THE HISTORY OF POLICING

POLICE AND POLICING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

CHRIS A. WILLIAMS

Police and Policing in the Twentieth Century

Edited by

Chris A. Williams

The Open University, UK

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Series Preface

In modern society it is scarcely possible to read a newspaper, to enter a bookshop, to watch television or to visit a cinema without rapidly finding a story concerning the police. The police, according to the popular image, fight crime, and are there to protect 'us' – ordinary, law abiding folk – from the criminal 'other' – often some international gang or a vicious, sexual predator-cum-serial killer. When pressed, many ordinary observers will probably admit that this is escapism and that the reality is much more mundane. It is left largely to scholars and academics to probe that reality and, by so doing, to provide a coherent analysis of how the police institution developed and functioned and, through a better overall understanding, to encourage policy-makers and practitioners in reforms and reassessments.

Until the last third of the twentieth century the history of police and policing was rarely undertaken by anyone other than former police officers or people closely connected with the police service. Their research could be extensive and detailed, but their narratives were generally congratulatory. The cultural and intellectual climate of the 1960s, however, prompted a generation of young scholars to reassess the origins and development of police institutions. These scholars came from a variety of discipline areas. They looked back at the origins of the word 'police' and traced how a concept of governance became a bureaucratic institution. They challenged the common-sense assumptions that the police were created to fight crime and to preserve law and order and they probed the conceptualisations of 'crime', 'law' and 'order'.

The volumes in this series note the traditional narrative of police history, but really commence with the significant reappraisals published in the late twentieth century and then continue with the reassessments and debates that followed. The volumes are organised in a broadly chronological manner. The first begins with significant analyses of the concept of 'police' and policing structures under the old regime; subsequent volumes move through the development of policing in the nineteenth century, consolidation in the twentieth and the manner in which models have been structured with a view to export into the twenty-first century. The essays and articles in each volume have been selected by a historian with personal expertise in the area and each volume commences with an editor's introduction reviewing the literature, the shifting perspectives of research and debate, and the lacunae. The result is an accessible, organised and authoritative collection of the key articles on the history of police and policing that will prove an invaluable tool for both research and teaching.

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Introduction

For a long time, the twentieth century was a relatively overlooked period of police history. One of Great Britain's most distinctive contributions to the world of criminal justice has been the idea of the British police, called since 1829, with increasing inaccuracy, the 'New Police' (see the Introduction to The New Police in the Nineteenth Century in this series). In the period from the middle of the nineteenth century to the last quarter of the twentieth, British police saw themselves, and often were seen by others in other countries, as 'the best police in the world' (Reith, 1943). This perception derived largely from their strategy of policing in a more consensual manner than was usual in other countries in the nineteenth century. The resultant 'myth of the bobby' is not just a matter for historiography: it clearly had an impact on the practice of policing through much of the twentieth century (Emsley, 1992; Loader and Mulcahy, 2003; McLaughlin, 2007). Historians, too, tended to agree that the new police were a significant innovation, and this helps to explain the initial concentration on the nineteenth century, both by 'Whig' historians of the police, but also by the first generation of academic historians, as has been explored in the Introductions to Theories and Origins of the Modern Police and The New Police in the Nineteenth Century in this series.

One consequence of this view has been that, until recently, the history of policing in the twentieth century was very little studied by historians, who preferred to concentrate on the advent of the new police. There were some exceptions to this rule, but often they were histories of single forces, which were written within the 'Whig' tradition (see Introduction to Theories and Origins of the Modern Police), such as Ascoli's 1979 account of the history of the Metropolitan Police up to 1979, which although it is especially useful as a description of this force in the mid-twentieth century, suffers from its 'insider' perspective. The history of police in England and Wales between 1974 and 2010 written by former Chief Constable Timothy Brain (2010) is similarly handicapped, but again is valuable as a summary of what the various changes in the police service looked like from the inside. This characteristic was also a feature of the work on the period by T.A. Critchley (1967), a Home Office civil servant turned historian, whose attitude towards the history of British policing in this period derived closely from his work in conjunction with them: thus what he considers as self-evident truth in matters such as the proper balance of powers between the local and the central state is often merely the Home Office's collective view of a contentious issue (see also Hart, 1969).

More recently, the growth in academic history of criminal justice has led to some general studies including the twentieth century in their remit. Clive Emsley's long-term history of the 'English' (in fact, English and Welsh) police (1996) is the best synthesis for the coverage of the twentieth century, and any readers desiring a more detailed contextual framework than they can find in this introduction should refer to it. Perhaps the first significant overview of the century was a local study by David Jones (1996), which because it looked at an area with a large urban centre and a rural hinterland – South Wales – covered many of the general themes that subsequent work has also considered. Philip Rawlings' general work on the topic (1999) is notable for its ability to take a long-term view of the ways in which the focus and effect

of policing has shifted. Another example of a significant long-term view that deals with the twentieth century is Lucia Zedner's essay on 'Policing Before and After the Police' (2006), which considers the idea that some of the developments of the late twentieth century are creating a situation akin to that before the 'old police'.

This introduction will follow the structure of the volume as a whole. Thus, it will deal with a number of key themes in the way that police historiography of the twentieth century has developed. As well as noting the main points of the essays reprinted here, it will note the key external texts – mainly books – that are also necessary for an up-to-date understanding of this field.

How Police Were Organised

Who controls the police has often been a contentious political issue. The Victorians created three models for control in Britain. In London, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police was responsible to the Home Secretary directly, and although the force was part-funded by local taxation, Londoners had (until 1999) no say in how it was run. As Chris Williams discusses in Chapter 1, in the urban boroughs – all of Britain's large cities, many of its large towns and a few small towns – watch committees elected from councils had very wide powers to hire, fire and direct the police. In the counties, police committees – before 1888 composed of magistrates, after that composed equally of magistrates and elected county councillors – could appoint the chief constable and oversee some expenditure, but the chief constable had the power. As Shane Ewen (2005) has shown in the case of Birmingham, a city's police were more than a crime-fighting or order-maintenance force: they also served as a focus for a distinctive urban identity.

During the twentieth century though, centralisation had been foreshadowed in the shift of Home Office policy in its favour. As Jill Pellew (1982) has demonstrated, the Home Office itself was increasing its capacity to manage policing more closely during this period. Another theme that will be apparent in this volume is the significance of war. Both world wars were fought with levels of mobilisation that justify the use of the term 'total war', and governments quickly found that police institutions were remarkably useful all-purpose executive agencies for imposing the many controls that wartime mobilisation involved. In addition, it is worth bearing in mind, as David Edgerton (2005) has shown, the extent to which the waging of war was a central pre-occupation of the British state during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century. The experience of mobilisation in the First World War was noted, and lessons were learned, especially since it was followed by a period of heightened social tension and class conflict between 1919 and 1926. At the same time, the arrival of the Labour Party into local government worried the establishment, which saw it as an inherently disloyal entity. So, at the start of the Second World War, the Home Office already had established regional police areas to work through, and had the power to compulsorily amalgamate police forces when necessary (Emsley, 2004). Spy scares and the Cold War also had their impact on policing: during the twentieth century, institutionalised political policing, which was closely connected with the latent public order function of police that was the concern of the Home Office in this period, remained concentrated in London in the shape of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch, and only gradually spread over the country (Bunyan, 1977; Porter, 1987).

The desire of central government to establish closer control of local police forces was expressed through the debate about who, if anyone, could give orders to the chief constable of a borough. Nineteenth-century legislation clearly implied that he was the servant of the local authority, and the Home Office initially backed up this position, as Williams notes (p. 8). But the judgement in *Fisher* v. *Oldham* in 1930 claimed that he was in fact an officer of the Crown, accountable only to the law (Emsley, 1996, p. 164). The legal situation was not clear in the 1960s, as is illustrated by the fact that two experts in local government, Bryan Keith-Lucas and Norman Chester (see Chapter 3) could write opposing accounts of it, both of which were published in the journal *Public Administration*. The former advanced the 'Home Office' view about the independence of chief constables from local government supervision; the latter, in a postscript to Keith-Lucas's article, supported the view that called this into question.

The 1960 Royal Commission itself (best summarised by T.A. Critchley, who served as its secretary) voted the police a pay rise, and largely supported the Home Office's view that policing was best run by strong chief constables supported, but never directed, by local police authorities. In her response to the Commission in Chapter 2, Jenifer Hart points out that it failed to properly fulfil its remit to consider the relations between the police and the public. One member of the Commission, Dr Goodhart (like Hart an Oxford academic), agreed with her that its conclusions did not match the evidence it had received, and instead wrote a dissenting coda to the report advocating a national police force, accountable in theory and practice to the Home Secretary. The 1964 Police Act, which derived from the Royal Commission's report, merged boroughs with counties and replicated the county police governance in the 43 merged forces. With the collapse of the 'post-war consensus' in the 1970s, who (if anyone) the police chiefs were accountable to became a hotly contested political issue. It was in the 1980s that the most comprehensive summing-up of the debate around police accountability was written by Lawrence Lustgarten (1986; see also Jefferson and Grimshaw, 1984). By the end of the century policing outside London was far more centralised than it had been in 1880: it had moved from being largely a local government function to one in which various agencies of national government were supreme, and local government had little input.

How Technology Changed Policing

The period from the 1860s onwards has been one of rapid technological change, notably in transport, communications and various forms of information science ranging from photography and forensic chemistry to computing. This transformation impacted on policing in two ways: first, it changed the world the police had to deal with and, second, it gave them new tools and structures with which to deal with it. Policing has always been about the gathering and use of information, and thus it is intimately connected with advances in information handling. The use of photography was one of the first 'step changes' in the operation of the new police in the late nineteenth century, since it held out a prospect of consistently and correctly tying a suspect to his or her correct legal identity (Sekula, 1986; Ireland, 2002). To a large extent, this promise was delivered by fingerprints, which (contrary to their popular image in fiction) were nearly always used to determine the true identity of a suspect rather than to identify a perpetrator from evidence at the scene of a crime (Joseph, 2001; Cole, 2002).

The advent of the motor car provided a challenge to policing in two respects. As Clive Emsley notes in Chapter 4, the first was that, from the first years of the nineteenth century

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onwards, motorists behind the wheel needed to be policed. This process was significant largely because of the class element. Before the First World War, motoring was a hobby that could only be indulged by the very rich. In the interwar period car ownership spread more widely, but was still essentially limited to the middle class. These people were unaccustomed to becoming the objects of police attention, and often mobilised their political institutions in an effort to ameliorate this attention, attempting to challenge the legitimacy of the police per se in this sphere (O'Connell, 1998, pp. 132–35). Despite successful lobbying to de-criminalise harm caused by operators of motor vehicles, the policing of motor traffic became a key police function, which inevitably stretched their limited resources more thinly (Lawrence and Donovan, 2008).

Another broader technical change was related to the arrival of the motor car. The system of foot patrol developed in the early nineteenth century was well adapted to policing high-density urban areas where, especially in the working-class districts, much life took place on the streets and pavements. Even in rural areas, despite the long distances that constables needed to travel around 'their' areas, they were policing people who were largely static, or else moved equally slowly through the landscape, or via railway stations, which were easily monitored choke points. Cars changed this, but so did the landscape of low-density suburbia that they brought with them. Populations were more mobile within cities, and the density lowered to the extent that no place could afford to police its suburbs with the intensity enjoyed (or alternatively, tolerated) by its inner cities. Police chiefs, and the press, worried about gangs of 'motor bandits' who could outdistance police, but in the main, the policing challenge of the 1920s and 1930s was caused by the changing habits of the majority of the population, not by small groups of criminals. In Chapter 5 Joanne Klein examines the way that three big-city forces reacted to these pressures, showing that they did so through the use of technology: chiefly telephone box systems and motor transport. This pattern was also followed in London and elsewhere: senior police officers such as Lord Trenchard, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, and Nottingham's Chief Constable, Athelstan Popkess, set up pioneering systems in their areas that bypassed the beat structure entirely (Popkess, 1936, n.d. [1951]). For the beat police, the system of telephone boxes often tended to isolate them from their comrades yet maintain their subjection to the kinds of close supervision that had characterised new policing from the outset.

After 1945, the motor car became ubiquitous, and the main focus of the police's orientation towards it became to preserve freedom of movement in the interests of commerce: another core function that dated from the earliest days of urban police. Chapter 6, Shane Ewen's essay on the management of traffic in post-war Leicester, is as much about the workings of the local council as about the local police, which illustrates his point that the policing, traffic management and planning functions had become highly integrated. Robert Mark, the first Metropolitan Commissioner to be appointed to the post following a career in the provinces, made his name in Leicester reorganising the traffic, and his technocratic style of policing was ideally suited to the post-war period, in which technological solutions were applied to many problems that were themselves the fruits of a technical transformation.

The police's use of advanced technology did not pass unnoticed at the time, but contemporary studies tended to look at it (not without reason) purely as a means of political repression against dissenters, rather than as contributing to the police's relationship with the public as a whole (Wright, 1978; Manwaring-White, 1983; BSSRS, 1985). In the case of CCTV, this

latter factor increasingly became apparent following the massive expansion of open-street CCTV surveillance systems in the 1980s (many of which were run by local government rather than police forces), and the narrative history of this development has been discussed by some social scientists who work on the topic (Moran, 1988). The history of the initial adoption of CCTV technology by British police demonstrates a number of patterns, as discussed by Chris Williams in Chapter 7. First, the technology was not an independent force, but needed to fit into existing institutional patterns if it was to be successfully implemented. Second, events that directly concerned the security of the state (notably, anti-war demonstrations outside the US Embassy in London) were often the priority areas for the employment of new technology. Third, even during the experimental phase of police CCTV use in the 1960s, they were well aware of the potential for 'panopticon effects': the possibility that fear of possible surveillance might play a part in changing public behaviour.

What Police Did

Political history has tended to study the world from the top down, using largely governmental archives to trace and explain changes in policy and in organisation. Social history, on the other hand, seeks to explain the everyday activity of selected groups in the past. An increasing amount of the history written about the British police in the twentieth century falls into this category, and it can be used to trace what police did on the ground. It is worth noting, though, that this has often been done through case studies on a certain topic or individual, and so far the themes in policing that have attracted the most attention are often those that overlap with broader social issues that already have a profile, even though they might not have concerned a large number of police. There is as yet not a great deal of research into the everyday work activity of 'average police' in the twentieth century. Perhaps the best attempts so far are both the result of oral history research: Barbara Weinberger's *The Best Police in the World* (1995), which deals with policing in the interwar period in general, and Mike Brogden's *On the Mersey Beat* (1991), which looks at Liverpool between the wars, and also sets out the complex (and often distressing) way that police officers were used to repress the most marginalised members of society.

Detectives loomed large in fiction, and in the public image of policing, but they were only ever a small component of the manpower of police forces. Despite ongoing attempts to regiment and control their work, it remained very unlike that of the uniformed police: entrepreneurial and led by the prospect of rewards in the manner of 'old' rather than 'new' police, as R.M. Morris shows in Chapter 9. Detectives were engaged as much in a job of convincing the public that crime was under control as in actually controlling it, and one of their key weapons in this process involved manipulating the crime rate down so as to increase their clear-up rate (Young, 1991). This manipulation of the criminal statistics became harder to justify after the introduction of the British Crime Survey in 1980, but some researchers have argued, albeit in the face of some cogent criticism, that statistical returns of crime and police activity were so manipulated by police as to be indistinguishable from fiction (Taylor, 1998; Williamson, 2003; but see also Morris, 2001).

Chapter 8 by Mark Roodhouse covers only a narrow event – the creation of a single squad, the 'Ghost Squad', in the Metropolitan Police, which never contained more than a handful of detectives. This development was significant for two reasons. The first was as a precedent:

it pioneered the use of 'intelligence-led policing', the name of a process whereby police officers have a policy not merely of responding to discrete criminal activities, but of gathering intelligence about the behaviour of criminals and arriving at specific strategies to disrupt that behaviour. The second is that it provides an excellent example of a way that war influenced policing practice during the twentieth century. It also describes how the detectives in the squad carried out a 'work to rule' as a response to the force restricting the money that they were allowed to spend in their investigations.

The standing tension between police, who generally wanted a quiet life on the streets (if possible), and some of their political masters, who often wanted them to clamp down on 'victimless crimes' such as prostitution, has been explored in the case of London by Stefan Petrow (1994). Street bookmaking was made illegal in 1853 as part of a desire to civilise the working classes. The laws, strengthened in 1906, were seen by many working-class people as discriminatory, since they did not persecute the middle classes who could place a bet over the telephone (Clapson, 1992; Emsley, 1996, p. 245; Chinn, 2004). This illegitimacy lay at the heart of a continuing source of tension for the police, who could not arrest everyone that they saw gambling without totally alienating the community within which they had to work. Thus they tended to work out some kind of modus vivendi. As Andrew Davies explains in Chapter 10, sometimes this took the form of police arresting the bookmakers' look-outs rather than the principals: this produced a record of activity against the practice, but did not amount to an attempt to suppress it. Sometimes the procedure involved collusion between the police and the bookmaker, who, warned by police of the impending raid, would pay someone to stand in for his usual look-out that day, to prevent the look-out from facing heavier fines for a second or subsequent offence. This collusion often involved the payment of bribes to police officers.

The policing of prostitution also involved a crime with no identifiable victim, in regard to which police were enforcing moral legislation that criminalised a consenting act. This inevitably generated friction. As with gambling, police in large cities could usually find as much prostitution as they were happy to look for, and so, as Stefan Slater shows in Chapter 11, London's police tended to adopt a strategy of 'containment'. The police maintained a steady stream of arrests, and there is evidence that they tended to direct these against newcomers to the trade. The exceptions to the pattern occurred in two periods (1923–24 and 1929–31) when the arrest rate fell dramatically. Slater considers these to be periods of 'work to rule' following high-profile cases when London magistrates refused to convict respectable men who had been arrested by police for consorting with prostitutes. There was also a spike in arrests in 1937, as police were encouraged to clamp down on street prostitution in advance of the Coronation of George VI. Police efforts to contain prostitution, though, appear to have been increasingly concentrated in the West End of London, leaving the East End as a 'zone of toleration'.

In the 1960s, sociologists introduced the concept of the 'moral panic': a moment when a social problem becomes perceived as a threat to society as a whole, usually because it is serving as a proxy for a wide range of other more general anxieties (Cohen, 1972). Louise Jackson's essay on the policing of youth culture in Manchester (Chapter 12) uses the concept of 'moral panic' to explore why the police force paid attention to the city's 'coffee clubs', which, because they had no licence to sell alcohol, were able to open all night. She points out how wider concerns about youth, which often resulted in pressure on police to take action, were not merely a product of the 1960s, but have been a perennial concern.

Who Police Were

The working lives of policemen and women have increasingly been the subject of historical research. In addition to the material collected here, Emsley's long-term survey on the policeman as worker (2000) is a useful source on the first part of the twentieth century. Weinberger's oral history of policing in the middle years of the century (1995) also contains much about the way that the job was done, and how it felt to do it. The late Victorian policeman was firmly placed as a member of the upper working class. He needed to be literate and respectable, as well as physically able. His pay was relatively low when compared to some of the most skilled positions open to intelligent and reliable working men, such as in engineering, but the crucial difference here was that the job was not at the mercy of the business cycle, but a job for life (Taylor, 1991). This assumes, of course, that the officer could resist the job's temptations and evade its dangers: at the turn of the century, around a quarter of the Metropolitan Police's officers were injured on duty each year (Emsley, 1996, p. 231).

The exceptionally high turnover that had characterised the force in the early years of the new police reduced substantially towards the end of the century. In Chapter 13 Haia Shpayer-Makov analyses the backgrounds and career patterns of the men of the Metropolitan Police. Fewer police chose to leave and fewer were dismissed, with the result that a far larger proportion ended up collecting their pensions. The key watershed here was the 1890 Police Act, which for the first time gave officers (outside the metropolis as well as in it) the right to a pension once they had completed 25 years service: before, it had been in the gift of the police authority, and many found reasons not to award it. This was both a cause and an effect of the fact that policemen had risen in social status and occupational cohesion during the middle years of the nineteenth century. This, though, often created and fuelled demands for higher pay and for freedom from 'oppressive discipline': all ranks in police forces were under the close control of those above them, with very limited scope for appeal if they abused their power.

As Clive Emsley and Mark Clapson show in Chapter 14, the material circumstances and career trajectory of the policeman were matched by his own self-image, which can be gauged through autobiographies and the police press. Policemen saw themselves as men apart, and also a cut above most of their fellows. The authors demonstrate also that (Metropolitan) policemen tended to live in London's more respectable streets; this was if anything an additional cause of tension. Respectability often had a cost, but the police wage was hard put to cover all of this, largely because it was a serious disciplinary offence (sometimes leading to dismissal) if a police officer's wife worked for a living. This rule, and another significant one that prohibited the officer from getting into debt, was designed to insulate the officer from potentially harmful influences in 'the community'. As Barbara Weinberger found when she interviewed many of these women as part of an oral history project, reported in Chapter 15, the policeman's wife in the early and middle years of the century often had a difficult time keeping up a respectable home life. Some took in lodgers, who were often other police officers. In county police forces, though, police households were more likely to given accommodation as part of the job, but the corollary of this was that they could be, and often were, transferred to the other side of the county with little or no notice. In addition, the wife of a village policeman was expected to act as her husband's unpaid assistant, answering calls when he was out.

Just as the advent of new police in general had been a politicised process, so the addition of women to this traditionally male role was heavily influenced by events with no immediate connection to criminal justice. As Philippa Levine notes in Chapter 16, a few women had been employed within police stations as 'searchers' and matrons to look after female prisoners, but none were sworn in as constables with power of arrest before the First World War. Although there were a very few examples of female 'sworn officers' outside the UK in 1914, there is no indication that the situation would have changed without the war: again, we see the effects of war on changes in policing structures. With the arrival of war, hundreds of thousands of young men and women were moving round the country as soldiers or munitions workers, and the authorities allowed several groups within the women's suffrage movement to establish patrols designed to protect the morals of young women (in practice, this often meant 'protecting them' from themselves). Other pioneer women police were employed to help control some of the masses of women who were working in munitions factories. Despite some opposition from elements within suffragism who objected to the 'moral policing' role of the women pioneers, the tactic was successful, and after the end of the war, direct lobbying through female politicians managed to prevent the women police from all being sacked. They were, though, very much a token contingent everywhere, and in many provincial forces there were none at all. It took a second war before the Home Office, this time attempting to utilise every weapon to maintain police strength, began to urge all British forces to appoint some policewomen. Partly as a result of the experience of the First World War, women police came to be associated with the policing of morals and of welfare, right through until 1975 in many places. Only a very few (Lilian Wyles was one of these) broke out of this role before then: many preferred to specialise in it, and considered that they did a better job than was done later by 'integrated' forces (Wyles, 1952).

Initially, the history of female police was largely written, like that of their male counterparts, by those with direct experience of the role, who were keen to tell their story (Lock, 1979). Since the formation of women police was so closely entangled with the early history of the movement for women's suffrage, this episode has also received a lot of attention (Douglas, 1988). Only recently have historians such as Louise Jackson, in Chapter 17, tried to look at the way that the existence and experience of policewomen changed the nature of 'welfare policing' in the twentieth century (see also Jackson, 2006).

The higher ranks of the police service have an employment history too. Wall's study of chief constables (1998) is an invaluable look at this group in the twentieth century as well as the nineteenth, and Reiner's sociological work (1992) also has an excellent historical dimension to it. At the start of the period, chief constables as a class were very likely to be recruited from outside the police service, especially in the biggest forces. Partly in response to agitation by lower ranks, the Home Office in the interwar period attempted to recruit only those with direct police experience to these posts, although many of these recruits came from Ireland or other colonial forces. In the late 1930s the Police College at Hendon trained several hundred promising recruits to fill the top police jobs in the future (St. Johnston, 1978). Many of these were already police officers, but a substantial proportion was recruited directly. This experiment with an 'officer class' was highly unpopular with the rank and file, and it was ended in 1939 on the outbreak of war and not resumed afterwards. The personnel doctrine remains that the career of police officer is open to talent and rising from the ranks: in the main,

though, the police leaders of the late twentieth century were graduate entrants who benefitted from specific accelerated promotion schemes.

Crises of Policing

The role of police officer was inherently difficult to fulfil. Police officers, who exercised in public the state's claim to the monopoly of violence, needed by definition to carry out their function in ways that were bound to create friction. They held considerable power, but were usually relatively badly paid compared to many of the people that they dealt with. They were mandated to enforce the law equally for all, but shared many of (and sometimes exemplified) the prejudices of their social milieu towards unpopular or marginal minority groups. Above all, their role as apolitical upholders of the law inevitably came into conflict with their need to protect the authority of the state in situations where there was significant disagreement about the correct way to interpret the law (Davis, 1991). Thus, there were many tensions that could expose themselves as crises of policing, and the various moments of tension which have been studied by historians have helped us to understand the way that policing worked.

By the end of the nineteenth century, as Joanne Klein shows in Chapter 18, policemen were increasingly aware that theirs was a job apart, and were demanding the right to organise themselves in search of better pay and conditions. To an extent this was done legitimately, through overt petitioning for better conditions and the campaigning activities of journals such as *Police Review* (Shpayer-Makov, 2002, pp. 248–54). But it was also carried out via the clandestine formation of a trade union, which gained traction in the service as pay was eroded significantly during the First World War (Allen, 1958). The union went on strike twice: the first time in 1918 for a pay rise (which was granted) and the second in 1919 for recognition. The government moved fast, setting up the Police Federation as a voice for the rank and file, but sacking all those who had gone on strike in support of the union proper (Reynolds and Judge, 1968).

The interwar period brought stability to the police labour force (not least because of continuing high unemployment) but the consumer society also led to temptation. Police in large cities were tasked with enforcing the laws concerning licensing for the sale of alcohol: the high turnover of drinking clubs created opportunities for corruption on a scale far larger than that provided by gambling or prostitution. It was perhaps inevitable that some individuals would take bribes to allow these businesses to operate. The interesting issue is the extent to which this corruption was an isolated incident or endemic to the organisation. Clive Emsley's case study of the Metropolitan Police in the 1920s, as revealed in Chapter 19, concerns Sergeant Goddard of 'C Division', who amassed a substantial fortune from bribes in the West End before being convicted and imprisoned in 1929. At the time, his employers sought to present this case as a one-off, but as Emsley demonstrates, Goddard had already been accused of corruption by a fellow-officer who was himself immediately victimised and dismissed. Furthermore, the police records relating to 'C Division' show that in 1931 a large number of police, up to the rank of inspector, were dismissed or transferred. This implies that corruption was endemic rather than individual.

Police corruption did not go away, but it grew less prominent, before becoming once more a live public issue, especially in the Metropolitan force, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as the extent of corruption, not merely in the police units most exposed to bribery (the Obscene

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