

Beyond contrasting traditions in policing research ?

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Policing in a research spotlight

The police are amongst the most frequently researched of occupational groups so it will be no surprise that the history of policing research reflects a variety of influences and concerns. In many respects, the relative 'uniqueness' of the policing role, the power of the police and the symbolic authority inherent in the role, not to mention the many questions of legitimacy and controversy attendant upon the actual *exercise* of police powers, have all conspired to focus the spotlight of critical enquiry upon what the police do and how they do it. In an age in which a layer of (albeit mediated) democratic visibility has enveloped a great deal of operational policing,¹ yet where profound inequalities and tensions still characterise the societies in which the most advanced policing practices are deployed, continuing academic interest is but one more way in which attention is focussed upon one of the most visible arms of routine state power. Other state agents are seldom so visible, even as they exercise comparable juridical functions often with profound consequences for those subjected to them. The explanation, probably, has something to do with the social and political significance of crime and disorder as a state discourse (Simon, 2007); those agents with the power to define and to name crime and thereby to deploy the ultimate power of the state remain a continuing source of both fascination and awe.

Continuing academic interest is, in one respect, just a flip side to the constant supply of cop shows on TV, moral tales of good and evil for modern times, they cut to the core of contemporary culture driving both popular and social scientific curiosities. In a further sense, as the benefits of science and technology have been applied to the arena of crime control, these have also become accessories to the moral drama of crime and a growing source of popular fascination², adding science and predictability (the 'how' and the 'who') to

¹ Notable here might be the video footage which so often accompanies the review of police involved critical incidents. Consider, for example the repeated showing of the Andrew Mitchell 'plebgate' exchange; the graphic CCTV imagery of the Lee Rigby murder and the ensuing police response; the photographs of the fateful shove from which Ian Tomlinson later died in 2009 and the still images from the London Underground security cameras showing police officers pursuing Jean Charles de Menezes down the Stockwell escalator. In 2005 vehicle mounted camera and sound recording captured the 'hard stop' and the near simultaneous thuds of 'shots fired' resulting in the death of Azelle Rodney. In the police station, of course, all police interviewing has been recorded since 1986 and, with increasing numbers of officers now equipped with body-worn CCTV, then even more police critical incident reviews are likely to be undertaken with the benefit of visibility. Such frequent visibility is likely to keep police practice in the spotlight even though nothing in the foregoing is intended to suggest anything so simple as seeing is believing.

² Scientific advances have been reflected in a series of fictional televised crime dramas of which the US *CSI* franchise which, while certainly not the first, is probably the best known and most extensive. Other TV series

the craftwork of police detection and enhanced situational capability (the 'where' and the 'when') to crime prevention. In turn, policing was expected to embrace these new crime sciences, their procedures of evidence gathering, crime scene management and methodologies of forensic practice. Yet the continuing uneasy relationship existing between what we might call the 'sociology of policing' and the newer 'crime sciences' might still be detected in a variety of places; it is apparent in the awkward relationship between contemporary policing's flagship practice 'intelligence-led policing' (Ratcliffe, 2008) and the more mundane or even routine experiences of actually existing 'policing led intelligence' (Cope, 2004) and it can be observed in the sometimes apparently decorative addition of a variety of data (evidence or intelligence) to augment some often fairly basic policing conclusions (Innes et al., 2005). Commentators have drawn attention to some of the self-defeating and threshold-raising, consequences of this reliance on science and technology; where the absence of demonstrable scientific evidence is understood by juries as equivalent to 'reasonable doubt', given that eye-witness testimonies have sometimes proven so fallible (Loftus, 1979), police evidence potentially tainted (Westmarland, 2005) and suspect confessions sometimes the result of duress (Bull and Milne, 2004). In such scenarios, crime science *alone* cannot help us and, as the argument will be developed, perhaps only a fuller and richer engagement with several dimensions of research can perhaps save policing from itself. A useful example here might involve Williams and Weetman's (2012) pilot study of the utilisation of forensics in police murder investigations; for important to the success of the investigation was not just the availability of forensic expertise, but where and how it was used, and what it was used to do. As the authors remarked, practical questions relating to timing, agency, decision-making and contingency were all vital to the contribution of scientific expertise to the investigation process.

Since the 1960s, as politicians and events have thrust policing to the forefront of a political narrative about social order in late modernity (although certainly a changing and contested one) policing itself has experienced a comparable need to explain and understand and a growing demand to account for itself, to scientifically validate its working practices and to professionalise. While once it may have been the case that policing sought to avoid unnecessary scrutiny – other than that provided by the courts – and, in common with many security organisations, it was often rather wary of the attentions of researchers and inquirers, in recent years and facing its own challenges, it has come to engage in a more subtle and negotiated relationship with research.

Changing research, changing policing

There are many different types of research, after all, and these have engaged policing activities in a variety of different ways. Forms of research that might once have been seen as posing a critical threat to policing might now seem to be coming to its defence. And as policing has developed, moving inexorably from its inception as a 'force' to its more modern conception as a 'service' (Stephens and Becker, 1994) and increasingly embracing the ethos

have featured more specific aspects of the crime sciences, not to mention a degree of science fiction (Ramsland, 2006). Amongst many others, *Quincy ME.*, *Bones* and *Silent Witness* especially featured autopsy procedures and forensic medicine, *Cracker* and *Wire in the Blood* particularly featured psychological profiling as an aid to detective work; *Cold Case* and *Waking the Dead* revived older cases with the benefits of new scientific techniques. Increasingly, all TV cop shows, within the constraints of the genre but in search of greater realism, have sought to represent more professional crime scene management practices.

of new public management (McLaughlin, 2007) so research, and the evidence provided by research, have increasingly become a foundation upon which important aspects of its legitimacy and credibility rests. The much discussed great 'transformation' of policing detailed and debated at length by criminologists in both the US and UK – and globally (Bayley and Shearing; 1996; Jones and Newburn, 2002) – rested, in a number of quite fundamental ways, upon the contributions of research, evidence, science and technology all of which have impacted, for good or ill, upon policing. In an important contribution to these debates Haggerty (2004) has argued that the rising fortunes of crime science as a governmental discourse and the side-lining of a wider criminological perspective have followed from the rather narrower neo-liberal conceptions of the role of government in crime prevention (managing criminal consequences rather than addressing causes) and an increasingly pragmatic preoccupation with criminal justice performance and effectiveness. This has included questions of risk and threat assessment, the deployment of new policing skills, sciences and technologies; new ways of gaining and using information in revamped performance management systems; new inter-professional working practices and enhanced processes of accountability and ethical governance; greater awareness of the pressures of diversity and difference, now more familiarly perceived in a global frame; and finally, new conceptions of the policing role – a recognition that the 'extended policing family' reaches in two directions, spanning a wide range of activities from the most 'civilian', neighbourhood support, reassurance and community problem solving, through to the most militarised including the deployment of potentially lethal force. While it is beyond dispute that research has contributed enormously to this transformation of policing, it is equally clear that the research in question has taken many disparate forms, driven by widely differing interests and priorities. In the remainder of the article we will try to characterise these contrasting approaches.

Yet just as research has changed and, over time, as it has come to ask different questions about policing (research *on* policing), so the research needs of policing has also changed (research *for* policing) even, on occasion, moving beyond the reach of applied academic research and into places where mere academics might be prevented from penetrating or where governments are, to say the least, reluctant to listen. The recent revelations of the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (Senate Select Committee, 2014) which detailed instances of the CIA use of 'enhanced interrogation techniques' (arguably 'torture') against terrorist suspects may be a case in point, where the perceived security demands of the 'high-policing' (Sheptycki, 2007) arena were for some time considered to be beyond the scope of research, until, that is, the weight of criticism began to impact upon the credibility and integrity of the agency itself. We have been here many times before, for example, when concerns about the 'cruel and unusual' treatment (arguably 'torture' and oppressive interviewing practices) of suspected provisional IRA members threatened to escalate the Northern Ireland conflict. In such a context, pioneering independent research exposed evidence of systemic malpractices and thereby paving a way towards the better governance of police criminal procedures, articulating a draft code for 'interrogation practice' and ultimately contributing to the wider normalisation of police community relations in the Northern Ireland (Boyle et al., 1980) and perhaps even a stepping stone towards the Police and Criminal Evidence Act.

Similarly, in the USA, a long tradition of critical research on police use of force during strikes and industrial conflicts (McNab, 2009), during community protests (Balbus, 1974) and,

especially, concerning the use of lethal force against African American citizens (Fyfe, 1988; Sparger and Giacompassi, 1992 and Alpert and Dunham, 1995; 2004) has resurfaced during 2014 in the effort to understand the background dynamics of police and community violence in Ferguson, Missouri, where a consortium of *Sociologists for Justice*³ explored the causes and consequences of the widespread community protest which followed a number of police shootings (Martinot, 2012; Wood, 2014) drawing upon a variety of research and suggesting a number of strategies for police and criminal justice oversight, community consultation and violence de-escalation. We will return to these issues later in the discussion.

Surprising as it may be, research undertaken during and in the wake of some of the USA's darkest moments for policing and criminal justice have also found positive applications in the UK. Research undertaken in the wake of the 1967 Detroit Riots and the Kerner Commission itself were the inspiration behind one of contemporary social science's most high profile research projects, *Reading the Riots* (Newburn et al., 2011) which explored the disorder, the policing and the subsequent criminal justice processing of those arrested by police. The research exposed, in particular, the extensive efforts of the police to apprehend rioters and looters (Newburn, 2015) as well as the wave of uniquely punitive sentencing to which those prosecuted were subjected (Roberts and Hough, 2013). In similar fashion, research by Balbus (1974) into the policing of riots in Los Angeles, Detroit, and Chicago during the 1960s which exposed the complex situational pressures to which the police were subjected during instances of urban disorder found application over a decade later in British research which recounted the ways in which, using 'police bail and conditions' police were able to wage a partially successful war of attrition against pickets during the 1984-85 miners' strike. And finally, though by no means of least significance, findings from a wealth of US research on the situational dynamics of police-involved shootings were employed by researchers working for the former British Police Complaints Authority (PCA) seeking to understand the factors making it more likely that armed police officers confronting potentially armed and violent suspects would be likely to pull the trigger (Best and Quigley, 2003). What all these examples have in common concerns original critical research into US policing practices which crossed the Atlantic, found application in British policing research, gaining some purchase on British policing practice itself thereby potentially contributing to British policing reform. Indeed, as Newburn makes explicit in the case of the 2011 riots (although the argument holds for each of the illustrations), were it not for some extraordinary – and for Newburn even 'unprecedented' (2015: 56) - political pressure upon police senior managers, policing interventions may have evidenced rather more caution and restraint.⁴

³ *Sociologists for Justice* described themselves as: "an independent collective of sociologists troubled by ... the excessive show of force and militarized response to protesters who rightfully seek justice and demand a change in the treatment of people of color by law enforcement. ... we are calling on law enforcement, policymakers, media and the nation to consider decades of sociological analysis and research that can inform the necessary conversations and solutions required to address the systemic issues that the events in Ferguson have raised." <http://sociologistsforjustice.org/>

⁴ Senior politicians (the Prime Minister, Home Secretary and Mayor of London) all complained that the police handling of the 2011 riots was 'insufficiently robust' even offering the purchase of water cannon to chief constables who had neither asked for them nor saw any sense in using them. Similarly, after 9/11 armed officers were urged to 'confront' terrorists and, later, gang members within a new conception of 'shooting to

‘Research on’ or ‘Research for’ ?

As has already been suggested, one basic ‘root’ distinction concerning police research has involved a distinction between research on or about the police and research undertaken for the police. Figure one, below, attempts to sketch a rough outline of police research traditions, resting, initially, upon this dual foundation. The discussion developing in the remainder of the chapter attempts to track these traditions as they have evolved, changed or combined with other research orientations centring upon policing. In due course, it will be suggested, some convergence has occurred, not that this has eliminated all academic disagreement, conflict or even empire building. In some respects the founding distinction might also be characterised as one of ‘outsider’ as contrasted with ‘insider’ research, although the fundamental point here is less about *who*, precisely, does the research and more to do with the interests served and the questions asked.

Sociologies of policing

Regarding research *on* the police, however, it is nevertheless fair to say that the first forms this took typically involved social scientists (as outsiders) gaining privileged access to the special, seemingly closed world of policing. As McLaughlin (2007: 27) notes, many of the earliest sociologists of policing, setting a template for those to follow, were especially interested in questions of police culture, organisation and decision-making. One of the first sociological studies of the police, Michael Banton’s *The Policeman in the Community* (1964) established the critical frames of reference and the methodological themes that were to serve policing research for many years, even as each of these has, more recently, encountered critique and challenge. Early approaches typically embodied a critical and professional sociological detachment, they reiterated that policing was only a relatively small part of crime and disorder management whilst ‘crime fighting’ activities were themselves often only a small part of the totality of policing, that informal social rules (police culture) were often as profound an influence upon police practice, assumptions and behaviour as formal rules and procedures (not to mention the law) and they increasingly came to recognise that, despite the many forms taken by policing organisations around the developed world, a number of important similarities came to characterise policing roles, functions and the ‘working personalities’ of those performing them (Skolnick, 1966: 62).

Sociologists exploring policing approached it almost as anthropologists engaging with an unknown culture, yet a culture which was also both visible and often misunderstood; as befitting the sociological perspectives of the age, questions were asked about both the social functions of policing and the roles performed by police officers but, above all, it was the institutional culture of policing that has served as a defining characteristic of the emerging sociology of policing. Shaped by policing experiences and often encountering the public at their weakest and worst (guilty, vulnerable, drunk, angry, injured, inflamed and irrational) police officers appeared to develop a tough, perhaps bleak, world view, sometimes leavened by a strand of dark or cynical humour. Police work was often ‘dirty work’, people would frequently lie to them, fight them or avoid them, so officers acquired skills of suspicion, mistrust and readiness, developing professional solidarities, what might today be referred to as ‘bonding social capital’, to provide collective protection for one

protect’ (Squires and Kennison, 2010). Finally, the 84-85 Miners Strike, in part courtesy of Prime Minister Thatcher, echoed with a rhetoric of ‘class warfare’ and ‘enemies within’ (Steinert, 2003).

another in a working environment that was often not simply hostile, but also dangerous (McLaughlin 2007: 31-2). At times this imperative for self-protection might culminate into an 'us versus them' attitude, where informal loyalties to colleagues, or supposedly higher callings to 'the job', eclipsed more formal, legal or ethical, considerations. At times these cultural values, also overlain by aspects of masculinist identity (policing as a predominantly male profession), could slip over into more troubling forms involving what became known as either the 'blue wall of silence' (refusing to criticise or report other officers' indiscretions) (Westmarland, 2005); 'noble cause corruption' (planting evidence, or deploying coercion in order to extract a confession – the ends justifying the means - when convinced of the guilt of suspects, but not sure the evidence would be strong enough) (Punch, 2009), or simply outright displays of discriminatory attitudes and behaviour (sexism, racism, homophobia) resulting in problematic treatment of certain crime victims (and certain colleagues) thereby creating a climate in which certain victims could not be guaranteed appropriate treatment or support when reporting crimes, ultimately deterring the reporting of these offences. More recently, problems of this order have been at the heart of questions of 'institutional racism' (Hall et al., 2009), they have underpinned the poor – even at times hostile – service the police have provided for women reporting rape or sexual assault offences (McMillan and Thomas, 2009; Temkin and Krahe, 2008), or similarly homophobic violence, hate crime or stalking offences (Chakraborti and Garland, 2009) and especially the perpetually running sore of inadequate police responses to domestic violence and abuse (Edwards, 1989; Groves and Thomas, 2014: 64-85). Indeed something of the 'reality' of this informal police priority setting is conveyed in PC Dixon's advice to a young trainee constable during the 1949 film, *The Blue Lamp*. On receiving news of a domestic disturbance at a particular address, the novice constable is all set to rush to the scene. Holding him back, the knowledgeable and avuncular Dixon, an acclaimed paragon of policing virtue, cautions him to slow down, remarking that 'old Tom regularly has a set to with his missus after he has been down the pub for a few drinks on a Friday night'. In this way, through apprenticeship, close working relationships cemented over cups of tea in the canteen and long boring night duties when little happens but favourite stories get retold, and via mutual interdependencies and peer-group pressures – not to mention the common aspirations, occupational horizons and social class outlooks which drove this group of men to join the police in the first place – the new recruit learns the craft work of day to day policing, picking up suspicions, prejudices and insights, and the common-sense street-wise solutions and coping behaviours that will allow him to perform the police role and, above all, fit in (Manning, 1977).

Evidence of these differing, formal and informal, rules governing the practice of policing connected with wider traditions which drew attention to the contrasts between the 'law in the books' and the 'law on the streets', distinctions that were all the more important given the extent of street-level discretion available to basic grade police officers (McLaughlin, 2007: 51-2). In turn controlling police discretion, especially routine police officer contacts with certain members of the community (reasonable suspicion, stop and frisk, arrests, use of force), was very important because of its tendency, if unchecked, to sour relationships of trust and confidence with important sections of the community (Miller et al., 2000; OPM, 2013). In a wider sense, these alternative policing realities (parallel sets of rules, mutual understandings, codes, values and loyalties, which were different from - and sometimes opposed to - the law and formalised conceptions of police duties and priorities) gave rise to problems of police management and effectiveness as newer commitments to community

policing, accountability, democracy and diversity came to shape police operational priorities and as efforts were made to reform policing. And indeed, as McLaughlin (2007: 56) notes, the very resilience of police culture was part of what equipped it to resist various top-down managerialist reforms which did not conform to perceived 'day-to-day' policing realities. In particular, in an age when policing has explicitly sought to 'learn lessons' (Glass (IPCC), 2007) police culture's ability to 'unlearn' and even forget becomes quite problematic. Training 'old dogs' to perform 'new tricks' may well be necessary, but it is hardly a sufficient agenda for policing reform.

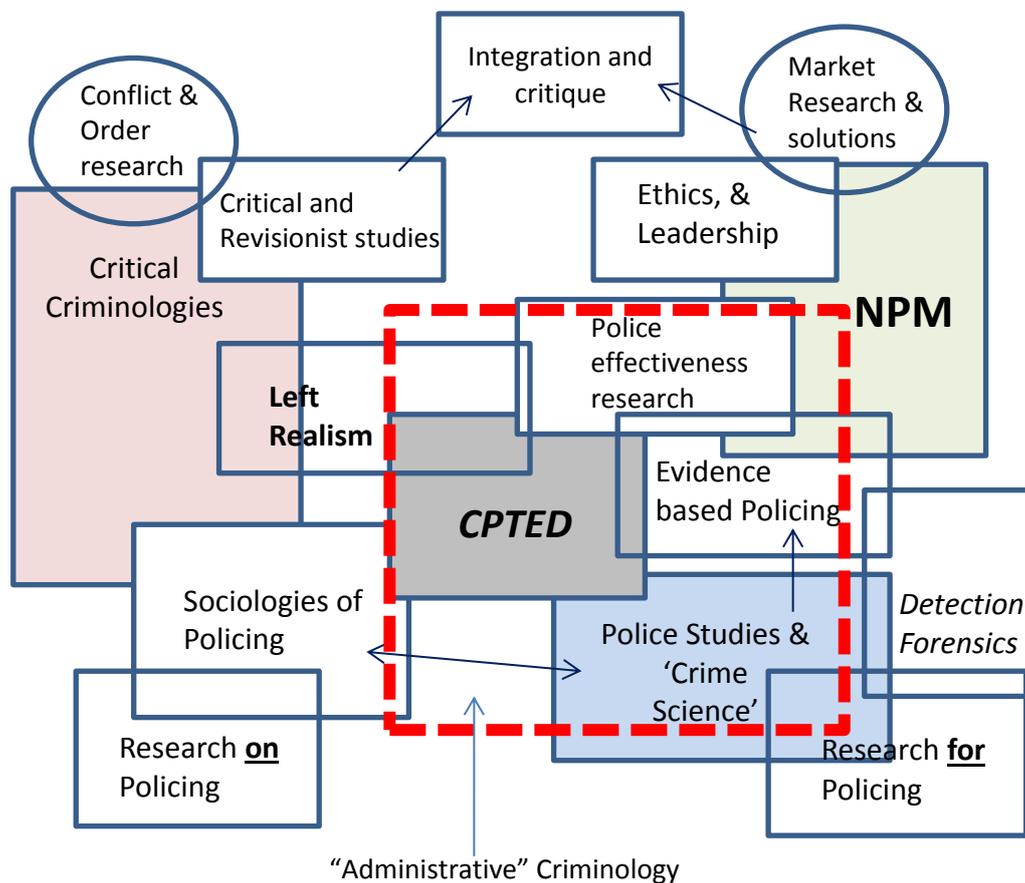
However, despite this continuing preoccupation with police culture spanning at least five decades and a research focus that was often highly critical, something of the original sociological enquiry was retained, interpretations of police culture have often been rather nuanced, noting both its potentially positive as well as its more negative features (Waddington, 1999) As policing has changed, reformed, modernised, civilianised, indeed, as more female and ethnic minority officers have joined, and as policing has diversified, professionalised (embracing codes of professional ethics) and begun to work more in partnership with other professional groups, so police culture has changed, or, in another sense, perhaps it has become rather less monolithic (Chan,1997; Loftus, 2012). Police specialist firearms units, action oriented, more militaristic, often overwhelmingly male, have been said to have become the last resting place of old-school cop culture (Squires and Kennison, 2010), but maybe police culture has just become more 'covert' in the face of a newer 'political correctness'.

Something of the tensions involved here are bound up with the double-edged character of much policing. Policing is concerned with law *and* order; they may not be the same thing. For example, meticulously enforcing each and every law (perhaps the misplaced dream of zero-tolerance), aside from its workload implications for the police organisation, is highly likely to have problematic consequences for police community relations. The complaint about 'over-criminalisation' (Squires, 2008; Squires and Lea, 2012), a too enthusiastic application of the power to punish, a critique also captured in Waller's *Less Law, More Order* (2006), calls for a more *problem-solving* rather than *crime making* approach to community policing. By the same token, addressing 'disorder' rather than enforcing the law may involve officers going beyond their formal legal powers, even as they bring the force of an implied moral authority to contain the escalation of disorder. These were central concerns for Balbus in his 1974 discussion of public order policing in the USA; police often arrested far more people than they could realistically provide evidence against for purposes of prosecution. But in the crisis of a riot situation, prosecution was not the primary objective. First, order had to be restored; only later the due process of law might follow. Discussing street policing in the USA, Scharf and Binder (1983) have considered the determinants of 'respect' for the police and compliance with police instructions, their question was whether it was the badge (and the authority it represented) or the officer's weaponry and his inclination to use it, which produced compliance. Researchers who have studied the deployment of 'police power' on the streets have acknowledged the often subtle interplay between the symbolic authority of the police and, by contrast, the blunt application of physical force, which is employed as the need arises, and sometimes even as a little extra-judicial punishment. Similar situational and interactional dynamics are involved in what is referred to as the police 'attitude test' (or in the USA 'contempt of cop') (Cashmore, 1991), when officers are dealing with persons suspected of minor offences. Those demonstrating a

deferential attitude, verbalising an apology and showing due respect to the police officer may well, all other things being equal, escape with a warning, whereas those challenging the officer, being disrespectful or abusive might find themselves facing a charge.

By drawing attention to these several ambiguities of the police role and the ‘policeman’s lot’ the ‘sociology of policing’ tradition and the research methods, approaches and perspectives it fostered laid an important foundation, comprising insights into both critical and beneficial, negative and positive aspects of policing, and contributing to a range of subsequent academic developments which have continued to shape the nature and role of policing and law enforcement work. But before turning to explore these further, we need to consider the parallel foundational strand of research: research *for* policing deriving from criminalistics and what has come to be known as crime science.

Figure One: Typology and development of policing research



Criminalistics and Crime Science

Although the popular re-emergence of a distinct academic subject of 'crime science' is often associated with the last twenty years, in fact it comprises a series of applied disciplines with a substantially longer and more diverse pedigree (Nickell and Fischer, 1999). Nevertheless it is with the 19th century establishment of police and criminal justice *systems* that recognisably modern forms of crime science began to attend to the problem of crime and the criminal (Pasquino, 1980). By the late 19th century, rival systems of offender classification: phrenology, physiognomy, anthropometry, were claiming scientific credibility, with Bertillon, the acclaimed 'father of criminal identification' suggesting how science might differentiate between classes of offender and thereby underpinning our knowledge of 'the causes of crime and criminals' (Anon, 1880). This emerging science of crime was very much the work of police and criminal justice insiders for, as Appleton's correspondent reported in 1880, 'the art of the detective may be shown to owe more to science than most people unacquainted with the routine of criminal investigation could readily imagine' (ibid.). Some of these scientific insiders, however, might experience some rather difficult relationships with policemen; just as Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes sometimes deployed his baffling forensic acumen to the consternation of London's plodding detectives, so detectives were often wary of the over ambitious claims of criminological and forensic science. Although Francis Galton's work was originally part of a commentary upon the works of his contemporaries in the fields of anthropometry, heredity and eugenics, it was his scientific classification of fingerprints (Galton, 1892) which, it is claimed, really pointed 'the way in which *detective science* should travel' (Anon, 1880). Henceforth, *criminalistics* - scientific method in the service of policing and crime detection – and criminology would go their relatively separate ways, only periodically realigning themselves (as indicated in figure one) or embarking upon disciplinary turf wars when research funding, political favour or institutional opportunities and affiliations presented themselves. Furthermore, as distinctions arose between a criminological science driven to understand the general causes of crime, and a crime science, seeking to assist detectives in their more mundane pursuit of criminals, this marked a further critical turning point. As diagram one shows this eventually led to the separate spheres of what we might call a post hoc 'detection forensics' and the more general development of police studies and crime science oriented rather more towards crime prevention. It is acknowledged that this marks a somewhat earlier 'parting of the ways' as regards contemporary crime sciences than is sometimes suggested (Pease, 2004; Smith and Tilley, 2005), moreover, it has nothing to do with the subsequent murder of Jill Dando. Rather, as Haggerty (2004) has argued, the recent ascendancy of crime science is a consequence of a much more political and ideological changes in the governance of crime and social problems.

In the late 19th and early 20th century various strands of forensic science found their place in support of police investigation – for example, photography, toxicology, graphology, chemical trace analysis, ballistics, and serology - while the first police science laboratories were established in Lyon in 1912 and by the LAPD (the first US police crime lab) some ten years later. Within ten more years, numerous US police departments had established their own crime science laboratories often in association with university science or medical departments, including the FBI (incorporating the US national fingerprint file), and in 1923 a criminal case *Frye vs United States* admitted the presentation of scientific evidence in court. In London a first forensic science laboratory was established in Hendon for the Metropolitan

police in 1935, shortly afterwards moving to Scotland Yard in order to support the work of detectives in the Criminal Investigation Department (Nickell and Fischer, 1999: 14).

Although this deployment of science within policing was intended to aid police investigative effectiveness, two types of evidence suggest that policing's 'alliance with science' was not always plain sailing. The first might be found in Kirk's (1974) remarks about the relationships between detectives and crime scientists. According to Kirk, 'as soon as the police investigator discovers how helpful a co-operative criminalist may be to him in increasing his efficiency, any distrust or jealousy of the laboratory worker should cease, and a fruitful and mutually profitable liaison will be established. This will result in more effective police work' (1974: 3-4). Kirk goes on to add that the police investigator and the laboratory scientist 'must always keep in mind that they are not competitive but complementary in their functions' and that their effective collaboration will benefit the entire police force, improve public relations while fostering an atmosphere of confidence and respect. We might pause to wonder why the police officer and the crime scientist might experience such a difficult working relationship (even as this role tension is often part of the sub-text in many crime science TV shows), what is the source of their mutual jealousy or distrust? In part the answer has to do with what we earlier discovered from sociology about 'police culture': police officers were often prone to be suspicious of non-policing expertise.

As we have seen, police knowledge was often based upon years of practice and experience, a cultivated intuition (even natural suspicion), a certain degree of prejudice, an intimate knowledge of their 'patch' and its usual suspects, and a developed sense of street-smart know-how. Crime science was rather different and, as Nickell and Fischer (1999) demonstrate, this knowledge was advanced by the application of scientific method, not a police officer's prejudices and suspicions. Scientific method proceeded by empirical observation, analysis, evaluation, comparison, replication and error correction for purposes of identification. For many years, policing and science had embraced differing epistemologies, or understandings of knowledge. By contrast, hunches, knowledge of the local underworld or information from a trusted (though perhaps financially rewarded) informant were not the way of science, but neither were these distinct practices of enquiry entirely incompatible. After all, while science could not supply motive, once policing accepted that motives alone would not produce convictions and, indeed, that many motives might co-exist, whereas scientific evidence could individualise the guilty, and by that means serve the courts and criminal justice, then a more profitable association between policing studies and criminalistics, expanding outwards from a narrow focus on methods of forensic detection (Pease, 2004), could develop. In one sense, it is this tendency towards individualisation, or 'criminalistics as the science of individualisation' (Kirk, 1974) that most closely ties crime science to the service of policing and criminal justice processes. On the other hand, it also distinguishes crime science from the social or criminological sciences which seek to understand, not individuality but, patterns, trends and aggregates, types and rates of crime in particular social settings and contexts. But of course, even these understandings find their crime science applications, for just as criminal acts reveal patterns, shapes and trends, occurring in chronological sequences whilst demonstrating spatial and situational characteristics so they also betray the existence of routine behavioural patterns and rationalised personal choices. In this way 'routine activity theory' (Felson, 2002) and 'rational choice theory' (Clarke and Felson, 1993) take their places in the crime science knowledge base; if we can explain the patterns, motives and regularities exhibited by

human behaviour, we can go some way to influence them – to deter, deflect, disrupt, dissuade or prevent. In turn these particular criminologies, collectively labelled the ‘criminologies of everyday life’ by Garland (2000), have underpinned the crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) paradigm which became so central to British crime prevention strategy, and leading, in their own turn, to situational crime prevention, itself a component of the developing focus upon ‘incivilities’ and ‘anti-social behaviour’ (Squires and Stephen, 2005) which had such an impact in deflecting applications of left realism from its original priorities.

As has been noted, although criminologists and crime scientists have often disputed their respective contributions to the prevention and detection of crime, Newburn, for instance refers to crime science developing a ‘difficult or fractious relationship with criminology’ (Newburn, 2007: 294). Some crime scientists also appear to ‘talk up’ the conflict, with dire warnings for a criminology apparently stuck in its ways: ‘the new environment of crime and crime control has radical implications for criminology... if the discipline is not to become side-lined and irrelevant criminologists must make changes, making the discipline more relevant to crime control... if criminologists fail to act, universities may begin to create new departments of crime science instead of building departments of criminology’ (Clarke, 2004: 55). Clarke implies that it is the particular combination of technology and globalisation which are especially dangerous for criminology and yet, while cyber-enabled criminality may well be expanding at hitherto unprecedented and exponential rates (Maguire and Dowling, 2013) and UK cyber-crime prevention still in its infancy, these are far from being matters best left to police and security officers and software engineers. Quite the contrary, for the newer, critical and global criminologies, the criminologies of conflict, of the powerful and of organised crime have already revealed a developed understanding of the contexts (Taylor, 1999), the threats, the motives of perpetrators (Hall, 2012) and their social origins whilst not forgetting their victims (Goodey, 2004). The problem of global cyber-crime, in other words, is still not *reducible* to means and opportunity even though addressing means and opportunity remains important.

Towards Integrating Criminology and Crime Science?

Accordingly, as the argument of this paper develops, both criminology and crime science have a potential role to play depending upon the questions asked or the purposes to be served. And, as figure one has indicated, in the evolution of the criminological, policing and crime sciences, from their specialist niches and ‘ignoble archives’ (Foucault, 1977) within the 19th century machineries of criminal justice, to their roles in support of and reflection upon our expanded 21st century criminal justice and security systems, various discourses, perspectives and paradigms have entered the fray. Smith and Tilley (2005), for their part, explicitly claim that crime science represents the arrival of a profound ‘paradigm shift’ in criminal justice research, framing new questions, shaping new areas of interest and concern while drawing existing knowledges and preoccupations into new relations and new connections with the concerns of the time. Others are less convinced (Haggerty, 2007). Gloria Laycock, who has, perhaps, done more than most to establish and institutionalise the academic agenda of crime science within the UK draws upon a more cautious, ‘pragmatic’ and ‘outcome focussed’ middle-ground. She describes the core contribution of the new discipline as crime reduction ‘through prevention, disruption and detection’ (Laycock, 2008:

149).⁵ Unlike the image provided earlier by Kirk, of the scientist and police officer jealously safeguarding their respective domains, she presses the case for qualified scientists turning their minds to 'problems of crime control' and the need for experienced police officers opening their eyes to scientific thinking (2008: 149).

While some commentators have expressed dismay or disappointment at what they have described as the guardedness of some traditional criminology in the face of the crime science, either still predominantly influenced by sociology (Pease, 2008), or, as Nick Ross unhelpfully put it, still in thrall to Marxism⁶, Laycock pragmatically embraces 'traditional' criminology within her four-part framework for the crime sciences:

'Science (and the technologies which it spawns) can inform crime control in four main ways: it can help us to understand crime and its causes (this is the business of traditional criminology...); it can help us to reduce crimes by preventing them from happening (this is where technologies can assist through the design of goods etc.); it can help in detection (the business of forensic science) and finally it can help if those working to control crime think [and behave] as scientists think... appreciating the importance of data, testing hypotheses, controlling for bias and establishing knowledge' (Laycock, 2008: 149).

However, despite the comprehensive nature of this vision of knowledges coming together to fight a common criminal enemy, it fails at a number of levels for many critical or revisionist criminologies, including the original ambitions of left realism (Lea, 2002). Whether many contemporary critical criminologists could readily accept this 'under-labourer' status in an expanded crime science paradigm that remains so unreflective, so little preoccupied by the constructed character of crime and crime data, so apparently ignorant of the play of politics, power and special interest groups in criminal justice policy-making and delivery, and often so thoroughly wedded to the fortunes of criminal justice institutions and systems that it fails to look outside the box of existing policy and practice and towards some of the bigger questions (Haggerty, 2004: 87-8). This explains, to some extent, the developing range of critical criminological studies: left realism, critical and revisionist studies and conflict studies continuing their progression up the left flank of figure one. The argument, however, is not that they should continue to progress in splendid isolation, but rather that they have a great deal to offer to a renewed criminology.

To be fair, Laycock (2008) and, indeed, other commentators close to the crime science paradigm (Neyroud and Disley, 2008) have also emphasised the need to combine new practices of crime control with ethics and sensitivity, 'we don't want to create fortresses or disregard human rights' (Laycock, 2008: 149). It has to be said however, that when some crime science advocates or practitioners attempt to carve out the turf upon which the new field of studies is to stand (Smith and Tilley, 2005: xvi-xviii) the promise rather outstrips the

⁵ Gloria Laycock OBE, an internationally acknowledged and experienced crime prevention expert, was, from 2001, the founding director of the Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science at University College London (UCL), where she ran UCL's Centre for Security & Crime Science. Previously she had worked as a prison psychologist before joining the Home Office Research Unit in the late 1970s. While there she established the Home Office Police Research Group, overseeing and edited its publications on policing and crime prevention for seven years. The HO Police Research Group was highly influential in driving forwards the police reform and police effectiveness agendas, as reflected in diagram one, in the 'evidence based policing', 'police effectiveness' and, to some extent, the 'policing ethics and leadership' areas.

⁶ Personal communication, 2005.

delivery and yet, where crime science outruns the existing parameters of more mainstream criminology, then, as Haggerty has noted, its practical dependency upon the agencies it ought to be studying and its role, a pragmatic ‘empiricism in the service of crime reduction’, becomes most apparent (Haggerty, 2004: 85). In 2004 Ron Clarke, himself the chief architect of the CPTED paradigm in Home Office crime prevention strategy, attempted to contrast the criminological and crime science traditions. He acknowledged that the result expressed the view of just one criminologist ‘whose self-appointed mission has been to improve the scientific basis of crime policy’ (2004: 56) but it is fair to say that his model would hardly satisfy everyone. Criminology’s core mission, he argued was – to understand criminals, and contribute to long term social reform (supporting the poor and marginal), it was theory led and ‘pure’ (that is, primarily academic) and it tended to avoid the policy arena. By contrast, crime science was seeking to understand crime, seek immediate crime reductions and reduce the harms endured by victims; it was applied and problem-led and actively embraced policy making and implementation. Perhaps it goes without saying, but these distinctions are all highly problematic, mostly overstated and at times even internally contradictory. Nevertheless, in addition to distinguishing criminology and crime science by their ‘missions’, he went on to spell out further layers of difference according to the respective theories they drew upon, their preferred research methods and their applications and audiences (see figure 2).

Figure 2: Clarke’s problematic dichotomy

Differences of emphasis between criminology and crime science (Clarke, 2004: 56)

	Criminology	Crime Science
MISSION	Understand criminals, Long term social reform Help the criminal underdog ‘Pure’ Theory led Shun Policy	Understand crime Immediate crime reduction Reduce harm to victims ‘Applied’ Problem led Embrace Policy
THEORY	Distant causes paramount Opportunity Secondary Crime as pathological The <u>WHY</u> of crime Criminal dispositions Criminal motivation Anomie, subculture and conflict Sociology, Psychiatry, Law	Near Causes paramount Opportunity Central Crime as normal The <u>HOW</u> of crime Criminal choices The rewards of crime Routine activities, Rational choice Economics, Geography, biology, planning and computer science
RESEARCH METHODS	Cohort studies Criminal careers Regression analysis Self-reported delinquency Randomised controlled trials Long term studies (in depth)	Crime patterns Hot spots Crime mapping Victim surveys Crime specific case studies Rapid appraisal methods
APPLICATIONS & AUDIENCE	Crime and delinquency in general Sentencing/treatment, social	Specific crime & disorder problems Detection/Deterrence, situational

	prevention Social workers, probation officers Social policy makers Scholarly treatises Careers in academia	prevention Police, planners and security industry Business and management Policy briefs Careers in prevention, security, policing
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There are clearly too many problems with this confused and incoherent typology than can be catalogued in the final section of this chapter. It might be best simply to leave it to readers to identify them for themselves; treat it as a test, how many errors and anomalies can be found? Though perhaps just a few pointers are in order: while criminology’s mission is described as ‘shunning policy’, social policy makers are suggested as a supposed audience for criminological work; victim surveys are identified as a definitive methodology for crime science and yet victim surveys were first pioneered by criminologists of the Middlesex School in the 1980s (Lea and Young, 1984; Jones et al., 1986) when developing the Left Realist crime agenda which was so influential in shaping the Blair Government’s approach to crime and disorder; by contrast, randomised controlled trials and regression seem far more closely associated with a strand of quantitative criminology far more familiar in the USA (Young, 2011) ; finally, the confusions of theory reflected in Clarke’s chart – crime as pathological, interested only in distant causes, unconcerned with ‘opportunity’, disinterested in choices and immediate contexts - are all written as if the *New Criminology* (Taylor, Walton & Young, 1973) had never been published.⁷

In fact, there are some many flaws, inconsistencies and dilemmas with this typology that one can only wonder at its purpose. It may be that there are differences of emphasis in criminology and crime science, but this catalogue scarcely captures it. In fact the only purpose of such a typology might seem to be that of carving out, from a supposedly incoherent, vacuous and directionless criminology, the choice and more lucrative aspects of policy relevant and solution centred intervention for crime science. The label ‘administrative criminology’ had always been something of a stick with which critical criminologists had sought to beat those engaged in mainstream and applied criminological work, perhaps this was a form of retaliation, in any event, with the shift to ‘crime prevention’ in the 1980s, involving a wide spectrum of criminological work, from *left realism* to *evidence based policing* and, later, *police effectiveness research* (see figure 1) the cross

⁷ In the final part of *The New Criminology* Taylor, Walton and Young outlined the levels of explanation they considered the discipline should embrace, these included: The wider origins of the ‘deviant’ act (a political economy of crime); the immediate origins of the act (social psychology of crime: identity, masculinity, motive, self, perception; subculture); the situated social dynamics of the criminal event; the immediate origins of social reaction (choices: social psychology of reaction); the wider contexts of the social reaction to deviance - the need for a political economy of social reaction); the consequences of social reaction (criminal careers, desistance, consciousness, internalisation, identity); and the deviancy/criminalisation process as a whole, its scale, function, significance and purposes of social control.

fertilisation of research strands became more complex and involved and the 'administrative' label less viable.

With the advent of the new public management school of thought (Ferlie et al., 1996) drawing upon new work from the field of governance studies (Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991; Dean, 1999) at least part of the renewed focus of policing research came to embrace police leadership and management (Adlam and Villiers, 2003), and ethics and professionalism (Neyroud and Beckley, 2001). Many factors lay behind these shifts of orientation, the coalescing of new priorities and the newly emerging research clusters; in some respects they reflect the continuing trends in police transformation referred to in the opening paragraphs of this chapter but they also acknowledge the new inter-agency and inter-professional working into which the police were increasingly being drawn from the early 1990s onwards. Perhaps less positively they also reflect the failings of police leadership which were increasingly become exposed in the 1990s, these concerned a range of issues amongst which the management of diversity, community engagement, complaints and accountability, and institutional racism stand out. These were, after all, amongst the issues being flagged up in some of the ongoing *police effectiveness research*. Subsequently, after 2008, 'policing in austerity' – doing more with less - might be added to this list. In turn, as figure one suggests, some of this research, evaluation and consultancy activity has come to involve market based research and potential solutions. It is likely that such interventions will continue to accelerate the pace of change in policing and security practice (McLaughlin and Murji, 1995), while throwing up newer dilemmas and problems, grist to the mill for the critical criminologies on the opposite flank. Whether the outcome is one of closer integration or a continuing process of critical constructive engagement is perhaps less important than the fact that, just as before, the competing strands comprising policing research - criminology and crime science - have between them fashioned a broad and lively discourse. Rather more than the future of an academic discipline rests upon their continuing dialogue; somewhat more important is the continued production of new answers to the questions posed by crime, disorder and injustice.

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