reality shows, news programs, documentaries, and as research. These occasions then have the potential for new associated realities such as mini-ceremonies near the place of the murder or death of an officer, e.g., the Viet Nam Memorial (Wagner-Pacifici, Schwartz, 1991).

The media and the social media now amplify the effects of official and semi-official commemorations. After the Boston marathon bombing in April, 2013, used, worn running shoes tied together as *memento mori* were placed in Copley Square near the site of the bombing. These were surely ambiguous expressions with diverse contents, and were converted as signs of the sacred only through a long string of associations. They were later warehoused, catalogued, and kept. Duck (forthcoming) has reported mini-monuments to murdered drug dealers composed of running shoes, flowers, dolls, and candles. These became the subject of gossip and newspapers stories. These might be called secular celebrations about persons somewhere between the living and the dead. Yet another layering of meaning or re-framing can arise from reflexive versions of celebrations such as “flash” occasions where people gather for an ad hoc mini-ceremony celebrating little other than the gathering itself. These events, once filmed, are posted and re-posted on various websites such as Facebook, for example. They can then be “photo-shopped,” edited, tagged, assembles put into slide shows, and so on. Thus, public ceremonies have several transformed lives, and these lives are the result of systematic editing and distribution and amateur efforts at the same ceremonies. Public events then penetrate deeply into private lives, into any or every hand-held device, computer, phone, video camera, and including human beings with a visual memory. These images can then be stored, recycled, re-framed, and put in new contexts, changing the meaning and significance of the visuals. These processes produce what might be called the illusion of unity.

There is a sense, then, as Alexander (2004) argues, that modern ritualized celebrations are not fused as in pre-literate societies, but text, audience, and performers are linked in a more complex and perhaps fragile fashion. Modernity is not so much reproduced but enacted through symbolization and the responses to it. The police as an occupation, along with the fire service and the military, tap into archaic feelings and associations of violence, conquest, war, and unity in the face of an enemy, and these associations are increasingly blurred as war becomes “peace-keeping”. The police are “serving customers” and act as partners with community groups. The fire service is, in slang terms, “fire fighters,” but is less active and much more effective as the number and kinds of fires decline rapidly. “Firefighting” is replaced by “fire management”, guided by standardized, rationalized, written strategies and tactics, and by insurance and building requirements

that reduce the risk, costs, and ferocity of fires. How is public admiration honoring the fulsome emotions attached to such occupations linked to the rationalization of modern risk-taking? (Desmond, 2007). Understanding this honoring sociologically remains a challenge. These particular ceremonies provide windows into the slow transition into multi-faceted modernity. Their sustainability can be traced in part to the emotions that are aroused by such events, their display of visible, conventional symbols of governance, their organization, power, sound, color, stylized activity, and their collective, public nature. They echo the sacred, but as Bellah et al. (2008) suggest, this echo may be more a matter of displaying modern civility or participating in an aspect of “civil religion” rather than a rehearsal of shared norms, beliefs and values.

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Полиция и публичные похороны

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Эмиль Дюркгейм и его последователи обратили наше внимание на роль коллективных представлений в дописьменных обществах, таких как похоронные процессия и шествия. Эти подробные и изящные исследования прошли проверку временем и стали классическими. Исследования Ирвинга Гофмана позволяют поставить вопрос о том, способны ли эти события наряду с памятью и традицией стать основанием социальной солидарности в двадцать первом веке. Возможно, социальная солидарность возникает в результате именно этих событий, а не является отражением существующих норм, ценностей и верований. Если это верно, то каким образом формируется эта новая форма солидарности в ходе этих событий? У нас не так много подробных исследований современных публичных событий, кроме классических работ Уорнера «Живые и мертвые» (1959) и руссоистских рассуждений Белла о роли «гражданской религии». Эти идеи были невнятно сформулированы и направлены на установление связи между социальной структурой и функцией при помощи этнографических свидетельств. Данная статья начинается с описания похорон офицера полиции в 1974 году (Manning, 1977). Я сравниваю это событие с аналогичными похоронами в 2011 году и пытаюсь ответить на два вопроса: Чем они отличаются друг от друга? И что мы можем понять о современности, анализируя эти коллективные представления? Отличаются ли в публичной сфере похороны офицеров полиции от похорон других людей (не таких заслуженных как военные или те, кто служил в пожарной охране)? В статье используется семиотический анализ публичных и полицейских похорон как способ выявления особенностей современных процессий и торжеств. Коды, используемые в разных процессиях, говорят о том, что различия носят существенный характер. Эти различия и их роль в социальной интеграции современных обществ определяют необходимость дальнейших исследований.

Ключевые слова: похороны, полиция и публичное, церемонии, ритуал, процессия, коды, семиотика