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Key Developments, Issues, and Practices: The Role of the Police in Crime Prevention

Background Paper
ICPC's 7th Annual Colloquium
Oslo, Norway

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I. Introduction

The 'Role of the Police in Crime Prevention' is the main theme for debate and discussion at ICPC's Seventh Annual Colloquium on Crime Prevention, hosted by the National Police Directorate, Norway. On November 8th and 9th, speakers, from over 18 countries, from the North and South, representing national, regional, and local government, police services, research, and international organizations, will gather to discuss recent developments, issues, challenges and progress achieved in police partnerships in prevention.

This year's colloquium is quite timely because most recently, there have been many conferences and events hosted by governments and police associations across the world, to consider effective strategies and practices in the areas of community policingⁱ, police partnershipsⁱⁱ, police accountability and reformⁱⁱⁱ, policing diversity^{iv} and police performance^v to name a few.

Secondly, the role of the police in crime prevention has also been a core area of work of the ICPC since 1996. This has included **seminars and events** (ICPC Strategic seminars: Montreal, Quebec, Canada 1998, United Kingdom 1999, and Washington, USA 2001, ICPC Colloquia: Belgium 2002, and South Africa, 2003, and Professional Seminar, Dakar, Senegal 2005), and **comparative research**, in relation to urban safety and good governance, police in schools, police and prevention, management of public space, and police performance measures (Chalom et al, 2001, Shaw, 2004, Sansfaçon, 2006, Capobianco & Savignac, 2006, Lelandais & Bodson, forthcoming). ICPC has also produced over the years several **international compendia** illustrating collaborative partnerships involving the police in burglary reduction, family violence prevention, mediation and conflict resolution, work with youth at risk, crime prevention in social housing and collaborative partnerships with indigenous peoples, and other ethno cultural communities (ICPC 1997, 1997, Hicks, Denat & Arsenault, 2000, Police Toolkit on the Role of the Police in Crime Prevention 2002, ICPC, 2005, Capobianco, 2006, Capobianco, 2006).

Most recently, in November 2006, ICPC co-hosted a workshop on *Policing and Communities* at the Saragossa Conference on "Security, Democracy and Cities" organized by the European Forum for Urban Safety, in Spain, and in May 2007, ICPC co-organized a *Professional Seminar for African Police Agencies and Crime Prevention Practitioners* with the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the Council for Scientific Industrial Research (CSIR), in partnership with UN Habitat and UNODC, in Cape Town in May 2007. Therefore, this event provides an opportunity for ICPC to build on its past work and growing knowledge about policing, and plan for the next stages of its police partnerships programme.

This year, the Colloquium workshop themes focus on some of the major challenges facing police partnerships, and issues related to the roles of the public police in building safer communities.

These are: **Building Effective Police Partnerships, Examining the Structure and Culture of the Police** in facilitating or hindering effective collaboration in prevention, and examining recent innovations, policing models, and tools on **Knowledge- Based Policing**.

In preparation for this event, this background paper discusses some key developments and issues, including some that are specific to policing; the appropriateness of the various roles for police in crime prevention which in some instances, are subject to debate; and provides examples from around the world which illustrate the ways in which the police can effectively partner with other actors, noting both the issues and challenges of partnerships.

While that paper recognizes the plurality of policing^{vi} (volunteers, guardians, private police, etc.), it will focus largely on **the roles of the public police alongside other actors in community safety**. This focus does not detract from what is already known: that the police and criminal justice agencies are not the sole actors in promoting safety and reducing crime, but rather builds on that knowledge.

Finally, the paper recognizes that the roles which may be undertaken by the police in prevention may be easier to consider in developed countries, as opposed to those in transition or conflict, where there may be a stronger need for other actors (NGOs, women's groups, etc.) to work to develop trust and capacity in partnerships.

II. Some Key Developments and Issues

Processes related to globalization, urbanization, and technocratization have raised both opportunities and challenges for all those working in the field of crime prevention, but especially for policing (See Rosenbaum, 2007, Sansfaçon, 2006, Mazzerole & Ransley, 2005, UNODC, 2005). Indeed, it is both an invigorating and challenging period for governments, police services and practitioners, as new forms of partnerships are emerging (eg. Multi-agency, public-private, etc.), new technologies are being deployed (crime mapping, geo-coding, etc.), and different types of programmes are being implemented (neighbourhood policing, comprehensive community initiatives, etc.) to promote safety. The key developments and issues outlined in this section revolve essentially around three main questions which are not mutually exclusive:

- *What are the public police asked to do?* (the nature of the demands placed on police services)
- *How are they responding to the demands and taking up the challenge?* (use of different models and approaches and tools to support action) and
- *Who do we want the police to be?* (identity of the police).

The nature of the demands placed on police services

The police have been confronted with a number of demands to which they must respond, most notably:

- emerging forms of criminality committed by international cross border criminal networks such as money laundering, trafficking of human beings and stolen vehicles, corruption etc. (Galeotti, 2005, Bruinsma & Bernasco, 2004),

- increased demands by citizens in the North and South to control “anti-social” behaviours ranging from low level nuisance such as noise and begging, to more serious criminal behaviour such as violence in public spaces (Winford, 2006),
- demands by elected officials and/or residents for intervention and regulation of behaviours related directly or indirectly to the more widespread availability and use of alcohol and illicit drugs, such as micro trafficking, or driving under the influence (Sansfacon, 2006, Mazzerole & Ransley, 2005),
- calls for effective measures to protect against international threats from terrorism, small arms, the drug trade, etc.
- greater calls for police accountability and transparency, including from democratizing countries confronted by corruption, police brutality, and high levels of public mistrust and fear, and
- repeated calls from policymakers, researchers, NGOs, and community safety workers for the police to adopt and share a broader vision of problem solving, including a focus on factors correlated to crime and victimization (literacy, poverty, etc (Rosenbaum et al., 1998, ICPC, 2002)

The nature of these demands, and the different types of responses to them, must be seen within the broader social, cultural, economic and political shifts taking place within and across countries. Such broader shifts can have a major impact on the ability of police organizations to change (Bayley, 2006, Frühling, 2004, Ocqueteau, 2004). These can include for example, changes in legislation mandating the police to work in partnership with other actors in crime prevention, the influence of the market economy on assessing police performance, and shifts to militaristic and intrusive policing practices in response to high-level threats such as terrorism and organized crime, that are not easily reconciled with other policing styles such as community policing (Stenning, 2006, p.7). The blurring of criminal and civil laws can create avenues for other actors such as social landlords and local businesses instructed by the police to apply legal levers (eg. health and safety codes, alcohol service protocols) to deal with drug problems and public order issues. Yet such valuable approaches can also have negative side effects^{vii} (Mazzerole & Ransley, 2003).

The use of different models and approaches, challenges, and tools to support action

There are many models and approaches that police are using at present to support a crime prevention role in communities. These include measures to improve police-community relations (Khashu et al., 2005, Buvinic et al., 2005), engage the community (Skogan et al., 2004, Myhill, 2003, Donzelot, Mével, and Wyvekens, 2003, Thatcher, 2001) strengthen problem solving skills (Clarke, 2002, Scott, 2000 Geller, 1998), improve victim response (Santos, 2005, Reuland and Margolis, 2003, Jubb and Izumino, 2002.), and contribute to more comprehensive approaches to crime prevention (Kelling, 2005, Buvinic et al., 2005, Skogan et al., 2004).

It can be said that within and across police services and countries, while “traditional reactive enforcement models”, are still quite strong, they are giving way to, or feature alongside other programmes or approaches that promote safety (albeit in varying degree and form).

While terminology is often used and understood in varying ways between countries, some major approaches include: community policing^{viii} (eg. Japan, the USA, Canada, Nigeria, and parts of Europe and Latin America), and problem oriented policing (eg. Norway, Australia, USA), as well as, policing initiatives adapted to specific populations or areas, such as Indigenous policing models (eg. New Zealand, USA, Canada, and Australia), women’s police stations (eg. Latin America and South Asia), and hot-spots policing (eg. USA).

While a discussion of each of these models, including their complex assumptions, select practices, and evaluations, is beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to highlight the main elements of the two strategies most often associated with the main principles of community safety strategies. The main characteristics of community policing and problem oriented policing interventions can be summarised as follows:

Community Policing	Problem Oriented Policing
<p>A broader definition of police work.</p> <p>A reordering of police priorities, giving greater attention to “soft” crime and disorder.</p> <p>A focus on problem solving and prevention rather than incident-driven policing.</p> <p>A recognition that the community however defined, plays a critical role in solving neighbourhood problems.</p> <p>A recognition that police organizations must be restructured and reorganized to be responsive to the demands of this new approach and to encourage a new set of police behaviours.</p> <p>(Rosenbaum in Brodeur, 1998).</p>	<p>The police must pro-actively try to solve problems rather than just react to the harmful consequences of problems.</p> <p>Addressing problems means more than quick fixes: it means dealing with conditions that create problems.</p> <p>Police officers must routinely and systematically analyze problems before trying to solve them, just as they routinely and systematically investigate crimes before making an arrest. Individual officers and the department as a whole must develop routines and systems for analyzing problems.</p> <p>Problems must be understood in terms of the various interests at stake. Individuals and groups of people are affected in different ways by a problem and have different ideas about what should be done about the problem.</p> <p>The effectiveness of new responses must be evaluated so these results can be shared with other police officers and so the department can systematically learn what does and does not work.</p> <p>(Goldstein & Scott 2001, www.popcenter.org)</p>

Many contemporary police reform programmes taking place in countries such as Brazil, Chile, the Czech Republic, Jamaica, and St Lucia include a community policing or problem oriented policing focus, and there is a renewed interest in community policing models in many developed regions or countries such as Quebec, the USA, and the United Kingdom. For example, the Ministère de la sécurité publique in Quebec recently developed a working group to examine the evolution of community policing in Quebec, since the launch of the departmental policy on community policing in 2000.

Challenges and some tools to support action

However, as with responses to the changing pressures and expectations of policing discussed earlier, police reform programmes that are often based on community policing or problem oriented policing principles can often be hindered by a variety of factors. These include the emergence of quick-fix policies in response to high crime rates, and public pressure for “tough on crime” policies (Thale, 2006, Legget, 2004), lack of public confidence in the police, feelings of insecurity, programme discontinuities that occur with changes in political administration (Leeds, 2007, p.24), and the values, beliefs and assumptions held by the police, who may be resistant to change (Marks & Goldsmith, 2006).

In emerging democracies, factors limiting the effectiveness of, or slowing down, police reform can include:

- the difficulty in overcoming long histories of authoritarian policing and ways of doing business,
- persistent corruption,
- the intermingling of police change agents with military police (Stenning, 2006),
- the lags that may occur between police and justice reform,
- the lack of long term investment from the international community to support capacity building efforts (Holoohan, 2005),
- poor police working conditions (Azaola, 2007)
- the lack of integration of policing models with broader forms of intervention (Stromsem and Trincellito, 2002).
- inadequate attention paid to processes which lead to police organizational change (Marks and Goldsmith, 2006)

“The question is no longer whether the international community will assist in democratic police reform, but how well it will do the job”

(Bayley, 2006, p.14)

Furthermore, some of the common challenges or concerns about community policing models and problem oriented policing include: the lack of attention paid to the processes which are needed to ensure meaningful consultation and participation with citizens and the police, the level of community representation (representatives from different ethno cultural communities, Aboriginal communities, etc), the need to respond to specific needs expressed by communities without sacrificing equity (Thatcher, 2001, Skogan et al., 2004).

A number of observations can be made about the ways police services are addressing some of the challenges highlighted so far. The police sometimes use **intermediaries**^{ix} to strengthen consultation methods with the community, and work towards improved community-police relations.

The West Yorkshire Police, United Kingdom introduced **Youth Service Officers** to work with young people aged 12 to 25, with the predominant group being aged 12 to 17. The officers work in partnership with local youth services, voluntary groups and schools to divert young people away from crime and anti-social behaviour, and increase trust in the police (www.westyorkshire.police.uk).

In Brazil, **AfroReggae**, a cultural hip hop group from the favela Vigário Geral, and registered NGO, has worked with the military police in Belo Horizonte, and other areas in Brazil in active workshops that aim to break down stereotypes which divide police and youth living in the favelas. AfroReggae members train officers in drumming, dancing, graffiti, video and circus arts (www.ucamcesec.com.br)

In Romania, the **Project on Ethnic Relations (PER)**, involving the Southern Police Institute of the University of Louisville Kentucky, with the support of the Romanian General Inspectorate of Police, the Ministry of Interior, and the Council of National Minorities, held several seminars for senior police officials on the policing of ethnic confrontations in Romania, and the influence of the police on social and ethnic relations. These activities initiated the formation of a department of prevention within the Romanian General Inspectorate of Police to monitor social and ethnic tensions (www.per-usa.org). Following the success of this, PER initiated a more specialized assessment of police and ethnic minority relations in Hungary.

There are also a number of recent **police- university partnerships**, which are aimed at developing new tools to assist the police in developing sophisticated programmes to ensure more strategic, equitable, and efficient targeting of resources.

The Center for Crime and Public Safety Studies (CRISP), at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil has worked extensively with the military police to develop a sophisticated crime mapping and analysis programme, and assisted in human rights training (Ford Foundation 2005).

The Chicago Police Department and Loyola University at Chicago, USA are working to develop and evaluate new forms of web-based information systems derived from enhanced formal communication between the police and neighborhood residents.

There are also **a number of new networks, alliances or organizations** which are aimed at assisting the police to become more responsive, effective and accountable to the public.

The **Global Alliance Altus** was created in 2004 by six NGOs and academic institutes^x spanning five continents, and provides information to governments, police leaders, human rights activists, legislators, journalists and citizens concerned about the effective and fair control of policing (www.altus.org).

In Mexico, the **Institute for Security and Democracy (Insyde)**, and independent organization, has extensively worked on police reform in the country. Insyde's policy recommendations and training sessions are helping the police to establish new procedures that discourage corruption and hold officers accountable for abuses while promoting democratic practices that respond to citizens' needs (www.insyde.org.mx).

In the USA, a network of 13 major cities in California known as the **California Gang Prevention Network** was created in 2006 to combat gang violence and victimization. Each city is led by its mayor and police, and a five-member team of key stakeholders who meet twice yearly and interact monthly to learn from each other and exchange experiences. The network uses the key elements of successful strategies: communicating a clear commitment from city leaders to end violence, identifying the small percentage of youths who cause the most violence, using intervention services for those most at risk, and starting prevention early with families, children and youth. (California Gang Prevention Network, 2006).

In Canada, the **Law Enforcement Aboriginal Diversity Network (LEAD)**, Canada launched in 2005, grew out of initiatives between the Calgary and Winnipeg Police Services' Aboriginal and Diversity units, whose work eventually led to the idea of creating a Canadian information sharing network. The LEAD network and gathers police officers at the national, provincial/territorial, regional, municipal level, and Aboriginal community levels across Canada. LEAD provides a forum where police officers can exchange best practices, learn about different cultures, and explore ways to build and improve relationships with the Aboriginal and ethno-cultural communities they serve (www.cacp.ca).

The identity of the police

<p>"Governments will inevitably remain central to crime prevention in modern societies- not because other institutions are not important, but because the state cannot renounce the responsibility" (Bayley, 1994 in Marks & Goldsmith 2006, p.150).</p>
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Two recent developments: 1) the proliferation of private security and technological advances and, 2) the advent of new community safety professions that form part of wider community safety strategies, raise major questions about the identity of the police.

The growth of private security in the last three decades has increasingly been the subject of discussion. In Canada and Australia, it is estimated that private security outnumber the public police by 2 to 1, in South Africa by 3 to 1, and in the US by 8 to 1. Although there have been many attempts at definition (George and Button, 2000, Jones & Newburn, 1995, Johnston, 1992, Shearing & Stenning, 1981), there is however, no common acceptance of what gets counted as 'private security' across countries, let alone within countries, and this continues to be subject to debate across legal, policy-making, and academic circles.

The speed at which new technological products and services are developed and made available to be bought and sold on the market by the private sector is staggering. Crime mapping, CCTV systems, sophisticated alarm and monitoring systems, virtual tours of design-out-crime techniques are all examples of technological advances made in recent years to assist in protecting against loss, identifying offenders, and reducing opportunities for crime. For example, much of this technology has been used to increase the privatization of public space (eg. gated communities) in many regions of the world, often increasing the social exclusion of poorer segments of the population and/or of young people from public places (eg. subway stations, shopping malls) (Capobianco 2005, p. 9).

Much less attention has been given to questioning the long term implications or the 'unintended consequences' of these technological advances in crime prevention or the contracting out of private security services including: violating human rights (Lucas, 2005, Coleman, 2005, Mitchell, 2003), skewing the distribution of criminality, perhaps concentrating it in poorer and more vulnerable communities, and increasing forms of informal or vigilante justice in disadvantaged neighbourhoods that do not have the means to purchase security, in order to protect against violence (Marks and Goldsmiths, 2006).

The increasing use of quasi-police to perform police-related functions also requires greater examination. In the UK, for example, **Community Support Officers** (CSOs) provide a visible presence in the community, address low-level crime and anti-social disorder and help to enhance public perceptions of safety (Crawford and Lister, 2003). In Belgium, **Public Spaces Guards** (Gardiens d'espaces publics) circulate within the municipality, parks or streets and provide references to support organizations to those in need, repair or report damages to buildings, and ensure respect of green spaces (Gallet, 2004). In France, **Mediation and Prevention Agents**^{xi} in public spaces (Agent de prévention et de médiation présent dans les espaces publics) help citizens resolve disagreements, educate users of spaces about their rights, and help to facilitate access those rights, and may initiate activities to promote quality of life (DIV, 2004). Given the number of networks in security provision operating in the contemporary period with a number of non state actors performing police activities, how do the police see themselves in this network? How do police organizations regard their role?

Who the police should be is a central question for the **Nexus Policing Project**^{xii} a four year research and innovation project, which started in 2004 in Australia between the Victoria Police and the Australian National University (ANU). The project involves Victoria Police and ANU working collaboratively to generate new ideas for mobilizing the capacities and knowledge of police, other service providers, the business sector and community groups in the generation of community safety.

A key component of the Nexus action research approach has been the development of a process for identifying diverse providers of safety as well as their relationships with one another in particular operational and/or geographic settings. This has been undertaken in areas such as public security transport, youth safety and post-release sex offender management (See Wood et al., 2006).

This 'mapping' process is used as a basis for exploring ways in which to strengthen linkages between 'safety partners' that promote effectiveness and democracy in policing. Nexus provides a space for Victoria Police to display their identity as a vital centre of research and innovation which engages in knowledge production about safety provision in partnership with universities and their community partners.

However, reflecting on the identity of the police also involves the question of **who we wish the police to be**. In democratizing countries, often lacking strong institutional frameworks, the idea of the police providing a vital centre for facilitation and coordination of other service providers and community groups in security provision may be difficult. Well entrenched ideas and practices of authoritarian policing in the past, coupled with corruption, violation of human rights, and limited resources can make it difficult for the police to change, and for citizens to view them differently.

“Good governance is a precondition for overall social and political progress, and a sound government without a reliable, effective and just policing agency is highly unlikely”

(Van der Spuy in Marks & Goldsmith, 2006, p.140).

These factors have contributed in part to many citizens choosing (albeit to varying degrees) alternatives in search of safety and protection. Those capable of purchasing security on the market have sought out alternatives in private security, while those without resources, are often left with locally generated self policing initiatives, in which levels of community support and effectiveness are often subject to debate (See Shearing and Kempa, 2000, and Marks and Goldsmiths, 2006). This has led some authors to call on the public police to strengthen and reaffirm their role in security provision (Marks & Goldsmith, 2006).

In fact, the opening up of other “nodes” in security provision can create an even stronger and more creative role for the police in contributing their resources, knowledge and skills towards larger comprehensive strategies that promote safety. The next part of the paper will highlight the various roles that the police can or should play in crime prevention, drawing on several international examples.

III. A consideration of some of the roles of the police in crime prevention partnerships.

Some of the ways that the police can contribute to enhancing safety is by: providing a visible presence, being more integrated into the community, providing information to the public, helping to mediate and resolve conflicts, providing support to victims, acting as mentors and role models, and participating in local crime prevention partnerships. The paper recognizes that in certain country contexts, where public confidence in the police may be low, and police-community relations difficult, participation of other actors (international organisations, women’s groups, NGOs, etc.) may be required to help build confidence in the police, and work towards strengthening their contributions towards community safety initiatives.

Providing a Visible Presence

The police can provide a visible presence in neighbourhoods as part of a collaborative approach to safety. Most often, high visibility programmes aim to deter offending given a strong police presence in the area, to provide surveillance, and reassure the public that the police are available. Most common methods include patrols on foot, horse, and bicycle, as opposed to vehicles.

Increased fear of crime, concern about anti-social behaviour among residents, and a growing market for security, have led in part, to governments prioritizing fear of crime at the national level (eg. Chile, Australia, United Kingdom), and there have been increased demands by citizens for more visible policing. Evidence suggests positive correlations associated with police foot patrols and reductions in fear of crime (Salmi et al., 2004, Pate et al., 1988, Trojanowicz, 1983).

In Japan, approximately 15,000 police boxes and residential police boxes called **Koban**^{xiii} operate seven days a week, to provide a reassuring presence to communities. Community police officers in the Koban system work to: become part of the local community and engage in activities that are related closely to the daily life and safety of residents, inform community residents of the presence of police officers, carry out patrols and respond to any emergencies. The Koban system has been adapted in Singapore, and various cities in the USA (Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Washington). Most recently, Japan's International Development Agency announced funding for the model to be adapted in Brazil.

The City of Diadema, Brazil launched in 2001, a comprehensive strategy, with a series of 10 interventions to respond to high homicide rates. Alongside long term social programming for youth, a number of shorter term intervention policies were developed. The City increased the municipal police service by 70% and established the **Neighbourhood Angels Project**, inspired by the French policing model of close community patrol was also launched to have more visibility on the streets and be more available and accessible to the community (ICPC, 2005, p.15).

However, providing high visibility policing can be quite expensive, leading police services to direct their resources towards identified "crime hot spots" or areas receiving larger calls for service, or experiment with **alternative models that aim to reassure the public**^{xiv}. For example, in England and Wales, the position of **Police Community Support Officers (PCSO)** was developed as a result of the Police Reform Act 2002. PCSOs provide support to the police by providing a visible presence, and helping to reassure the public dealing with incidents of nuisance and anti-social behaviour.

Police officers, municipal workers, and other partners providing a visible presence in communities can be confronted with a number of different challenges accompanying changing demographics, and the advent of increasingly diverse communities, including:

- a lack of cultural awareness training in serving the needs of diverse communities, (eg. Aboriginals, minority populations, etc.),
- language barriers to effective communication,
- distrust or poor perceptions of the police from different ethno cultural communities,
- imported distrust of the police and judicial systems carried over from countries of origin by recent arrivals, and
- the lack of skills required to effectively manage ethnic tensions.

While providing a visible and accessible presence can help enhance feelings of safety, it cannot be the sole response to escalating fear of crime or crime itself. A more comprehensive approach is needed since fear can be mediated through a number of social and cultural experiences including: a changing urban landscape, increased police presence in neighbourhoods, commodified security practices, previous victimization, experiences of overt and institutional racism and discrimination, gender based violence, etc. In addition, increasing the presence of police in neighbourhoods can sometimes have the opposite effect of increasing levels of fear among citizens.

Being more integrated into the community

Some police services have also aimed to be better integrated into the community in order to become more aware of the local dynamics facing neighbourhoods (eg. socio-demographic characteristics), identify crime patterns, criminal networks, and informants, facilitate easier communication of information with the community and local media, and to improve trust among the local population that their needs are being addressed.

In Bogota, Colombia, the use of **Frentes de Seguridad** (Neighborhood crime-monitoring committees), encourages collaborative relationships between community police officers, and local residents, and have helped to reverse the levels of mistrust between police and community, as part of its strategy to reduce homicide (Llorente and Rivas, 2004, in Buvinic et al. 2005).

In Queensland, Australia, the Queensland police service forms part of, and supports **Building Safer Community Action Teams (BSCATS)** which include representatives from local councils, government departments, community groups, and businesses (www.communities.qld.gov.au).

In Birmingham, United Kingdom, the West Midlands Police worked with the Regenerate Charitable Trust to engage in **Listening Matters**, a technique aimed at rebuilding networks of trust, establishing dialogue and contact with hard to reach populations, and improving police accessibility (Urbact, 2004).

Providing information to the public

The police can contribute to crime prevention by providing general information to the public on how to avoid victimization. Police officers can be invited by schools and community organisations to provide presentations on drinking and driving, bike safety, bus safety, bullying, and substance abuse.

Many police services already provide crime prevention tips to businesses on how to safeguard their businesses against business crime, to residents on how to protect their homes from burglary, to housing authorities on how to intervene in public disorder, to children and youth on how to surf the net safely, etc. The police can also launch or participate in public awareness and media campaigns that are designed to change attitudes and behaviours about crime and violence, and work to prevent stereotyping of youth, women, ethno cultural communities, the disabled, etc.

The South Africa Police Service is involved in the “Spread the Message Campaign”. These projects focus on preventing and combating abuse against women and children, and are coordinated by the Foundation for Human Rights (www.saps.gov.za)

The Police Service in Northern Ireland launched a four week poster campaign on hate crime in 2005, in South Belfast, North Belfast, Craigavon, Ballymena, Foyle and Dungannon, where hate related incidents were particularly prevalent. The poster message ‘Hate Crime is Wrong’ was aimed at increasing reporting of incidents, seeking public support, and challenging perpetrators (www.psni.police.uk/).

In relation to providing information and education in schools, two programmes in particular have received international attention, and have been replicated in various countries such as Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) and the Gang Resistance Education and Training Programme (G.R.E.A.T). While, evaluations of both programmes suggest some benefits (eg. more favourable attitudes toward the police), there is dispute regarding the overall effectiveness of each programme in terms of reducing student drug use (Lynam et al., 1999, Fisher 1990) or reducing the effects of gang involvement and delinquent behaviour (Ashcroft et al., 2004).

Acting as Mentors and Role Models

Police officers can support crime prevention efforts by providing mentorship to young people who are experiencing problems associated with criminal offending such as long term unemployment, drug abuse and family break down.

Effective mentoring is:

- ✓ a relationship that focuses on the needs of the mentee.
- ✓ fosters caring and supportive relationships,
- ✓ encourages all mentees to develop to their fullest potential, and is
- ✓ a strategy to develop community partnerships.

Mentoring Australia: www.dsf.org.au

Mentorship programmes in Europe, Canada and Australia have long acknowledged the benefits that mentoring youth at risk can bring such as: increased self esteem, increased engagement in civic life, and improved perceptions about the police, and vice versa towards young people.

Some examples include:

Since 1991, **ProAction Cops & Kids** has provided funding support for Toronto Police programs for youth at-risk. Most young people involved in ProAction programmes are 11 to 18 years old, who may be identified by local police officers, schools, parole officers, or youth workers. Programs may be co-operative between community and the police. Many are initiated within the community and carried out with police assistance. Police officers and at-risk kids interact in constructive, non-confrontational circumstances and develop a better understanding of each one another. Most programs focus on the arts, sports, education, safety, mentorship, and camping (<http://copsandkids.ca/index.html>).

Most recently, the Victoria Police launched the **Victoria Police Youth Foundation** for vulnerable young people aimed at reducing the risk of re-offending. The Victoria Police Youth Foundation will enlist the help of retired officers who will act as mentors to 14 to 24-year-olds who have previously had contact with the police. The foundation will offer individual programmes tailored to meet each young person's needs and will work in partnership with businesses, industry, unions, charities and sporting clubs.

However, it is important to note that there are a number of concerns expressed about mentoring including: a confusion of programme objectives among the police (playing basketball verses engaging youth in dialogue), the extent to which mentoring programmes are linked with other social development programming, and disputes related to the overall effectiveness of police mentor programmes.

Police officers actively engaged in crime prevention partnerships can also be strong role models for other officers in the rank and file. Senior Managers in particular, can help by providing training opportunities, resources and incentive systems to ensure that officers fully embrace crime prevention.

Helping to mediate and resolve conflicts

Mediation and conflict resolution^{xv} measures often form part of larger crime prevention strategies which may be aimed at building a culture of peace through mutual understanding and support, enhancing school safety, diverting youth away from the criminal justice system, providing employment opportunities, and building collective efficacy. A number of different actors may be involved in conflict resolution and mediation including local authorities, criminal justice personnel, NGOs, school teachers, youth, volunteers, etc. Countries such as France Belgium, and Sweden, acknowledging the correlation between social friction and crime, have long recognized the value of **social mediation** in crime prevention. Social mediation aims to intervene and open up dialogue between opposing parties, before overt conflict takes place.

The police can play an important role in mediation and conflict resolution since they are often called upon to manage and prevent disputes in relation to low level disturbances (eg. litter, graffiti, vandalism), ethnic tensions, inter-group conflict (eg. youth groups or gangs), inter-generational conflict (youth and elderly), and crisis situations (eg. riots, football hooliganism).

The 'Slum Police Panchayat' Community Scheme^{xvi} was launched in Mumbai, India in 2004, to respond to some of the growing challenges of policing slum areas including: mistrust of police, inaccessibility by vehicles in the slum areas, a lack of financial and human resources to reduce the number of criminal incidents, and growing insecurity. The scheme involves a close partnership with the police, NGOs (National Slum Dwellers Federation and Mahila Milan), and slum inhabitants. The Scheme recognizes that dispute resolution at the local level can help prevent disputes from escalating into violence, and the schemes are aimed at changing the relationship between the police and slum residents. Slum inhabitants can bring disputes to the Police Panchayat, which operate daily under the auspices of the local police.

For each slum area, a committee of 10 representatives of the slum dwellers, comprising of 7 women and 3 men is constituted. Women are largely represented on the committees, given the disproportionate numbers of women as victims of crime including domestic violence. Panchayat volunteers do not have police powers, and dispute resolution is done as a committee, with details of all cases discussed and carefully recorded. In addition, through this scheme, the police are able to build on a large network of community organizations engaged in other projects such as community managed resettlement, and improved housing.

Given their proximity to the population, and the calls of service that they receive, it is crucial that the police have the necessary skill sets, training, and institutional support required for them to intervene appropriately.

There are a number of organisations working to strengthen the capacity of the police and communities to prevent and manage conflicts peacefully. For example, the Organization of American States has developed programmes to enhance the capacity of both government institutions and civil society organizations to use dialogue processes and resolve conflicts peacefully.

The Council of Europe produced a guide *Rebuilding community connections (2004)*^{xvii} that outlines the main features of a restorative justice approach, including different models and research findings, and guidelines for setting up programmes in particular countries in central and eastern Europe.

It is also important to develop tools to assist the community in resolving problems they may have with the police. Finally, while mediation and conflict resolution techniques are important, measures that address the underlying economic and social factors which often lead to frustration and alienation are needed to stem ongoing conflict.

Providing Support to Victims

Often victims of crime are in need of immediate care and support, reassurance, and in some cases, advice. Providing strong support to victims builds public confidence in the police and encourages them to report offences and seek out assistance. The police can help provide support to victims by:

- Referring individuals and families at-risk to appropriate agencies in the community such as housing; drug and alcohol rehabilitation; early-intervention; parenting programs; counselling for survivors of abuse, victims of crime, children witnessing abuse.

In Quebec, there are 15 community organisations called Crime Victims Assistance Centres (CAVACs), which offer front-line services to victims of crime, their immediate family, and witnesses to crimes. CAVACs work closely with representatives from the police, justice, health and social services network and community organizations.

- Implementing a specialized position for victim services within the police service as a way of responding to the demands and needs of victims.

In France, since the 1990s, social workers have been present in the national police service in certain cities and large towns, and the Gendarmerie. They provide a service to victims that is not provided by the police. This includes providing a first response and support for certain victims, and providing a link between victims and traditional social services. In Sierra Leone, the police have established **Family Support Units** which aim to provide improved service to victims of sexual and domestic abuse, and to generate public awareness of such crimes. The units are staffed jointly by police and social workers, and linked to the work of Sexual Assault Referral Centres funded by the Department for International Development (DFID), United Kingdom.

- Bringing together skilled professional trained in providing support and outreach.

In Tasmania, Australia, each of the four police geographical districts have a designated **Victim Safety Response Team (VSRT)** which provide a range of services that support victims in crisis situations. Members of VSRTs liaise with other service providers in order to ensure an integrated, coordinated response is provided.

www.police.tas.gov.au/community/safe-at-home

Contributing to local crime prevention partnerships

As emphasized in the UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime, one of the key principles guiding effective prevention is that strategies should be built on cooperative partnerships between government institutions and ministries, community and nongovernmental organizations, the business sector and civil society.

The police can contribute to effective partnerships and crime prevention strategies by providing information related to at least two main areas: providing access to crime statistics to help inform local crime prevention efforts, and providing information about successful interventions within and across police organizations.

Crime prevention needs to be based on solid information gathered throughout various stages of the **crime prevention process** (diagnosis, developing and implementing a plan of action, and monitoring and evaluation). In particular, the police can **provide access to statistical data on crime and crime trends** to local partners involved in developing a local community safety diagnosis. This is a very important contribution since it helps to build a stronger picture of what is going on in the local area, it improves analysis, decision making, and can help to target resources. For example, in Norway, the police inform taxi companies about areas that experience alcohol-related crime in relation to taxi queues. This information allows companies to consider measures such as deploying more taxis during the evening, and employing staff to control queues and prevent incidents in high risk areas.

Also, it is important to distinguish and safeguard the types of information that the law requires strict confidentiality (eg. personal information on those who have been charged or released from prison), and information that requires a level of discretion among the police (eg. hours of patrol, identification of sub sections of the neighbourhood experiencing certain crime problems) (Sagant, 2006, p.4).

However, for other sectors there can be several challenges to gaining access to local crime data from the police. These can include: a lack of available technical expertise in local police districts to extract local data, lack of institutional support, reluctance from the police service to share data with unfamiliar partners, where trust is not firmly established, an absence of formal protocols or confidentiality agreements among partners, and a lack of awareness of the benefits. Of course, these challenges to information sharing do not concern the police alone. Information sharing required by multi-agency and multi-sectoral partnerships most often requires a governance and organizational structure, creative funding arrangements, oversight, and ongoing planning to achieve success. There are many tools, strategies and mechanisms that help improve access to valuable information sharing among partners required by a local safety strategy.

In England and Wales, the Home Office Crime Reduction Unit developed an **information sharing toolkit**^{xviii} which includes analytical techniques and best practices for effective intelligence/ information, and processes for effective information sharing gathering.

In Canada, the use of **Geo-coding of police data and neighbourhood level analysis**^{xix} have been used to support crime prevention initiatives in the cities of Winnipeg, Regina and Montreal.

The City of Roubaix, France holds a monthly meeting during which all partners share key data issued by local and national police, forces, public transport authorities, housing authorities, justice, and schools (Johnson, 2006, p.16).

The City of Toronto, Canada, operates an **Integrated Community Crisis Response Programme**^{xx} which draws on the expertise of its various partners such as, the Community Housing Corporation, Police Service, community based agencies and organizations, Neighbourhood Action, Strategic Communications, School Boards, Social Services, Emergency Services, Shelter, Support and Housing, Public Health, and Parks, Forestry and Recreation.

The programme has been implemented in Toronto's 13 priority neighbourhoods which have encountered problems related to homicide and gun related crimes. The sharing of information among partners within the first 72 hours following a critical incident is crucial, with active follow up supports.

The City of Birmingham, United Kingdom, uses COSMOS -an **internet GIS-based community safety tool**, designed as a central point of contact for Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership (CDRP) partner agencies. It provides access to multi-agency data through interactive mapping and data query tools.

The police, local authorities, and other partners involved in crime prevention need to make use of a broader range of sources of information (eg. victimization surveys, self report studies, access to data on health, use of services) in order to generate good quality information about the factors relating to crime and victimization.

The police can also **provide information throughout the police organization** (patrol officers, investigations, senior officers, etc) **of successful community policing and safety partnerships**. This is especially important in helping to change the organizational culture of the police, and foster greater respect for the rigour, skill set and dedication required for developing stronger community-police partnerships aimed at improving neighbourhood safety.

“For police transformation to take place, new memories and stories have to be created that will transform the “sensibilities” of the police”

(Shearing 1995, in Marks & Goldsmith, 2006, p.162).

These stories can be enhanced by developing performance measures which go beyond *traditional indicators* such as clearance rates, calls for service and reductions in crime (Legget, 2003) to include *non-traditional indicators* such as community mobilization and participation, community awareness of programmes, etc.).

A number of police services are working in countries such as New Zealand, Chile and South Africa, Norway, and Australia to develop and/or revise police performance frameworks.^{xxi} In the United States, the Vera Institute of Justice is conducting a study of how to design and interpret public opinion surveys on police performance^{xxii}. Working with the New York Police Department, the institute is trying to elicit more precise information from the public about how they view the police. In Canada, the National Crime Prevention Centre supported the development of a Tool Kit^{xxiii} resource instrument for Canadian police services, and community groups working with the police, to assist with evaluating their crime prevention and problem-solving initiatives.

In England & Wales, the Home Office and its partners^{xxiv} are working to broaden the scope of performance management of the police entitled *Assessments for Policing and Community Safety (APACS)*^{xxv} which aim to include important elements of community safety work.

The police can also contribute to local crime prevention by **facilitating and coordinating the way policing activities are delivered and managed**. While the “extended policing family” (private security, volunteers, etc) can contribute to effective crime prevention, the plurality of policing networks can often be quite fragmentary, multi-tiered, and as described earlier, can sometimes result in problematic outcomes.

While in some regions of the world police accountability and transparency may be difficult, the public police provide security as a public good, and as a result, have an important role in the governance of security. The police can be trailblazers in their own organizations by facilitating and coordinating new creative initiatives in prevention. Some recent examples include:

In Nicaragua, as part of the Prevention of Juvenile Violence Programme, the National Police trained and used 800 youths, former gang members, to help maintain order during Independence Day Festivities (USAID, 2006).

In Canada, in 2005, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP) received funding from Canada's National Crime Prevention Centre to develop a coalition of national organizations not traditionally involved in community safety to promote the concept of crime prevention through social development. This objective was supported formally by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, the Canadian Association of Police Boards, and the Canadian Professional Police Association. From 2005- 2007, the CACP further developed and implemented a public awareness strategy to help build support for community-owned approaches to crime prevention through social development; and hosted a National Showcase earlier this year to show-case Canadian crime prevention initiatives (www.cacp.ca).

Helping to coordinate the way policing activities are delivered and managed requires among other things, strong communication between partners, a respect of each other's core competencies and skill sets, a high degree of trust, and a willingness to share power and recognize the leadership provided by others.

IV. Conclusions: what we still need to know

To help strengthen the effectiveness of police-community partnerships a number of questions require further research and analysis:

What can be learned from the experts in "change management" about the best ways to create a new system of incentives and sanctions to transform the organizational culture of the police?

What supports or tools are needed by the police to handle the nature of the demands on police services?

What are the good and promising approaches for engaging key representatives of civil society in police-community partnerships, particularly in countries whose citizens have no trust in the police or the state?

The insights, practices, and expertise exchanged among diverse participants at the 7th Annual Colloquium will help to frame and inspire "new stories" around police-community partnerships for prevention.

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Fitzroy Legal Service.

Endnotes

ⁱ Some recent examples include: the Pan-American Seminar on Community Police and Citizen Security, Rio de Janeiro, June 13-15, 2007, a Professional Seminar for African Police Agencies and Crime Prevention Practitioners 'Integrating Community Policing into a Broader Crime Prevention Approach' Cape Town, South Africa, May 17th and 18th, 2007, the National Community Policing Conference 'Community Policing: Leading the Way to a Safer Nation', Washington, USA, July 27-29, 2006.

ⁱⁱ See: the 22nd Annual General Meeting & Conference of the Association of Caribbean Commissioners of Police (ACCP) "Law enforcement partnerships: Imperative for success", Nassau, Bahamas, May 23-29, 2007, Police and Communities Workshop, Saragossa Conference, Spain, November 2-4, 2006, Securing the future: Networked Policing in New Zealand, New Zealand, November 2006, The Future of Policing: Exploring the Extended Police Family', University of Leicester, UK, March 15, 2005

ⁱⁱⁱ Regional roundtable conference on South Asian policing in New Delhi, India, March 23rd and 24th, 2007, Police Reform and Democratisation in Post-Conflict African Countries, Pretoria, South Africa, March 12-15, 2007, 'Engaging with police reform: The role of NGOs and civil society in police reform', Utrecht, The Netherlands, November 10th and 11th, 2006, Open Justice Initiative-"Policing Reforms in the 21st Century: Values, Structures, and Processes." Georgia, USA, October 6th and 7th, 2005.

^{iv} See: International Workshop 'Policing Minorities', September 28-29, 2006, Bulgaria, Law Enforcement, Aboriginal and Diversity Conference, Building Trust, Ontario, Canada, March 21, 2006, Fourth Australasian women and policing conference 'Improving policing for women in the Asia Pacific region', Darwin, Australia August 21-24, 2005, an Inaugural Workshop for Police Multicultural Liaison Officers, Sydney, Australia, March 6th and 7th, 2003, Zero Tolerance, Race Biased Policing and "Dangerous" Communities in Comparative Perspective, Paris, June 6th and 7th, 2002

^v Ninth Conference of the Association of Police Directors of Quebec (ADPQ) "Challenges of Police Performance" Montreal, Quebec, June 12 – 15, 2007.

^{vi} For the purposes of this paper, plural policing refers to the expectation that public police work in partnership with other public, volunteer and private providers in the provision of policing services to the public.

^{vii} Such as displacement, the disproportionate allocation of policing and resources to one area or problem, net-widening effect, misdirection- strengthening the police focus on traditional targets and not the social causes of crime, the loss of legitimacy for police action. See Mazzerole, Lorraine and Janet Ransley (2005). "Equity, side effects and accountability". Chapter 7. Third Party Policing. UK: Cambridge University Press.

Also, in the UK, concern has been expressed by civil liberties groups and others over the use of anti-social behaviour legislation and its impact on community relations. See Sarah Isal (2006) report on Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, 'Equal Respect' for the Runnymede Trust and Winford, Stan (2006). A New (Legal) Threat to Public Space: The Rise and Rise of the ASBO retrieved on September 19th, 2007 from: www.fitzroy-legal.org.au/files/A%20New%20Legal%20Threat.pdf. Fitzroy Legal Service.

^{viii} For the purposes of this paper Community Policing aims to build more resilient links between the police and community actors such as social service agencies, community organizations, businesses, and faith groups, resulting in more flexible and responsive policing.

^{ix} These can include but are not restricted to the following: NGOs, community development organizations, cultural groups, and consultants, etc.

^x These include: Center for Studies on Public Safety, Chile, the Center for Studies on Public Security and Citizenship, Brazil, CLEEN Foundation, Nigeria, Institute for Development and Communication, India INDEM Foundation, Russia and the Vera Institute of Justice, United States of America.

^{xi} For more information on the use of community safety officers in France, see Bailleau, F. et P Pattegay, « Origines, trajectoires et profils des "chargés de mission prévention-sécurité" » and Faget, J. et J. de Maillard, « Les « chargés de mission prévention-sécurité » en action. Les Cahiers de la Sécurité. Vol. 58, 3e trimestre.

Les Cahiers de la Sécurité. Vol. 58, 3e trimestre

^{xii} See Wood et al (2006). Building the Capacity of Police Change Agents: The Nexus Policing Project. Police Reform from the Bottom Up held in Berkeley, California, 12-13 October 2006.

^{xiii} For more information: Japan's National Police Agency. "Japanese Community Police and Police Box System". At <http://www.npa.go.jp>, and Kitahara, Naomi (2007). The Japanese Police and Koban System. Paper presented at the Police Reform in Post-Conflict African Countries, March 12-15, 2007.

^{xiv} Gray, Sharon (2006). Community Safety Workers: An Exploratory Study of Some Emerging Crime Prevention Occupations. Montreal: ICPC

^{xv} For the purposes of this paper, conflict resolution is defined as a process to remedy interpersonal and inter-group conflicts by helping people with opposing positions work together to arrive at mutually acceptable solutions through compromise.

^{xvi} For more information visit: www.mumbaipolice.org/initiative/initiative_2004.htm

^{xvii} For information on how to obtain a copy, visit:

http://book.coe.int/EN/ficheouvrage.php?PAGEID=36&lang=EN&produit_aliasid=1779

^{xviii} Available at: www.crimereduction.co.uk/toolkits/ui00.htm

^{xix} For more information, contact the National Crime Prevention Centre at: prevention@ps.gc.ca

^{xx} For more information, visit: www.toronto.ca/community_safety/crisis_response.htm

^{xxi} See Lelandais & Bodson (2007).

^{xxii} See: Surveying Citizens about Police, available at <http://www.vera.org>

^{xxiii} The toolkit is entitled *You Can Do It: A Practical Tool Kit to Evaluating Police and Community Crime Prevention Programs*. It was developed by EDUCON Marketing and Research Systems of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, with project support from the Ottawa Police service. It is available online at:

http://ww4.ps-sp.gc.ca/en/library/publications/reports/toolkit/toolkit_jrny.html

^{xxiv} Including the Association of Chief Police Officers, the Association of Police Authorities, the Local Government Association and the Department for Communities and Local Government, the Audit Commission and the Inspectorate of Constabulary.

^{xxv} For more information, visit: <http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk>