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## Comparative Policing: America and the United Kingdom: An Exploratory Historical Analysis with an Eye on the Present

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## Comparative Policing: America and the United Kingdom

### An Exploratory Historical Analysis with an Eye on the Present

#### Introduction

Elements of modern policing can be traced back to before the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The work of police in the United Kingdom and the United States as we know them today can be said to have begun in 19<sup>th</sup> century (Emsley, 2009). The origins of the police reach far into history; however, this is not to say that the police organizations have not been changing over time. Police officers, duties, and styles all evolve along a continuum that is largely influenced by public opinion. It is through historical analysis of these two police entities that we can gain a sense of what it was the public of the past wanted and what efforts the police made to meet those expectations. Robert Peel, the mind behind the English Bobbies, hoped for the police to be the public, and the public to be the police (Emsley, 2009). This dynamic relationship between the police and the public has the power to make for police successes or failures. Adapting to the needs of the public, working within changing societies, leaning new technologies or strategies, and learning from the past represent the never ending transformation occurring in police work.

#### I. The Importance of Historical Analysis

The world never stops changing. Demographics shifting, technology advancing, and economies growing and shrinking: all of these things effect other people, other countries, and the world as a whole. Significant change over time creates quite a bit of history. A history, that reveals important parts not clearly seen in the present. Studying these stories can help society grow and learn; they can tell us not only what has happened but they can also help to explain *why*. Looking at economic crises as an example: what events precluded a large economic crash? Did these same signs present themselves before other large crashes? Studying history surrounding these events can help those in the present identify what to look for in the future, allowing for proactive prevention rather than suffering the same fate.

Comparative historical analysis has been, and continues to be, a central part in any research field (especially social sciences). It is best considered part of a long-standing intellectual project looking to explain the most important outcomes from the past. Comparative history is defined by a concern with causal analysis, an emphasis on processes over time, and the use of systematic and contextualized comparison. Social and political scientists have used it as their central mode of investigation for much of the fields' histories (Mahoney & Rueschmeyer, 2003). The policing profession too, can benefit from analysis of its history. Scholars can look at actions that brought favor to the police, in addition to elements that have hurt police public relations. They can study what underlying causes have helped or damaged the actions and if these causes have equivalence in the present day setting. Thus, a comparative analysis serves as the most effective research method in this study.

## II. Historical Background

As mentioned above, policing practices are not immune to lessons from history. Examining the faults and strengths experienced in policing history shows us that while practices and

practitioners may change, the problems police forces face have hardly remained unchanged. The police of the past faced several of the same issues of public opinion as faced by police of the present. Over time, the police have been viewed as either overbearing or restricting, or they were not doing enough to protect the community. They were policing unequally based on social status which also evolved into issues of race. They too faced changing times, such as societal practices and customs, which affected how people wished to interact with authorities and the law, just as today's police face ever-changing technology and cultural beliefs.

We see the historical roots of British and American policing in the increasingly defined roles of constables and watchmen in 13<sup>th</sup> century England (Emsley, 2009). It was later in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when prominent legal scholar William Lambarde defined the three principle duties of these early watchmen as maintaining the peace, preventing crime, and using the law to punish offenders (Emsley, 2009). These duties are not far off from present police aims in both the United States and the United Kingdom. The execution of these duties however, differs greatly. It was with these watchmen that the American colonies and the United Kingdom began to splinter in practice.

#### A. The United Kingdom

In 17<sup>th</sup> century England, and before, the watchmen were separated into watches or patrols by parish. These services were unpaid and part time, however moving into the 18<sup>th</sup> century many parishes began to obtain acts of parliament to establish their own, paid, night watches as public fear of crime increased. With the establishment of these paid watches, some parishes supplied their constables with firearms or other weapons, wooden rattles to call for back up, and some were given labeled coats with identifying information on the back (Emsley, 2009). The constables even received a low level of standardized training. They were instructed on what to

look for and who to stop as suspect. These additions in the private parish watches began to take the form of the more modern police we see today. Late in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, more legislation was passed further professionalizing the policing work taking place (Emsley, 2009).

All of these advancements were not without an undertone of corruption. An act of Parliament set up a reward system for the apprehension of felons. These rewards became somewhat of a blood money system when people began selling felons to others, in order to to collect the rewards. Not only were people trading felons, but it was soon proven in court that some constables were setting up offenses to later catch the perpetrators and collect the rewards for themselves (Emsley, 2009). The police were losing public support due to these actions and scholars began devising ways to remedy these issues. While solutions were being constructed the police continued acting as agents of the monarchy further upsetting the public and increasing tensions.

The realization that the current watchman system of policing was crumbling, with the beginning of England's industrial revolution, brought along the inception of the Bobby. Robert Peel went before parliament to argue the need for a central police force thus, The Metropolitan Police were formed (Emsley, 2009). The new Bobbies were meant to operate under the Preventative Principle of Police, to be active in the streets frustrating and preventing the activities of potential criminals (Reith, 1943). On Tuesday September 29, 1829, the first Bobbies appeared in the streets of London dressed in rigid blue uniforms and top hats (Emsley, 2009). The purpose of this new force was to bring order and consistency to the current system. The rules and regulations were strictly enforced. Many recruits did not make it through the first two or three days on the job, as several resigned and even more dismissed (Emsley, 2009). They either did not enjoy the work and the discipline used to ensure it, or they were put off by the violence

they received or were forced to confront (Emsley, 2009). They met a public, regardless of class, political party, or race, that was wholly against. The new Bobbies were attacked in the streets, had abuse shouted at them, and were thrown into the Thames (Reith, 1943).

For the next few decades, British policing was defined by service to the public. The poor reception in the 1830's led the commissioners to make their ultimate goal approval from the public. They did eventually succeed and enjoyed some public success through the 1850's however, rising crime rates in the 1860's brought on criticisms that the police neglected their crime fighting duties for their service role (Emsley, 2009). Richard Mayne was succeeded as commissioner by a prison official, Colonel E.Y.W. Henderson (Miller, 1977). Henderson implemented changes such as permanent police posts, decentralization, increased detective divisions, and created superintendents to handle citizen and internal complaints (Miller, 1977). These changes satisfied Parliament, however, they did not satisfy the *people*. Tensions continued to rise into the 20th century, with claims that the police were giving unequal treatment to classes and different religions.

With World War I and World War II an increasing number of women were being brought in to serve as constables (Emsley, 2009). Police numbers greatly depleted during both of these wars and the economic stability of the country was questionable. The next decades involved reconstruction of a very broken Britain. The economic state was shaky and spiking crime rates beginning in the late 1950's into the 60's and through to the 70's and 80's did not do anything to help police regain their footing with the public. More reports of police scandals and brutality were being seen in the news and in the courts (Emsley, 2009). Police were beginning to be held accountable for their actions when in the past formal punishment was rare. Changes continued to be made to the police structure, new acts in Parliament allowed for the larger forces to absorb the

smaller ones. A new Royal Commission on the police was created to deal with issues of police accountability and to handle complaints (Emsley, 2009). Not much change has been enacted late in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century in terms of police goals and structure. Class and racial tensions are still present, as the police forces in the United Kingdom continue to make new attempts to remedy these today.

## B. The United States

Colonial America began in very much the same way as its English roots. Watches were established in local regions to prevent crime throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Watchmen were usually volunteers or serving on the watch as punishment (Potter, 2013). One area of difference from their English counterparts in United States policing was the creation of ‘slave patrols’ in the south. These patrols were more formally organized bearing a closer resemblance to the police forces that were to be developed in the coming century. The duties of these patrols rather than simply preventing all crime and disorder included apprehending runaway slaves, instilling a form of organized terror to deter slave revolts and to maintain discipline for slaves who simply violated plantation rules rather than the law (Potter, 2013). These ‘slave patrols’ are what transitioned into the modern southern police after the civil war, retaining many of the same functions they had prior to the war.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century in American policing was mainly defined by the political era. Unlike the English, the American police lacked a central police authority, instead they gained their legitimacy from local politicians and leaders (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Small precincts were often operated as centralized quasi-military designed hierarchies operating completely separate from other precincts. The officers were usually from the dominant ethnic group of that ward’s current political party in power (Kelling & Moore, 1988). The political era of police saw a great

deal of corruption. The police were very close to their community, however those with political favor would receive favorable treatment from the police. Officers often took bribes and interfered with elections because if the party that favored them left power, they too would lose power (Kelling & Moore, 1988). There was very little supervision and organizational control over the police in this time leading many citizens to call for reform.

The 1920's and 30's marked the beginning of the reform era of policing. August Vollmer and his protégé O. W. Wilson defined policing as a profession in which officers were to train and operate as any other profession might. Reformers fought to end the close ties between police and politicians (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Civil service eliminated patronage and attempts were made to isolate police from political influence. Bureaucracy became the main form of standardizing police work. Police and citizens were no longer close, the police were meant to act as impartial law enforcement conducting themselves in a professionally neutral and distant manner (Kelling & Moore, 1988). This practice of police-citizen separation continued throughout the 40's and 50's and enjoyed some success during these decades, however with social upheaval beginning in the 60's and 70's the reform strategy had trouble adjusting (Kelling & Moore, 1988).

The troubles in reform strategy policing came with the transition into the community policing era. The late 1970's and early 1980's police began to lose their selling strategy and take more of a marketing approach. Police began to focus more on citizen needs and input, allowing them to contribute more to defining problems and devising solutions rather than attempting to get the citizens to accept the solutions the police went ahead and enforced. The community strategy to policing included order maintenance, conflict resolution, problem solving through the organization, and provision of services (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Rather than focusing on crime control, community strategists believed spending time on preventative policing would reduce the



need for crime fighting. The police became more decentralized and foot patrol became a popular tactic yet again. Some worried that rebuilding the close ties with the police and the community would bring back the corruption seen in the political era however, the civil service movement and the bureaucratization, professionalization, and unionization of the police stood to counter balance these risks (Kelling & Moore, 1988). The late 20<sup>th</sup> century saw new styles of policing begin to emerge. Community policing, as described above, was dependent on two way communications between the police and the public. Problem oriented policing attempted to analyze recurring problems to allow the police to manage them proactively through the use of different techniques and technology (McGarrell, Freilich, & Chermak, 2007). A third style to be observed was zero tolerance policing. Rising fear of crime led to a large portion of the public and politicians to push for harsher laws and policing. It was to achieve this goal through focusing on a specific crime or disorder and concentrating police efforts on it (Oliver, 2006).

Elements from each of these styles can still be observed moving into the 21<sup>st</sup> century with an added element of increasing technology. What has come to be called intelligence led policing. Beginning in England, intelligence-led policing is a style in which officers engage in systematic analysis of specific offenses and identify patterns of chronic offenders or hotspots in which these offenses are occurring in large numbers (McGarrell et al., 2007). It is with this new style and increasing technology that a new era of policing may be building. Tools such as Compstat aid officers in their analysis of crime dispersion and changes in their assigned geographic regions. This helps officers see patterns early and to be held accountable for the success or failure of policing in their regions (Weisburd, Mastrofski, McNally, & Greenspan, 2002).

History can be a valuable asset to have when looking to make changes and correct mistakes and policing is no different. Throughout the years the central core of policing has

seemingly remained the same, yet with an ever-changing outward appearance to match the desires of the ever-changing public wishes. Police have existed with the purpose of keeping the public safe; the way in which this mission has been undertaken throughout different eras has changed throughout the United Kingdom and the United States alike. Yet, the goal remains, as does the police organization overall.

### III. Police, Public Opinion, and the Past

One of the first commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, Richard Mayne wrote “the real efficiency of the police depends upon the estimation in which it is held by the public” (Miller, 1977, p. 104). Police and the public in which they serve are completely intertwined and their opinions can play a pivotal role in the success, or the failure, of police work in their communities. No one would have had hope for the first Bobbies if their efficiency was to rest on public approval. Verbal and physical attacks on policemen punctuated the early years of the Metropolitan Police (Miller, 1977). For almost a decade the police worked to gain the favor of the public they were meant to serve. Robert Peel wrote of his goal “I want to teach people that liberty does not consist in having your house robbed by organized gangs of thieves, and in leaving the principal streets of London in the nightly possession of drunken women and vagabonds” (Tobias, 1972, p. 206).

The belief in the land of liberty remained and the public saw the police only as a threat to that. Much time was spent in the service role of the officer in the attempts to prove that the police were not only there to take liberty away from criminals but to provide more liberty to the law abiding citizens by creating a safer environment for them to function within. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, citizens had learned that the police could function in a way that helps them rather than simply showing up to put an end to ‘unlawful’ behavior and the police had learned that public

approval and cooperation were infinitely more powerful in achieving the desired behavior than that of physical compulsion (Reith, 1943).

An increase in crime in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century caused the public to begin losing faith in the force. The police, who spent the first few decades after their formation of the service role in attempts to gain approval, were now being criticized for neglecting their crime prevention role in doing so. The industrialization and shifting values in society now required *more* of the police. The people wanted the same level of service as they had grown accustomed and now required additional crime-fighting activities to be performed by the police.

While the police did experience favorable opinions from a good portion of the public, the lower classes consistently criticized the officers. It was stated that the police would treat members of the upper classes with every courtesy and service; however simply being poor was “sufficient for him to be suspected of every crime in the calendar” (Miller, 1977). The police were said to have catered heavily to the middle class, better protecting their neighborhoods and tolerating a much lower level of disorder there than in the working class neighborhoods. However, even successfully serving the needs of people, albeit only some sections of the population, does not elicit unwavering support. “Having come to rely on them for many little services, people were quick to criticize them when they did not live up to expectations” (Miller, 1977, p. 116).

A similar pattern was seen with public opinion and the police in the United States. The political nature of American police throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century created challenges unique to their English counterparts. The close ties to political parties and patronage hiring led to a lot of changes in officers when changes in party occurred. It is hard to distinguish between real citizen criticisms or praises for the police from political patronage. Public opinion on police efficiency

was usually influenced by the political parties on the outside accusing the current power of destroying the morale and discipline of the force (Miller, 1977).

Claims of uneven policing were cast upon American police as with their English equivalents. Americans in this time allowed for a large amount of police discretion to ensure quick resolution of conflicts encountered on their beats. However, police brutality was known to occur against the 'right people'. The police were considerably rougher with persons of the political party opposed to the current police and to anyone belonging to the 'dangerous classes', such as immigrants or the poor (Miller, 1977). There exists some evidence that democracy was seen to have weakened the conception that there was one law for the rich and a different law for the poor. Many working class newspapers described police as overly harsh and arbitrary in the working class communities (Miller, 1977).

The law was closer to the citizens in America than in England. It was written and administered by popularly elected officials and was said to create less tensions between the police and communities in which they patrolled because everyone was meant to have a voice in what laws were controlling them. Police officers were closer to the communities in which they worked than the Bobbies of England because of the residency requirement in early American policing. Officers were required to live in the neighborhood in which they worked. This was said to aid in officers better matching the demographics of the community, and it gave them more motivation to keep their own neighborhoods free of disorder (Miller, 1977).

The constant flux of public opinion regarding the police forces in both England and the United States left officers continuously changing as well. Richard Mayne and many other scholars echoing his sentiment note that it's not so much what the policeman does but what the people think of him, which leaves him to attempt to enforce the law within the public's realm of

acceptability (Miller, 1977). An officer faces a difficult job in upholding the laws and enforcing the justice that the government requires him to, while also attempting to meld this with his responsibility to the community in which he works. It is this task that police today can still be observed undertaking.

#### IV. Police, Public Opinion, and the Present

Public opinion moving into the present is not far off from that of centuries before. The public continues to have an ever- swaying opinion of the police from not protecting them enough to being overly aggressive or unfair. In the past, the United Kingdom and the United States seemingly handled issues of public opinion in slightly differing ways; however, moving into the present the two forces seem to be converging in tactics more than they have in past. Attempts to create more multicultural forces, increasing technologies, and reconnecting with their respective communities are some of the ways in which the two countries are attempting to increase public approval and trust in the police.

Racial tensions have been present about as long as class tensions have been prominent between the police and the public. An influx of Commonwealth immigrants led to a quickly diversifying Britain and more calls for a diversified police force. The Metropolitan police fell to many accusations of racism and continued release of reports providing evidence of this racism to the public began to spark many race related issues (Emsley, 2009). Between 1958 and 2011 England and Wales experienced more than 20 riots, some sparked by police activity others sparked between different racial groups (Newburn, 2015). These riots could last for days, leading to hundreds of arrests. The most notable race riots included a string of events across Britain in the early 1980's. Police officers and station houses were often attacked when these riots flared up leading to many injuries for officers and rioters. The police continue to face criticism, regardless

of the outcome in these situations. After one particular riot in Manchester over racial confrontations in the community in 1981, the police used aggressive tactics and contained the situation fairly quickly, however were subsequently criticized for their aggressive behavior (Emsley, 2009). Yet, after riots in 2011 over the police shooting of a black youth, politicians and the media criticized police for their actions claiming they lost control on the first night of the rioting allowing it to continue leading to the injuries and deaths that it did. The American police fall victim to the same type of public opinion tug of war. It is these kinds of issues, in which the public may be polarized, when police are held in a no-win situation. Essentially, there is always going to be one group dissatisfied by police actions.

The police may not be able to make the law work for everyone's beliefs in polarized issues however, they can attempt to make their intentions and processes clearer to the public. Tactics to increase officer accountability are popping up in both English and American forces. Referenced earlier, the use of technologies such as Compstat helps forces to establish internal accountability to keep officers responsible for carrying out organizational goals (Weisburd et al., 2002). Once public opinion has spoken it is up to the police to formulate new goals based on what the public is asking for, and it is the new technologies that can help them to be accountable for achieving these goals. It is not only the increasing technologies available to police managers that can keep officers accountable. Rather, the increased level of media and citizen technology can record and broadcast police activity to a very large audience in an instant, making police more vulnerable to public opinion than ever before. The level of scrutiny placed on police is the highest it has ever been coming into the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Emsley, 2009). The heightened level of technology is not used only for scrutiny it can also allow police to better connect with their communities.

Web pages and social media accounts have been created by law enforcement agencies allowing the police to release their own information and statements. Community members can use these pages to check up on police activity and see what is being done by the officers they see in their community. New attempts at community connection have been made in recent decades with the community policing style of police work. Dependent on two way communication with the public aids police in hearing the public's opinion and reacting to it (McGarrell et al., 2007). The English have even recently introduced elected police and crime commissioners to be more transparent and accountable to the public reestablishing their bond with the police (Chambers, 2009). Police work and public opinion is difficult to consider separately, as it is an ongoing and ever-changing relationship that must constantly be evaluated for efficient police work.

#### V. Changing Population, Changing Police

Given the strong relationship between police efficiency and public opinion, it would only follow that with changing populations comes changes in policing. It was seen in both Great Britain and the United States. Along with the industrial revolution came new innovations in policing (Emsley, 2009). The shifting society throughout the industrial revolution required the police to adapt and cope with new industrial problems such as labor strikes and walk outs. The same thing can be seen in the United States many times throughout history. The end of the civil war marked an era of reconstruction and a whole new free population to the country. Again in the United States we see an ideology shift when the babies of the 'baby boom' grew into teenagers and became a large portion of the population, no longer standing for injustice and fighting for peace. The police have seemingly had to adjust their target audience with the aging babies of the baby boom throughout their time. The great depression, the civil rights movement,

reconstruction after world wars; all of these periods in time showed marked changes in popular opinion leading the police to adapt along with them.

The police have taken to becoming an extension of the laws they enforce. That is their core goal: to uphold the laws of the land though, police officers have no more power over what is written into law than the regular civilian. However, “the police generally subordinated themselves to the law, they were attacked when the laws were attacked, but they could also benefit when the laws improved and more people had faith in the administration of justice” (Miller, 1977, p. 139). This was written in reference to 19<sup>th</sup> century London police but upon further thought comes across as an almost universal truth of policing, past and present, across both countries. When it is an organization’s purpose to ensure adherence to the law, it becomes difficult to see these individuals as anything other than walking embodiments of these laws. In time when these laws appear to represent inequality the police give the impression that they are the vehicle for inequality.

It can be difficult to police a people when they see officers as a law rather than as a person. An officer’s efficiency rests on the public’s willingness to comply and when the power struggle between police and public opinion occurs, not only police efficiency but also legitimacy can be challenged. “What I most disliked was the interference of your ‘clever gentleman,’ who knew nothing of the merits of the case, had not seen the commencement, and only come up just at the moment when, after a hard tussle and some serious injuries, an officer had succeeded in overcoming resistance” (Miller, 1977, p. 106). This was a quote from a mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Bobby, yet adjust the language and it may have been said by a 21<sup>st</sup> century officer in England or the United States. This ‘interference of your clever gentleman’ is even more common and detrimental to officers today with the widespread use of camera phones and social media. An



individual can record police activity out of context, or possibly even edit footage, share it to the internet with any message they please. Misrepresentative video footage or pictures can quickly turn into a police public relations nightmare allowing the public quite a large element of power over the police when it comes to the relationship between the two.

## VI. The Role of Police

The public has a role to play when it comes to shaping police actions, but what is the exact role of the police if it were to be defined? The 16<sup>th</sup> century scholar William Lambarde defined the three principle duties of a watchman in that period as maintaining the peace, preventing crime, and using the law to punish offenders (Emsley, 2009). These three things appear to be at the core of policing in western societies, even almost 500 years later they can be observed. Changing times calls for changing emphasis on these core duties.

Early England saw a heavy emphasis on maintaining the peace and preventing crime because the new Bobbies were operating under the preventative principle of police (Reith, 1943). The main goal in this time period was to gain public approval, and to do that was to focus on servicing their community. Rising crime rates led the Bobbies to emphasize and adopt a stronger crime fighting role. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a struggling economic state and military turmoil found the police back to maintaining the peace, as it was not found in many places at that time period. The late 20<sup>th</sup> century saw more social revolutions and tensions between the police and the public. Many riots and group demonstrations led to police attempting to maintain the peace while also using the law to punish offenders when these groups got out of hand. Moving into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a new core duty of police can be said to be added: intelligence. Globalization and advanced technology has changed the face of crime drastically the past few decades and even local police have had to learn how to cope with this. What politicians call ‘broken Britain’ and

terrorism around the globe have led many officers to return to their crime fighting role while adding in this element of intelligence collection and analysis (Blair, 2010).

American policing followed a very similar pattern through the early years. The political era marked very close ties between the police and their local politicians and a large amount of discretion. This meant that the police often went out to patrol in their own communities maintaining the peace in a time that the law was not always used to punish offenders (Kelling & Moore, 1988). The professional era brought bureaucracy and stronger use of the law to punish offenders as well as a kind of controlled crime fighting role. The reform era brought goal of preventing crime back to the forefront, reconnecting with the community led police to reach out to citizens in order to maintain the peace and to prevent crime and disorder. Connecting with the community in this way would hopefully lead to successful crime prevention therefore, no punishment was necessary. Moving into the 21<sup>st</sup> century the same can be seen in American police as in the Great Britain. Globalization, terrorism, and advanced technology has led police to adopt the extra duty in intelligence while still sticking to the three core values they've held for centuries.

Sharing a common ancestry, diverging into two unique countries and cultivating two unique policing cultures only to begin to converge once more, English and American police are always developing and moving on a continuum. Analyzing these histories can help us to learn about success and failure, and to look through and compare the pasts of two nations' police only aids in the process broadening our store of resources. Through these histories we have learned that the police primarily operate on the demands of society, outside of the core duties shared by most police agencies. The police must hear public opinion and examine the current societal atmosphere and adjust accordingly. Both English and American police are currently adapting to

changing technology and changing society. Politicians frequently use police issues as elements to their platforms in attempts to alter public opinion (Blair, 2010). Not only are politicians attempting to sway large portions of the public's opinion on certain topics, but social media also holds significant power. Anyone who is capable of logging on to Twitter, for example, can now share anything they wish about police activity, whether it be an out of context video, hateful slurs, or undying support, these new mediums of communication present new challenges to police in meeting the demands of the public thus effecting their efficiency.

Operating on a continuum as the police do, has created the necessity for continuous alterations to police operations. Vast changes continue to be implemented and still new ones are proposed every day. As mentioned technology is rapidly advancing and these changes are beginning to be adopted for police use. In the United Kingdom as well as the United States, police are recognizing the utility of social media and putting it to use in order to better connect with their communities. The Greater Manchester Police have become avid twitter users. The force holds regular Twitter days in which every incident reported is tweeted. This is meant to raise public awareness of how much and what type of work is being done by the Manchester Police. They have also created a community reporter scheme, allowing members of the public to shadow officers on the beat and blog live about their experiences (Wakefield, 2013). It is in this realm of technology that police can connect with their 21<sup>st</sup> century public. A changing public calls for a changing police, more reliance on technology from day to day citizens may call for more utilization of technology by the police attempting to connect with these citizens,

It is not only the adopted use of internet technology to connect with citizens that is appearing in police forces of today. Police organizations in England as well as the United States have applied different technologies to better fight crime as well as remain accountable for their

actions. The use of drones in place of police helicopters reduces costs, a valuable trait in a time when police budgets are continuously on the chopping block in both countries. Electronic sensors have also begun to appear in a police context. Attaching these sensors to public property allows for it to be tracked if stolen. Officers and their vehicles are also often equipped with these sensors in the event that they are injured and must be located. It has been proposed in England to also attach these sensors to criminals and dementia patients in order to GPS locate them at any time (Wakefield, 2013). This however, is not a popular notion with the public citing that it is inhumane. This disapproval from the public may be the only factor necessary to ensure that this tactic is never put into use because it is in a police organization's best interest to attempt to appease the community.

This changing technology calls for changing training. The added element of new computer databases as well as new tools all together create new challenges for officers. This challenge has become finding a balance between relying on technology and simultaneously refining traditional police skills sans tech. While it is to the public's benefit to have technologically savvy police officers, it would do us no good to have technologically reliant police officers. In the same way the public can wish for police to utilize technology to better perform their job, organizational leaders are also using technology to monitor this performance. The implementation of body cameras in some U.S. police forces is yet another tactic created to ensure police accountability to the public in the ongoing tensions of the present.

The use of body cameras can be seen as just one effect the fusing of technology and public opinion can have on police. As through history, the strain between race and class continues today and technology has become a tool employed by these troubled groups to sway public opinion to their side. The issue came to a head recently with what appears to be a surge in police shootings

of African Americans. Movements have begun to raise outrage against the police for these crimes. It was said of the 19<sup>th</sup> century London Bobbies “the oppressive violence of the Metropolitan Police increases as their efficiency diminishes” (Miller, 1977, p. 116). This can be said to stand true today in a sense. As more people turn their opinions against police, the more reports of police violence we seem to hear. Groups have formed and made it a main part of their mission to highlight instances of unfounded police violence. The Black Lives Matter Campaign and the 4<sup>th</sup> Precinct Shutdown are prime examples of the war of public opinion occurring today and how technology has changed the game for these groups. Beginning on Twitter, the Black Lives Matter campaign has grown into a national chaptered organization. Members of this organization and supporters of the police organization have engaged in a war of words.

The struggle of police officers to overcome the attacks from protestors is one with no end in sight. Body cameras and social media feeds can be viewed as our present-day police organization attempts to show the public that the inappropriate acts of individual officers are not representative of the institution, however they will always have the ‘clever gentleman’, as mentioned previously, to document activity out of context. Today’s technology allows for anyone to record or document police activity and share it on the internet for millions of viewers regardless of whether or not it is representative of the true situation. It is a tug of war between the police and groups that feel targeted by police for public support. The struggle will continue into the future just as it has continued into the present from history. Public frustration with the police leads to a lesser degree of police efficiency, lesser efficiency leads to police frustration. It is a continuous cycle that the public and the police must adapt to and attempt to retain as much mutual understanding as possible.

This mutual understanding, if attained, reflects the successful achievement by policing agencies of Robert Peel's initial wish for the police to be the public and for the public to be the police. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century onward, police have worked and changed with the public. These two entities are inseparable when examining their functions in the world, without the public there is no one to police and without the police we would see a very chaotic public. Not only have the police been expected to adapt to the needs of the public and work within changing societies, they have been expected to learn and implement new technologies into their work. In this way, throughout history we have seen police make use of a range of technologies from call boxes to drones, it is necessary for these agencies to keep up with the public in order to best serve the public. All of these things, and a propensity to learn and gather intelligence from past practices can lead to the most functional police-public relationship possible.

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