

**Achieving trust through accountability:  
the challenge for contemporary policing –  
and drawing on the past to shape the future.**

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## Preamble

I have lived for over 30 years in the UK and over 40 years in the Netherlands and have visited the USA on numerous occasions – for vacations, teaching a semester at *SUNY / State University of New York (Albany)*, conferences and seminars on management and on criminal justice and visiting *P. D.s / “Police Departments”* – while I also have family there. Those are the three societies I mainly focus on in my work: but Belgium, Germany and France are also close neighbours of the Netherlands while part of Belgium is Dutch speaking which makes it more accessible for me. And each of the four countries has its own distinct criminal justice and policing system which makes you think comparatively. For instance, the Netherlands does not have jury trials but only trials with magistrates while most prison sentences are short in a system based primarily on rehabilitation.

My wife Corry (from Cornelia) is Dutch and we had at first lived and worked in the UK but after a while we went to live in the Netherlands originally just for a few years. I taught in two Dutch universities and when I gained tenure at the second, and had also been granted research access to the Amsterdam Police, I ended up staying. One reason for moving to the Netherlands had been that that I had applied to the Home Office in the UK in the early 1970s to conduct research in a British police force: but my application was turned down. Then during a periodic visit to the Netherlands I was granted brief access to the police in Amsterdam and later after I had moved to the Netherlands I was able to spend five years in the Amsterdam force on three projects (Punch: 1979 & 1985). To a degree, and like anthropologists, the police had become my “tribe” while I retain an affinity with policing: but I have also written of its dark side (Punch: 1985 & 2009).

Here I confine myself here largely to the USA and UK. Throughout my career I’ve discussed policing and relevant issues with Ralph Crawshaw and Geoffrey Markham (formerly senior officers, Essex Police, UK) whom I have known since the early 1970s: and both have been influential in my publications. For the last two decades this has also been the case with Frank Hoogewoning and Auke van Dijk regarding Dutch policing within which they have long been involved as policy advisors. See the Appendix for a profile on all four of us. I have taught at diverse police academies on various subjects in the Netherlands,

the UK and the USA; have contributed to a range of conferences as presenter and/or chair within the EU - (e. g. Council of Europe in Strasbourg and the United Nations in Vienna<sup>1</sup>) - but also in Georgia, Hong Kong, Serbia and Japan. Also I have given presentations in various oversight agencies including the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland in Belfast and the then Independent Police Complaints Commission in London. I also had a useful and friendly contact with several British chief officers – including Colin Cramphorn (West Yorkshire Police) and Tom Williamson (formerly Nottinghamshire Police) – who aided in me in various ways including with publications. Colin had been Deputy and Acting Chief Constable of the *PSNI* / “Police Service of Northern Ireland” before taking over at West Yorkshire. They both represented chief officers who were “reflective practitioners”, were open about the dilemmas in policing and were well read on policing and criminal justice. Tom in particular was involved in several publications after retirement and taught on policing at Portsmouth University which was strong on that topic.<sup>2</sup> Alas, Colin and Tom both passed away at a relatively young age and I attended their funerals.

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<sup>1</sup> The UN has periodically a plenary session in Europe and that is held in Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> *The Guardian* (2007, 14 March) wrote an obituary of Tom. “Tom Williamson. Moderniser whose reforms changed police procedures ---- There was a time, at the start of the 1990s, when it seemed that the British police service, reeling from the disclosure of investigative malpractice that began with the release of the Guildford Four, had lost the capacity to reform itself, and was unlikely to survive in its existing form. That such predictions proved inaccurate is in no small measure down to the psychologist and detective Tom Williamson, who has died aged 59 of mesothelioma. The former deputy chief constable of Nottinghamshire, he was a central figure in police modernisation for more than two decades. Building from the analysis of mishandled interrogations and miscarriages of justice contained in his 1990 Kent University PhD, Williamson was at the forefront of a radical shift in police interview techniques and training, determined that the one-time emphasis on "getting a cough" at any cost should be replaced by a neutral search for reliable evidence. He was a committed Christian, and the drive towards what he called "ethical policing" dominated his working life, from his time as a young officer in the early 1970s in A10, the Metropolitan police anti-corruption branch set up by Sir Robert Mark. After retiring in 2001, he became a senior research fellow at Portsmouth University's Institute of Criminal Justice Studies - Britain's biggest criminology department and a body that, 10 years earlier, he had been instrumental in establishing. At the time of his death, he was working on several academic pieces and books, and friends report that he retained his sweeping intellectual curiosity to the end. Aside from his role as a thinker, writer and reformer, Williamson was an operational detective par excellence. In the Met, where he reached the rank of commander before leaving for Nottingham in 1995, he spent several years in charge of the country's busiest pool of murder squads.”

For a number of years I became involved in a summer school in the Netherlands on Criminal Justice with students from the American University at Washington D. C. Professor Dick Bennett was in charge and he and others including some Dutch police officers organized a two week programme for them. They were accommodated at Nyenrode<sup>3</sup> where some sessions were held and the Haarlem Police organized various sessions for them. These included visiting a prison; once attending a major exercise in riot training<sup>4</sup>; on the shooting in an IRA attack in the Netherlands of two young men in a UK registered car who turned out to be Australian tourists; and being taken out to sea on a customs boat; and being addressed by a high official from the Intelligence services. There was also a visit to The Hague to be shown around the International Criminal Court and on one occasion sitting in on a plenary session with the 15 judges. The third week was in the UK and was hosted by the Essex Police with the support of Geoffrey – by then a senior officer - and with accommodation at the force's training centre. The students had a number of presentations on UK and Essex policing; they could shoot live ammunition on the range; take rides as a passenger on the skid training pad; and have a meeting in a court room with a senior judge in full robes. There was a visit to the local prison which I attended three times with Dick and his students. On the third occasion the Warden met us with a young child on her arm: a sign of the times. Back then – the late 1980s and early 1990s – the police in Haarlem and Essex were open and highly cooperative and both put on a good show. It helped that I knew Dick, people in Haarlem and Geoffrey in Essex while the visits were most valuable for the American students of whom some were abroad for the first time. I suspect that it would be more difficult now to arrange a programme like that.

In my initial contact with police officers at the University of Essex in the early 1970s they were all tall males often with military experience in National Service or in the Army as professional soldiers. The latter were attracted to

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<sup>3</sup> Nyenrode was originally a private business school but was granted a semi-academic status in the 1970s and gained university status in 1982.

<sup>4</sup> Army recruits from a local barracks were given overalls and old fruit and vegetables to throw at the riot squad who had water cannon, snatch squads and armoured tractors to remove barriers. There were several scenarios enacted throughout the day and some over-enthusiastic “rioters” were grabbed by the snatch squad. Such exercises are not without risk and at the ones I attended there was usually a couple of injuries.

policing partly because it provided accommodation for their family but former military personnel are not always suitable for policing. The enlightened Essex police chief of the time wanted select officers to attend university to learn about contemporary society: and this was original and exceptional back then. After some initial adjustment issues to academia the officers typically became solid and committed students as they were mature, disciplined and viewed the degree as of value in their functions and possibly later. It was implicitly assumed that they would return to the force but the Chief Constable had not made that a condition. Back then in a county force such as Essex there was a strong feeling of being an occupational community where the Chief had accommodation in the Headquarters building, most officers came from Essex, there were police houses and there were various prominent social activities such as a marching band and sport. There were even licensed bars in some stations which would be unthinkable in the USA and the Netherlands. But as a force bordering London and with a long coastline, many harbours and several airports Essex Police had an interesting range of urban, rural and international challenges including three plane hijacks at Stansted Airport.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, there was an attractive feature of policing in the UK in that an officer could “retire” after 30 years with a decent pension and have a second – or even third – career.

Also back then there was a strong drinking culture in policing generally as with other predominantly male institutions. And there were few female personnel and these were often initiated with the station stamp on their backside: and their policing tasks were limited. There was also an extended formal hierarchy – with nine levels from constable to chief constable<sup>6</sup> - but the

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<sup>5</sup> There have been three hijackings of planes which were diverted to Stansted Airport in Essex. Stansted is what is known as the “designated destination” for plane hijackings in the UK. It is close to London; is spacious with an area for a hijacked plane; and is close to RAF airfields which can rapidly mobilize planes to accompany hijacked planes. Moreover, the Essex Police and other emergency services have trained for such an eventuality. All three hijackings have been resolved through negotiation. Geoffrey has attended all three but in three ranks and with different roles: at the last one in 2000 – which lasted three days - he was “Gold” Commander. Operations in UK policing are based on the “gold” role for strategy; “silver” for implementation (there can be several silvers for various parts of a complex operation); and on a number of “bronze” commanders for diverse ancillary tasks.

<sup>6</sup> Constable, sergeant, inspector, chief inspector, superintendent, chief superintendent, assistant chief constable, deputy chief constable and chief constable.

former chief constable of Essex, Sir John Nightingale, used to say that the most important people in the police organization were the constables out on the streets. That was not only also because they were a visible symbol of law and order but also because they were typically the first to attend a call which could range from trivial to major. And how they behaved could be vital to how a case developed and how the police response was judged by the public, the media and the courts.

Although I deal below mainly with senior officers below I spent several years in Amsterdam with patrol officers and district detectives. And quite often simply nothing was happening at night in Amsterdam - except for the red-light district which only started to get lively after midnight - and it was deadly boring. But you cannot convey boredom and when nothing happens. Then most of the time it was never clear what a call (a "shout" in UK police slang) involved until you arrived at the scene. And there can be major incidents – fires, plane or train crashes, road accidents, shootings, bombings, etc. - where street officers are the first on the scene.<sup>7</sup> Nowadays call-centres are more sophisticated and try to extract as much information as possible but there also remains the uncertainty and the importance of being a first responder. However, a major issue here in this work is that police are withdrawing from the streets in the UK: and also in the Netherlands.

If we move fast forward a couple of decades to when I was involved with the British Senior Command Course – for prospective "chief officers" (Assistant, Deputy or Chief Constable) - then nearly everyone on the course already had a degree with one even having a PhD, had worked outside policing for a while and on joining the police had been fast tracked to high rank as chief superintendent. Some were in charge of a major specialist unit or a large policing area with some 1000 personnel: that would be considered a "large" force in the USA. On that course I overheard two officers talking and one had been in charge of the Derby – the major horse race of the year with royalty attending – multiple times: and the other was in charge of Trafalgar Square - in the centre of London and teeming with revellers on New Year's night - for nine

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<sup>7</sup> For instance, in 1992 in a new suburb of Amsterdam with a small, temporary police station an El Al 747 cargo plane which had lost two engines literally dropped out of the sky on to a block of flats which were engulfed in flames from the kerosene. This was very close to the station and the officers had to rush out and try to evacuate people from the flats on both sides of an inferno and with parts of the burning flats collapsing (Punch et al: 2015, 115-6).



years. So most had a varied range of operational experience. The main difference with the 1970s was that there were many female officers some of whom went later to become a “chief officer”. One female officer told me that she had to work particularly hard as she was not only a fast track entrant but also a woman which was a double stigma back then. One or two officers on the course preferred not to seek promotion.<sup>8</sup> For in order to move to the chief officer level the candidate had to have experience in another force before applying for promotion: these were sometimes known as “butterflies” who flitted in and out of a force until they could move on. But with joint careers – in policing or separate occupations – and regarding the children’s schooling and also perhaps the high price of housing elsewhere if the family moved, there was a tendency for one of the couple to commute which was unthinkable previously.

To a large extent this was a new generation compared to the 1970s and while a degree is not a necessary requirement for high police performance these officers had adjusted to a multi-cultural society, to cultural and faith diversity, to community outreach and to cases involving international policing. They also had to be good at budgeting and dealing with the media while some spoke foreign languages. Doubtless some older or more traditional officers would find fault with that new generation but in my contact with them – in the classroom and socializing outside it – I became impressed with their occupational record and also their willingness to learn. But then in the last two decades there were multiple pressures on senior and chief officers in the UK – along with a spate of scandals - which will become evident below: and with some forces having to “sell the silver”, the horses and even the HQ building in successive rounds of swingeing budget reductions.

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<sup>8</sup> In one force I was told of a female chief superintendent who was considered excellent but who avoided the senior command course when it was suggested to her as she preferred to stay at her current level. She was wary of encountering even more abuse and discrimination at that higher and more exposed level than she had already experienced in her career. This is an unfortunate side-effect where capable women lower their aspiration level when they could probably have been a more than sound chief officer.

## Addendum

One of the most popular British TV crime and policing series – and there are many such series of varying quality including endlessly repetitive drivel – is *Happy Valley* (BBC TV): there were three series, 2012-2022). It has various themes but it is located in a small town in West Yorkshire which was probably a cohesive community while it is in attractive countryside. But the mills, factories and mines have gone and the place now has diverse problems and various local “villains” (crooks) of whom one is a vicious killer. The main character is a female sergeant - Catherine Cawood - in her fifties with a wealth of knowledge about former criminal cases and crooks and who has the ability to see through anyone’s vague or false statement. The killer plays a major role in her personal and professional life leading to a dramatic “High Noon” climax between the two of them. Above her in policing are senior police personnel who are status conscious and keen on specialisms and technology but are rather distant. And the young officers around her are not very bright or are uncertain or want to become a detective too early in their career. In the opening scene of the third series – now in her late fifties – Catherine is called to a reservoir where drainage has exposed two decayed bodies. As she walks back from viewing their remains across the mud she encounters two forensic specialists in white overalls who say condescendingly that they will sort out the identification. As she passes them she casually tells them who the two victims are and when they went missing.

The acting is brilliant and the actors and the series have won diverse awards. It is, then, entertainment but like some novels, plays, films and music it is open to diverse interpretations. It can also be taken as a reflection of the state the UK is currently in with much of the South East flourishing and much of the North neglected while the once solid social institutions – such as health, education and social work – have been systemically emaciated. Then this former (presumed) cohesive Yorkshire community has been taken over by outsiders who are distant from the local society and who import urban problems such as drug use. But also it can be perceived as the traditional and locally geared craft of policing – so graphically sketched by Egon Bittner and others (see below) - has been fatally undermined indicating that policing is losing its way with weak local knowledge and superiors divorced from the

street level. And that Susan, and others officer like her, has become almost an irritant to the hierarchy and a fossil on the streets. When she retires she avoids the party put on for her and walks out of the building as if this is no longer the cohesive police community she had originally joined.

## Introduction

This paper is about policing: about where it came from and developed, about change and research but especially about the predicament it is now in with regard to two societies – the USA and UK. In particular, this paper leans on the key concept of *trust* in policing: and on achieving and maintaining it. However, for some *accountability* is the most fundamental value as without it there can be no genuinely “democratic” policing which has to be firmly based on accountability under the rule of law (Markham and Punch: 2007 a & b). But then accountability in turn generates *trust* for its pivotal importance in lubricating the actual relationship between police and its publics: and also between police and the agencies closely related to it including prosecutions and the courts. The significance of both crucial concepts will become evident below because policing depends to a considerable extent on the legitimacy of its actions and the consent of the public. However, when police agencies shift to a hard repressive mode - and / or when serious police misconduct occurs – that generates alienation with police being at times viewed as a hostile army of occupation. Then I have spent – like many researchers in this field – a great deal of time in police forces and while they can be viewed from the outside as monolithic formal organizations based on discipline and the law they are from the inside typically tribal and messy. There are diverse sub-tribes which go their own way within a competition for results and a lack of mutual cooperation. There can also be hostility to outsiders, manipulation of data, patterns of goofing off and mechanisms of exclusion internally for those who do not “fit in”: and a prolonged cover-up when something goes seriously wrong. Then policing can be influenced by fads and fashions within its social-political environment: and this can be contentious in an increasingly divisive world within which standpoints can fluctuate rapidly while there can be - as with other professionals, celebrities and people in the news – a torrent of vile abuse from social media.

Clearly many other key factors are important than the two above but trust is crucial for when trust is lost in a key institution – as with a government, social agency, religion or policing - it is difficult to restore it. Yet the two of the police systems I shall discuss – the USA and UK – are losing or have lost it. This is not only related to diverse failures – some institutional, some segmental

within the institution and some indisputably criminal - but also to certain societal and institutional developments impacting on policing. I am writing this as someone with long experience of researching, teaching and advising on policing in a range of societies; with the good fortune of gaining access to many leading scholars and police practitioners from the 1970s onwards; and being able to draw on the experience and acumen of supportive colleagues in diverse societies.

I am not using “trust” with regard to the general view of people on public policing for some express views in surveys or the media but without any face-to-face experience or involvement with the police while others are prejudiced against police irrespective of police performance. Rather I am focusing on trust as a significant factor regarding people approaching – or not approaching – police and in the former their interactional experience of the encounter as when they are giving information to police, requesting it or being questioned as a witness, suspect or detainee. Of key importance in that interaction is that police have been granted the lawful right to use force - including fatal force – and can deprive people of their freedom. Furthermore, they can enter people’s homes to search their private premises; can gather information about people; can work clandestinely and carry out “sting” operations; and they can make intimate inspections of people’s bodies.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, they can have border control and / or customs duties and / or functions related to agriculture, traffic, court appearances, within schools and attending major events including sporting ones, dealing with demonstrations and coping with counter-terrorism. The scope of their tasks and duties has expanded in recent decades including dealing with transnational crime, cyber-crime, illegal immigration, people trafficking and war crimes. Policing has, then, become *glocal* with transnational crime having both an international and a local impact while standard, daily policing still has to continue. In essence, I am conveying that policing is

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<sup>9</sup> In the later 1970s I conducted research on policing in the bustling “red-light” district of Amsterdam which had prostitution, bars, nightclubs along with many muggings and especially flourishing drug dealing. Every suspect brought to the station was strip searched for drugs and had to show he had nothing hidden on his body including in his anus. As it was a male only station a female officer had to come from another station to search women in custody. (Punch: 1979)

complex, constantly shifting and can be an institution for justice and supporting citizens but also one for deviancy and even serious crime.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, there are two influential templates with one for public institutions, which also covers policing, and one specifically penned for policing.

- The first are the *Nolan Principles* which are the desired pillars underpinning leadership in public service institutions – including policing – and these are: “Selflessness: Integrity: Objectivity: Accountability: Openness: Honesty and Leadership”.
- The second are *Peels’ Principles* for the Metropolitan Police of London which was founded in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel who was then the Home Secretary.<sup>11</sup> The officers became known as “Bobbies” from Peel’s first name “Robert”. Those principles have been attributed to Peel but were probably written by someone else later (van Dijk, Hoogewoning and Punch: 2015: 42-4).

I shall return to these influential lists below but clearly they are both highly important guidelines and can still be referred to as of value in policing. Indeed, the Principles have been widely quoted in police forces in diverse societies. But it would be naïve to think that all police agencies adhere to them all of the time.

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<sup>10</sup> In certain societies no-one trusts the police as when it is a repressive tool of the state as it was in Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union and in other dictatorial societies. This was also the case in parts of Europe post-WWII which were under Soviet control such as Eastern Germany and Poland (Appelbaum: 2012). In Georgia (Caucasia), for instance, the traffic police were long notorious for demanding bribes and if anyone protested he or she had to pay the bribe and the fine for the ostensible offence: but that was only part of wider corrupt practices in Georgian society. Now that Georgia wishes to join the European Union / “EU” the Police Force has fired the entire Traffic Section and replaced it with officers who are supposed to refuse all bribes. This is one of the contentious issues for formerly authoritarian, bribe rife societies wishing to join the EU and which have to change their culture and structure in police, enforcement agencies and governance for acceptance on the route to EU membership.

<sup>11</sup> “Scotland Yard” was the original location in central London of the Met from 1890: then the “New Scotland Yard” premises opened in 1967 and later in a new location after 2014. The MPS has become the largest force in the UK with around 43,000 employees and it polices most of Greater London with a population of over 8 million.

For one of the major themes in my work has been deviance and crime in institutions and organizations and that theme also applies to policing although it is ostensibly an institution fundamentally based on law, order, transparency and above all accountability.<sup>12</sup> But when police officers, a police unit or a police force gets into trouble – including truly deep trouble - then these are the two key sets of principles to return to in order to re-establish trust through accountability.

1. To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.
2. To recognize always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
3. To recognize always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing cooperation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.
4. To recognize always that the extent to which the cooperation of the public can be secured diminishes proportionately the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.
5. To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the

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<sup>12</sup> For instance, there are major companies with excellent reputations and which are influential institutions in their respective societies. Yet they can face civil and even criminal charges which can lead to convictions or heavy fines as for transgressions of EU laws or the laws of other societies. For example, the iconic German company – Volkswagen, which is a major global player in the automobile industry – was heavily fined in 2017 when “a US federal judge ordered Volkswagen to pay a \$2.8 billion criminal fine for rigging diesel-powered vehicles to cheat on government emissions tests”. And there followed other cases including criminal trials in Germany. And major banks in a number of countries have also run into serious difficulties: while some companies have been involved in corporate manslaughter cases following culpable deaths related to their products as with planes or vehicles. The point being that many executives – as at Volkswagen - have been involved in dubious, deviant and criminal conspiracies for some time and went along with them, concealed them, rationalized them and denied them in public or in the courts (Punch: 1996 & 2000).

substance of individual laws, by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing, by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour, and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.

6. To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public cooperation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or to restore order, and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective. To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
7. To recognize always the need for strict adherence to police-executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary of avenging individuals or the State, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty.
8. To recognize always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.

## **Part One: USA Policing**

The USA is held to be the richest country in the world but with a wide discrepancy in wealth and income. There remain in certain US communities high levels of crime, violence and shootings but also of deep poverty and high urban decay.<sup>13</sup> Importantly it has long been maintained that US policing has displayed in certain P. D.s engrained corruption, high levels of violence

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<sup>13</sup> One of the most graphic, and at times moving, depictions of a dilapidated high-crime area in the USA is in the TV series *The Wire* based on Baltimore. David Simon was a key player in several publications and TV series on Baltimore with an emphasis on poverty and decay; on crime, including organized crime, and corrupt law enforcement; and on highly devious city politics. Baltimore had earlier a flourishing harbour until much trade by sea shifted to the West Coast and cross-Atlantic passenger ships gave way to jet flights: both had a major negative impact on the city with areas of high deprivation and crime.



including deadly violence by beatings or shootings, sexual bias and systemic racism. For example, the recent case in early 2023 of Tyre Nichols (see below) is truly appalling not just because Tyre, the Black victim, was apparently innocent of any offence but also because police brutality – and lethal public aggression against Blacks and ethnic minorities - has been a constant factor in the USA for a very long time. Historically in the USA there were grim images of the lynching or burning of Blacks that led to no police intervention or court convictions. In particular, this gross racism became visually evident when almost anyone could record incidents live with a handheld video camera as with the 1991 prolonged police beating of a Black man, Rodney King, by a group of police officers in Los Angeles.

Someone had recorded the disturbing King incident from his apartment and, when the authorities showed no interest in it, he passed it to a TV station. The graphic images on TV caused widespread concern: yet this crystal-clear material of prolonged and excessive group violence against a Black man in LA led to no police convictions of the officers involved. Hence the public concern was twofold: first there was the excessive beating and second that justice was not being done with the officers – and with the L.A.P.D. / Los Angeles Police Department - evading sanctions. There were subsequently protest riots in L. A. and elsewhere. Then there was in New York City in 1999 the fatal shooting of Amadou Diallo who was a new immigrant from Guinea (Africa) who did not understand English. Plain clothes NYPD officers in an assertive anti-crime unit looking for a rapist saw Diallo on a porch, thought he fit the description of the suspect and asked him to put up his arms. He tried to reach in a pocket for an identity document at which they fired 41 bullets of which 22 hit him: the officers maintained that a ricochet from behind Diallo made them think they were being fired at although Diallo had no weapon. Missing their “target” almost half of time could be a reflection of poor training and / or of fear as even experienced firearms officers experience anxiety and misperception when faced with a human target. But 41 bullets in that context would be considered excessive - and if not criminal - elsewhere including in the UK (Punch: 2011).

But if it is thought that matters might have improved there was some 20 years on from the Diallo death the grim and deeply disturbing depiction on 25 May 2020 in Minneapolis (Minnesota) of a police officer (Derek Chauvin) kneeling on the neck of a Black man (George Floyd): (*BBC News*: 2020, 16

July).<sup>14</sup> A store clerk had suspected Floyd of using a counterfeit twenty-dollar bill and called the police. The officers responding to a seemingly trivial offence pulled Floyd out of his car, put him on the ground and Chauvin knelt on Floyd's neck for 9 minutes and 20 seconds. Floyd, who was handcuffed and on the ground, was pleading "officer, I can't breathe". Two other officers restrained Floyd while another prevented anyone from intervening while passers-by begged Chauvin to stop: but he just looked at them defiantly and kept his knee pressed on Floyd's neck even when an ambulance arrived. Floyd died at the scene. Chauvin was subsequently convicted and sentenced to 22.5 years in prison: he is appealing the sentence. There were widespread protest demonstrations about the police misconduct held throughout the USA and other countries with people chanting "I can't breathe". There were specific reasons why this prosecution succeeded in Minnesota as it is a relatively "liberal" state when many other cases of police shootings failed to get to court or did not elicit a conviction (*The Guardian*: 2023, 1 June).

But how could fatal force be used on someone who had allegedly committed only a minor offence and was unable to resist during the arrest? Then if it is thought that police in the USA may have learned from the killing of Floyd – and from the many historical racial beatings and killings by police - there was in 2013 the appallingly grim and fatal assault on Tyre Nichols.

### **The killing of Tyre Nichols (Memphis, Tennessee, 2023)**

On the 8<sup>th</sup> January 2023 five Black police officers and one White officer in Memphis in a specialized street crime unit - named *Scorpion* - held a traffic stop involving a young Black man of 29 named Tyre Nichols ostensibly for reckless driving. Much of the interaction was recorded on police body-cameras but there were moments with no recording hence it is not clear if he was in fact driving recklessly. Moreover, Tyre initially was talking calmly and being cooperative but he became increasingly frightened by the officer's harassment; he was roughly pulled out of the car and was pepper sprayed and tasered; he tried to run away to his mother's house close by but was caught and restrained.

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<sup>14</sup> "Since the April conviction of Derek Chauvin for the murder of George Floyd, police officers in the US have killed at least 83 civilians, almost two per day". (*BBC News*: 2021, 6 June)

Tyre was repeatedly hit with batons and was kicked and punched in the head several times while the officers were cursing him. One officer stepped aside to get his breath back and then returned to the beating. Tyre was left writhing and later was slumped against a car with blood on his face. Two members of the Fire Department arrived to provide first aid but did not act with any urgency: one never got out of the cab while it took 20 minutes for an ambulance to arrive.<sup>15</sup> Tyre died several days later in hospital. Five officers were fired as was a sixth officer who was not at first mentioned while that five are facing charges of second-degree murder and five others, including the ambulance personnel, are facing lesser charges (*BBC News*: 2023, 30 January, 4 February and 18 February). After 60 years of US police reform efforts this grim and fatal encounter comes across as messy, crude, leaderless, overly violent and highly unprofessional. It conveyed that some policing had been reduced to mindless group aggression as if the officers – and particularly in special units<sup>16</sup> - were out looking for trouble as an excuse for excessive violence. And there was a deep racial bias in their operating style.

Decades of research, policy changes, scandals, investment in police training and professionalization of policing had seemingly been to no avail. This leads me to touch briefly on the origins of policing in the USA. There are some universal elements in policing – such as the lawful right in society to detain people and use of force including fatal force – but it is also influenced by history and context.

For instance, the early USA was a large and highly fragmented society with a weak federal presence so that policing was very much a local matter and – like some pre-modern societies – with the right to call on male citizens to take turns in maintaining order. One form of the latter was the obligation to take part in a posse to pursue criminals: but that pursuit would have been limited by state boundaries (Klockars: 1985). And when formal policing did develop it remained largely parochial and was strongly influenced by local politics. A key factor was that the US Constitution, with the intention to avoid the systemic corruption in politics back in Britain, had limited the tenure of a senator to six years and a member of the House of Representatives to just two years. This unintentionally fostered corruption as holders of office were

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<sup>15</sup> In the USA the response to minor injuries usually falls to the Fire Department.

<sup>16</sup> There is a long history of such special units exceeding their remit (Punch: 2009).

typically determined to remain in power. This was also the case with Public Prosecutors and Mayors who had to stand for election and re-election. Many political dynasties at the national, city and local levels subsequently held on to power for decades: and this influenced the recruiting of public officials and police officers who would do their bidding.<sup>17</sup>

Subsequently policing was often deeply biased and at times violent towards political opponents of those in power. Focal to that bias was discrimination and violence against the Black population and failure historically to intervene in the lynching and burning of Black men: and if there was a subsequent court case against white men for such crimes it typically failed as the jury and judge were all White. US policing was, then, long associated with – but not universally as I shall touch on below – violence, corruption, discrimination and a bias in favour of those in power.

## **The 1960s onwards: dark events and early police research**

Then the 1960s was a decade of rapid change in the USA but also of political and racial violence and with policing under a dark shadow leading to pressing demands for change. Of major influence was the widespread use of TV cameras and live transmission. In 1963, for instance, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas (Texas) and the Dallas police arrested Lee Harvey Oswald as a suspect in the President's assassination.<sup>18</sup> This was the gravest of crimes yet the police crudely paraded Oswald before the press and onlookers allowing Oswald to be shot dead. This double and abject failure of the Dallas Police was

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<sup>17</sup> Working conditions were often harsh for police with long hours and poor pay. Trade unions were suspect so the Patrolman's Benevolent Association was set up in 1892 in New York: later in 2017 it became The Police Benevolent Association with about two thirds of NYPD officers as members. In 1911 the Fraternal Order of Police was founded as a national association for US police officers. Both aided in getting improved working conditions and salaries for police officers. It later became standard in many P. D.s that officers could get a pension after 25 years; had medical insurance also for their families and for after the pension age; and in some places they were allowed to "moonlight" next to their police work or did so informally.

<sup>18</sup> Presidents from Lincoln (in 1865) onwards were in danger of assassination - including the killing of President McKinley (1901) and wounding of President Reagan (1981) – and many, including Vice Presidents, have been shot at, or were intended targets, at some stage in their careers.

transmitted live across the globe: and for some it symbolized the crass lack of professionalism in US policing as well as the extreme level of violence in US society.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, President Kennedy's brother – Robert / “Bobby” - when campaigning for the Democratic nomination in the presidential election of 1968 was assassinated in Los Angeles: and Martin Luther King, Nobel Prize winner and charismatic leader in the Civil Rights movement for Blacks and others, was assassinated in 1968 in Memphis. Moreover, during that decade police were also involved in diverse violent clashes with student protestors – as also happened in Europe – who were against the US involvement in the Vietnam War. Also some civil rights marches with a large Black component as well as White sympathisers had been bludgeoned by grossly violent police officers. In response riots subsequently broke out in Black communities but again with a violent response from police or calling out of the National Guard. And, finally, in 1968 when the Democrats were holding their National Convention in Chicago prior to that year's presidential election, Mayor Richard Daley who was himself a Democrat, had ordered 12,000 police officers to counter a major Anti-Vietnam War demonstration in the city. The police response was so savage and out of control that not only were many demonstrators injured but also the police rampage led to them entering the Democratic Convention Centre where some delegates and journalists were beaten up.<sup>20</sup> Such crass, violent and

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<sup>19</sup> This US practice of parading a crime suspect before the press – known as the “walk of shame” or the “perp [perpetrator] walk”- is standard in some jurisdictions and is arranged with the media by the police or the custody officer in the holding facility for prisoners. Such a practice would not be allowed by law in the UK or the Netherlands. In the former trials are subject to *sub judice* rules which restrict reporting or photographs prior to and during a trial as that might influence jurors.

<sup>20</sup> Daley of Irish decent had been in office since 1976 and was one of the “old style” dominant figures in Chicago politics: his son was also later Mayor of Chicago for over 20 years. The Mayor of Albany, which is the capital of New York State, was Erastus Corning II who had served for nigh on 40 years from 1942 to 1983: and he was part of a Corning dynasty in the state with one family member who earlier was also the Mayor of Albany and later a State Governor while a Corning had served in the US Senate. The Daley and Corning clans were members of the prominent political dynasties in the USA stretching across several generations which included the Kennedys, Rockefellers, Roosevelts and the Bush family. These elites could influence city, state and federal elections and also have a prominent influence on legislation, policies, appointments, public services including policing, budgets and contracts.

politically influenced attacks became known as “police riots” (Stark: 1992).<sup>21</sup> The 1960s were, then, a bleak decade for the USA but also for US policing.

However, the 1960s were also a decade of establishing civil rights and pressing for reforms while probably no other society went on to invest so much funds in addressing the pressing issues in the criminal justice area. Indeed, the USA became a major contributor to police research and change initiatives. Then the early academics of the policing area - Skolnick, Bittner and Goldstein - penned insightful books and / or articles on policing which helped in opening the area then and later to critical and insightful scrutiny. Goldstein (1979), for instance, is viewed as the pioneer of “problem oriented policing” and also wrote the influential 1977 book “Policing a Free Society”: he had worked with O. W. Wilson in the Chicago P. D. (see below) in the early 1960s and later built a strong Criminology department at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.<sup>22</sup> Skolnick (1966) was the initial researcher to look at detective work. For many Bittner (1967) is the most insightful author on the street work of police in the rough part of town – known as “skid-row” in the USA – where they know the area intimately and also the main “trouble makers”.<sup>23</sup> And they coach them into compliance by taking time and giving them alternatives which are not

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<sup>21</sup> Excessive violence in policing protest demonstrations in the 1960s was also present in France, Germany, the Netherlands and in the UK. The excesses were at times a stimulus for police reform and the decade also saw the beginnings of police research in the USA and UK.

<sup>22</sup> Back at that time certain leading universities, including the Ivy League ones (as with Harvard, Cornell, Pennsylvania / “Penn” and Columbia), were wary of new and more “applied” Social Science disciplines. Penn, however, commenced a PhD programme in Criminology in 2000 and later in 2003 appointed Larry Sherman to the inaugural chair in Criminology which was the first within the Ivy League. But there was a distinction in some leading universities in the USA between criminal justice mainly for practitioners and Criminology as an “academic” subject. The first criminal justice programme was established at the University of California, Berkeley, by August Vollmer in 1916. Vollmer was also instrumental in setting up the American Society of Criminology in 1941. And after WWII there was an expansion in Departments of Criminology and also of Criminal Justice and there is a large number of both and with separate conferences.

<sup>23</sup> Bittner was a Jew and originally from Eastern Europe and had been in concentration camps. Jewish refugee academics who had come to the USA before, during or after WWII were influential in certain areas including the Social Sciences (Gans: 2009). And in the UK a number of German Jews had arrived before the War with two in particular contributing to Criminology. They were Hermann Mannheim who became closely involved with the LSE and Leon Radzinowicz who was an important influence at Cambridge University commencing in the early 1950s.

really alternatives but are part of getting compliance without escalation. Many view Bittner as the most insightful academic on the traditional *craft* of policing.

Then the urgent need for change in US policing in the 1960s was crystalized in the critical Kerner Report (1968) which attributed the 1960 riots to “the lack of economic opportunity for African Americans and Latinos, failed social service programs, police brutality, racism, and the orientation of national media to white perspectives”. To a degree that Kerner Report holds largely true today. There had also early on been influential innovators and reformers within policing as with August Vollmer (primarily in Berkeley, California). Vollmer, who had German parents, served as police chief in Berkeley 1909-32 with a short break in the LAPD.<sup>24</sup> He had a military background and believed in disciplined and educated police with modern technology. Later there were O. W. Wilson (primarily in Chicago, 1960-67)<sup>25</sup> and Patrick Murphy (primarily in New York City, 1945-1965)<sup>26</sup> whose views included effectiveness, efficiency, professionalism and restraint but also integrity. “Patrick Murphy” is the archetypical Irish name and he was a member of a large family network within the NYPD: he was also a devout Catholic who strongly believed in integrity in policing. He spent nearly 20 years in the NYPD with a period in Syracuse (NY) cleaning up a corruption scandal.

Two of the founding trio – Wilson and Murphy – had served in the military and there is something of that background in their push for order, control and leadership in their views along with the professional model, use of

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<sup>24</sup> Vollmer was not only an innovator in motorized policing with patrol cars and motor-bikes with radios but also was keen that officers earned degrees in criminal justice. He was instrumental in setting up a programme in criminal justice at the University of Berkeley and after retirement in 1932 he became a professor at Berkeley (Oliver: 2017).

<sup>25</sup> Wilson studied Criminology under Vollmer at Berkeley (CA): and for a time was Dean of the School of Criminology at Berkeley. He became police chief in Wichita (1928-39) aged 28 and there and later - like Vollmer - innovated in patrolling, better use of radios, a crime laboratory and tackled corruption. He served in the military in WWII and later was Commissioner in Chicago under Mayor Daley (1960-67).

<sup>26</sup> In the Nineteenth Century a flood of Irish immigrants arrived through Ellis Island (immigrant reception centre in New York Harbour) to evade starvation and / or persecution in Ireland. The Irish went on later to have considerable influence in the professions and politics in some of the major Eastern cities including New York and Boston but also Chicago. Then some Irish male immigrants were large, strong, Catholic and spoke English and were widely recruited in P. D.s but especially in New York. Importantly, they were expected to vote for the appropriate candidate in elections and also to “vote often” as voting fraud was endemic in US cities.

technology and communications, gaining educational qualifications and displaying integrity. These values were doubtless of value in reform efforts but they are somewhat top down perspectives in an highly devolved institution requiring flexibility of roles and discretion in diverse contexts including those that are corruptive. This duality along with the top-down approach became apparent when participation research methods began in the 1960s and 1970s and illuminated the informal practices in policing. For instance, there was “collars for dollars” in US policing when officers made an arrest before a rest day in order to get extra pay for going to court. Moskos (2008), who had conducted research during a year as a police officer in Baltimore for his PhD thesis, quoted a fellow officer saying “court is our heroin”.

### **Police Foundation: and federal stimulation of change**

Then change efforts in policing accelerated in the 1970s partly in the light of the damning deviance from the 1960s. For example, Murphy with others was influential in setting up in 1970 the first and innovative “Police Foundation” in Washington D. C. with funding from the Ford Foundation (initially \$ 30 million which was then a substantial sum).<sup>27</sup> That well-resourced Foundation conducted the first “experimental” approach to policing with a number of controlled experiments as in Dallas and Kansas City. This led to the “what works?” approach in policing research which has fostered change initiatives and which became highly popular later. For instance, Larry Sherman was a prominent figure in the Foundation, in the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) and later in the UK at Cambridge University.<sup>28</sup> In both, as well as at several other universities and institutions elsewhere, he became the dominant figure in institutional change projects in policing based on the

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<sup>27</sup> Washington D. C. / “District of Columbia” is not one of the 50 states but is a city with a special status as the federal government and other federal institutions are located within it including the Capitol with the Senate and House of Representatives and the Supreme Court.

<sup>28</sup> Sherman gained early on the support of Jerry Lee who “---is the President of SpotQ Services Inc and the Lee Foundation - A philanthropist of crime prevention, education and evidence-based policy-making --- was the original donor of the Stockholm Prize in Criminology, the Jerry Lee Center of Criminology at the University of Pennsylvania, the Jerry Lee Centre of Experimental Criminology at the University of Cambridge ---” (Wikipedia).



experimental approach. He also influenced senior police training in the USA and UK and elsewhere (see below).

But back then in the 1960s and later there were always sound P. D.s. In some cities with a mayor and police chief who supported change they had recruited suitable officers including from out of state, paid them well, set high standards and invested in training and modern equipment. These tended to be in relatively affluent communities and with low ethnic diversity but there were also chiefs who had earlier worked in poorly performing or corrupt P. D.s in rough and tough towns that they had gone on to reform. Moreover, there were massive federal investments in change from the 1970s along with funds from benefactors including the Ford Foundation. These included *PERF* / the “Police Executive Research Forum” in D. C. which was founded in 1976 as a non-profit organization: its mandate was geared to,

“---- police research and policy organization and a provider of management services, technical assistance, and executive-level education to support law enforcement agencies. PERF helps to improve the delivery of police services through the exercise of strong national leadership; public debate of police and criminal justice issues; and research and policy development”.

There was also later *COPS* / “Office of Community Oriented Policing Services” – located in D. C. from 1994 when the passage of the,

“Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (H.R. 3355) authorized an \$8.8 billion expenditure over six years. The COPS Office was created to distribute and monitor these funds”.

It could be said that from the 1970s onwards there was much attention to law enforcement among academics, the development of some solid and innovative P. D.s and high federal funding.

An additional factor is that there are in the USA about 2000 universities or colleges that are recognized as adequate degree giving institutions: and some of them are world leaders in the diverse university rankings. As mentioned some of those universities were wary of vocational education but certain state and other universities included applied programmes – on

agriculture, technology and the military – while many universities went later to have both a Criminology Department and a Criminal Justice Department with the latter ostensibly having a more “practical” content. There are now simply hundreds of such departments in both areas throughout US academia. This also meant that there developed many positions in both sectors for academics teaching and researching in the policing and wider criminal justice areas leading to a broad range of publications.<sup>29</sup> In the early policing field the authors were as mentioned above the pioneers Skolnick, Bittner and Goldstein but then later there were Peter Manning, Al Reiss, Larry Sherman, George Kelling, John Van Maanen, Carl Klockars and David Bayley in the USA as well as scholars in Canada, the UK and the Netherlands.<sup>30</sup> To a considerable extent their early insights and concepts – such as *COP* / “Community Oriented Policing” and *POP* / “Problem Oriented Policing” – are still being drawn on and recycled despite the fact that policing has changed in many respects. My position is that you always take account of that formative generation as a starting point but that there are others important factors to be taken into account as these have become influential in recent decades.

## Central issues in US policing

### *Police and Firearms*

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<sup>29</sup> In France and Germany, for instance, such access was most difficult as France had experienced the severe riots of 1968 with radical students and disenchanted workers involved and which led to a deep political and economic crisis. In France research on policing only started comparatively recently while publications are typically in French. And Germany reeled from the radical and highly violent activities of the *Baader-Meinhof* Group - also known as the *Red Army Faction* / “RAF” - which was active in the period from 1970s onwards until disbanding in 1998. The RAF caused 34 fatalities and took part in bombings and bank robberies and this proved a major political and criminal justice challenge. It took some time for criminal justice institutes to be established in German universities as the RAF were associated by many with the radical Social Science departments in certain universities.

<sup>30</sup> I invited most of these – as well as academics and practitioners from the UK, Netherlands and Belgium – to a conference in 1980 at Nyenrode where I was working and which was largely financing the event. We kept presentations to 10 minutes so there was lively debate mainly around the “what works” and “what matters” divide which was partly a USA-Europe split. The high point was a debate in which Bittner was brilliant: and there were several other particularly valuable contributions from participants from several societies. A selection of the conference papers was published in *Punch* (1983).

There have for decades been numerous questionable incidents of firearm use by US police but I shall refer to just one conspicuous case to illustrate this. In 2019 a young Black rapper – Willie McCoy - had fallen asleep in his car at a Taco Bell in Vallejo (California). It is not unusual in the USA that people openly have a firearm with them and McCoy had a firearm on his lap. When he awoke he jerked when he saw the officers and was shot at 55 times by six officers. Later a hired police consultant found the shooting “reasonable” but others viewed it as an “execution’ by a firing squad” while in the morgue his family found him almost unrecognizable from the numerous injuries (*The Guardian*: 2019, 12 June). The officers had not tried to wake him or warn him while they claimed he had reached for the gun which is not confirmed by the visual evidence: and that claim is typical of police cover-up tactics as it gives them justifiable cause to shoot. McCoy’s brother stated that anyone watching the videos would conclude that “the police actions were illegal and unjust. But under US laws, he said, police typically got away with this conduct “ (*The Guardian*: 2019, 12 June). The six officers did not face prosecution. Time and again in the USA a fatal police shooting like this involving a Black person has not led to any sanction or a prosecution.

Furthermore, the USA is the country with the highest level of firearms ownership globally, including military assault rifles that can be put on automatic fire, while there are no less than 100,000 deaths annually caused by firearms. Recently in 2023 there were two appalling incidents with a three year old child shooting and killing his four year old sister at home: and with a six year old boy shooting and wounding a school teacher. Indeed, schools and colleges have long experienced “mass” shootings which means four or more casualties (dead or wounded). And there was one in March 2023 with unusually a female shooter – in fact transgender - who was a former pupil of a private grade school in Nashville (Tennessee). The Tennessee Governor has been a strong proponent of loosening gun laws: and he welcomed the renowned firearms manufacturer Smith and Wesson to his state when the company moved from Massachusetts to Tennessee because Massachusetts had banned the sale of automatic and semi-automatic firearms. Given that there is no unanimity across all the 50 states you can, then, have states banning certain weapons and others allowing them while “Assault firearms with ‘phenomenal lethality’ have flooded the US market, with firms making more than \$1bn profit

in the last decade” (*The Guardian*: 2023, 29th March). The shooter in Nashville, Audrey Hale, had legally purchased seven weapons, had clearly planned the attack and was carrying three firearms: an AR-15 assault rifle, a semi-automatic pistol and a handgun. Hale would not have been able to purchase the first two in some other US states. Hale broke through a locked door, shot a janitor and went to the classrooms where she opened fire: firing 152 rounds she shot dead three pupils, all aged nine years, and also two female staff members. Hale was then shot dead by police who had rapidly arrived on the scene and acted swiftly and bravely (*The Guardian*: 2023, 29 March).

One can only imagine what the impact this will have on those students and staff who witnessed the killings and on others who were in the school at the time: and then there are the grieving relatives of the shooter, the victims and distressed others in the local community.

Yet US mass shootings have not been declining but have gone up sharply from 273 in 2014 to over 600 in 2020-2022: and the highest of such shootings was 696 incidents in 2021 meaning a minimum of 2748 injuries and fatalities that year. Such numbers of fatal shootings do not, however, prevent people purchasing firearms on a massive scale while in some US states there are few requirements for purchasing a deadly weapons (as was evident above in Tennessee). Indeed, the American Constitution (1789) granted citizens the right “to keep and bear” arms. That amendment remains influential and is an important factor in the current wide disparity between the two political parties, Republican and Democratic.

## ***Gender***

From early on policing in the USA was an occupation predominantly for white males – almost exclusively of British, Irish or European stock – and when women were first recruited it was generally for specific “feminine” roles such as dealing with children or with female suspects in custody. Demographics and social change led from the 1970s onwards to recruiting more women to policing and, as in other professions, semi-professions, occupations, the military and politics females have since taken on full duties and have risen through the ranks. This is also true for other segments of criminal justice including the judiciary. That has not always been a smooth process – as will be

evident later in the section on the UK – and they have faced lewd labelling, prejudice, harassment and barriers to promotion. It was also the case that the early generation of US researchers on policing was almost entirely male and female researchers were sparse. There was in the 1970s Mary Ann Wycoff who was influential within the early Police Foundation and also later with Herman Goldstein at Madison (Wisconsin): and the feminist scholar, Betsy Stanko, had in the 1970s commenced research on policing within the NYPD. But when Betsy wrote a draft of her findings she faced virulent police opposition with the threat to seek an injunction in order to gain access to her field notes.<sup>31</sup>

But since then there have not only been many female researchers but also the male-female dichotomy has shifted with expansion to diverse identities as with the LGBTIQ+ categories. This makes gender identity not only more complex but also fluid and clearly some heterosexual officers have difficulty with that and, again, that holds across societies with often grim prejudice against female and minority officers and staff.

### ***Racism***

There is also the issue of persistent racial bias in policing. Despite decades of research efforts and policy changes in policing, persistent racial and ethnic profiling remains prevalent across societies. This is strongly evident in the USA with racial and ethnic bias regarding stop and search, arrests, use of violence including fatal violence, prison sentencing and not being granted parole. Black officers may be just as aggressive as other officers when dealing with Black suspects as was evident in the Tyre Nichols case above. This bias is also a deeply engrained issue in the UK and to a lesser extent in the Netherlands. This is clearly a massive and complex topic which I can only touch on here briefly.

### ***Militarization***

A significant development in the USA is the militarization of law enforcement which began a few decades back but which has led to police being equipped with a wide range of firearms including assault rifles, diverse military

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<sup>31</sup> I will return to Betsy below in the section on the UK as she has had a major research and policy impact from a feminist perspective since moving to the UK in the 1980s.

equipment including nuclear proof armoured vehicles and with much of it gifted to them from the Armed Services (Kraska: 2001 & 2007).<sup>32</sup> A number of riots fuelled by racial discrimination and several shootouts with aggressive criminals when police weaponry was inadequate had led to legislation in 1977 allowing billions of dollars for military weaponry and ammunition to be granted to law enforcement from the US Department of Defense. Then the 2001 attacks with four planes hijacked by radical Muslim terrorists led to two planes crashing into the Twin Towers in New York, one plane crashing on the Pentagon and one crashing in countryside when passengers in the plane attacked the terrorists. This deeply traumatic event with the possibility of more attacks on American soil further stimulated the further militarization of US policing with armoured vehicles and an extensive range of military weaponry. The difficulty with the process – as with the earlier development of SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics) squads primarily for coping with sieges and tackling heavily armed criminal gangs – was that such units became used in other routine areas such drug dealing on private premises. But then at times with excessive violence and, yet again, the avoidance of accountability.

### ***Divisiveness, right radicalism and the politics of violence: and impact on policing***

On January 6<sup>th</sup> 2021 the world watched in amazement as a radical right mob attacked the centre of US federal government – the Capitol Building in D .C. – where a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives was being held to formalize the victory of the President Elect Joe Biden (Democrat) in the previous November’s elections. Biden had clearly won the election but Trump was virulently challenging this.<sup>33</sup> Earlier that day President Trump had at a rally

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<sup>32</sup> In 1999 At Waco (Texas), for example, an armed police raid on the “Branch Davidians” – a sect led by David Koresh and with many families present – went initially wrong leading to helicopters and armoured cars attacking the complex. When a fire subsequently broke out 53 adults and 21 children were killed. (O’Hara: 2005)

<sup>33</sup> Trump is under a number of investigations and civil cases and attended an arraignment in New York on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2023. This sitting was for fraudulent dealings including “hush money” to Stormy Daniels, a star in pornography films, following a sexual encounter between them in 2016 which he then wanted to be hushed up given his campaign in the forthcoming election for President. He has now been charged in four criminal cases.

encouraged a large crowd to march to the Capitol.<sup>34</sup> Several thousand protestors did so but an aggressive mob, around 2000 strong and containing highly militant groups such as the “Proud Boys” militia<sup>35</sup>, fought with Capitol police officers defending the complex. In the confrontation inside and outside the building some 138 officers were wounded, one died of a heart-attack while four later committed suicide. The mob fought its way into the centre of the complex at the heart of government; paraded through its halls with some brandishing a noose; and stole from offices and damaged property. The invaders threatened to “arrest” and punish leading members of Congress including Vice-President Pence and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi. The attackers were only just prevented from breaking through to other parts of the complex where some politicians and staff were hiding under desks or in cupboards. The Capitol Police – who are not trained for public order and had never experienced such a major public order situation before – were restrained in the face of a deadly threat. Only once did an officer fire his weapon and that proved fatal. The outgoing President who was in the White House close to the Capitol with the authority to call out the National Guard waited hours before he did so.<sup>36</sup> All of this was simply unprecedented in the USA and in most European countries in modern times.<sup>37</sup>

These much covered events indicated how the far right in the USA had grown in the USA and had even opposed the legal authority of the democratic state and with a potential impact on legitimate governance and on the criminal justice system. To a degree this is also present in some societies in Europe including Hungary and Poland. That shift to the far right which had been forming for some time – but was tempered by the two term Democrat President Trump (2018 - 2022) – also had an impact on policing during his

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<sup>34</sup> In the USA a president retains that title for life.

<sup>35</sup> The “Proud Boys” is one of the all-male, North American and far-right organizations that take part in political violence in the United States and it has strongly supported President Trump: it is viewed as a terrorist group in Canada and New Zealand.

<sup>36</sup> The governor of a state has the authority to mobilize the National Guard but due to the special status of D. C. outside of the state system this rests with the President.

<sup>37</sup> In Spain in 1981 members of the paramilitary Civil Guard entered Parliament and an officer brandishing a pistol announced that this was a coup to take over power. When the King and others condemned the coup it swiftly collapsed and the ringleaders were arrested. (*The Guardian*: 2021, 24 February: after 40 years reproducing the original article of 24<sup>th</sup> February 1981).

regime. For example, there was in 2001 in Kenosha (Wisconsin) a young man aged 17 armed with an assault rifle who chatted with the police at a rally held to protest the deadly shooting in the back of a Black man by a White police officer. That teenager was part of a White male and self-proclaimed “security” contingent tolerated by the police: then when he was chased and attacked by demonstrators he shot two of them dead and wounded another. When he was subsequently acquitted – for many in the USA and other countries an incomprehensible and disturbing outcome - he was invited to meet President Trump in the White House and became an icon of the right to bear arms and to use them in “self-defence”.

## **Conclusion: US Policing and an Uncertain Future**

All of this above is meant to convey that justice and criminal justice – including police, investigative agencies, courts and the penal system – are subject to influence at various levels in the USA. Moreover, with some 40,000 P. D.s across 50 states and in D.C., there are wide differences in size, resources, professionalism and accountability. There are also Sheriffs, State Police, Marshalls, Military Police, FBI agents and Private Police. And at times the latter have jurisdiction outside of their formal area as with private campus police at schools, colleges and universities. This is a complex and at times confusing matrix of agencies which can conflict and compete over “turf” and jurisdiction. And, as mentioned, there is a wide political and legislative divide between strongly right wing Republican politicians and left of centre Democratic politicians that has become a near unbridgeable chasm. This in turn will have an impact on legislation, laws and the judiciary and also on the courts, detentions and prison sentences, law enforcement and private policing.

But in particular there is now a large proportion of the US public which is alienated from sectors of the criminal justice system and in particular policing. And this is especially strong in Black and other ethnic communities and there are many persistent and systemically driven negative factors – such as historical and current discrimination and harsh repression including savage prison sentences and slanted trials – feeding that gulf. Then when large sections of the public mistrust the police it makes it difficult for the police to function adequately and that in turn feeds a cycle of negative stereotyping between



police and the public. And if genuine accountability is evaded – as in some malign US police shootings or vicious beatings – then there simply cannot be the essential trust which is the lifeblood of sound policing. That dark and grim sketch of US policing and criminal justice has to be put in the context of significant global changes impacting on the USA and other Western societies.

For the global economy has increasingly shifted towards Asia including India, Japan, South Korea, Vietnam and Taiwan but especially China. This has had a significant impact on US society and former industrial cities had been hardly hit. Furthermore, conditions for work have altered with many low paid jobs and insecure employment including no pay if there is no work on some days: this is known as the “gig” economy in the UK. Some parts of cities and some rural areas towns have low employment, poor education, and an absence of health facilities. This deep insecurity has fostered nationalism, patriotism and a shift to the right and in the US to the far right: this is also evident in several Western societies. And that shift to the far right has been embraced by the Republican Party and in certain states and cities law enforcement, or sections of it, have also shifted to the right. Policing in general has historically been “conservative” in its orientation to law and order and was predominantly populated by white males. But in recent decades it had become more liberal in some cities with P. D.s employing females and Black and other ethnic officers – some of whom have reached high rank – and in promoting diversity and community outreach. For example, in some P. D.s female officers can wear a hijab head-scarf on duty which has been rejected in the ostensibly progressive Netherlands and would not be allowed in France. And Kamala Harris with Indian parents is currently the USA Vice-President - and would be president if the sitting president dies – and had made it to become California State Attorney General before entering politics (Harris: 2021). But when society and politics shift to the far right such “enlightened” P. D.s – and the senior officers promoting change, diversity and inclusion – become pilloried by politicians, the right-wing media and the highly critical and influential radical right-wing social media which has reached extreme and toxic forms in the USA. That shift has become reinforced in the USA by the Republican majority in the Senate since 2022. This allows it to claim leadership of key committees including the one on justice although some of that party engage in a sinister assault on the rule of law which is a crucial matter in a democracy.

However, if it is said that police in some way reflect the nature of the society it is in and has to function with a measure of consensus, then that is difficult in the contemporary USA. That is not only split by an incompatible ideological division but also has a fragmented criminal justice and policing “non-system” with units, from small to large, at the local, county, state and federal levels. That may have been viewed as “democratic” by the founders of the Republic some 250 years ago but in many ways that antiquated Constitution has led to a divisive and dysfunctional society with almost no common ground between the two parties. Crucially, that fragmented policing system is deeply distrusted by a large proportion of the public including not only by many Black people and ethnic minorities but also by others who were previously positive about the police. For some people, however, police are a hostile army of occupation with no redress for its overreach and no accountability within the criminal justice system.

## **Part Two: UK policing: Benign “Bobby” or “crime fighter”?**<sup>38</sup>

“Some people ask why we are reforming the police. For me, the reason is simple. We need them to be the tough, *no-nonsense crime-fighters* they signed up to become ... the test of the effectiveness of the police, *the*

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<sup>38</sup> I have spent a great deal of time with police officers in the Netherlands and in the two societies considered here and also during several decades teaching on courses for police officers of diverse ranks and for senior officers. Many UK senior officers were impressive in diverse ways and increasingly they had become more open for talks on police issues and specific events. Having worked on the Senior Command Course for prospective “chief officers” as a tutor and being involved in two London universities – LSE and King’s College London – it was easy for me and others to ask a senior officer from the Met close by or from elsewhere to present in a seminar, to speak at a book launch or to discuss a particular case. For instance, a senior Met officer was prepared to speak to me with an inside account of the Stockwell shooting (see below) in which he was closely involved and which was most valuable: and that would not have happened some time back. But then some officers did get into difficulties when they, their unit or their force faced a serious scandal. It would seem, for example, that at times the Met was deeply deviant, biased and recalcitrant. But this is not unknown in other forces, institutions and organizations and which was strongly evident in US policing and to far lesser extent in Dutch policing. To a degree this may have been “good people and dirty work” (Hughes: 1962). But the major perversion was when officers became criminals and were willing to “stitch up” innocent people who went on to serve long prison sentences or were even executed at times in the UK (until 1964) and far more often in the USA. Then some UK officers on the way up the hierarchy had avoided the “high risk” areas of detective work and had charted a path seen as “safe” for their later career.

*sole objective* against which they will be judged ... is their *success in cutting crime*" (Conservative Home Secretary Theresa May in 2011: van Dijk, Hoogewoning and Punch: 2015: 1: my emphasis).

That 2011 pronouncement of Theresa May as a Conservative Home Secretary - and later Prime Minister - who held political authority over the police system represents the classic right-wing view of police seen solely as "thief-catchers". That theme is being echoed yet again in mid-2023 by another female Conservative Home Secretary.<sup>39</sup> That rightist reductionist rhetoric did not reflect the traditional British police paradigm but times had changed. For some time policing – and other public agencies – had been made to achieve set targets and were ranked accordingly: and that ranking was also tied to a force's income. Not only were agencies competing with one another but they were having to do so with less central funding. Hence police chiefs and supervisory staff were constantly engaged in the administration of this regime while they were subject to a ranking system that rewarded the high flyers and sanctioned low performance. This was a new kind of "Taylorism" or so-called "Scientific Management" – about worker "time and motion" and productivity - but now derived from neo-liberalism with an ideology of competition and an implicit disdain for social services which were viewed as costly and inefficient. Not only that but those agencies were tainted with "socialism" and radicalism in politics and the media as already was evident in the rhetoric of President Reagan in the USA and P. M. Thatcher in the UK in the 1980s. Then traditionally the British Conservatives were supporters of the police. But by the time May was speaking populism was driving politics and cutting crime was seen as a vote catcher. However, what May was ignoring was that in the UK and many societies crime was *falling*: and had been falling for some time.<sup>40</sup> Not only that but May's political rhetoric drastically diminishes the multiple roles and

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<sup>39</sup> "It's time for the police to stop virtue-signaling and start catching robbers and burglars," the home secretary, Suella Braverman, said at the Conservative Party Conference last autumn [2022]. 'More PCs [police constables], less PC [political correctness].'" (Trilling: 2023)

<sup>40</sup> There is considerable material on this and there's the data on recorded crime and from victimization studies. There are, then, fluctuations in categories of crime and also across time, locations and societies. For instance, very high murder rates in certain US cities declined considerably from the mid-1990s but then at later times and places the rate has risen again (Karmen: 2001). Also in the UK for some time there have been increasingly high rates of knife crime, with deaths and serious injuries, often among teenagers and in certain cities.

functions of policing which have repeatedly been documented in research and policy statements. In brief, a considerable amount of police work is not directly related to dealing with crime (Reiner: 2010).

This was also the view of Sir Robert Peel who in 1829 founded the Metropolitan Police in London (as mentioned above the “Met”). Gradually policing in Great Britain became associated with the image of the benign Bobby who became a reassuring symbol of a reliable, professional and accountable institution within an increasingly settled and safe Great Britain. That was, however, not the case in Ireland and later from the early 1920s in Northern Ireland (see below). Moreover, the reality in later times is that segments of policing became grim, deviant and indisputably criminal. For all institutions have alongside their formal, legal and public identity also an informal side – which may or may not enhance the institution’s performance - and at times also an under-culture that not only can be criminal but can also can become the complete reverse of the institution’s formal aims. In some cases the institution itself was devious or criminal or else those elements were confined to segments of the institution with or without the knowledge of the leaders. But of key importance is that the police mandate is explicitly anchored in legality and accountability – as also ostensibly with the courts and judiciary – and this is vitally important in a legitimate democracy. For, as emphasised above, without accountability there can be no trust and trust is crucial to the functioning of the police.

Historically “law and order” in Britain was for long a local, communal and *obligatory* effort involving male citizens. And from the 12<sup>th</sup> Century onwards there are records of diverse people keeping order in towns such as gate-keepers and night watchmen as well as male citizens taking turns to maintain order and being available for the *posse* at the behest of a *sheriff* (Klockars: 2012). An important and influential move to an explicit “policing” task in the sense of pursuing criminals for magistrates is typically tied to Henry Fielding who was a magistrate, writer and humanitarian. In 1749 he employed men - known as the “Bow Street Runners” referring to a London street with offices of magistrates and lawyers - to bring criminals to Fielding for prosecution. Although the “runners” initially formed a miniscule group the concept proved influential as Fielding was widely read. There was also the prison reformer John Howard (1726-90) who wrote on crime, prisons and justice not only

domestically but also in other societies: these included the Ukraine where he remains a renowned figure (West: 2011). Then in 1921 in his name “The Howard League for Penal Reform” was established and it remains influential. For there is a resonance from Fielding and Howard to penal policies and conditions in current times in the UK and as with the savage sentencing and highly repressive “super-max” regimes in the USA (Shalev: 2009).

That reformist theme was amplified more widely in the Nineteenth Century as there had been for some time the ruthless exploitation of workers – including women and children - in hazardous work in the mines and factories along with inadequate and overcrowded housing. And there were increasingly influential social and political groups protesting about this with, especially after the 1848 uprisings in several European countries, moves towards democracy. Along with that there were social movements advocating for hospitals for the poor, improved sanitation, better housing, female emancipation but also enhanced law and order. There were also other structural developments such as railways, street lighting and the telegraph which had a major impact on mobility and communications and which were also of considerable value to policing. Indeed, that century became one of innovation and prosperity for some who wanted safety in the streets and their property defended. Importantly, Peel, along with others, was a typical figure of those times who early on wanted to get away from traditionally corrupt politics and stood for public agencies that were reliable, dependable and free from political interference (Hurd: 2007). But what emerged in 1829 was not what Peel originally had intended.

For previously Peel had been Secretary of State for Ireland where he had set up an armed, militarized force - popularly known as “Peelers” – which was rather like the military style of policing in the British colonies. It later became the Royal Irish Constabulary until the division of Ireland in 1922 (Conway: 2014). For in Ireland there had long been frequent militant unrest about British rule. Yet Peel’s proposals for London which were initially based on that model in Ireland were repeatedly rejected in Parliament. The overriding objection was that “police” had become a loaded term with a strong association to the French Revolution (1789). That French model was indelibly contaminated as France had been the enemy of the UK in Napoleon’s Revolutionary Wars (ending in 1815) and had even threatened an invasion of Britain. Above all the

revolutionaries had executed the French King, Queen and members of the aristocracy before commencing a reign of terror in which the head of policing, Fouché, played a central role. That toxic and threatening background meant that British politics had become deeply concerned about oppressive central control and the key role of police suppression. That social and political reality meant that Peel as Home Secretary was continually and pragmatically compromising in order to get his Bill finally through a sceptical Parliament: and that finally succeeded in 1829. The model he proposed for the Met was based on the prevention of crime and preservation of order by officers who were not armed and who wore a uniform quiet unlike that of the military. Peel was hoping to convey that the public could trust the police. It's not often that police become a positive symbol in a society but that was what happened with "The Great British Bobby" (Emsley: 2009).

While Peel was clearly the initiator of the new "Met" the key shapers of it into a disciplined and reliable force were Rowan and Mayne who were the first commissioners in 1829. Rowan was a soldier with war experience while Mayne was a lawyer and they served long in office – Rowan 21 years and Mayne an incredible 39 years – and were most influential in developing a reliable and legally based force (Moore: 2023). Importantly, almost everyone started as "constable" and had to work their way up the hierarchy unlike the system of officers buying a commission in the military.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, "constable" was not just a rank as the holder was viewed as an independent legal official who ostensibly could mount his own investigation and prosecution.<sup>42</sup> Although officers were employed by a city or county they have always remained officers of the Crown: and the royal emblem is still today visible above their helmet or cap badge. Their impartiality initially meant that officers could not vote in elections while the police not could not form a trade union. Crucially, the police chief came to hold operational autonomy and freedom from direct political interference. Also later it became the case that police chiefs started as a constable and were then promoted through the ranks.

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<sup>41</sup> At the police chief level there was early on a preference for former military officers (Emsley: 2009: 176).

<sup>42</sup> At times there have exceptionally been constables or sergeants exercising that right but the vast majority do not and in disputed cases the judiciary has almost routinely supported the superior officer (Stenning: 1989).

But when Lord Trenchard - who had shaped the Royal Air Force in WWI - became Met Commissioner in 1931 he launched a scheme that directly recruited potential senior officers from outside policing and initiated a senior officer's course at the new Hendon Police College in London. This attracted recruits from mostly outside the service and who were destined for high rank. However, there emerged considerable opposition within policing about it being elitist and too like the military while the scheme was abandoned when WWII broke out in 1939. But it did deliver some sound police chiefs (Ascoli: 1979).<sup>43</sup>

In brief, that original style of British policing was a reflection of a more orderly and safe society - particularly from the mid-1850s - and to a large extent that remained the style of basic policing into the 1950s and early 1960s. Moreover, there had been as in other societies technical and resource changes at diverse times including motorization (vehicles and motorbikes), the telegraph and telephone,<sup>44</sup> radios in police vehicles and forensics including finger-printing.<sup>45</sup> Later there was the move to aerial observation with planes and later helicopters and with computers leading to the digital age in law enforcement which also enhanced international police cooperation. However, much basic policing was traditionally implemented by uniformed police and early on this was sometimes within a specific area (a "beat") and in some cities including parts of London constables had to stay within a fixed area: but if needed their whistle could alert colleagues from adjacent beats to assist them.

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<sup>43</sup> The well-respected chief constable of Essex, Sir John Nightingale, had joined the Met in 1935 and had patrolled the working-class streets of East London before being selected for the Hendon scheme. He later served as Assistant Chief Constable and Chief Constable of Essex for 20 years (1958 -1978). I have sat in waiting rooms at UK police HQs with the portraits of the chief constables from the early days onwards on the wall and you can see the length of time a chief has been in office has clearly diminished over time. That's partly related to chief officers having to have served in more than one force but it also indicates that in recent decades a chief constable has usually about 5-6 years to make his mark. Or "hers" as in recent years there has been more often the first female chief.

<sup>44</sup> There used to be in London and elsewhere police boxes in the street with a telephone outside so people could call the police and with an inside space for the officer resting or holding a prisoner. The boxes were used in the 1930s and until the early 1970s.

<sup>45</sup> Fingerprinting was first used as evidence in a British court in 1901. In 1910 a suspected murderer – Dr. Crippen, an American doctor – tried to leave the UK by ship but the captain became suspicious of him dressed as a woman so he telegraphed the police. This led to his arrest at sea: Crippen was subsequently convicted and executed for killing his wife. This is held to be the first time that a telegraph message led to an arrest on board a vessel at sea.

And if an officer arrested someone he went to court the next day and justified the arrest to the magistrate.

This raises the matter of what does locally based foot patrolling achieve? At one level it is about visibility and reassurance; at another it is about new officers learning the trade of policing the streets in diverse communities; and yet another it is police noticing known criminals and gathering information about their potential activity. But also simply helping people in need. The point here is that for long police were a visible and available presence in communities with police stations and sub-stations while in rural areas and small towns there were later “detached beats” which meant a house where the officer lived and with a small police office attached. To an extent that practice of having multi-tasked officers embedded and available in communities has been pared down or abandoned in much of the UK: and also in the Netherlands.

Then in terms of institutional structure there had developed by the early 1960s the “tripartite” system in England and Wales whereby policing was the responsibility of the local Police Authority, the Home Office and the Chief Constable. The Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police was exceptional in being accountable to the Home Secretary. Crucially, the police chief held operational autonomy and freedom from direct political interference: and that principle of independence was clearly expressed in a 1968 ruling by Lord Denning:

“No Minister of the Crown can tell him [sic] that he must, or must not, keep observation on this place or that; or that he must, or must not, prosecute this man or that one. Nor can any police authority tell him so. The responsibility for law enforcement lies on him. He is answerable to the law and to the law alone.” (Lustgarten: 1986: my emphasis).

Hence British police officers ostensibly enjoyed a high measure of operational autonomy, with a primary accountability to the law while also being institutionally accountable to the local Police Authority. That judicial pronouncement by Lord Denning might not have been the reality everywhere while much was dependent on the personalities involved in the decision-making. Of importance was that the police held the authority to mount



prosecutions and had lawyers (solicitors and barristers) to take the case to court on their behalf.<sup>46</sup> This altered in 1984 when the law changed with *PACE* / “The Police and Criminal Evidence Act” being enacted.<sup>47</sup> However, that long standing and rather benign view of British policing began to attract criticism in the late 1950s and into the 1960s. In the late 1950s, for example, there were several cases of police chiefs misusing their position. Then there was a factor that had long been present in London but also elsewhere that detectives were getting far too close to known criminals. I shall below address that matter along with a number of contentious cases raising critical questions about policing in the UK.

Again, as in the USA overview, the fundamental factors relate to accountability, trust, integrity, reliability and service to the public. It was also the late 1960s into the 1970s that saw early research efforts on UK policing but also that police officers started to attend university to gain a degree.

### **Note on police governance and senior officer training**

The political governance of policing rested in England and Wales with the separate city and county forces – apart from the Met as mentioned – and the internal police leaders (Assistant, Deputy and Chief Constable) were within “ACPO” / *Association of Chief Police Officers*. And the leadership training was within the (Bramshill) Police College. There had never been a concept of “national” policing in the UK for historical reasons until a major restructuring took place. In 2015 ACPO became the *National Police Chiefs’ Council*.<sup>48</sup> And

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<sup>46</sup> Solicitors can prepare a criminal case and pursue it in the lower courts but a barrister has to plead the case as an advocate in an English or Welsh superior court.

<sup>47</sup> “PACE is the short form for the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984. This Act governs the major part of police powers of investigation including, arrest, detention, interrogation, entry and search of premises, personal search and the taking of samples. Also part of this legislation are the PACE Codes of Practice, which police officers should consider and refer to when carrying out various procedures associated with their work. The Act attempts to strike a fair balance between the exercise of power by those in authority and the rights of members of the public”. (Home Office website).

<sup>48</sup> ACPO has since become the *HMICFRS* which includes the Fire and Rescue Service. “For over 160 years, HM Inspectorate of Constabulary independently inspected and reported on the efficiency and effectiveness of police forces – in the public interest. We inspect police forces across England, Wales and Northern Ireland. We also inspect law enforcement arrangements in British Overseas Territories and Crown Dependencies, on invitation from

significantly its first chair was Chief Constable Sara Thornton: her appointment can be viewed as recognition of the high performing female officers rising to the top in UK policing.<sup>49</sup> Bramshill Police College became the *National College of Policing*: and the Senior Command Course became the *National Strategic Command Course*. The “HMIC” / *His Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary* has since become the “HMICFRS” which includes the *Fire and Rescue Service*. One interpretation of that sudden “national” label pasted everywhere is that it represents the aim of the UK Conservative government to gain more central control over policing in order to steer it towards the crime control model: and also to hold forces to account for low performance in that area and with financial consequences.

### **Academic research: universities and policing.**

Initially there was little research on criminal justice and specifically on policing in the UK until the 1960s. This was partly related to the fact that the Home Office vetted all proposals for access to a force and for funding while it was cautious about granting access and could also object to material in a draft report.<sup>50</sup> A feature of that early British field work was exposing the informal

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the relevant government, as well as non-territorial services, specialist agencies and international police forces. ---- In summer 2017, HMIC took on inspections of England’s fire and rescue services, inspecting and reporting on their efficiency, effectiveness and people. To reflect this new role, our name changed to HM Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services” (HMICFRS website).

<sup>49</sup> Sara Thornton had been Chief Constable of Thames Valley Police / T.V.P., Vice-President of ACPO and was the first chair of the NPCC: and later she became the UK’s Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner and is a professor at the University of Nottingham. In 2013 Sara was held in 2013 to be the 18<sup>th</sup> most powerful woman in Britain according to a BBC Radio programme. T.V.P., not far from London, was long viewed as a strong and progressive force which has attracted some well-regarded chiefs including Sir Hugh Orde (later head of the PSNI / Police Service of Northern Ireland) and Peter Neyroud. Peter Neyroud later became the C.E.O. of the National Policing Improvement Agency and now teaches at the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge. I have long had a fruitful contact with Stan Gilmour – a Superintendent at T.V.P., now retired - who was very much a reflective practitioner but was also a forger of sound multi-agency initiatives in Reading. I have not met Orde who was highly regarded but the other three whom I have encountered have all had impressive and fruitful careers. However, despite this high level of chief officers some have got into diverse difficulties in recent years.

<sup>50</sup> A researcher –Terence Morris (long associated with the LSE) - who had conducted field research in London prisons including Pentonville in the early 1960s wrote of a riot in

culture and practices of policing. For example, an officer could “order” a prisoner with a colleague who would hand over the prisoner to him on arriving for duty so he could go home to “rest” before appearing in court the next day when the prisoner was brought before a judge. And early on in the 1970s I went out with a squad of officers in a police van on a busy night in Birmingham: when I asked what the aim of the patrol was one officer said, “our governor likes bodies so if it stumbles we arrest it”.<sup>51</sup> However, the social sciences had mostly become highly radical in the later 1960s and were strongly biased against the police and the state’s criminal justice system. Policing, for example, was usually critically examined in Deviancy studies which expanded rapidly and typically required no access to a police force for research (Cohen: 1972; Downes and Rock: 1982). Early on there had been several pioneers in police research - particularly Banton (1964) and Cain (1973) who was the first British female researcher in the area - and later there was Holdaway (1977) and especially Reiner (2010) at the “LSE” (London School of Economics and Political Science). Holdaway (1983) conducted covert research while working in a police force – which alarmed police when it was published - while Reiner was most prolific and influential as he addressed policing in his lectures at the LSE, at conferences and in police circles during almost five decades (Reiner: 1978, 1997, 1998, 2007 & 2010). Another major contributor to the field especially on public order policing was “Tank” Waddington (1991, 1997 & 2002). I knew all of these and later when I became attached to two universities in London I had contact with – or worked with – a range of scholars including Robert Reiner, Paul Rock, Ben Bowling, Tim Newburn, Jennifer Brown, David Downes, Janet Foster, Elaine Player and Jill Peay.

Then from the late 1960s onwards there were schemes to send police officers full-time to university to get a degree (as mentioned above). There was initially some staff-student resistance to their presence during the period of

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Pentonville while he was researching there. When the Home Office received the draft report he and his wife Pauline had written they were informed that they had to remove the chapter on the riot as “no reports about the disturbance had leaked out in public hence it had not happened for all practical purposes” (personal communication Paul Rock). This indicates how cautious, if not defensive, and rigid the Home Office was back then regarding research publications.

<sup>51</sup> It’s long ago but I recall the occasion well and especially the impersonal “it” for a prisoner: and there was much crudeness in some operational policing back then.

radicalism in universities but generally, given their maturity and need to justify the expense to their force, the police students were reliable and industrious. However, some officers early on used the scheme as an opportunity to get a Law degree and to leave their force early. Then later when there were austerity measures on public spending impacting on many of those schemes – which had often been cut to one year or to a part-times basis – and most were shelved. There also emerged an increasing number of academic researchers in the field with women being increasingly active and productive in police and in criminal justice research. I write of “male” or “female” officers but am aware that gender identity has become more fluid and more complex with some not wanting to be defined by gender. But it is evident that those defined as “women” were long limited in their educational and professional opportunities and have in recent decades taken major strides. They have become prominent and successful in business, academia, politics, health, the media, sport and the military. In the Netherlands a high proportion of police officers are women – typically between 30-40% - and this is even more the case in the Public Prosecution Service and the judiciary.<sup>52</sup>

In relation to ethnicity the current [2013] UK Prime Minister (Rishi Sunack), Home Secretary (Suella Braverman) and the First Minister of Scotland (Humza Yousaf) are of Asian heritage as is the current Prime Minister in Ireland (Leo Varadkar). P. M. Varadkar is gay which would have been considered totally unacceptable not that long ago in Catholic Ireland. But Sunack and Braverman are strongly “right” politically while Yousaf and Varadkar are more to the “left” while Yousaf is also a Scottish nationalist. Some UK police chiefs also have an ethnic background. Such major societal changes suggest tolerance and diversity in gender and in ethnicity but clearly there has been some resistance to this in certain segments of society, in politics, the media an especially the “social” media: and also in segments of the military, fire service and policing. And the latter will become evident below.

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<sup>52</sup> In the Netherlands there is a popular book and widely read blog written by a Dutch police officer, Lieke Hester (Hester: 2022): and she has three million followers! Lieke is bi-sexual and writes of her busy police station in the Amsterdam city centre as being a diverse and supportive community regarding gender and ethnicity. But this is clearly not universal as there have been many complaints of ethnic discrimination during several decades and also of diverse forms of gender related harassment within Dutch policing.

From the 1960s into the 1970s there were diverse changes in UK society and there were also a number of major issues around policing. I shall touch on a number here. But first I shall turn to the exceptional matter of policing in Northern Ireland during what effectively became a thirty-year civil conflict. For there were three systems of policing in the UK – in England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. England and Wales have the same policing and legal systems, Scotland has a different legal system and Northern Ireland had been radically different to the others since the division of Ireland in 1922 (see below). There is considerable data conveying that policing in Northern Ireland had for long elements of repression, prejudice and discrimination. This not only contrasted with much of policing in Great Britain - and particularly with the police in the bordering Republic of Ireland<sup>53</sup> – but also that this systemic deviance had long been fostered, tolerated and defended by the UK state. Indeed, despite the fact that Northern Ireland was just a short ferry ride from Great Britain its policing from early on was treated by successive UK governments as if it was in a distant and at times troublesome colony. Law and order was not only semi-military but was also dominated by Protestant-Unionists who strongly defended the union of Northern Ireland with the UK state. Hence in a part of the UK there was a state established form of apartheid based on ethnicity and religion which profoundly affected law enforcement.

### **The “Troubles” in Northern Ireland, the UK and in Europe (1968-1998)**

Northern Ireland since its inception after the division of Ireland in the 1920s remained within the UK but with a border with what became the independent Republic of Ireland. There was periodic friction between the Loyalist-Unionist (Protestant) / and Nationalist-Republican (Catholic) communities as, in effect, Northern Ireland became a Protestant dominated society in which the Catholics were second-class citizens and where the police force was quiet unlike the police system in Great Britain. For the *RUC* / “Royal Ulster Constabulary” was an armed force – including light armoured vehicles – with primarily officers from the Loyalist-Unionist (Protestant) community. From 1970 there was also

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<sup>53</sup> The Irish National Police Force is known as the *Garda Síochána* meaning “guardians of the peace”. It is generally highly regarded by the public.

the “Ulster Defence Regiment”/ *UDR* alongside the “B-Specials” which was a part-time constabulary: and both were comprised almost exclusively of Loyalist-Unionists. Renewed friction about this political dominance and lack of civil rights led in the mid-1960s to a number of violent incidents – fostered originally by Loyalists - which set off some 30 years of near civil war in Northern Ireland. And there was violence in the UK, on the Continent and sporadically in the Irish Republic (1968-1998). Around 3600 people were killed as a result of bombings, shootings, abductions, beatings and sabotage (Geraghty: 2000). The main Nationalist-Republican armed unit was *PIRA* / “Provisional IRA” – which became the major threat to security in Northern Ireland and elsewhere. Some of its violence in Northern Ireland was horrendous while there were also shootings and bombings on the British mainland with attacks in London, Birmingham, Manchester and elsewhere with much loss of life and immense damage. However, some members of the RUC, some units of the UK military brought in initially to stand between the factions, and British special forces operating clandestinely in Northern Ireland became engaged in some violent covert operations which were indisputably criminal and discriminatory. Some of that state violence aided by diverse Protestant paramilitaries was clearly a gross infringement of the law and human rights / “HR”. Moreover, there still remains a legacy of some 1500 deaths that have not been solved (Punch: 2012).

This state fostered violence was wider than policing but segments of the RUC were involved in deviant and criminal practices leading to its disbandment in 2011 and to the founding of the *P.S.N.I.*/ “Police Service of Northern Ireland”. The PSNI has been endeavouring to integrate itself within policing in England and Wales but has been forced to retain a counter-terrorism and public order capacity as there are still occasional violent incidents and at times with fatalities. This particular case is important not only in relation to state deviance but also with regard to the later change process in Northern Ireland which included an independent investigatory agency – the “Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland” / *PONI* - which has played a key role in tracing those involved within and without policing and bringing them to justice.

## **Detective culture and intimacy with the “underworld”**

As in other predominantly male institutions – such as the Armed Services – there was often a hard drinking culture in policing which was particularly found among detectives and which could also lead to a pattern of detectives socializing within the shady and criminal milieu. This could include drinking with the main deviant characters in clubs or after closing hours in “pubs”.<sup>54</sup> The officers were ostensibly seeking information on crimes or intended crimes or trying to recruit informers who would provide inside information on their rivals. That late-night carousing could become a life-style while they could also rub shoulders with certain cooperative journalists and devious lawyers who aided in shaping court cases to get convictions by influencing juries and judges. There were also in London and sometimes elsewhere detectives who used illicit means to get convictions with suspects who had not committed the crime by conducting prolonged and relentless questioning and by falsifying confessions. One male suspect received a long prison sentence for a sexual offence based on his confession but he died in prison before it was revealed that he was impotent. There was no doubt clean and sound policing but from the 1970s onwards there was a series of corruption scandals in certain forces. Moreover, there had in the 1970s been police violence against suspects of IRA terrorism leading to false confessions and long sentences for crimes they had not committed. A prominent example was the case of the “Guildford Four”.

### **The Guildford Four: Miscarriage of Justice**

In 1974 there were explosions in pubs in Guildford which killed four British soldiers and a civilian leading to the arrest of four Irish suspects who were

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<sup>54</sup> “Pub” refers to public premises licensed to serve alcohol and with specified hours meaning they typically closed round 10.30. They usually had two bars – a public one and a lounge bar – and the latter could become the preserve of middle-class males. But also after closing hours there could be covert drinking sessions with police and devious or “underworld” characters mixing. One of the police officers coming to study at Essex University in the early 1970s said it was a relief as if he had stayed any longer in the CID he would have become an alcoholic.

pressurised to confess (Conlon: 1991).<sup>55</sup> They were given long prison sentences and despite conflicting evidence an appeal was denied while one of them died in prison. Later one of their lawyers discovered evidence with a note attached stating “not to be shown to the defence”. This led to the remaining three being freed after 16 years imprisonment. No police officer was ever prosecuted with regard to this case. This grave carriage of justice illustrates how police could fix criminal cases through aggressive interrogation and manipulation of evidence against suspected criminals and suspected terrorists which readily convinced juries and judges. And too often the police got away with it.

### **Hillsborough Stadium Disaster (1989)**

In 1989 an important football match between Liverpool and Nottingham Forest was played at the Hillsborough Stadium in Sheffield which led to the deaths of 96 mostly young people who nearly all died from asphyxiation following crushing in the crowd (Scruton: 1999). Many Liverpool fans were massing at the turnstiles when the police officer in charge ordered the opening of the gates leading to a rush: but there was no guidance from stewards and the fans headed for the nearest pens which were already over-filled. A crush resulted in which many young fans at the front were pushed up against the perimeter fence: at that time in UK there were fences to prevent pitch invasions. The police were slow to open the small emergency gates in the fence while the police and emergency medical response was confused and inadequate. But crucially there was a breakdown in communication while the police officer in charge was inexperienced and had rashly ordered the gates to be opened. But importantly here is that there was a police inquiry into the disaster by the Serious Crime Squad of the West Midlands Police / *WMP*. Its report blamed the Liverpool fans who were alleged to have arrived late and drunk, to have forced the gates open, to have urinated on and stolen from the victims and to have abused the police trying to help people. This was grave misinformation while some in the populist media condemned the Liverpool fans with one newspaper having only the word *Scum* on the front page.

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<sup>55</sup> There is also a film (1994) *In the name of the father* based on the book by Conlon (1991) - *Proved Innocent: The Story of Gerry Conlon of the Guildford Four* (Penguin)– who was one of the four imprisoned.



Then at the 1993 *MODACE* / “Managing of Disasters and Civil Emergencies” course for senior officers at Bramshill Police College – at which I was present - the presentation on Hillsborough was given by the officer from the WMP who had led that investigation into the tragedy. He repeated the accusations that placed the blame on the Liverpool supporters which at that time was taken as valid: but that version was later overturned. This illustrates how brazen the officer was in conveying false information to senior police officers: and how callous he and others were in ignoring the fate of the many victims and the grief of the relatives. Later that WMP Serious Crime Squad was abolished for a trail of suspect investigations including those with aggressive tactics as happened against suspects of IRA terrorism. Scraton’s (2016) revised version of his impressive and influential book revealed the police cover-up and the abusive distortion in the media which had received false information from within the South Yorkshire Police / SYP. Scraton became an involved academic and a source of support to the families and survivors ever since. Such awful disasters tend to have a long trail of misinformation along with extended legal proceedings.

However, the Hillsborough Independent Panel Report (2012) on the disaster exposed multiple failures before and during the event. For instance, officers involved in the stadium were pressurized to change their statements but some were so distraught at events that they refused to alter their statements. But most damning was that the SYP responded in defensive mode at the highest level by blaming the victims in order to avoid liability. In some respects I view this case as one of the worst examples of public agencies avoiding accountability when the victims had set out to have an exciting afternoon at a game of football only for 96 of them to die because of the faults of several agencies but especially of the police force.

But that sort of devious and defensive response is *S.O.P.* / “Standard Operational Practice” in institutional defence mode for corporations, governments and their agencies and for many institutions - as well as the ones in criminal justice - facing a crisis or an external inquiry. The cover-up can prove to be successful with “justice” never achieved. Indeed, in such cases it can take decades to unravel what really happened, to attribute blame and to apply sanctions as with the Stephen Lawrence murder in London which has led to a decades long concern about racial bias within the Met and in wider UK policing.

## The Stephen Lawrence murder (London, 1993)

Race and ethnic profiling is a major theme in policing and to a more or lesser extent in most societies: and in some it is dominant. And that factor is crucial here while this distressing case has become a *cause célèbre* on police and race in the UK. In South London in 1993 a Black youth, Stephen Lawrence, was waiting at a bus stop with a friend when they were chased in an unprovoked attack by a group of five young White men. In fact there were six in the attack but that was only confirmed much later and after the sixth person had died. Stephen's friend managed to get away but Stephen was caught and beaten to death: this was, then, potentially a case of murder. Yet from the very beginning there were failures in the police investigation while it was initially assumed that Stephen had taken part in a fight. It also turned out that the father of one of the attackers had a criminal background and with influence within the Met. Initially the five young men were arrested but not charged with an offence. Widespread public and political dissatisfaction about the case led to a public inquiry which accused the Met of incompetence and "institutional racism" (Macpherson: 1999). Macpherson also recommended that the law on double jeopardy in murder cases – meaning a suspect could not be prosecuted twice for the same offence – be repealed which led to the Criminal Justice Act (2003) which proved important regarding a previous court case. This eventually meant that in 2011 two of the original suspects were prosecuted, convicted and heavily sentenced.

However, there were persistent complaints - aided by a police whistleblower - of police misbehaviour in this case leading to the Ellison Report (2014) which was an independent review. It conveyed that there was a secretive undercover police unit – originally set up in 1968 – which was "spying" on the Lawrences and their supporters. On the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Stephen's murder his father, Neville, continued to maintain the "Met police surrendered to his sons killers" (*The Guardian*: 2023, 22 April). Yet it has now been established – 30 years on - that there were six assailants involved and not five: this may have been sloppiness or a calculated omission. And yet again a Met Commissioner has had to apologize for this blunder – one of many - to the Lawrence family. These sort of malign "group think" processes (Janis: 1972) may start from a simple mistake but can become a major attempt to deny, demean and lie in

court.<sup>56</sup> it would also seem that within the Met that there was a faction that was hostile to the Lawrences which deeply impacted on their lives while it probably impaired the investigation. Moreover, some 30 years on prosecutors have recently decided not to charge the four detectives who originally were slow in not investigating the young men involved in the murder of Stephen despite having the names of the attackers being given to them by witnesses of the assault. Those officers are now retired but it may have been that their tardiness back then has cast a shadow over their subsequent careers and even their lives (*The Guardian*: 2023, 6 July).

## **Racially biased policing**

The Lawrence case (1993) was indicative that throughout societies the police tend to look down the social scale at say squatters, itinerants, the homeless and ethnic groups but especially “people of colour” widely referred to as “Blacks”. And in the UK there has been a long fractious relationship between policing and “Black” people. From the 1960s and 1970s there have been at times excessive over-policing of Black bars, meeting places and communities. In 1981 there was a pitched battle between the Black community in Brixton and police – then poorly equipped and hardly trained in public order – and with officers driven out of some streets and with a number injured. This elicited a police counter response with illicit beatings of Black people and damage to their property. Despite numerous reports and reform proposals since then this misconduct – and wider ethnic discrimination - remains a contentious policing issue. This is despite the fact that now in London some 50% of the current population is comprised of “BAME” (Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic) people of diverse ethnic backgrounds including people originally from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. Even third or fourth generation Black people in the UK who are fully integrated and without any involvement in deviant and criminal activity, are still on occasion stopped and searched and sometimes dealt with aggressively. Despite perfectly solid information on their status and employment they can face years of harassment and procedures as if somehow the system, including

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<sup>56</sup> There’s an old quip in British policing: “And I never tell a lie, except in court”.

the courts, cannot face up to its mistake. The data on this police racial bias across societies is overwhelming.

Then in the Stephen Lawrence case there is evidence of Met covert units breaking the law to spy on the family in order to find incriminating evidence to darken people's reputations.<sup>57</sup> And in this particular case it was not just the police intransigence and resistance but also the populist press pursuing Stephen's parents – and particularly his mother - with persistent venom. Even when the parents divorced – partly from the strain associated with their commitment to pursuing the case – they both remained resolute in pushing for justice and accountability in criminal cases involving Black and other victims. Indeed, Stephen's mother became in 2013 a Baroness in the House of Lords in which she continues to pursue the themes of race and diversity.

Below I shall now move to the vital issue in policing of firearms use which always carries the risk of a mistake leading to a fatality

### **Stockwell and “Kratos”: Police Use of Firearms<sup>58</sup>**

In Great Britain the police routinely did not carry a firearm and many still do not carry one: this was unlike the situation in Northern Ireland and in many other countries including the Netherlands. There have been firearms issued in Britain during war-time while they are kept for special incidents – as for dealing with dangerous animals - firearms would have been selectively issued during the IRA campaign on the mainland. The British practice was that firearms officers were volunteers; that shooting at someone was a last resort; that the officer aimed at the body mass; and that she / he would be held accountable

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<sup>57</sup> Such murky practices are particularly found in certain segments of policing and intelligence agencies as with the FBI in the USA during the reign of Edgar Hoover (1932-1972). He was obsessed about left-wing radicals and used dubious methods to blackmail anyone he was suspicious of while the FBI agency under him displayed systemic bias and deep prejudice. He became known as the “private police of presidents” who could use his “evidence” against their rivals: but he also spied on those presidents (Summers: 2012). In recent decades there have also been a number of failures within the FBI including an investigation into a candidate for the US Supreme Court no less and with all the collected data on him going straight to the President Trump in the White House (Punch: 2022: 108-9).

<sup>58</sup>This section draws strongly on Punch (2011) and there is a wealth of media coverage on it.

for each round fired.<sup>59</sup> In general armed officers responded to hundreds of calls without firing a shot but there had been incidents where an officer felt obliged to shoot at someone. However, the threat from radical Muslim terrorism with suicide bombers posed a new challenge to police and security services. That threat had emerged following the devastating “nine eleven” attacks in New York and D. C. in 2001 with many casualties and vast damage. This also became harshly evident in the UK when four radical Muslim terrorists launched a suicide attack on public transport in London on 7 July 2005.

Three blew themselves up on underground trains and one on a bus: this resulted in 57 deaths and around 700 injuries which was the largest loss of life in a violent incident in the UK since WWII. Then on 21 July there was another attack on the London transport system and again with four suicide bombers: but this time the bombs did not ignite properly and all four escaped but were visible on closed circuit cameras. The following day police were observing where one of the suspected bombers lived according to an identity card that was retrieved from his back-pack. A firearms unit was not immediately available and when the presumed suspect emerged from the apartment block there was a string of failures to identify him positively. But when he suddenly switched train stations – in the first station the trains were not moving - this was taken as a typical diversionary tactic. The radio traffic on all this was also not very clear but a firearms unit was dispatched to the second station (Stockwell) where a plain-clothes officer was holding the carriage door open of the underground train that the suspect was in. Two armed officers rushed on to the train and approached the suspect: the officer on the door had pinned the suspect to his seat and the two armed officers fired nine rounds into his face at point-blank range which covered them in blood and body tissue.

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<sup>59</sup> In the Netherlands police try to aim for the legs when using a firearm but that depends on the situation. Then during an altercation with a suspect a Dutch police officer was fatally shot with his own firearm: and a Dutch officer at home shot dead his wife and children and then himself. So with most Dutch officers – around 40,000 – being issued with a firearm there can be a range of negative outcomes. In the UK the reason for aiming at the body mass is simply that there is a much better chance of hitting the target as officers are often unsure or are off balance. It is explicitly not to “kill” while some people hit by a bullet or even wounded several times can recover: but the possibility of a serious injury or a fatality is always present when a firearm is drawn and especially when it is used. (Punch: 2011)

It turned out that the suspect was completely innocent: he was a Brazilian on his way to work. It subsequently emerged that there was a secret firearms policy named “Kratos”. When tackling a suicide bomber that policy was to approach from behind and shoot the suspect several times with “soft-point” bullets into the base of the brain: the expectation was immediate death and an inability to cause an explosion.<sup>60</sup> This went against everything British firearms policy had been based on and raised the key issues of legality and accountability. Then in practice on that day matters did not go well within Scotland Yard. Of course everyone in the operations centre was working with little sleep and with high tension: but crucially the officer in charge – Cressida Dick - was effectively in the “silver” role of implementation because the “gold” commander, who was meant to overview the operation, was not involved after first issuing instructions. This is according to what I have been told by someone closely involved on that particular day. As mentioned above operations in UK policing are based on the “gold” role for strategy; “silver” for implementation (there can be several silvers for various parts of a complex operation); and on a number of “bronze” commanders for diverse ancillary tasks. Then when the suspect switched trains this was interpreted as evasive and the officer in charge gave the order “stop him”. This was not the established code word for Kratos while the two armed officers approached him frontally and not from the rear: as mentioned a surveillance officer pinned the suspect’s arms to prevent a detonation and the suspect was shot at point-blank range. The result was the death of an innocent man. There were inquiries and investigations into this blunder which had caused immense much distress to the victim’s family.

I mention the case here for two prime reasons. One is that in operations there has to be clarity on the roles in the gold, silver and bronze model because they are essential not only in the division of tasks but also in the accountability structure. And secondly, it is often said of the Met that it does somethings very well and other things very badly which may be related to its size and complexity and the multiple able tasks that the capital faces. But also perhaps

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<sup>60</sup> This type of ammunition is used to stay in the target’s head or body as most conventional ammunition would go straight through the body and could be of danger to others.

to a measure of institutional arrogance with a resort to denial and deflection when operations fail due to mistakes.<sup>61</sup>

## **University Degrees, Progress and Regression**

There was also a shift in recent decades to senior officers taking a second degree while the Senior Command Course led to a diploma for most of them or a degree for the few who studied further. Nearly all already had a first degree and sometimes work experience outside of policing before being fast tracked to senior rank. The part-time course was at Cambridge University and a number of academics from Cambridge and elsewhere, including myself, became involved in teaching and tutoring on that course. This long and increasing involvement in academia had also started to happen at a wider range of universities. For example, serving officers could take part-time higher degrees while prospective police recruits were obliged to take a preliminary course before being accepted to training in a force. At Portsmouth University Sarah Charman and her colleagues – some with previous police experience including Tom Williamson (mentioned above) and Steve Savage - have long pursued diverse courses in policing including now a part-time doctorate for police officers. Indeed, many universities – including at Canterbury Christ Church University with Steve Tong

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<sup>61</sup> This is perhaps the fate of capital cities as Amsterdam has also long been viewed as a “difficult” place to police and with an “arrogant” force: and many officers from other parts of the Netherlands had traditionally avoided working in Amsterdam. I also noticed that some Met officers trashed non-Met officers when I mentioned them: but on other occasions such as police courses there was a kind of friendly banter about the Met superiority and supposedly “rural” forces in the provinces. But then on the Senior Command Course a number of officers approached me and said that the course was primarily geared to running the Met and most of the speakers were from the Met or were former Met officers. They further said that there was no attention to policing in the largely “rural” forces as in parts of England and especially in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Then a highly accomplished person - John Alderson with police experience abroad in Australia - became Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall (1973 – 82). He strongly pushed the idea of community policing but back then he was labelled as “soft” whereas tough chiefs were lauded. He was even viewed as “radical” by some disapproving police chiefs who doubtless thought that what succeeded in largely rural Devon and Cornwall would not work in the big cities and especially not in London. Hence his views were not always valued back then. Alderson was also someone with a wide academic orientation and later after retirement was affiliated with the Cambridge Institute of Criminology, the University of Strathclyde and the University of Portsmouth’s Institute of Police and Criminological Studies.

and others - have in recent decades become involved in the policing area by running police courses and conducting police research. To an extent this was related to the notion of enhancing the professional status of policing while it also helped transparency with improved access to forces.

However, there was also that renewed “back to basics” element of Theresa May and Suella Braverman which was earlier evident in the 1990s with a shift to an emphasis on police primarily fighting crime. For this became the favoured approach following the “zero tolerance / broken windows” practice in New York. And to a degree “New Labour” under P. M. Tony Blair (1997 - 2007) took the same path albeit in a more subtle way. What also took place was that the political parties competed on economizing in public services – Labour had been seen as typically “soft” in that area – which has had a massive and malign impact in British society and also on policing. Within a relatively short period of time some 20,000 officers were shed while increasingly civilian staff took on certain tasks within policing but they too were cut by 23,500 jobs. This was primarily a cost-cutting exercise with negative effects on policing and other services.

Importantly, this was not just an economizing exercise as there was also a desire to have more central control of policing - with the “national” label liberally stuck on just about everything - alongside basing recruitment on educational background. Hence there had been that move to recruit graduates and fast track them to senior ranks which was in effect abandoning the traditional model of working your way up the police hierarchy. Not only that but the Conservatives under P. M. Cameron (2005-2010) introduced “Police Crime Commissioners” / PCCs who were to control crime policies alongside the Chief Constable. This was a concept based on USA practice as the Conservatives were enamoured of certain US political practices as where the police chief was recruited by the Mayor and was expected to support the Mayor’s policies. In many US cities and communities crime was a major issue and cutting crime was important in a mayor’s or police chief’s chances of staying in his or her post.

However, in the UK this was a highly symbolic and significant step in limiting the operational autonomy of police chiefs which had long been the standard practice and was legally justified in 1968 by Lord Denning (as mentioned above). Furthermore, PCC candidates could include former police officers of whom some had not been particularly valued when they were in



service. Then the voting for these positions was also pitifully low which did not enhance the status of the new incumbents. There was some friction initially with a number of police chiefs but some fruitful partnerships have since developed (see below). But of great significance has been not only the economizing in policing but also the cut backs in nearly all social sectors including health, social welfare and education. Both Labour and Conservative administrations were at one stage keen on this and were almost in competition to reduce public spending.

Indicative of the opportunistic, short-term and media conscious thinking of many UK politicians was that when Boris Johnson became P. M. in 2021 he promised at a police training establishment that he would recruit 20,000 new officers. Not only that but he had – as is common in the USA – several ranks of police recruits on benches behind him: and it proved embarrassing when a young female recruit fainted and, after briefly looking behind, he went on talking. But this set up is blatantly inappropriate in a society where police are officers of the Crown and should never be used as a political prop. That has not happened again. Moreover and ironically, Johnson's Conservative Party in government had been largely responsible for the shedding of those 20,000 police officers in previous years. And it takes considerable time to select and train that number of recruits and see if they are suitable so his boast was typical of his bragging style. Also the government established a Ministry of Justice which the UK had never had and which was almost a symbol that the Home Office had been too weak on crime. Some of the main police specialists in the Home Office had to be swiftly moved to the new ministry.

Then in some forces having to economize the often long-standing HQ buildings and spacious grounds have been sold along with the sport fields, some of the police houses and with a move to cheaper and rented property. The New Scotland Yard building in central London, which was in poor condition after long use, was sold in 2014 and new HQ premises have been rented but with less capacity than in the old building so some staff work elsewhere or partly from home. And if officers do come to HQ then there are a limited number of consoles for them to work from. Then there had been two Met libraries: but one has been sold and the other one is difficult to reach for the

majority of officers.<sup>62</sup> The Police Staff College / later the National Police Staff College was established in 1948 at Ryton-on-Dunsmore and moved to Bramshill in 1960. There it was within a lavish country estate with a listed central mansion, lecture theatres, facilities for police related exercises and accommodation. It also had an impressive library on policing which is held to be the most extensive in the world. Again due to economizing the Bramshill estate was sold in 2005 and, after a brief stay in rented property on an office estate, the newly named “College of Policing” and its Library moved back to Ryton-on-Dunsmore (in 2012) where the site was expanded. It is also a more central and convenient location for most officers attending courses.

Moreover, when Charman (2017) conducted a study of four years observing new police officers in a British force she sometimes found it difficult to locate them as they were often moved around and some stations had been precipitously closed down. Moreover their major activity was rushing around to deal with crime much to their frustration as they would have preferred more varied and interesting work. This was indicative of policing retreating from the front-line and as a local presence. Stations and sub-stations were being closed and much was being taken over locally by Police Community Support Officers / PCSOs who had limited powers and a short training. Within the Met some 30 police stations and 107 “front counters” were shed (Trilling: 2022). Then the Police in Scotland became a national force with the inevitable weakening of a visible presence based on local knowledge which led to some operational problems. For instance, a couple injured in a car crash who were badly in need of medical care were only attended to after *three days* and during that time one of them had died. All of this was indicative that police chiefs were struggling with reorganizations, budgets, limited personnel, economies of scale along with the pressure to reach a battery of targets but then only to be told precipitously by the Home Secretary that they only had one dominant goal. Many burdensome efforts which had long absorbed much time and personnel were simply brushed aside.

There was, moreover, the significant shift in UK policing that far more women had been entering policing than in previous decades; that they were often successful in almost every function; and that some had reached high

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<sup>62</sup> Most British cops would doubtless say, “It’s just another way of messing us around”: but they would doubtless use another verb than “messing”.

office and were performing well. It was the case that from early on women officers had had a tough time on the way up – with misplaced “humour”, slow promotion, verbal abuse and physical harassment – but the wider tendency in policing had, at least on the surface, become an acceptance of women in influential roles along with gender and ethnic diversity. But then there was a seismic shock in 2021 regarding the rape and murder of a young woman - Sarah Everard - by a Met officer in London in early 2021 (*BBC News*, 2021, 2 October). This was unprecedented and profoundly disturbing.

### **A woman’s rape and murder: and hundreds of officers suspected of abuse**

The off-duty Met officer - Wayne Couzens - was wearing some police attributes and apprehended Sarah in a London park with regard to the then pandemic restrictions: “He handcuffed her; drove her to a spot outside London; and then he raped her, murdered her, burnt her body and tried to conceal it” (Punch: 2022: 84-5). And it emerged that Couzens had exposed himself several times in the past while there were in total eight warning lights associated with him. Yet this did not lead to any sanctioning while in fact he was promoted.<sup>63</sup> But then it became known that he was from the special armed unit which patrolled the Royal palaces and residences in London as well as the Parliament complex at Westminster. This was shocking but it widened the focus on the fact that somehow two decades of seeming advance in gender acceptance had shielded not only dangerous males being recruited but also that they had entered specialist units with crucial tasks. There was plainly something not only seriously wrong with selection and vetting of police personnel but also that there had not been a reaction to the warning signals in someone’s conduct record.

Moreover, the wider policing of sexual offences involving women was appalling weak in London but also elsewhere while the chance of a conviction in court for a sexual offender was miniscule. This amplified a much wider concern about a number of grave cases in London and elsewhere in the UK

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<sup>63</sup> Couzens has been convicted and has been given a full life sentence (*The Guardian*, 2021, 1 October; 2023, 20 January).

revealing serious police deviance and prejudice towards female victims and also female officers. This disturbing pattern was also evident in sections of the Armed Forces and the Fire and Rescue Service. Furthermore, the shocking case of Sarah Everard and other cases fostered a tsunami of complaints from female officers about sexual assault, harassment, misogyny, predatory behaviour and so-called “humorous” comments (*The Guardian*, 2021, 6 October). Also in *WhatsApp* groups male officers were sharing misogynist views and pornography and one Met group “joked about raping women” (*The Guardian*, 2021, 2 October). It also began to emerge that large numbers of male officers were involved: “At least 750 allegations of sexual misconduct were made against serving police officers across Britain over five years” (*The Guardian*, 2021, 11 October). But that was not everything as I shall outline below.

Furthermore, there is a pattern in the Met – but also evident elsewhere in policing and other institutions - that reform efforts in the past following a scandal or blunder were typically based on a new and rather dull chief seen as a “safe pair of hands” who makes some cosmetic improvements. But then informally there was a cynical bending in the wind followed later by regress to the “bad old ways”. For instance, Sir Robert Mark came from the Leicester Police to the Met in 1967 as Assistant Commissioner and later Commissioner (Mark: 1978). On arrival several senior officers had informed him that he was not welcome in London! But undeterred he set out rigorously to clean out the “CID” / *Criminal Investigation Department* which was notorious for its contacts and devious deals with criminals and dubious lawyers. Then “entrenched interests within Scotland Yard --- made every effort to block his path”: he had faced malpractice in provincial forces but had “never experienced institutional wrongdoing, blindness, arrogance and prejudice on anything like the scale accepted as routine in the Met” (*The Guardian*: 2010: 5 October). However, he was ruthless and formed a new anti-corruption unit, A 10, while he forced 478 officers to depart and others left without being shoved. He had enough support externally and internally to launch reforms and gained much praise for his efforts: and he is viewed as a major police reformer. But for multiple reasons not all of his efforts lasted.

Then another later example of shifting fads and fashions within the Met was when Ian Blair became Commissioner in 2005. He was more the new style “reflective practitioner” type and decided to tackle the appalling failure of the

Met in gaining convictions relating to sexual abuse against women: he had earlier published a book on rape (Blair: 1985). He took the radical decision to invite a highly accomplished American academic, Betsy Stanko, to lead a research and policy unit as the Assistant Director for Corporate Policy within the Met which would investigate that police failure and set out policy recommendations. Betsy Stanko was originally a feminist criminologist in the USA who later came to the UK where she worked in several universities, the London Mayor`s Office, the Cabinet Office and within the MPS. She and her team had not only “assembled an impressive ‘gold-mine’ of data for researchers” but also conveyed “rich insights into research based policy formation and implementation in a highly ‘political’ organization” (Punch: 2022: 85-6). This made Betsy Stanko the most influential researcher ever within UK policing until then and with an in-house policy research group at the strategic level. But this was plainly not appreciated by all the Met senior ranks. In short, the findings of the study were savage about the Met’s failure to deal with sexual violence against women. This was amplified by the wider policy of the Crown Prosecution Service in only selecting cases for trial that had a roughly 50% chance of a conviction – or was in the “public interest” – while it was also struggling with the volume of cases. In practice there was something like an appalling 1% chance of gaining a conviction for rape with later in 2021 the Victim`s Commissioner, Dame Vera Baird, stating that this amounted to the “decriminalization of rape” (*The Guardian*, 2021, 2 October). This failure led to *Operation Soteria Bluestone* in which Betsy Stanko is deeply involved.<sup>64</sup>

”Operation Soteria Bluestone is a national Home Office funded research and change programme, led by the National Police Chiefs’ Council (NPCC)

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<sup>64</sup> “Operation Soteria Bluestone. Recognising the grave levels of public concern following the kidnap, rape and murder of Sarah Everard by a serving Met officer and other deeply troubling incidents, the Metropolitan Police Service (the Met) appointed Baroness Louise Casey to lead an independent review of its culture and standards of behaviour. The review began in February 2022 and completed in March 2023, when the final report and recommendations were published. The review \* discusses whether the Met’s leadership, recruitment, vetting, training, culture and communications support the standards the public should expect \* recommends how high standards can be routinely met, and how high levels of public trust in the Met can be restored and maintained”. (Metropolitan Police Service: 2023).

and hosted by the Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime (MOPAC). It is a collaborative programme bringing together police forces with academics and policy leads to use evidence and new insight to enable forces to transform their response to rape and serious sexual offences (RASSO). Chief Constable Sarah Crew describes how a Home Office-funded pioneering scheme called Operation Soteria Bluestone is transforming the way police investigate rape and serious sexual violence. Core to the delivery of change is the dissemination of and engagement in learning by police forces and key stakeholders. The ultimate product from the programme is the development of a national operating model for RASSO to be used by all 43 Home Office police forces. The evolution of this model requires detailed engagement with key stakeholders, for example Independent Sexual Violence Advocates, the third sector, police and crime commissioners, as well as the wider policing organisations including the NPCC and College of Policing". (*College of Policing*: 2021).

## **Commissioner Blair's demise; Johnson as Mayor; and "tough on crime" yet again**

Earlier Commissioner Blair, who had taken much criticism following the Stockwell shooting and was also viewed in the populist press as far too "soft", was pushed out by the new Mayor of London, Boris Johnson (2008-2016). Johnson was then viewed as a rather jovial and seemingly harmless character but is now mostly viewed as a cynical manipulator driven by his ego. For later in 2013 as P. M. he resigned before a damning parliamentary commission report which was about to be published accused him of breaking Covid restriction guidelines and lying about this to the House of Commons. Behind that Commissioner Blair-Johnson brouhaha is that previously the Home Secretary had the say in the appointment of the Met Commissioner but the policy had changed to also include the Mayor of London which meant his or her party political view could be influential. Formally Johnson did not have the right to dismiss the Commissioner but he withdrew his confidence in Blair who felt obliged to retire much to the consternation of many in policing and politics.

This unprecedented step was an ominous sign of direct and blatant political interference in policing. And behind that was also that there was a shift

within the Conservative Party and in government to a more populist faction repeating the mantra on toughly tackling crime and which criticised any perceived weakness in that area within a force or by a leading officer. For previously the Conservatives were pro-police and had routinely defended the police and their top officers but had agreed with the swingeing cuts in police numbers and budgets. And, as mentioned above, Theresa May as Home Secretary had expressed the “only cut crime” mantra in 2015 and this was influenced by the “zero tolerance policing / “ZTP” / broken windows” hype in New York and elsewhere and which is associated with Bill Bratton (then NYPD chief), George Kelling and Larry Sherman.

The last two had been strongly involved in the Police Foundation in D. C. and had gone on to work in universities where they pursued the social engineering and “evidence-based” approach of the Foundation. It was as if city politicians and police personnel from a wide range of societies were searching for a solution to the crime and disorder conundrum as they flocked from abroad to see how the NYPD “miracle” worked. They could sit in on the public and sometimes abrasive confrontation between front-line officers and key NYPD senior staff demanding improved performance. And at times police officers who were viewed as not delivering on crime reduction were roundly scolded or even demoted before that audience. This made the public grilling rather like one of the popular American reality TV shows based on competition, loud public rejection or acceptance of the participants and humiliation for the losers. There is much written on this ZTP / broken windows topic but also that crime was dropping anyway and even in places within the USA that had never adopted ZTP. This raises fundamental issues and criticism of such “quick-fix” practices which in some eyes distort policing while the also public inquisitions of officers are not seen by many as appropriate in dealing with police personnel (Punch: 2007; Karmen: 2001).

But that critical pressure leading to Blair’s departure in 2018 opened the door to unseating a Met Commissioner. For what was evident was that Met Commissioners were facing increasingly critical questions – especially in the social media and populist press - yet while also feeling obliged to stand behind the force and its personnel. For instance, Cressida Dick became the first female Commissioner of the Met in 2017: moreover she was gay which would have been untenable earlier but it conveyed a seeming acceptance of diversity and

tolerance. Unfortunately she struggled in dealing with a number of key issues and was seen as too defensive about the Met which led to her departure in 2022. For there was on her watch the Everard murder by a Met officer (mentioned above) but also that two Met officers had photographed two young female murder victims and had shared those images with other police officers. Furthermore, Casey's (2023) final report into the Metropolitan Police was released and it conveyed that the Met was institutionally racist, sexist and homophobic: and this was despite the that the Met had been led by a female Commissioner for some five years (2017-22).<sup>65</sup> Hence the abuse of women – with one murdered and with two dead women photographed for internal amusement – was not only truly awful but it was also changing the traditional corruption agenda towards indisputably police sexual and gender related crimes largely against women.

The Met also has to deal with public order situations on a routine basis but it had at times responded to such situations with excessive force. It had also adopted the practice of “kettling” which was to box in demonstrators to gain more arrests and that process was at times viewed as overly aggressive. Then a group comprising mostly of women came to Clapham Common, where Sarah Everard had been abducted by officer Couzens, in order to hold a vigil in remembrance of this female victim of police violence. Instead of using a soft approach to this emotive occasion but which was indisputably an infringement of the then Covid regulations restricting gatherings - say by using female officers to quietly persuade them to move on - the police went in heavy-handed and arrested several women. This was the worst possible image of policing at that particular moment. This further raised the fears of women in

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<sup>65</sup> Louise Casey, now a Baroness, has been closely involved in social agencies and in influential reports to government including one on the Everard murder by a Met police officer. “Recognising the grave levels of public concern following the kidnap, rape and murder of Sarah Everard by a serving Met officer and other deeply troubling incidents, the Metropolitan Police Service appointed Baroness Louise Casey to lead an independent review of its culture and standards of behaviour. The review began in February 2022 and was completed in March 2023, when the final report and recommendations were published. The review discusses whether the Met’s leadership, recruitment, vetting, training, culture and communications support the standards the public should expect and recommends how high standards can be routinely met, and how high levels of public trust in the Met can be restored and maintained”. (MPS: 2023).



general that they were not safe in dealings with the police who simply could not be trusted. And it was again a Mayor of London – but now Imran Khan – who strongly opposed Dick’s record in office. Khan was a lawyer, Labour politician and became the first Muslim and ethnic minority Mayor of London: but he was also, as with Johnson, the PCC for London. When he criticized Dick in his PCC role she felt obliged to resign which raised the same issue as with Mayor Johnson and his removal of Commissioner Blair without recourse to the Home Secretary. And this second removal of a Commissioner within a relatively short time again raised critical questions about the Met as an institution.

But those questions were amplified following that appalling sexual scandal involving a serving Met officer – Couzens – as the wider scale of that deeply disturbing issue became evident. For example, another Met firearms officer – David Carrick – was a serial rapist and violent sexual predator who during a long period had subjected women to “appalling acts of degradation” in slave-like relationships (*BBC News*: 2023, 16 January). And it also emerged that over 1,500 UK police officers had been accused of violence against women in a six months period: and that “less than 1% of those accused have been sacked” (*The Guardian*: 2023, 14 March).

There was, moreover, a number of cases of undercover officers having long-term intimate relationships with women who were active within the environmental or other social-political movements. The women were distraught when their partner suddenly disappeared or they found evidence about his real work. The Met tried to say that these officers were somehow rogue agents acting alone but their response was that they reported regularly to their handler in a particular unit (the “Special Demonstration Squad”). At least 50 women were involved in such relationships with “spy cops” which had occurred over several decades while some relationships continued for a number of years with one such undercover officer even discussing having a child with his “partner” (*The Guardian*: 2023, 29 June). Indeed, one undercover officer – in the Avon and Somerset Police - did have a child with a woman in a relationship lasting 19 years: and the women’s group – *Police Spies Out of Lives* uncovered two other such cases (*The Guardian*: 2023, 7 September). Then five victims of the covert practice – “Alison, Belinda, Helen, Lisa and Naomi” (2022) - traced the identity of their fake partners and unearthed that all five “spy-cops” involved were married and had children. One wonders how they

managed that undercover role for some time while having a family: and also what happened when their spouses heard of this in the media?

That tsunami of cases suggested not just rotten apples but rotten barrels or even by implication a rotten institution. The latter may not be the case and the reality might be more nuanced or patchy but it is in the nature of policing that incidents or patterns of internal deviance or crime are projected onto the wider institution. And if such damning data is released what does it convey to women and others about approaching this tainted institution as a victim or witness or for other matters? And what does it convey to all the women in diverse functions and various ranks working *within* policing about the potential threat and odious treatment to them internally?

## Positive Developments

There is a danger with regard to the current crisis within UK policing that the dominant negative reporting obscures positive policing in diverse forces. That is reflected in the media where there is an adage that bad news always drives out good news. But there are diverse realities within a force and even with a specific case. At the micro-level, for instance, there was a case in London of a woman who shared a flat with a Met officer: he suddenly assaulted her, tied her up and threatened her if she informed the police. But she did later manage to phone the police and when eventually two Met officers arrived they could not have been more professional and supportive. The assailant was sentenced to four years jail (*The Guardian*: 2023, 10 February). So much depends on which elements are malfunctioning and which segments are performing positively and in what settings.

There was, for instance, a positive example at the force level in Essex with an impressive and sound police performance involving people trafficking and fatalities.<sup>66</sup> For people trafficking has become a major issue in the UK with boats crossing the Channel or with migrants hidden in lorries. In 2018 the Essex Police – in the South East of Great Britain with a long coastline and in one area a border on the River Thames – was suddenly confronted with 39 deaths of

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<sup>66</sup> This was massively covered in the media while there is the BBC TV documentary - *Hunting the Essex Lorry Killers* (2022) - which provides an excellent, succinct and at times moving overview.

illegal Vietnamese migrants in a container and who had suffocated from lack of fresh air. The container had been brought across the Channel in 2018 to a port on the Thames which was within the Essex Police's jurisdiction. The driver of the cab with the container had driven from the port and had stopped late at night in a quiet area. On camera footage he can be seen discovering the dead migrants when he opened the container's door: and he then took efforts to conceal his phone use – he had used a Nokia phone for calls to his criminal colleagues and tried to destroy it - before reporting the deaths to the Essex Police. The first officers to arrive were confronted with a heap of bodies with almost no clothes on as there was no ventilation in the container while the temperature had risen inside the container to 36 degrees.<sup>67</sup> Police officers have to learn to cope with facing injuries and deaths in their work but this was extreme and all involved were offered counselling. The cab driver later confessed when confronted with the overwhelming evidence and was charged with serious offences and subsequently jailed. This Essex investigation was a major institutional effort which involved tracking criminals in the UK, Ireland, Europe and Vietnam but also working with policing agencies in diverse countries along the route and communicating with the victim's relatives in Vietnam. Four people involved were traced through material gleaned from the internet and using face recognition technology and the four, including the driver, have been jailed. This successful Essex performance has been viewed as one of the most demanding UK criminal cases of recent decades which at one time absorbed 1500 personnel which is nearly half of the Essex force establishment (Punch et al: 2013).

Another key issue relates to the positive impact women have had within UK policing: but also within police research. There is the historical story of women in limited and assumed "feminine" areas in policing but in recent decades women officers have gone on to enter every segment of policing while some have reached high rank. They have mostly performed well and have gained professional appreciation and institutional respect. Also the academic criminal justice community in the UK has during several decades taken on many

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<sup>67</sup> Each container has an individual tracking device for technical and other data for insurers and which records diverse details including the temperature. This also helped to track the containers trajectory before arriving in Essex. Then CCTV at diverse locations was also crucial as in clearly seeing the conspirators meeting together: and also even seeing some of those trafficked refugees getting into the container at a relatively remote spot in rural France.

dedicated and productive female scholars of whom some have made major contributions to the field often with regard to gender and crime. They and the wider criminal justice community have a high regard for Betsy Stanko and her dedicated contribution to the field and especially in shaping policy at the highest level in major London and UK institutions. There are also Jenny Fleming (Southampton University, from Australia, and editor-in-chief of *Policing and Society*), Sarah Charman (Portsmouth University) and Jennifer Brown (LSE) and others who have strongly contributed to the crime, policing and criminology research field and to the wider policing debate in the UK. Gender is a major theme in much of their work.

However, there has been little attention to women in the PCC role but one female PCC – Vera Baird - has performed exceptionally well. Vera Baird is an impressive and productive person who has been a barrister, a Labour MP, a government Minister and the Solicitor General (the House of Common's most senior law officer). She particularly focused in Westminster on criminal justice policy and on legislation geared to gender and equality while she was the leading Minister who took the Equality Act through Parliament in 2010. She became the PCC for Northumbria in 2012. As mentioned there was early on some friction between some PCCs and chief constables while most PCCs focused narrowly on crime policies and on success in combatting crime. But Vera Baird took on a broader role to the advantage of the force and for Northumbria and was viewed as a promotor of cultural change with regard to safety, partnerships and supporting victims.

Harriet Harman, QC and MP for Labour, wrote this appreciation of her on the publisher's website.<sup>68</sup>

“Her executive experience as a Departmental Minister has no doubt helped her to make the landmark savings in office costs alone of over £3m with all savings reinvested back into policing. The wheels of justice are known to work slowly but in Northumbria, in three short years, some of the changes set out here have begun to make a difference. The first ever Court Observers Panel, staffed by trained volunteers has already

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<sup>68</sup> A QC means *Queen's Counsel* (when a queen is ruling): he/she is a British lawyer of high rank who is allowed to represent a person in certain courts.

reported findings to the judiciary and the prosecution authorities who have responded positively. Victims First Northumbria, the ground-breaking hub has, since its inception in April, supported many victims of crime referred by police and many who needed support but did not want police involvement. The scores of businesses and public authorities who have adopted Workplace Domestic and Sexual Abuse Policies and put Champions in place to support victims of abuse who seek help at work are testimony to the sound partnerships that have responded to Vera's lead in this critical area. *The priorities in the Police and Crime Plan were set by the public and are at the core of delivery by Northumbria Police, a high performing force, popular with the public and embedded into the communities through a strong focus on neighbourhood policing* [my emphasis]---- With this wealth of experience, Vera continues to be a strong voice for the North East, speaking up for Northumbria Police force, partners and communities at a local and national level”.

Moreover, Baird was the initiator or partner in diverse schemes. One was to protect vulnerable people in the night-time economy. Another was for “DVSA” - *Domestic Violence and Assistance* - teams with joint police and domestic abuse workers responding to cases of domestic violence. And yet another related to domestic violence in the working environment and Northumbria is one of the few forces with a PCC attending to this topic. For “Northumbria now trains Workplace Domestic Abuse Champions” who can support colleagues who have been abused at home by their partners. Some such initiatives have been proposed before and either they were never implemented or they were abandoned for diverse reasons. On the one hand Baird's innovations and achievements convey the impact of a dynamic person capable of stimulating change in policing, safety and helping vulnerable in communities while achieving much in a short period. But on the other hand indicating that there remain many positive elements within UK policing.

Indeed, if one looks at the many positive initiatives in diverse police forces; at some of the impressive police officers at diverse levels; at certain constructive PCCs; at the varied activities of the Police Foundation and the College of Policing; and at the diverse issues and projects reported on the *Police Insight* site, then it all together comes across as constructive and

promising. Yet another major improvement is the provision of social and psychological support for personnel within policing – executive and ancillary staff - in relation to stress and trauma. There is the “Oscar Kilo” initiative of the *National Police Wellbeing Service*; the *Global Compassion Initiative*; and also *The Policing Mind* initiative:

“Researcher and author of *The Policing Mind*, Jessica Miller is on a mission to transform how the police force responds to trauma as experienced by its serving officers. ‘*I talk about the policing mind, but fundamentally, it’s not about the mind at all. These people are absolutely broken hearted, and they just have to keep going*’. By bringing neuroscience to the UK police in the form of easy-to-implement trauma-resilience tools, Jessica believes it is possible to have a healthier, more stable force, better able to serve its public”.

[www.transformingsociety.co.uk.2023/06/06](http://www.transformingsociety.co.uk.2023/06/06)

But then the conundrum is how do all these positive, constructive and supportive initiatives emerge while at the same time some truly awful cases of crime and deviance have been exposed within UK policing in recent decades? But we have to realize that many institutions and organizations malfunction or are highly deviant – and some carry on the deviance for decades and cause much pain and misery<sup>69</sup> – and yet people stay working in them for various

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<sup>69</sup> As at times with the BBC, the Catholic Church, diverse government agencies and within a range of sports: and in America when working for McDonalds (*BBC News*: 2023, 18 July). Then the Houses of Parliament have been dubbed a “toxic” environment and an unhealthy workplace with an “old boy’s network” excluded from reality. There is held to be a “predatory” culture where young women – and young men – working for MPs are at risk of harassment, bullying and abuse: and where the complaints procedure is overly tardy and unreliable. Those who complain usually come to regret it as they will probably never work at Westminster or for MPs again. In the parliamentary complex there is a prominent hierarchy with super-stars; there are long hours of work and pressure to deliver; and the ornate building is full of nooks and crannies and with some remote offices where it is difficult to evade or pass someone. Also the benches in the Commons chamber cannot take all the MPs so many are almost sitting on each other’s laps: and much alcohol is consumed (*BBC News*: 2023, 5 July). And at one stage three cabinet members and 56 MPs were facing sexual misconduct allegations. Hence, even at the prime political and law-making institution of the UK there was bullying, intimidation, abuse and sexual harassment of staff and also at times between M.P.s. themselves (*The Guardian*: 2022, 23 April).

reasons while some even try as much as possible to do things properly and constructively. It is just that police deviance by its nature can be exceptionally hurtful and damaging and can even be fatal.

## **Scandals; a new Met Commissioner; and a new Met “Chief Scientific Officer”**

Much of the focus in the wake of those police sexual scandals was on London and the Met while a new Met Commissioner was appointed who faced a truly daunting task in tackling this most corrosive issue. But before moving to him there are two disturbing books which detail the many failures of the Met in recent years (Harper: 2022). These are dealt with in an extensive review which not only examines Harper`s book but also in a book named *Tango Juliet Fox* – which is police slang for *The Job`s Fucked* - by a former Met officer (Donnelly: 2021). While both books are highly critical of the Met, and at times wider policing, the reviewer does place both books in a broader social-political context (Trilling: 2023). Those failures include the following.

1. In 2021 a report referred to “institutional corruption” regarding the death of a private investigator found in his car with an axe in his head near a pub frequented by police officers: and this case has not been solved despite four investigations
2. The “spy-cops affair” with undercover officers cohabiting with female activists was pronounced “unlawful and sexist” by a judge
3. There is the Angiolini inquiry regarding the rape and murder of a woman by Wayne Couzens. And this has been extended to examine the David Carrick case with his numerous sexual assaults of women during many years yet with no prosecution
4. A Black teenage schoolgirl was strip-searched for possible cannabis possession
5. A report found that there was a prevalent culture of “misogyny, sexism and predatory” conduct regarding female officers, staff and members of the public
6. The police inspectorate placed the Met in special measures with tens and thousands of crimes unrecorded.

To a degree part of this institutional deviance and crime has been touched on in both books reviewed and is related to some of the political policies I have mentioned above such as severe budget cuts. One other significant factor is that the Conservatives had long supported the police.

But the police felt that their work was being undermined by cuts and policies and became estranged from the Conservatives who in turn felt that the traditional police affiliation with the Conservatives had been tarnished by police focussing upwards and not downwards as when a sitting M. P. was arrested. Then Dillon as an experienced officer looks at how governmental policies were weakening practical policing through soft recruiting, under staffing and loss of the traditional craft of policing. He writes of neighbourhood officers with a “fount of knowledge as they knew every local criminal , whom they associated with and where they could be found --- much of this local knowledge has been lost” (as conveyed in the *Happy Valley* TV series). And that to a degree policing has been reduced to “fire brigade policing” in just responding to calls. Much of this has led to cynicism in the ranks which could mean personnel leaving the Met, retiring early or just keeping one’s head down pension age. For speaking up was not always welcomed:

“When David McKelvey, a detective chief inspector, opened an investigation in 2006 into a major drug-dealing gang accused of having links to corrupt police officers, he received a death threat. He reported it to his superiors, and then found himself under investigation for corruption. He left the force in 2010 and sued the Met for compensation” (Trilling: 2023).

It was with that background of crisis, scandal and critical issues in policing that a former chief returned to the Met. Sir Keith Rowley had served in several police forces including as Met Commissioner but had retired in 2018: however, he had returned in 2022 to lead the Met once again. To a large degree he was thrust primarily into the crisis role as problem solver. But the choices he went on to make were significant signals in the wider debate on the future of policing and the nature of that policing. Initially, however, Rowley was having to shed hundreds of officers mostly suspected of sexual offences. But he felt that the Police Federation, which is effectively a trade union except it is not



allowed to strike, was holding up proceedings by supporting suspect officers in internal tribunals and / or external court cases. This is also an issue in the USA and the Netherlands. He particularly expressed frustration about this as it will take years to shed the Met of all those suspects - if there are grounds for doing so – as proceedings can be long and with, in most cases, a right of appeal. But clearly those suspect officers or other suspect police personnel have a legal right to resort to internal and / or external legal means and with the support of the Federation. Rowley and the Met leadership then took two decisions of great significance.

First, Professor Larry Sherman was appointed as full-time “Chief Scientific Officer” of the Met. As mentioned above he had a very strong track record in the USA and later in the UK regarding research, teaching and change projects. With his drive and expertise he had become a dominant presence in UK policing as with taking senior police officer training to Cambridge University: and he has also now been given a powerful position within the Met. It is not clear if this is equivalent to the post previously held by Betsy Stanko but it could be more far-reaching. Both were American - which could be taken that there was no one in the UK or elsewhere qualified for those two posts – but the two were diametrically opposed in personalities, methods and approach. This illustrates that not only can the policing weather-vane shift radically within a few years but also seemingly with an institutional memory loss and an almost predictable relapse to a dominant crime control strategy. This would seem to ignore over 60 years of police research and practice which has consistently questioned that one-sided approach.

Secondly, and possibly related to the above, the Commissioner stated the Met would no longer attend emergency mental health calls (*The Guardian*: 2023, 28 May). This can be viewed as a retrograde step which ignores the wider social role of policing and, while it makes an exception for “threat to life situations” that assessment can be difficult to decipher in practice. There are already a flood of complaints across the country about a poor – or no – response to calls for police attendance at critical incidents. But to place that new Met policy in context there is the situation that has developed in recent decades that a range of social and health agencies are understaffed and underfinanced and that waiting times at the relevant agencies have become extended. Depending on the agency and the demand level it can be hours - or

even days - for primary care and this includes hospitals. That can mean that officers bringing someone to an agency as a matter of urgency related to a policing matter can be held up there for hours before a professional can attend to the person in need of care.

However, these two moves do suggest that police are primarily “crime fighters” which has long been the refrain of the right in the USA and UK for some time. And those contentious choices would seem to not only narrow the police focus but also to ignore many years of research documenting the broader range of tasks that police perform. It is further questionable if that narrowing focus is an adequate response to the extensive data on widespread sexual abuse and discrimination on gender and race within policing. For it can only be concluded that the mega-scandal about this is one of the most severe crises ever in UK policing in decades and which fundamentally damages the public’s trust in policing. So how is that trust to be restored? The difficulty is that,

“‘Time is running out if the police and the government are to restore public trust in policing’, the Chief Inspector of Constabulary has warned. In his annual report, Andy Cooke said police forces were experiencing ‘one of their biggest crises in living memory’ ---- “Atrocious” crimes committed by serving police officers had fuelled distrust, while too few criminals were being caught’, he added” (*BBC News*: 2023, 9 June).

### **Summary comment: And “hanging by a thread”**

Police to a certain extent are a reflection of society while societies change at times gradually and at other times more rapidly. It is clear that many societies have altered considerably in recent years and one important factor has been a shift to the right socially and politically – as with some far right politicians and activists in the UK, Netherlands but especially in the USA<sup>70</sup> – with profound implications for “law and order”. Globalization and neo-liberal regimes have had major impacts on societies; wealth differences are extreme; politics has become more divisive with gulfs between the major parties; and there is a

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<sup>70</sup> In the USA there are reductionist calls in certain Republican circles to defund the FBI and the Department of Justice.

great deal of insecurity and new levels of poverty which fosters crime and also hate against otherness in race or gender.<sup>71</sup> This is particularly the case in the UK with the increasingly deleterious consequences of leaving the EU becoming painfully evident. Growing insecurity and divisiveness can hinder policing as it faces increasingly complex and sometimes conflicting tasks with limited means and with a malign chorus in the social media condemning much of what it does. And the social media can focus on individual officers and police chiefs and can mount a hate campaign against them while revealing their home address. And a British police chief in a highly multi-cultural city said he gets an avalanche of hate mail if he attends a Jewish ceremony or a Muslim one. Furthermore, policing in the UK – with variations in Northern Ireland, Scotland and England and Wales – has tended to centralize and to focus on “crime fighting” while withdrawing from local policing.

That social distance and the sometimes competing internal segments of the organization along with external pressures have led a number of observers to comment that - *they have never seen the police institution so divorced from the public*. Moreover, the Chief Inspector of Constabulary has warned that trust in policing is “*hanging by a thread*” and that,

“The public expectation of policing is that they prevent crime, they investigate crime properly, that they’re in the communities, they’re visible and that they answer 999 calls quickly. These are the basics of policing”. (*BBC News*: 2023, 9 June)

This is the crucial issue running through this paper and the vital conundrum to be solved by politicians and the police. That key factor has severe implications as the confidence of the public is essential to healthy policing. It is also clear

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<sup>71</sup> The senior officer in charge of a multi-cultural London borough – London houses some 270 nationalities - and with extreme differences in wealth and poverty, told an LSE class that every now and then the right-wing National Front decides to march through the area. There is a large Bengali community in the borough with a highly active mosque that can house up to 8000 worshippers on a Friday. He has to try to persuade the young and more militant people in the mosque not to confront the provocative National Front group of just a few hundred as has happened in the past. But to control that possibility he has to mobilize several thousand police officers and pay the costs from his budget. This predicament – balancing the local ethnic and faith challenges and balancing the budget - will be familiar in forces in other parts of the UK and elsewhere.

that PCSOs cannot fully fill that gap in regular police visibility and that many members of the public do not view them as an adequate replacement. Not only that but in recent years there have been positive, multi-agency collaborations to tackle a number of public order problems as with binge drinking which leads to disorder after the late-night closing of the clubs and to alcoholism under relatively young people. And there have been multi-agency coalitions including policing to tackle these issues in Cardiff and Glasgow: and as mentioned above in Northumbria.

This reflects those early writers on the wider roles of the police as with Bittner (1967, 1970, 1974), Cumming, Cumming and Edell (1956) and Punch and Naylor (1973). And this topic has been strongly promoted in recent years by Nick Crofts (associated with the University of Melbourne) who established the *Law Enforcement and Public Health* / “LEPH” initiative. I was involved in this LEPH effort for a few years (Punch: 2019) as was Frank but particularly Auke who has been strongly active in it since the first conference in Melbourne in 2012 while his doctoral thesis is on the LEPH topic (van Dijk: 2022). The LEPH initiative has organized a series of international conferences – with two in Amsterdam – and which have attracted a wide range of attendants from policing and other agencies, and which have led to promoting inter-agency initiatives as well as diverse publications. This area includes how diverse agencies deal with sexual violence (especially against women), domestic abuse, alcohol and drug addiction, mental health, trafficking, slavery, disasters and hate crime.

All of these require a multi-agency response and it is reductionist for the Met to state it will not answer mental health calls unless “urgent”. Indeed, this is an accident waiting to happen if there are varying interpretations of “urgent” while if things go wrong it will lead to court cases and a deluge of negative publicity. Indeed, what the LEPH movement initiative conveys is precisely the need for multi-agency cooperation and not police withdrawing from initiatives. Many police officers across societies have shown themselves to be committed and flexible professionals who can adjust to the diverse challenges they face relating to crime and disorder but also to dealing with a range of social, medical and health issues along with other professionals, semi-professionals and volunteer agencies. And it is devastating for the public’s confidence in policing if police become viewed as distant and unreachable. But especially if they are

seen as sexual predators who cannot be trusted by women who have been in grave difficulty but are reticent about calling for police help.

That issue simply has to be tackled in order to restore public confidence and also to restore an internal sense of security for all female staff and staff of other gender orientations. There are clearly a range of issues here for academic research to pursue while there is too the issue of institutional reform. It is typical that five former chiefs of the Met have called for economies of scale to create larger forces: but this is the typical Met's centrist and "big is beautiful" view of the policing world. Also the Met has always had an umbilical relationship with the media; has a large and proactive media unit; and it is a highly "leaky" institution with at times some highly deviant practices. But the dominance of the Met – long an issue with other forces - could be reduced by splitting it up into say five separate forces; by integrating the City of London Police with the new forces for a wider "City" area force for inner London<sup>72</sup>; by adopting the same rank nomenclature as all the other forces; and by distributing some of its national tasks to other forces. This might require a Royal Commission on policing but there has not been one since 1964 and no doubt the current administration would not welcome one. But the issue is not so much force size – which has some advantages – but restoring police to the front-line but then in a smart manner. That is what many in the public want to see and some of the new officers Charman (2017) studied wanted to do. But first trust has to be restored.

This would require chiefs who have fully imbibed Peel's Principles and the Nolan Principles and who understand that public trust has to be restored through accountability. They should ensure that everyone in every part of the organization is fully in the same organization with the same policing philosophy. They have to motivate the personnel while treating them professionally and ensuring their health and security within a supportive institution. And they have to be astute in conveying that philosophy to the public and to the diverse stakeholders. There can be no illusions about achieving these goals but they are essential to restoring the public's confidence

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<sup>72</sup> The City of London force – now with about 1000 police personnel and 500 staff - was formally established in 1838 and it polices what is known as the "City" of London which is the traditional inner area of about a square mile which houses the Stock Exchange, the Bank of England and St. Paul's Cathedral.

in the police as a sound and accountable agency which can be trusted. It is crystal clear that this is no easy task and that it is reforming after several decades of economizing, reorganizations and distortions in the police enterprise and in recent years with a predominant “only cut crime” mantra. This has largely come in the UK from the new Conservatives who have mainly been journalists, executives or consultants - and with a dominant incestuous clique coming from Eton and Oxford (Kuper: 2022) – and with little experience of major and demanding assignments. Former Tory party members in the past had tended to have a broader vision combined often with high responsibility in politics, organizations, institutions and for some active experience in the military. Moreover, the Brexit saga effectively split the Conservative party with Johnson and his allies emerging successful and with the Brexit faction winning by drawing on the support of rightist nationalists including Nigel Farage and the powerful media outlets of Rupert Murdoch (Geoghegan: 2020). Some in the Brexit group despised the EU and were antagonistic to foreigners from within the EU but also to ethnic minorities in the UK of whom many were fully integrated UK citizens with some in politics, business, education and the media.

All of this has pushed politics to the right – as in the USA and increasingly in diverse EU countries – with consequences for policing and criminal justice but also for business, industry, the medical sector and the universities. There is, however, the strong prospect of a Labour government and Sir Keir Starmer who, before entering Parliament and becoming Leader of the Labour Party, had been a leading barrister and later the Director of Public Prosecutions with experience of prosecuting grave criminal cases. He is, then, someone with intimate knowledge of the criminal justice system: so the hope is that he would get policing back on track and with a strong accountability structure.

Finally I shall summarize what I have tried to convey above from my own experience: and from the accumulated knowledge gleaned during some sixty years of police research and police change across three societies – by academics and others including serving officers – in the UK, USA and the Netherlands but here with prime attention to the first two.

The police chief – who is *never* a “c.e.o.” [chief executive officer] but a *chief officer of policing* – is someone who holds a steady line based on devolving

responsibility and drawing accountability upwards. And she / he has a clear vision on policing and keeps everyone – executive police personnel, specialist police and civilian personnel, and support staff (in cleaning, catering and maintenance) - involved in a collective effort. She / he is a sound communicator internally and externally.

There is a solid enforcement and investigatory orientation based on experience and expertise and with a strong technical skills capacity as seen in the Essex Lorry case above. There are clearly diverse balances to be made here but there can be no divisive or subversive initiatives. For instance, long term and intimate relationships with women as an investigatory practice are simply unacceptable. Also many historical cases in the USA and UK warn of special units going rogue - exceeding their powers and using criminal means at times for years – and that should be anticipated. Internal and external investigatory agencies should be well resourced, employ a wide range of investigatory practices and be relentless in pursuing “bent” officers and criminal gangs within policing. There can be no illusions here about tackling police deviance with, as in the UK, former police officers and devious lawyers who could illegally gain access to police files and can bribe serving officers.

There has to be a pervasive and dedicated public service ethic along with a visible presence in communities and with front-line policing as the backbone of police agencies. A feature of front-line policing is that calls to the police vary widely and often with low information so that police officers have to be chameleons who constantly change their approach to fit the situation. They can be “philosopher, guide and friend”; be in a first-aid role; be the bringer of sad news; can be a mediator in a married couple’s argument; and can be comforting someone at the side of a road after an accident before the person goes into shock and dies. They can also be tough enforcers when arresting someone who is aggressive and may have to face knives or firearms. And they have to shift roles when engaged in public order policing where they face hostile situations and have to respond as a coordinated team in full riot gear. So talking of policing having to be “hard” and not “soft” is a false dichotomy held by people who do not understand – or want to understand – the shifting

and messy reality that decades of police research and publications and accounts by police officers clearly convey.

Then it is deeply disturbing that various police officers or former officers have said that they have never seen such a distance as now between police and the public in the UK as mentioned above. Clearly that is unacceptable and it requires a new investment in front-line policing. This could be by using empty buildings as temporary part-time police facilities and by combining police officers and PCSOs on patrol. In the Netherlands a community beat officer in a diverse and poor area of Rotterdam goes out with two folding chairs and talks to people in the streets about their issues which is a symbol of accessibility and problem solving. But if there are no police around in a community and they are only fixated on crime then that only helps to perpetuate alienation: but it also encourages disruptive elements in such communities.

And, finally, police agencies have to face up to the deeply disturbing elements of discrimination within policing regarding gender and ethnicity. As noticed in the USA some police agencies and units have become deeply biased with regard to ethnicity leading to appalling cases of abuse and fatalities as a result of excessive and unjust police violence. This is deeply disturbing as this issue has been prevalent for over 50 years – and also historically - while it diminishes the attention to the soundly performing PDs in the USA. But the most devastating issue in current UK policing is the widespread abuse of women by serving police officers. This undermines the confidence in policing among women - just as racial prejudice has done with ethnic minorities – while it's also an insult to all female police personnel and sound male police officers. This must not only lead to a determined clean out within policing but also to a dedicated emphasis on *accountability* in order to restore *trust*. And that trust could be generated by accessible officers of diverse gender orientation and ethnicity who visibly and astutely serve their communities both as law enforcers and also as socially oriented problem solvers closely linked to other social agencies. I am convinced that Peel, Bittner, Goldstein and Reiner – as well as Betsy Stanko, Louise Casey and Vera Baird along with police chiefs of diverse identities - would approve of that approach to policing: which is back to



the past to reconstruct a better future. But I also fear for the institutional and societal consequences if that path is not adopted.

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## Profiles

**Dr. Maurice Punch** has worked in universities in the UK, USA and The Netherlands – where he has lived since 1975 – and after 20 years in Dutch universities he became an independent researcher. He is currently Visiting Senior Fellow at the London School of Economics and former Visiting Professor at King`s College London, University of Essex and Eastern Kentucky University. His areas of specialisation in policing are change, leadership and accountability; he has given numerous lectures, seminars and courses in Europe, North America and Asia; and has published in English, Dutch and US journals. His books include *State Violence, Collusion and the Troubles* (Pluto: 2012), *Shoot to Kill: Police, Firearms and Fatal Force* (Policy Press: 2010), *Police Corruption* (Willan: 2009), *Zero Tolerance Policing* (Policy Press: 2007), *Conduct Unbecoming* (Tavistock: 1985) and *Policing the Inner City* (Macmillan: 1977). With Auke van Dijk and Frank Hoogewoning he wrote *What matters in policing? Change values and leadership in turbulent times* (Policy Press: 2015).

He was involved in the two “Law Enforcement and Public Health” conferences in Amsterdam in 2014 and 2016; co-edited a special edition of *Policing and Society*, Issue 3, 2017, on the LEPH area; and published *Law enforcement and public health: An Overview* (EZBook: 2019). In 2022 he published *Crime in the colleges: student excess, sexual abuse and institutional failure* (Bristol University Press).

**Dr. Frank Hoogewoning** is Secretary to the Police Education Council / *Politieonderwijsraad* in The Hague. He graduated from the University of Amsterdam where he also worked in the 1990s while earning his PhD on “Police-community consultation in three Dutch cities” (1993). He worked in the private sector for several years and began as policy advisor at the Netherlands Police Institute (NPI) in 2002. For the Council of Chief Police Commissioners he was secretary to the “Project Group on Crime Stoppers” (*Tegenhouden*) and to the “Project Group Vision of Policing” which developed a new philosophy and strategy for the Dutch police, *The police in evolution* (2005). In 2012-2014 he worked on the National Programme for *Future Police Leadership* leading to a proposal for redesigning leadership training for the Dutch Police. He has written numerous reports and policy proposals and published in Dutch and British journals. He was involved in and contributed to the two “Law Enforcement and Public Health” conferences in Amsterdam (2014 and 2016).

**Dr. Auke J. van Dijk** is a strategic policy advisor with the Dutch Police Service, Amsterdam. His academic background is in International Relations Theory and International Political Economy. In the late 1990s he worked at the Dutch Organization for Applied Research / *TNO* and later became senior advisor with a focus on security issues at the Strategic Council for Public Administration / *Raad voor het openbaar bestuur*, an independent think tank advising the Cabinet and Parliament. In 2004 he was senior advisor for the Commission of Evaluation for the Intelligence and Security Services, an independent committee advising government on the National Intelligence Agency. He was a member of the ‘Project Group Vision of Policing’ – formed by the Council of Chief Police Commissioners – which developed a new vision and strategy for policing, *The police in evolution* (2005). In 2012-14 he worked on the *National Programme for Future Police Leadership* leading to a proposal for redesigning

leadership training for the Dutch Police. Since 2012 he is on the Advisory Board of the Centre for Law Enforcement and Public Health (CLEPH) in Melbourne. He was involved in and contributed to the three Law Enforcement and Public Health conferences in Melbourne (2012) and in Amsterdam (2014 and 2016) and was influential in setting up the two in Amsterdam as well as the later meetings elsewhere. He has written numerous reports and policy proposals on a range of issues while his doctoral thesis was on the LEPH topic (van Dijk: 2022).

**Geoffrey Markham** QPM served in the Essex Police for 43 years and was Assistant Chief Constable for his last 18 years. He graduated from the University of Essex with a First Class degree in Sociology. As Assistant Chief Constable in major operational policing he was involved in a wide range of operations as “Gold Commander”. As a member of ACPO for 18 years he held a range of important portfolios: and he regularly lectured at the Police Staff College (Bramshill) on command and control, public order, police use of firearms, fatal force and professional accountability. And he continued to lecture there and elsewhere after retiring. He has also given expert opinion in a number of UK court cases and has provided expert evidence to the European Court of Human Rights on a number of occasions.

**Ralph Crawshaw** served in the Essex Police in a variety of posts and completed his service as Chief Superintendent. He holds degrees in Political Science and in International Human Rights Law from the University of Essex: and is a Fellow of the Human Rights Centre at Essex. Since retiring his prime focus has been on HR and policing: and he has worked in an independent capacity with the Council of Europe, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and with the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law (Lund, Sweden). This has principally involved delivering human rights educational programmes on behalf of these organisations for police, prosecutors and military in various countries throughout the world. He has also conducted investigations into violations of human rights and has co-authored two books on HR for policing.



