4

How Municipal Police Interact With Street Culture

Jeffrey Ian Ross & Michael Rowe

Tuesday Februray 4, 2020
Number of words = 6729

Abstract

This chapter examines the multifaceted relationship between municipal police and the street culture that operates in advanced industrialized countries, such as the United States and Great Britain. In the process of doing so, the chapter asks and answers three principle questions: Why is understanding the relationship between police and street culture important? What are the factors that affect police-citizen encounters? and how do police officers learn the skills of the street? This analysis also examines when and how police become detached from the communities they serve and protect, and then reviews potential solutions to deal with this detachment. Finally, the chapter provides and analyzes possible methods that officers can use to improve how they deal with street culture. The author accomplishes this through a review of scholarly research on police activities, such as police behavior, patrol and discretion.

Introduction

One of the central features of contemporary advanced industrialized democracies is the fact that residents of large cities have largely turned over the practice of ensuring law and order to municipal police officers and their departments.[1] Law enforcement officers and the agencies they work for do this through a variety of behaviors, but most importantly by "resolving conflicts, maintaining and restoring order, and providing social services" (Reuss-Ianni, 2011, p. 19).[2] This is rarely a straight forward process. Police have historically had strained relations with some marginalized communities in 'problem' urban areas and this has often stemmed from contested efforts to assert authority and control over behavior and norms that prevail in some districts. In Britain, different groups have had strained relations with police in some districts as patterns of migration have developed. These have included Jewish communities in the late 19th century, Maltese, Italian and Irish migrants in the 1920s and 1930s, Caribbean communities from the 1950s onwards, and south east Asian arrivals from the 1970s onwards (Whitfield 2004).

More specifically police accomplish the aforementioned activities through a variety of mechanisms, but mostly we are talking about patrol. Patrol, it is argued, is the backbone of policing. Patrol is supposed to bring police closer to the public, enabling them to get to know citizens better, to engender trust, and to gain collect valuable intelligence that will assist them in doing their job properly. And when police interact with the public, it is usually done when they

stop, question, search, warn, issue a citation, or arrest individuals whom they suspect have violated one or more laws.

Police, like other street-level bureaucrats (e.g., public school teachers, fire fighters, and social workers, etc.), are in a unique position to deal with and understand street culture (Lipskey, 1980). That being said, although a lot has been written about how police interact with individuals whom they encounter on the street, few scholars have explicitly framed this topic in terms of street culture. There are some exceptions. Ilan (2018), for example, briefly considers the relationship between police and street culture. He states that "street culture is associated with 'defiant' norms and behaviours including antipathy to state authority, entrepreneurialism in the illicit economy and a 'respect' centered outlook that can result in violence. Street culture calls for the maintenance of a hostile relationship to the police, who are not to be cooperated with… and may be construed as the 'enemy'." He adds, "the research has not yet sufficiently traced such structured-cultural imperatives into the situated moment of encountering policing on the street" (p. 4). Although Ilan points to some aspects of the relationship between the police and street culture, his characterization is somewhat vague and ignores the large body of scholarly literature on police behavior (e.g., Reiss, 1972; van Maanen, 1974; Lundman, 1980; Worden, 1989; Mastrofski & Parks, 1990) which reveals a more nuanced focus on the street culture activities that police are exposed to and engage with. In fact, a considerable amount of classic scholarly research examines what police officers do on the streets (e.g., Skolnick, 1966; Chevigny, 1969; Bittner, 1970; Muir, 1979; Brown, 1988). In order to understand how police accomplish this task, a series of important questions that one might ask in order to understand the complex relationship between police and street culture are asked and answered below.

One of the long-standing research findings in relation to police culture is that it is shaped, to some extent, by interactions with the public on the street. More accurately the way police behave is shaped by the ways officers *anticipate* interactions with the public, in the sense that officer perceptions, experiences, stereotypes, and narratives about communities and the challenges, uncertainties, or danger that they might represent. Policing scholars in Britain and Australia, however, have been critical about explanations of the policing of street culture that attribute problems to the internal occupational culture of officers. Waddington (2011: 91) suggested that the concept of police culture had become a 'vehicle for lazy theorising' about operational practice, since it ignores, among other things, potential gaps between officer attitudes and behavior, and does not account for structural and organizational dimensions of the policing of street culture. Chan's (1997) work, drawing on research into Australian policing, reminds us that we need to recognize the pluralism of occupational subcultures within policing, and that these are capable of change over time. In the Irish context and the New Zealand experience respectively, Charman and Corcoran (2015) and Rowe and Macauley (2019) have demonstrated ways in which cultural norms within police services can be shifted. This suggests that the policing of street cultures can be changed, improved, and affected by cultural and organizational reform within police services. Moreover, these studies demonstrate that improving relations between police and marginalized groups requires leadership, management and organizational intervention. Cultural dimensions of these problems can be shaped by broader styles and practices of leadership. For example, in New Zealand, Rowe and Macauley

(2019) argued that cultural attitudes towards victims of sexual assault – which had been problematic there as elsewhere – had shifted in an organizational environment that became more victim-focused and with an emphasis on professional service delivery.

Why is understanding the relationship between the police and street culture important?

Citizens who spend a disproportionate amount of time on the street interact with numerous types of people. The individuals come from different walks of life and may perform various jobs. In many jurisdictions, governments have delegated the regulation of street-level activities (including crime and disorder) to the police. With the exception of public school teachers, in many areas, police officers are the most common government representatives that a population may encounter. Good, healthy relations with law enforcement are essential for a democracy to thrive. Police should appear to be trustworthy (not corrupt), and should be able to manage the demands of their job as peacekeepers and mediators of public conflict. Likewise law enforcement officers interact with all types of people from different walks of life, from juveniles, to immigrants to people from different class positions and nationalities. In Britain, during the 1990s and early 2000s, policing became increasingly oriented towards promoting community safety – a broader agenda than law enforcement – which entailed working closely with other local agencies to promote public reassurance and community cohesion (Hughes 2007). Since 2010, budgetary cuts have seen many partner agencies considerably reduced and in the absence of these partners (e.g. youth facilities and workers) the police might increasingly be the *only* symbol of authority in some districts.

What factors affect police-citizen encounters?

Neither the police nor the organizations they work for are monolithic. According to Muir, they differ on seven characteristics: "[each organization's] chief, its history, its size, its training, its incorruptibility, its independence, and its clientele" (1977, p. 10). This can have a huge effect on how each officer approaches their job and the people whom they are responsible for serving and protecting. As street-level bureaucrats (Lipksey, 1980), the police experience many kinds of situations in the public space. The people that they deal with can range in several possible ways, including their ethnicity/race, age, gender, socioeconomic status, and housing situation (homelessness versus home ownership). Numerous studies have observed how the police interact with these constituencies (Manning, 1977: Chapter 7). A close observer of the police once declared that "[t]he policeman… develops a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gestures, language, and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence" (Skolnick, 1966, p. 45). In a similar manner, another scholar argued that the police "must quickly learn that one of the important arts he must master is the sense of when to take action and when not to take action. An officer who brings too many cases into the station is considered incompetent, and an officer who brings in too few is considered a shirker… What is consistent about policing is its uncertainty. Police is said to be reactive and while some officers claim such unpredictability of the job is exciting, others point to the stress it produces" (Reuss-Ianni, 1981, p. 20). (DOUBLE CHECK ORIGINAL

QUOTE FOR GRAMMAR) Skolnick adds: “Policemen are indeed trained to be suspicious, to perceive events or changes in the physical surroundings that indicate the occurrence or probability of disorder. […] The individual policeman’s ‘suspiciousness’ does not hang on whether he has personally undergone an experience that could objectively be described as hazardous. Personal experience of this sort is not the key to the psychological importance of exceptionality” (1966, p. 48).

There are multiple factors that can have an effect on police officers’ relationships and behaviors involving the public, including their age, rank, ethnicity/race (Bayley & Mendelson, 1969; Brunson & Weitzer, 2019), gender (Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Poteyeva & Sun, 2009), the type of city they police (Wilson, 1968), and the neighborhood where they work (Smith, 1986). One of the ways that police officers deal with the ambiguity of encounters on the street is through their powers of discretion (Skolnick, 1966: Chapters 4-5; Brown, 1988; Alpert, Macdonald, & Dunham, 2005; Smith, Frank, Novak, & Lowenkamp, 2005). Some of the earliest research on this topic were Bittner’s articles summarizing how the police handle mentally ill persons (1967a), how they cope with the homeless population (1967b), and how police interact with juveniles (1976). There have been numerous studies of discretion in general (e.g., Bittner, 1970; Brown, 1988; Alpert, Macdonald, & Dunham, 2005; Smith, Frank, Novak, & Lowenkamp, 2005). Other related studies have looked at police discretion in particular settings or situations (e.g., Paoline & Terrill, 2004; Ross, 2000b; Ross & Wright, 2014). Rowe (2007; 2020) argues that many management developments in British police during the last decade or so have been attempts to more closely regulate police officer discretion, and to narrow its scope. In this regard, in Britain, requirements that police officers record details of street stop and searches (including the demographics of the person stopped, location and time, and the reason for the stop) and provide a copy of this to the individual encountered can be seen as an attempt to regulate officer behavior. Other practices that control officer behavior, for example, the use of GPS and technology to monitor performance, can also be understood as forms of oversight and management that narrow the parameters of discretion.

Other relevant research involves the studies that compare street cops to ones who have spent a considerable amount of their careers as administrators. For example, Reuss-Ianni (1981) did a long-term study of New York City police officers and discovered two types: the ones who work the street and the ones that are in management positions. She concluded that these professionals bring with them two opposing types of work cultures: “Most of the [street cop] officers… see the destruction of the street cop culture as an inevitable outcome of the changing organizational character and, with obvious resignation, say that this is what the bosses want anyway because then they can more readily control cops as unified groups” (p. 4).

Reuss-Ianni further argued that “street cop culture still exists, and currently gives salience and meaning to the social organization of the precinct… sees immediate local police response as more important than preplanned or ‘packaged’ solutions to problems which may never occur in day-to-day police work” (p. 6). “The street cop judges performance by the standard of ‘the professional cop.’ By ‘professionalism,’ they refer to on-the-job experience, and the experientially acquired street sense which permits them to recognize ‘dirty’ people and situations

which require police intervention (pp. 6-7). As additional clarification, she added, “This reactive ‘gut level’ ability to recognize, identify, and respond to a situation, rather than the internalization of standardized rules and procedures, characterizes ‘good police work.’ Decision-making thus takes place personally and immediately. Officers support each other, and their common interests bind them into a cohesive brotherhood” (p. 7). In conclusion, “precinct level or street cop culture presently determines the day-to-day practices of policing. Since the values of that culture underpin and inform the social organization of the precinct, they determine the behavior, dispositions and attitudes of its members” (p. 7).

Taking this discussion a step further, we can see and distinguish important cues in the police subculture that affects their behavior (Herbert, 1998; Crank, 2004). Loftus (2009) argued that despite the importance of recognizing that police subcultures are not monolithic or permanently fixed in character, there is considerable continuity over time and between different places. This, she argued, is because the cultural values are shaped by the nature of police work: the danger, isolation, authority, and solidarity identified by Skolnick (1966). In terms of street culture, the working practices of police officers will encourage the use of suspicion as a valuable working skill. The problem in British policing, as elsewhere, has been when the proper exercise of discretion becomes the unacceptable practice of stereotyping and prejudice. In England and Wales, since the 1980s, government Codes of Practice have offered a legal framework that seeks, among other things, to regulate police stop and search practices. In an effort to prevent the over-policing of minority ethnic groups these Codes stipulate that an individual’s real or perceived ethnic or racial identity cannot be grounds for the suspicion that is necessary in law to justify the stop and search. Problematically, though, the Codes also state that an individual’s dress or other aspects of their appearance can be grounds for suspicion. As strategies to affect the practices associated with the policing of street culture in Britain it seems that these legal provisions have limited impact: not least because the over-representation of some minority ethnic communities in police stop and search practices continues to be a cause for concern (Lammy, 2017).

Police-citizen encounters are also influenced by social, media and political pressures on officer priorities. The focus of much research and debate tends to rest on the nature of police subculture (often regarded as problematic). However, more widely it remains that wider labeling, racialization and criminalization of sections of the community creates implicit and explicit pressure for police to ‘crack down’ on troubled people and troubled places. In Britain in recent years public and political concern about knife and gang crime have led to calls for police to take new measures (such as controlled use of vehicles to ‘ram’ offenders off of motorcycles). Concerns that such methods would reduce support and legitimacy of police officers and so have a negative effect in the long-term emerge from research literature on stop and search and legitimacy (Bradford, 2017). In the context of anti-terrorism policing, Hargreaves analysis of the use of police stop and search against Muslims in Britain to be complex. He found some evidence to support claims that have been made about the profiling of Muslims as ‘suspect communities’ (Mythen et al, 2009) but, crucially, also noted that practices are not uniform but depend on age, ethnicity, location and such factors. In relation to all of these types of police encounter is the concern that broader processes of racialization of crime serve to identify certain groups as problematic and the proper subjects for police attention. As Gunter (2016) demonstrated in his study of gang

crime, ethnic stereotyping among the media and politicians risks legitimizing the profiling of some communities by police; a point also made by Cockbain (2013) in relation to the sexual exploitation of children.

How do police officers learn the skills of the street?

Despite police academy training, over time, most skilled officers learn the norms of their environments directly from the area/s that they patrol. These places may be called boroughs, districts, locations, neighborhoods, and/or sections. The police become familiar with both the activities and people who live in, work and visit these locations. More specifically, certain behaviors and people are normative to the areas law enforcement officers typically work, while others are not. For example, a businessman walking a particular street during the day might be totally expected, but if s/he does this after normal working hours, this activity may seem to be out of place. Law enforcement officers typically know who lives in the area and who might be transient or temporarily visiting the area. The latter may be workers, tourists, people who are lost, or those who come to the location to participate in the deviant or illegal subculture that exists in that neighborhood. In British analysis of stop and search practice it has been found that being 'out of place' in an area can be central to a police officer's suspicion as to an individual's behavior and activity. In relation to race, this meant that minorities on the street in neighborhoods that were understood to be predominantly white were regarded by police as suspicious on the basis of their very presence, not on the basis of their conduct.

The police also take into consideration the time of the day. They develop this "street knowledge" via their experiences through which they hone an intimate knowledge of the geographic area, as well as their ability to read the subtle and overt signals that people generate, including outward signs like clothes, demeanor, and speech patterns. A door or window open, when it should be closed, or the types and conditions of cars that are parked or driven around or through a neighborhood may be indicators of disorder. Officers develop a street sense. Much of this is done on an unconscious level, something akin to "police ways of knowing." This is all juxtaposed against the location (Manning & van Maanen, 1978). It is in this context that officers use their discretionary authority. Discretion basically means an ability to invoke a legal sanction (Ross, 2012: Chapter 6). One of the challenges here is that while discretion is inherent and sometimes desirable, it also allows for discriminatory practice (or worse) if not used appropriately. We might think it positive for police to use their discretion to not sanction a driver exceeding the speed limit if it turns out that the individual is rushing a sick child to a hospital. However, it is likely we would come to a different conclusion if the officer is similarly using discretion to target certain ethnic or racial groups that they dislike.

Not only are situational cues important, but the street cop "learns what the various supervisors are like and how to work with them. S/he learns what is acceptable and what is not acceptable behavior on the street. In addition to learning the values of the culture and methods for getting the job done, he is at the same time being socialized to prefer modes of behavior in the process, which is generically called 'learning the system'" (Reuss-Ianni, 1981, p. 8).

How police relate to street culture is dependent on a complex array of factors dependent on police officers' relationships to the street, to the people they police, and to the urban environment they police. Included in this mix are also the relationships they have with other police officers, supervisors and subordinates. One of the factors that has driven, in many countries, efforts to recruit more minority ethnic groups and women into police careers is the expectation that creating a more diverse workforce will create an environment in which stereotypical and prejudiced beliefs about some communities will be challenged.

How did the police become detached from and alienate the communities they serve and protect?

Despite their acquired experience and knowledge, keen observers of the police have suggested that since the creation of the very first modern police department, due to numerous factors, not only has the role of the police and the manner by which they interact with the public changed, but officers have also become detached from the communities they serve (Ross, 2012). During the early days of policing, officers used to walk a beat, but with the advent of cars, they primarily engage in motorized patrol. Whether this is done in cars, motorcylces, or vans, driven alone or with a partner, this way of dealing with the communities they police has increasingly distanced officers from the people they serve and from the streets where criminal activity occurs (Goldstein, 1979; 1987). Having said all of this, it is important to recognize that police have always had fraught and strained relations with some communities in certain districts.

During the 1960s, this sense of detachment was amplified and resulted in large-scale riots, prompted by police shootings of unarmed African Americans, many of which occurred in poorer sections of large American cities (often labelled ghettos or barrios). This distancing also occurred because a disproportionate number of white police officers were policing Hispanic and African-American neighborhoods, and a relaxation of residency requirements. In other words, police do not have to live in the same communities they work, as they were once required to do. They can live in the deep suburbs and commute in to work every day. These factors, it is argued, has led not only to a breakdown in police community relations, but to a decline in trust towards police officers. This trend is also believed to have led to an increase in crime. Similar problems were identified in terms of urban unrest in Britain in the 1980s, and in relation to a lack of diversity among police officers in some districts that were multi-ethnic (Rowe and Ross, 2015)

Police officers have consequently become increasingly cynical about the people they serve, as well as the police administration (e.g., Neiderhoffer, 1967; Brown, 1988). This was evident in the research that attempted to explain the causes of the urban riots that took place in many of our large inner cities during the early 1960s. These resulted in a handful of commissions which investigated the plight of the police (e.g., ranging from The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1965, to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970) and their relationship with the community. As a result of the numerous recommendations contained in these reports, police departments slowly changed. Although these reforms were palpable, they did not have a major effect on crime rates. British policing has

been significantly transformed in the 21st century in response to the Lawrence Inquiry report (chaired by Sir William Macpherson to examine the failed police investigation of the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence in London in 1993; the report was published in 1999 (see Macpherson 1999). The report established as a priority for police and government that efforts be made to improve public 'trust and confidence' in police. Significantly it determined that policing was institutionally racist. The development of a more ethnically representative police service, improved diversity training, and greater transparency in relation to community engagement (around stop and search for example) were identified important elements for reform to reengage police with marginalized communities. While some stop and search practices have been changed, there has been insufficient progress in terms of staff diversity (Hales, 2020).

During the 2010s, a number of very public instances of police use of excessive force or deaths by police officers of unarmed African Americans (e.g., Michael Brown in Ferguson Missouri, Eric Garner in Staten Island, Freddie Gray in Baltimore, etc.) were caught on video via smart phone technology and disseminated via social media, once again calling into question police-citizen interactions with minority communities. It appeared as if the decade of advocating for community policing was replaced by a culture of stop and frisk (White & Fradella, 2016), the implosion of community policing (Ross, 1995; Zhao, Lovrich, & Robinson, 2001), and the primacy of CompStat (McDonald, 2001). Worth noting here the influence of the Black Lives Matter movement in the UK, 2011 London riots were – on some level – a response to the fatal shooting of Mark Duggan by the Metropolitan Police (Guardian/LSE, 2011). Given that the British police are not routinely armed, use of firearms is rare compared to the US: the most recent data shows that firearms were 'deployed' by British police 4500 times in the year to end March 2019, this includes incidents were the weapon was drawn but not necessarily fired. During the same period 2 members of the public died as a result of the use of firearms by police (Home Office, 2019).

What have been the solutions to deal with officer detachment?

Starting in the 1920s, the public and policy makers became increasingly concerned with police community relations. Part of the solution to dealing with the breakdown today is to require police departments to better reflect the communities that they police. This has largely occurred through a greater emphasis on the *recruitment of visible minorities* (Rowe & Ross, 2015). However, it was not until Goldstein (1979) that there were concerted efforts suggesting that in order to bring the police closer to the communities they policed, they needed to get out of their cars and engage more with citizens. This collective advice, which fell under the umbrella of *community policing*, slowly, incrementally and intermittently ushered in new types of service delivery, including storefront policing, mini police stations, Kobans, problem-oriented policing, and similar kinds of practices. Officers' patrol methods also changed. Urban police increasingly use bikes, horses, Segways, and scooters to get around their urban locations (Ross, 2012: Chapter 8).

Although a handful of smaller jurisdictions (e.g., Ann Arbor, Michigan, Madison, Wisconsn, etc.) started experimenting with community policing and/or problem-oriented policing during the 1970s, it was not until 1994, with the passage of the Crime Bill, that the federal

government encouraged police departments to start hiring officers for the express purpose of engaging in community policing. They did this through the establishment of the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) office in the United States Department of Justice (Ross, 2000a). This agency assisted police departments and municipalities in hiring 100,000 officers solely dedicated to engaging in community policing. In order to encourage this goal, the COPS office developed numerous mechanisms to encourage the hiring and reallocation of officers to engage in community policing as their principle task. Soon thereafter an annual conference, supported by the Police Executive Research Forum, occurred where the latest techniques in problem-oriented policing were discussed and officers participated in POP exercises where best practices were taught.

In Britain, since the late 1990s, there has been the development of a program of Neighborhood Policing, whereby police officers seek to engage with local communities and to collaboratively work to address low-level quality of life offenses that negatively impact on quality of life. This model of 'reassurance policing' is not targeted, necessarily, and the most serious offenses in criminal justice terms but rather at anti-social behavior and 'nuisance' crimes (graffiti and fly-tipping, for example) that create fear and a sense of neglect, particularly in marginalized communities (Innes, 2004). Developing from US ideas of 'broken windows policing', the British model required police to engage not only with local communities but also with other municipal authorities (housing or education departments, for example) in an effort to develop more sustainable responses. Key to this was the notion of police visibility: that officers become a familiar and recognized presence within neighborhoods, with regular and routine interaction with residents. Since 2010 financial cuts to police services in Britain have had led to a withdrawal of the police patrol function, although the provision of the frontline 'bobby on the beat' remains an important principle (O'Neill, 2014; Greig-Midlane, 2019).

Despite the introduction of community policing in several jurisdictions, in all but a few, this type of law enforcement has been abandoned and replaced with CompStat, which is more immediate in terms of what the department can show its public. The effectiveness of community policing and the rubric of techniques that fell under it have been questioned. In particular, questions have been raised about whether this methodology was able to achieve what it wanted to achieve (e.g., Reiseg & Parks, 2004). It is argued by some that the development of Evidence Based Policing in Britain promotes professionalism and a scientific basis for operational deployment and that this might be in tension with community demands. As in the US experience (Sklansky, 2008), questions of accountability and democracy are raised in circumstances where police work becomes distanced from public expectation and demand (Rowe, 2020).

How do we enable officers to deal better with street culture?

There have been many attempts to create police community relations teams that would ostensibly assist the police develop more compatible relations with their citizens, whom they depend upon to break down barriers (Trojanowitz, 1972). Among the haphazard initiatives were *incentives given to police officers to move back into the city*. These included tax breaks or city-backed mortgages on their homes. The idea was twofold: it was hoped that police officers would

feel more comfortable with their neighbors, and city residents would feel more relaxed with police, and their fear and anxiety regarding crime and disorder would decrease from knowing that a police officer lived down the street. From an empirical research standpoint, these initiatives remain largely untested.

Skilled police officers evaluate and ultimately understand the subtle power structures of the neighborhoods they patrol. This is not dependent on where they live. In the past, the neighborhood where a police officer patrolled may have been where he lived, too, but not necessarily. Over the years, due to a variety of reasons police have moved to the suburbs. However, with overall trends in gentrification, etc. we have seen a reversal in this trend in recent times.

There are also racial dynamics in play. Thus, some police departments, in addition to recruitment, have required police officers take *racial sensitivity courses*. These have been of questionable benefit to the amelioration of racial stereotypes, etc. As pointed out previously, in relation to the racialization and criminalization of communities in the UK, such training is inevitably delivered against particular contexts and officers (at all rank levels) are not immune from external influences of media, politics and society.

In England and Wales (but not elsewhere in the UK), new approaches to training and education are being developed, under a curriculum designed by the College of Policing; the body that provides for the professionalism of policing. New programs are delivered in partnership with universities and provide longer and broader coverage that includes reflective practice and approaches to community engagement. Additionally, transparency and oversight have been developed in terms of internal management and discipline. Misconduct cases are heard in public in an effort to increase public trust and confidence, and public panels are regularly convened to review stop and search practices, again in an effort to bring the community into closer communication with police (Rowe, 2020).

Conclusion

Beyond patrol, regardless of the means to serve and protect the community, understanding how the police deal with street culture remains an important part of law enforcement. Police officers and the departments they work for cannot afford to appear to be an occupying army, otherwise they will not be able to achieve their goals. They must be perceived as professional, fair and trustworthy. This can primarily be achieved through an intimate knowledge of and appreciation of street culture. Without this important component, they have lost the battle against crime and criminals, and for criminal justice.

Acknowledgements: Special thanks to Rachel Reynolds for comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

References

Alpert, G., Macdonald, J., & Dunham, R. (2005). Police suspicion and discretionary decision-making during citizen stops. *Criminology*, *43*(2), 407–434.

Bayley, D. & Mendelson, H. (1969). *Minorities and the Police*. New York: Free Press.

Bittner, E. (1967a). *Police discretion in emergency apprehension of mentally ill persons*, *Social Problems*, *14*(3), 278-292.

Bittner, E. (1967b). Policing Skid-Row: A Study of Peace-Keeping, *American Sociological Review*, I(5), 669-715.

Bittner, E. (1970). *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society*. Chevy Chase, MD: National Institute of Education.

Bittner, E. (1976). *Policing juveniles: The Social context of common practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bradford, B. (2017) *Stop and Search and Police Legitimacy*, London: Routledge.

Brown, M. K. (1988). *Working the Street: Police Discretion and the Dilemmas of Reform*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Brunson R. K. & Weitzer, R. (2009). Police relations with black and white youths in different urban neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review*, *44*(6), 858-885.

Chan, J. (1997) *Changing Police Culture: Policing in a Multiracial Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Charman, S. and Corcoran, D. (2015). Adjusting the Police Occupational Cultural Landscape: The Case of An Garda Síochána, *Policing and Society*, *25*(4): 484-503.

Chevigny, (1969). *Police Power: Police Abuse in New York City*. New York: Pantheon.

Cockbain, E. (2013) 'Grooming and the 'Asian Sex Gang Predator': the Construction of a Racial Crime Threat', *Race and Class*, *54*(1), 22-32.

Crank, J. (2004). *Understanding Police Culture*, Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Emsley, C. (1996). *The English Police: A Political and Social History*. (2nd Ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Goldstein, H. (1979). Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach, *Crime & Delinquency, 25*(2), 236-243.

Goldstein, H. (1987). Toward Community Policing: Potential, Basic Requirements and Threshold Questions, *Crime & Delinquency*, *33*(1), 6-30.

Greig-Midlane, J. (2019 'An Institutional Perspective of Neighbourhood Policing Reform in Austerity Era England and Wales', *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *21*(4), 230–243.

Guardian/LSE (2011) *Reading the Riots: Investigating England's Summer of Disorder*, London: Guardian.

Gunter, A. (2016). *Race, Gangs and Youth Violence: Policy, Prevention and Policing*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Hale, G. (2020). Perspectives on Policing: a Diversity Uplift? Police Workforce and Ethnicity Trends, London: The Police Foundation.

Hargreaves, J. (2018) 'Police Stop and Search Within British Muslim Communities: Evidence From the Crime Survey 2006–11', *The British Journal of Criminology*, *58*(6), 1281-302.

Herbert, S. (1998). Police subculture reconsidered. *Criminology*, *36*(2) 342-370.

Hughes, G. (2007) *The Politics of Crime and Community*, London: Palgrave.
Ilan, J. (2018). Scumbags! An ethnography of the interactions between street-based youth and police officers. *Policing and Society*, *28*(6), 684–696.

Klockars, C. B. (1985). *The Idea of the Police*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Lammy, D. (2017) *The Lammy Review: An independent review into the treatment of, and outcomes for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic individuals in the Criminal Justice System*, London: Home Office.

Lipskey, M. (1980). *Street-level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public services*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

Loftus, B. (2009). *Police Culture in a Changing World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lundman, R. J. (1980). *Police Behavior: A Sociological Approach*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Macpherson, Sir W. (1999). *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry – Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny*, CM 4262-1, London: HMSO.

Manning, P. K. (1977). *Police Work: The Social organization of Policing*, Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Manning, P. & van Maanen, J. (Eds.). (1978). *Policing: A view from the street*. Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear.

Mastrofski, S. & Parks, R. B. (1990). Improving Observational Studies of Police, *Criminology, 28*(3), 475-496.

McDonald, P. P. (2001). *Managing Police Operations: Implementing the NYPD Crime Control Model Using COMPSTAT*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Cengage

Muir, W. K. (1979). *Police: Street Corner Politicians*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Mythen, G., Walklate, S. & Khan, F. (2009) "I'm a Muslim, but I'm not a Terrorist': Victimization, Risky Identities and the Performance of Safety, *British Journal of Criminology*, 49(6), 736-754.

Neiderhoffer, A. (1967). *Behind The Shield: The Police in Urban Society*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

O'Neill, M. (2014) 'Ripe for the Chop or the Public Face of Policing? PCSOs and Neighbourhood Policing in Austerity', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 8(3), 265–273.

Paoline, E. A., & Terrill, W. (2004). Women police officers and the use of coercion. *Women and Criminal Justice*, *15*(1),97–119.

Poteyeva, M. & Sun, I. Y. (2009). Gender differences in police officers' attitudes: Assessing current empirical evidence, *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *37*(5),512-522.

Rabe-Hemp, C. (2008). Female officers and the ethic of care: Does gender impact police behaviors? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *36*(?),426–434.

Reiseg, M.D. & Parks, R. B. (2004). Can community policing help the truly disadvantaged? *Crime & Delinquency*, *50*(?)139-167.

Reiss, A. J. (1972). *The Police and the Public*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Reuss-Ianni, E. (1981). *Two Cultures of Policing: Street Cops and Management Cops.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Ross, J. I. (1995). Confronting Community Policing: Minimizing Community Policing as Public Relations, in Kratcoski, P. C. & Dukes, D. (Eds.). *Issues in Community Policing*, (pp. 243-259). Cincinnati: ACJS/Anderson.

Ross, J I. (2000a). Grants-R-Us: Inside A Federal Grant Making Research Agency, *American Behavioral Scientist*, *43*(10), 1704-1723.

Ross, J. I. (2000b). *Making News of Police Violence: A Comparative Study of Toronto and New York City*, Westport, CT: Praeger.

Ross, J. I. (2012). *Policing Issues: Challenges and Controversies*, Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett.

Ross, J. I. & Wright, B. S. (2014). "I've got better things to worry about": Police perceptions of graffiti and street art in a large mid-Atlantic city, *Police Quarterly*, *17(*2), 176-200.

Rowe, M. (2007). Rendering Visible the Invisible: police discretion, professionalism and ethics, Policing and Society, 17(3): 279-294.

Rowe, M. (2020). *Policing the Police: Challenges of Governance and Accountability*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Rowe, M. & Macauley, M. (2019). Giving Voice to the Victims of Sexual Assault: the Role of Police Leadership in Organisational Change, *Policing: an International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *42*(3): 394-407.

Rowe, M. & Ross, J. I. (2015). Comparing the recruitment of ethnic and racial minorities in police departments in England and Wales with the USA, *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice* 9(1), 26-35.

Sklansky, D.A. (2008). *Democracy and the Police*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Skolnick, J. (1966). *Justice without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society*. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons.

Smith, B., Frank, J., Novak, K., & Lowenkamp, C. (2005). Explaining police officer discretionary activity. *Criminal Justice Review*, *30*(3), 325–346.

Smith, D. A. (1986). The Neighborhood Context of Police Behavior. In *Communities and Crime*, *Crime and Justice*. (pp. 313-341). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Storch, R. D. (1975). The plague of the blue locusts: police reform and popular resistance in Northern England, 1840-57, *International Review of Social History*, *20*(1),61-90.

Thompson, E. P. (1963). *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Gollancz.

Trojanowitz, R.C. (1972). Police Community Relations: Problems and Processes, *Criminology*, 9(4), 401-423.

Van Maanen, J. (1974). Working the Street: A developmental view of police behavior," in Jacob, H. (Ed.). *The potential for reform of criminal justice* (pp. 83-130). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Waddington, P.A.J. (2011). 'Cop Culture', in Newburn, T. and Peay, J. (Eds.). *Policing: Politics, Culture and Control*, (pp. 90-109). Oxford: Hart Publishing.

White, M. D. & Fradella, H. F. (2016). *Stop and Frisk: The Use and abuse of a controversial policing tactic*, New York, NY: New York University Press.

Whitfield, J. (2004) *Unhappy Dialogue: The Metropolitan Police and London's West Indian Community*, London: Routledge.

Wilson, J. (1968). *Varieties of Police Behavior: The management of law and order in eight communities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Worden, R. E. (1989). Situational and attitudinal explanations of police behavior: A theoretical reappraisal and empirical assessment. *Law and Society Review*, *23*,(4),667–711.

Zhao, J., Lovrich, N. P., & Robinson, T. H. (2001). Community policing: is it changing the basic functions of policing?: Findings from a longitudinal study of 200+ municipal police agencies. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *29*(5), 365-377.

Notes

[1] Much of what I have to say is probably appropriate to county, rural and state policing agencies. This chapter also uses the terms *police* and *law enforcement officers* interchangeably. Out of respect for the professionalism of law enforcement, we avoid the more colloquial term *cops*.

[2] Other similar explanations are provided by Bittner (1970); Manning, (1977: Chapter 4), Klockars (1985), etc. Some scholars (e.g., Thompson, 1963; Storch, 1975; Emsley, 1996) have argued that the primary role of the police is to monitor the working class, in particular the street-life activities, such as drinking and gambling, that the middle class, or more specifically, the upper class, looks down upon. Although an interesting discussion worth pursuing, for the purposes of this chapter, this line of inquiry is not explored.