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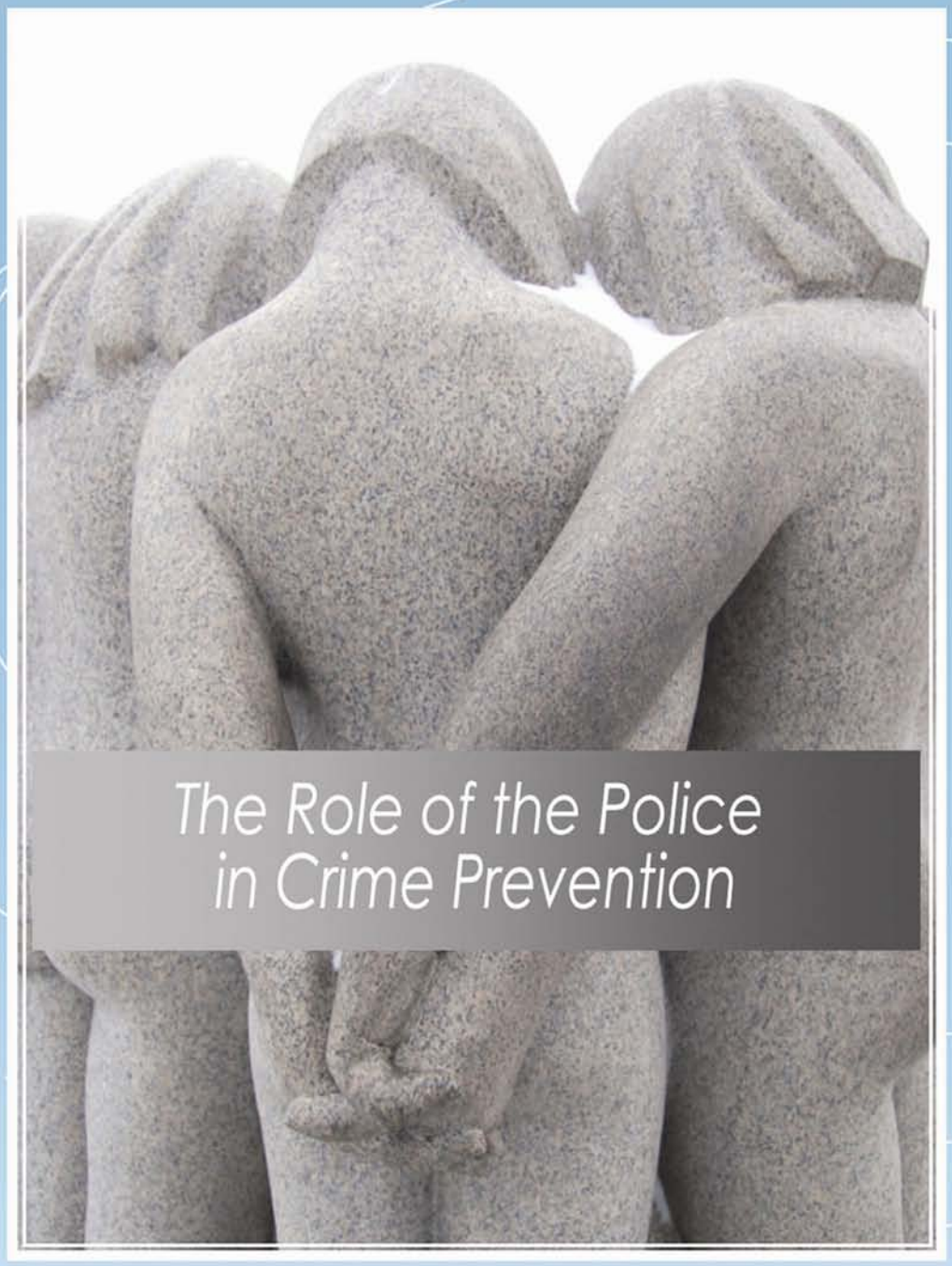

The Role of the Police in Crime Prevention

Proceedings of ICPC's Seventh Annual Colloquium on Crime Prevention

November 8-9, 2007, Oslo, Norway

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

WELCOME ADDRESS
and
OPENING SPEECH

Raymonde Dury, ICPC President

I would like to thank our partners at the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, the National Crime Prevention Council of Norway, and the Norwegian Police Directorate for hosting ICPC's Seventh Annual Colloquium on the "Role of the Police in Crime Prevention".

Honourable Minister, the Mayor, and Madame Police Commissioner, I must begin by saying that Norway is quite an astonishing country. It is extraordinary that such a positive event that inspires honour, recognition, and hope should feature on the first page of Norwegian newspapers. We are not used to such recognition. We should even consider this crime prevention event recognition to be a notable challenge to media sensationalism of violence and crime, scandals, and vanities of the world.

The Nobel Peace Prize in Norway, and the values associated with it, are at the very heart of public life, and are deeply rooted in mentalities. These values have had a profound impact on social and political life. Norway has especially distinguished itself through its foreign policy initiatives such as the Oslo Peace Accords, the peace facilitators who are active in Sri Lanka, and the Afghanistan commitment, while although a military activity, is also a humanitarian commitment to the Afghani population.

Such a country context provides fertile ground for social development, and it is natural for us to feel welcome in Norway, while delivering and sharing crime prevention messages.

The International Centre for the Prevention of Crime is a unique international forum that provides opportunities, for dialogue, exchange, learning and discussion for national governments, local authorities, public bodies, specialised institutes and non-governmental organizations in the fields of crime prevention and community safety. In 1993, the governments of Canada, France and Quebec agreed to support the creation of the Centre, which I have the honour and pleasure to represent as President. ICPC's General Assembly Meeting was held in France in 1994. The organisations that attended that meeting founded the ICPC's Advisory and Policy Committee which consists of 12 government representatives whose support is indispensable to the ICPC.

ICPC views human safety as a public good. We believe that prevention policies and integrated action among diverse sectors is essential in creating safe communities. The Centre supports decision-making based on research, knowledge and experience. International dialogue and co-operation among stakeholders involved in development are key values of our Centre.

Our Seventh Annual Colloquium will examine an important issue in the contemporary period, "The Role of the Police in Crime Prevention". You will undoubtedly agree that it is very important right from the start to establish the right perspective in examining this topic. In this respect, I wish to emphasise two factors that I believe are essential.

WELCOME ADDRESS

First of all, we are facing increasing levels of inequality. In every region of the world, the creation of wealth does not necessarily mean the fair distribution of wealth. Access to the basic necessities of life such as water, education, or health care is not guaranteed for all.

I am not only speaking about poor countries, but also about the marginalised populations in both developed and developing countries.

Secondly, we have to recognise the increasing nature of violent crime and its influence on our societies. Illegal trade in arms and drugs, and the trafficking of human beings not only generates substantial ill gotten gains but also leaves a trail of destruction and social deterioration in its wake.

In conclusion, we have the wonderful opportunity and venue to discuss the role of police in crime prevention, because we live in a democratic society, and enjoy the rule of law, but also because police institutions share the same democratic values as the ICPC.

Ingelin Killengreen, Police Commissioner of Norway

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you all to Norway and the ICPC's Seventh Annual Colloquium hosted by the Norwegian Police Service. I am delighted to see the great interest for this event both nationally and internationally.

The Norwegian Police Service is a young member of ICPC, but I am pleased that our membership has already resulted in us hosting this important event. In this regard, I will particularly underline the excellent cooperation with the ICPC and its staff during the preparation for this colloquium. Furthermore, I would like to emphasise the fact that ICPC membership has helped us to strengthen our own crime prevention strategies.

The theme of this Colloquium is "The Role of the Police in Crime Prevention". In order to explore this role we will focus on a number of factors. I will mention some:

Building effective and sustainable partnerships with external organisations and institutions, and cultures of police services. The need for a knowledge-based approach that includes broad data collection, strong analysis, and the need to constantly evaluate our own performance. Moreover, the colloquium will focus on international assistance on police reform and a role for crime prevention, in addition to international cooperation in crime prevention and community safety- a role for the police.

The Norwegian Police Service clearly recognises the need to develop improved methods to prevent crime. For instance, we have a strong interest in working to identify indicators that will help us to better measure crime prevention.

I urge you to share experiences and enhance your networks at this event. I wish you a very successful colloquium and hope you will have a pleasant stay in Norway.

Hastri Aas-Hansen, **State Secretary,**
Ministry of Justice and Police of Norway

President Dury,

Distinguished members of ICPC,

Ladies and gentlemen,

Good morning to all of you!

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to ICPC's Seventh Annual Colloquium on Crime Prevention. I am greatly honored by the fact that Norway was appointed to host this important conference here in Oslo. I am told that the attendance from all over the World is overwhelming, as I can see for myself today. In my opinion this reflects that the work you do is of great importance, and that the topics are of great interest in many countries.

Before I go into some important aspects in crime prevention, I would firstly make a short comment on the programme for the Colloquium, which I think signals that the following days of presentations and workshops will have a scope that reaches further than traditional crime prevention, even if the title of conference is the Role of the Police in Crime Prevention. The programme contains topics that are close to the heart of my minister. It includes many items and questions that are discussed in Norwegian crime policy! I hope that the conference will be a way to mobilise greater force to prevent and combat crime.

The programme indicates that the conference will cover topics ranging from the work of the police to mediation and reconciliation. One of the major concerns in Norwegian criminal policy is how to improve the cooperation and coordination between different sectors in society. It is necessary to bring representatives from central, regional and local authorities together, including the private sector and NGOs. With this in mind, the Norwegian Government has decided that, where it is suitable, the police and the municipalities should form small bodies, - we call it police councils -, consisting of the police and local agencies. The purpose of this is to promote further cooperation and mutual information sharing with the aim to improve the crime prevention and use the resources more effectively.

The fact that criminal policy has an impact on both the social and the health policy - and vice versa – has become a part of common policy. Hence, in my opinion we must focus on improving relations between agencies in order to underline the necessity of cross-sector co-operation and strive to tear up the borders between the different sectors.

I am convinced that if sectors cooperate, basing their cooperation on shared values and mutual interests, we will be able to fill the gaps that exist between sectors. This again will create opportunities for progress in the field of crime prevention, and will, in the end, be the best for the victims.

It is the view of the Norwegian Minister of Justice, that if we are able to reach our goals, we need to join the judicial system and civil society more closely to each other.

And each sector has to take responsibility for making this cooperation as effective as possible. In short, the Norwegian model for crime prevention is characterised by a strong affiliation to areas outside the judicial system and the balance made between social and situational crime prevention. And I would like to say that it might be a specifically Nordic trait to involve the citizens themselves in participating actively and directly in crime prevention. The volunteer sector plays an important role, supplementary to the law enforcement and the child welfare, both on municipal, regional and national level. This would include a strong co-operation between the voluntary organisations and the authorities.

On this occasion, I wish to present my opinion on some topics that are of greatest importance to find measures to solve. In this respect I would like to mention as examples the fight against domestic violence against women and children, sexual offences and abuse of children in all its forms. This is a serious and to some extent hidden social problem, which means that many people suffer from humiliation and indignity. All use of violence is prohibited under Norwegian law. It is an infringement of basic human rights. Violence and abuse of women and children in close relationships is particularly serious and has far-reaching consequences for the victim. It is damaging to health, self-respect, security, and quality of life and to the victims' ability to and possibility of having control of their own lives.

The Norwegian government's view is clear and has emphasised the fight against this form of violence. Domestic violence is unacceptable. It must be prevented, combated and alleviated through measures to help and protect the victims and through treatment and prosecution of the perpetrators.

Many of the women who are victims of violence, by a present or past partner, have children. Some children are affected directly by violence and are the victims of criminal child abuse. Many more are affected indirectly and grow up in homes where violence is practiced. Shelter for battered women has been established over some years as a joint effort between central and local authorities in close cooperation with voluntary organisations. Also the children can be sheltered there together with their mothers.

If the pattern of violence is to be broken, steps must be taken to stop the perpetrator. However, it is the responsibility of the perpetrator to stop using violence. Society has a responsibility to help to prevent the development of patterns of violence, to offer the perpetrator help and treatment, and to prevent the violence being repeated and being inherited by the children.

Another example of extended cooperation is the Children's Advocacy Centres we now are establishing. The first opened in Bergen last week, and the next will be opened in Hamar in December. This will be centre where sexually abused or battered children can come to get help, care and treatment, in addition to the judge's hearing of the child and the medical examination. This will imply a great challenge for the agencies to cooperate, but it would, I believe, surely be to the best interest of the child.

The responsibility for coordinating the Government's efforts to combat violence against woman lies with the Ministry of Justice and the Police. However, there are a number of issues involved, which cannot be solved, with the use of criminal policy instruments alone. An effective fight against violence requires close cooperation with other central government authorities with responsibility for health, social welfare and gender equality issues. We are now working out a new action plan for future efforts to combat domestic violence.

I hope this plan will come into force next year.

The police are assigned a very central role in the Government's efforts to combat violence against women. The police have developed several tools to be able to offer better protection to victims of domestic violence. In 2002, a system of domestic violence coordinators was established in each of Norway's 27 police districts. The role of the coordinators is to ensure that the police show understanding and insight in their encounters with victims and their next-of-kin.
On January 1, 2004 the police initiated a nation-wide system of mobile violence alarms. Used in combination with other measures, mobile violence alarms are intended to give persons under threat of violence greater freedom of movement and help prevent violence and threats. As of May 2007, a total of approximately 1,700 alarms were in operation.

I would also like to mention another example on cooperation. School-mediating programmes have been in use many years now. The school-mediating programme can be described as mediation between equals. The aim is to solve conflicts and increase the capability among the participants to handle conflict situations in a satisfactory way.

However, your presence here at this conference signals your interest in and concern for crime prevention issues. We have these interests in common. We have to work further to invite others to join us in striving to prevent that people – especially children – become the victims of crime.
I feel confident that the conference will contribute to our understanding of the challenges I have mentioned and improve our knowledge of how we can meet these challenges in the future. There are a great many threats facing the important work of crime prevention, and there are a number of serious problems that have to be addressed.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to pay my compliments to the International Centre for Prevention of Crime, the Executive Committee, the ICPC Director General – and the organising committee – for having put together such a comprehensive programme with a wide and innovative perspective.

I wish you all a fruitful conference.

BACKGROUND PAPER

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

Prepared by Laura Capobianco,
Senior Analyst and Project Manager, ICPC
November 2007

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Table of Contents

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 21 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 policing, police partnerships, police accountability and reform, policing diversity and police performance 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, 2007). 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).

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.

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.

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.

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

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 (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.

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.

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 be have our such as violence in public spaces (Winford, 2006),
- demands by elected officials and/or residents for intervention and regulation of behave iours 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).

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

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 (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 (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.

For the purposes of this paper, Community Policing refers to strategies or practices which aim 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.

The main characteristics of community policing and problem oriented policing interventions can be summarised as follows:

Community Policing	Problem Oriented Policing
A broader definition of police work. A reordering of police priorities, giving greater attention to "soft" crime and disorder. A focus on problem solving and prevention rather than incident-driven policing. A recognition that the community however defined, plays a critical role in solving neighbourhood problems. 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. (Rosenbaum in Brodeur, 1998).	The police must pro-actively try to solve problems rather than just react to the harmful consequences of problems. Addressing problems means more than quick fixes: it means dealing with conditions that create problems. 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. 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. 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. (Goldstein & Scott 2001, www.popcenter.org)

Many contemporary police reform progammes 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), 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 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)

- 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 (Holohan, 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)

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 work with **intermediaries** which helps 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 initiated contact with the military police in Belo Horizonte, and other areas in Brazil to conduct workshops that aim to break down stereotypes dividing police and youth living in the favelas. AfroReggae members train officers in drumming, dancing, graffiti, video and circus arts (www.ucamcesec.com.br).

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

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 Minori ties, 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 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.

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.

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.

"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).

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

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, 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** 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** 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.

> "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).

For more information on the use of community safety officers in France, see Bailleau, F. et P Pattegay, « Origines, trajectoires et profiles 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.

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.

> 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.

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 Marks & 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.

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.

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** 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**. 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.

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

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 often contribute to crime prevention by providing general information to the public on how to avoid victimization. Police officers are 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/).

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

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 longer term outcomes in 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. 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 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), intergenerational conflict (youth and elderly), and crisis situations (eg. riots, football hooliganism).

> The ‘Slum Police Panchayat’ Community Scheme 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.

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.

For more information visit: www.mumbaipolice.org/initiative/initiative_2004.htm

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)* 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.

For information on how to obtain a copy, visit: http://book.coe.int/EN/ficheouvrage.php?PAGEID=36&lang=EN&produit_aliasid=1779

In Quebec, Canada 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** 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** 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** 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.

> "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).

Available at: www.crimereduction.co.uk/toolkits/ui00.htm
For more information, contact the National Crime Prevention Centre at: prevention@ps.gc.ca
For more information, visit: www.toronto.ca/community_safety/crisis_response.htm

> 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.

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 (Leggett, 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.

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. 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 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 are working to broaden the scope of performance management of the police entitled *Assessments for Policing and Community Safety (APACS)* 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.

See Lelandais, L., & Bodson, J. (forthcoming). Mesure de la performance policière. Expériences internationales. Montreal: ICPC.

Surveying Citizens about Police, available at http://www.vera.org

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

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.
For more information, visit: http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk

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 worked with 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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INTRODUCTION and PROGRAMME

THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IN CRIME PREVENTION

Introduction

ICPC's Seventh Annual Colloquium on Crime Prevention will focus on the role that police organizations can and should play in integrated efforts to reduce crime and build safety in communities. Three sub themes will form the basis of debates and discussion throughout the two days, including:

Building Effective Partnerships with Police Services in Prevention
The UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime emphasize that cooperation/partnerships should be an integral part of effective crime prevention, given the wide-ranging nature of the causes of crime and the skills and responsibilities required to address them. This workshop will present recent examples of local crime prevention partnerships that illustrate in particular, different levels of police contributions (eg. community policing, technological advances, etc), lessons learned and results achieved. In countries where public perceptions of the police may be low, participants will highlight some of the mechanisms used to develop 'new relationships among stakeholders' and 'ways of working' towards a more collaborative approach to crime prevention.

Examining the Organizational Culture and Structure of Police Services
Highlighting forms of resistance and persistence to change in the organizational culture and structure of police services in this area is important. The workshop will consider the extent to which today's police services are fully integrating and embracing the concept of prevention within their work as commonly espoused, discuss ways to work with partners towards a common goal, drawing on different approaches and expertise, and consider different valuing of those forms of expertise. The workshop will also highlight the extent to which prevention training forms part of the larger curriculum in police training institutions?

Highlighting Contemporary Developments in Knowledge-Based Policing
The development of increased knowledge-based methods, such as problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing, hot-spot policing, and community mobilization makes it necessary for the police to consider and re-examine its role, and level of contribution to (traditional, modern and evolving) larger community safety partnerships. This development has also brought a series of opportunities and challenges in relation to information sharing, opening up of expertise to public and private actors, and developing new evaluative frameworks to assess the effectiveness of these police models.

POLITIET
POLITIDIREKTORATET

ICPC Seventh Annual Colloquium

The Role of Police in Crime Prevention

PROGRAMME

Thon Hotel Opera
Christian Frederiksplass 5
0154 Oslo

ICPC

Thursday November 8th, 2007

8.00- 8:30	Registration, Location: Outside the Flagstad Room
09:00-10:30	**Opening Session** (simultaneous translation in English Spanish, and French) Location: Flagstad room **Astri Aas-Hansen,** State Secretary, Ministry of Justice and Police, Norway **Raymonde Dury**, ICPC's President Address **Ingelin Killengreen**, High Police Commissioner, Norway
10:30-10:45	**ICPC Director General's Address**: **Valerie Sagant** 'Partnering with the Police in Prevention'
10:45 – 11:15	**Break and Exhibition** Location: Main Lobby, Ground floor Kiosks: National Crime Prevention Councils in Scandinavia, the Nordic Model, and crime prevention information from other countries.
11:15- 11:30	Musical Talents from Norway
11:30-12.30	**Keynote Address** **Police as a guardian of civil society** **Nils Christie,** Professor of Criminology, University of Oslo (Presentation will be in English and translated in French)
12.30-14:00	**Lunch and Exhibition**

PROGRAMME

14:00- 16:30 **Concurrent Workshops**

Building Effective Partnerships for Safe Communities	**Examining the Structure and Culture of Police Services**	**Highlighting Contemporary Developments in Knowledge-Based Policing**
Location: Kvarten room	**Location: StorKvinten room**	**Location: Flagstad room**
Rapporteur: **Paula Miraglia**, Executive Director, United Nations Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, ILANUD, Brazil **Animator**: **Jean Paul Brodeur,** Professor, University of Montreal, Canada (Simultaneous translation in English and French)	**Rapporteur**: **Laura Capobianco**, Senior Analyst and Project Manager, ICPC **Animator**: **Paul Larsson**, Professor, Police University College (Simultaneous translation in English and French)	**Rapporteur: Dr. Clive Harfield**, London Metropolitan University **Animator**: **Paal Christian Balchen,** National Police Directorate, Norway (Simultaneous translation in English French, and Spanish)
Speakers: **Peter St Jean,** Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, State University of New York at Buffalo **Erik Nadheim**, Director, National Crime Prevention Council, Norway **Per Svartz,** Chief of Police, Skåne Police District, Sweden **Erich Marks**, Executive Director, German Congress on Crime Prevention	**Speakers:** **Jørgen Illum,** Chief of Police, Østjylland Police District, Denmark **Barbara Holtmann**, Senior R&D Contracts Manager, Defence, Peace, Safety and Security (DPSS), Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) **Christelle Chichignoud**, French Institute Geopolitics, France **Sohail Husain,** Director**,** Analytica Consulting Services, UK	**Speakers:** **Frederic Ocqueteau**, Centre d'Études et de Recherches de Science Administrative (CERSA), France **Mariano Ciafardini**, Vice-Minister in Criminal Policy Matters, Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, Argentina **John Graham**, Director, Police Foundation, London

16:30-16:45 **Break**

16:45-17:30 **Recommendations from workshops**
Location: Flagstad room
Chair: **Tor Tanke Holm**, National Police Directorate, Norway
Three rapporteurs from workshops: **Paula Miraglia, Laura Capobianco,** and **Clive Harfield**.

19:00 **Official Dinner**
Ekebergrestauranten Restaurant

Friday November 9th, 2007

8.00- 8:30	Registration
08:30 – 08:45	**Opening Session** (Presentation will be in English and translated in French) Location: Salle Flagstad **Keynote Presentation**: **Kjellbjørg Lunde**, President National Crime Prevention Council.
08:45-9:45	**Keynote Presentation: Has the citizen any role in expert policing?** Jean Paul Brodeur, Director of the International Centre for Comparative Criminology, University of Montreal. (Presentation will be in English and translated in French and Spanish).
9:45 – 10:15	**Break & Exhibition**

10:15 – 12:15 **Concurrent Workshops**

Building Effective Partnerships for Safe Communities	**Examining the Structure and Culture of Police Services**	**Highlighting Contemporary Developments in Knowledge-Based Policing**
Location: Flagstad room	**Location: StorKvinten room**	**Location: Kvarten, room**
Rapporteur: **Yves Van De Vloet**, Director of Police, Bruxelles Capitale Ixelles, Belgium **Animator**: Professor **Jean Paul Brodeur** (Simultaneous translation in English, French and Spanish)	**Rapporteur**: **Mzwandile Petros**, Provincial Commissioner**,** South African Police Service **Animator:** **Paul Larsson**, Professor, Police University College (Simultaneous translation in English, French and Spanish)	**Rapporteur: Claude Dauphin**, Vice-President, Executive Committee of the City of Montreal, Quebec **Animator: Paal Christian Balchen**, Assistant Chief of Police, National Police Directorate (Simultaneous translation in English and French)
Speakers: **Egil Olli,** President, Sami Parliament, Norway **Chantal Bernier**, Assistant Deputy Minister, Public Safety, Canada **Javiera Blanco**, Deputy Secretary, Sub Secretariat, Carabineros, Chile **Samwel Lyimo**, Deputy National Programme Coordinator Safer Cities Tanzania Programme Tanzania, East Africa	**Speakers:** **Cecilia MacDowell Santos**, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of San Francisco, and Researcher at the Center for Social Studies at the University of Coimbra, Portugal. **Elena Azaola**, Researcher at CIESAS, President of the Executive Board, Institute of Safety and Democracy (INSYDE), Mexico. .	**Speakers**: **Miklós Ligeti**, Legal counsel with the Ministry of Justice and Law Enforcement, Department for Crime Prevention **Jerry Ratcliffe**, Associate Professor, Temple University, Philadelphia, USA **Wenche Bauge Helle**, Hordaland Police District, Norway **Arno Lamoer**, Commissioner, South African Police Service, South Africa

12:15– 13:15 **Lunch**

13:15 – 15:00 **Concurrent Roundtable Discussions**

The three roundtables are intended to promote concrete recommendations to policy makers, police organisations, crime prevention practitioners and international organisations that are supporting urban development, crime prevention and community policing.

The first roundtable on International cooperation and technical assistance programmes will focus on **Police Reform Programmes** in conflict and post conflict areas. Implementing community policing models, improving the efficiency and capacity of the police services and restoring trust and confidence among the community represent a major challenge in countries destabilised by high levels of internal violence, civil war or international conflict. This session will bring together representatives from bilateral and multilateral cooperation agencies and international organisations providing technical assistance, to discuss how far police reform programmes incorporate crime prevention within their frameworks. In addition, it will be important to examine the extent to which other actors work in coordination with the police in the implementation of policing models.

The second roundtable on International cooperation and technical assistance programmes will focus more broadly on **Crime Prevention and Community Safety** in conflict, post conflict and other situations. International cooperation is often focused primarily at justice and police reforms, yet developing a more global approach to safety is essential. It is important to develop appropriate prevention strategies and capacities as part of an overall framework of assistance. This session will bring together representatives from bilateral cooperation, international organisations, and beneficiaries of technical assistance, to discuss some recent examples of technical assistance programs supporting institutional and community capacity building and strategic prevention. It aims to identify common approaches which can be used to promote collaborative partnerships in prevention, including links with community policing.

In both sessions it will also be important to consider how greater cooperation and coordination between international agencies can be forged with the municipality and local police services, and populations within international assistance programs.

The third roundtable **Cities and Local Governments Forum** will provide an opportunity for local governments and associations to discuss the roles and synergies between Local Governments and Police Services in crime prevention. Depending on countries, local policing falls under the responsibilities of various levels (national, state, regional, local) of governance. However, the role of local authorities in the definition of the mission, organisation and the deployment of the police is often subject to debate, misunderstanding and disagreement. The forum will discuss from the point of view of local governments and associations **how the dialogue and common goals on crime prevention can be strengthened between local authorities and the**

15:00 – 15:30 **Recommendations from Workshops**
(Simultaneous translation in English, French, and Spanish)
Location: Flagstad room
Chair: **Valerie Sagant**, ICPC
Three rapporteurs: **Yves Van De Vloet, Mzwandile Petros,** and **Claude Dauphin.**

PROGRAMME

International Cooperation in Police Reform: A focus on crime prevention	International Cooperation in Crime Prevention and Community Safety	Cities and Local Governments Forum
Location: Kvarten room	**Location: StorKvinten room**	**Location: Flagstad room**
Moderator: Tor Tanke Holm, National Police Directorate, Norway **Rapporteur**: Laura Capobianco, Senior Analyst and Project Manager, ICPC (Simultaneous translation will be provided in English and French) **Speakers** **Mark Downes,** OECD – Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development **Sohail Husain,** Director**,** Analytica Consulting Services, UK **Doug Coates**, Director, International Peace Operations Branch, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canada and **Mr. Jean Côté**, Deputy Director, International Relations and Protocol, Sûreté du Québec	**Moderator: Margaret Shaw**, Director of Analysis & Exchange, ICPC (Simultaneous translation will be provided in English, Spanish and French) **Speakers** **Slawomir Redo**, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, UNODC **Per Joar Nålsund,** Project Manager, Community Policing Project (JUNO 4) in Serbia and **Nikac Zeljko**, Serbia **Gregory Sloane- Seale**, Coordinator, Citizen Security Programme, Trinidad & Tobago **Serge Armand Yapo**, Research fellow, UNDP, Oslo Governance Center	**Moderator**: **Serges Bruneau**, Director of Programmes, ICPC **Rapporteur**: Patrice Allard, Division Chief, City of Montreal (Simultaneous translation will be provided in English, Spanish and French) **Speakers** **Juma Assiago**, Safer Cities Programme, UN Habitat **Clifford Johnson,** Executive Director, Institute for Youth, Education, and Families**,** National League of Cities, USA **Claude Carignan**, Mayor, St Eustache and President of the Committee for Public Security, Quebec Union of Municipalities, Quebec **Christophe Caresche**, Member of Parliament, Deputy Mayor, City of Paris **Ove Kristoffersen**, City of Oslo

15:30- 16:00 **Recommendations from Roundtables**
International Cooperation: Tor Tanke Holm, National Police Directorate, Norway and **Margaret Shaw,** ICPC
Cities Forum
Patrice Allard, City of Montreal, Quebec

16:00-16:15 **Conclusions**
Valerie Sagant, Director General, ICPC

OPENING PRESENTATIONS

ICPC DIRECTOR GENERAL'S ADDRESS

Valerie Sagant
Director General, ICPC

Valerie Sagant is a French magistrate. Upon her graduation from the Institute of Political Science in Paris, she was appointed as investigating judge after being enrolled at the National School for magistrates. Following this she was responsible for prevention policy and victim assistance at the Ministry of Justice. She also worked for the next four years at the *Ministère délégué à la Ville*, and was responsible for crime prevention issues (social and cultural mediation, community policing and justice, local partnerships…). For three years, she was appointed Department Head of expertise and international relations at the Ministry of Justice. Valerie was appointed Director General of ICPC in November 2005.

Partnering with the Police in Prevention
By Valerie Sagant, Director general, International Centre for the Prevention of Crime

One of the goals of the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) is to develop international exchanges exclusively in the field of prevention. This represents an extremely broad domain: early prevention, prevention through social development, prevention targeting vulnerable populations or situations "of risk", situational prevention, prevention of criminal recidivism… The exchanges are as much focused on the results of academic and scientific research as they are on practice, policies and strategies implemented by national, regional or local governments and non governmental organizations.

In 2007, the annual colloquium was hosted by Norway, under the direction of the *Police Directorate* with support from the National Centre for Prevention, and the *KRAD.* The colloquium focused on **the role of police in prevention.**

Widely contrasting situations at the international level:

Even though one of the functions of the ICPC is to provide comparative international analysis and to identify elements of practice and policies that are transferable, it would be unreasonable to suggest that all police forces in the world encounter the same difficulties in terms of prevention. **A wide variety of situations is encountered, even within a same geographical region or country.**

Many countries in Central America, South America, the Caribbean, Sub-Sahara Africa, as well as in the Balkan countries of Europe and of the East or the Pacific region must deal with **situations of crisis following periods of internal crisis** (civil war, confrontations between different population groups, terrorism…). Such situations can weaken the governance structure and lead to a climate of violence.

In countries where there is political stability, **the level of crime and especially of violence against persons** (homicides, physical and sexual assaults, violence of any kind) varies considerably from country to country. For example, the number of homicides per 100,000 inhabitants varies from a proportion of 1 to 60 depending on the country, if we look at this indicator alone.

Service structures are also very different. There is a National Centralized Police Force in Italy, France, Senegal, and in many countries of West Africa for example whereas in Canada and in many Anglo-Saxon countries police forces are municipal. One issue that is very serious in Latin America is **the militarization of many police forces.**

The **level of confidence of the population** regarding police services varies considerably and this does not necessarily depend on geographical or socio-economic categories. Distrust and lack of dialogue between the population and the representatives of public order, suspicions of corruption, and violence associated with certain types of police interventions are encountered on all continents. **The demand for daily security and the feeling of insecurity** have become major political issues in many Western countries and seem to be developing in countries where there is a high level of urbanization, which is often independent of the level of reported crime.

Given this wide range of diversity, certain key questions emerge.

Preponderant but difficult role:

In most countries, the police are considered to be an essential player not only in the fight against crime, but also for crime prevention and daily safety (*community safety*). Despite the fact that in some countries the history of prevention often goes back over many decades, questions still arise about the role that the police may play and the means needed to be implemented.

For the most part, the **role of the police in prevention** corresponds to the objective of visibility – the police must be present and be seen to be present in the streets, while providing information on measures that can be adopted to avoid becoming a victim of crime ("always lock the doors of your car", "never leave a computer in visible display"…). In terms of **daily safety or community safety,** one of the very first initiatives is often to invite citizens to report incidents they have witnessed to the police. Many variations of such initiatives have appeared and are often referred to as crime stoppers. Finally, the **community police,** often considered to be the pillar of preventative action, despite many years of theory and practice, is still widely perceived to be incomplete and under-performing, especially because of the resistance it encounters that prevents it from reaching the expected results.

These are the questions that we wish to debate at the colloquium. **The police can act for prevention in a variety of ways** and we presented several examples of this in the document introducing the colloquium. But such diversification can increase the complexity of police work as the police are expected both to ensure law and order, while assuming an attitude of reconciliation to diffuse conflict, to support victims and to be open to perpetrators, while being fully integrated into the environment – the community where it operates – and maintaining vigilance with regard to the behaviour of its own members.

In addition to the questions that arise about missions, other questions arise about the methods of implementation: police training, new police techniques, and especially the modalities for partnership with other actors involved in safety. The sharing of information between intervention services - police, social workers, healthcare workers, members of the school network... – bring up questions of ethics. The common definition of objectives may be difficult due to the particular culture of each organization. The coordination of actions on the ground face impediments because of the predominant differences between professional cultures.

Our goal is not to paint a sombre picture of the situation but to engage in practical debates concerning problems we should not seek to minimize. This is the goal of the 7th ICPC Colloquium. The desire we share with our Norwegian hosts is to examine all of these questions without taboo. The colloquium has been organized around two major scientific preventions which will be given by Mr. Nils CHRISTIE and Mr. Jean-Paul BRODEUR. In the workshops we will discuss issues of partnership, police culture and knowledge based policing. In order to go into even greater depth, there will be round table discussing the role of cities and their perception of the police and the international cooperation that have been established in this area. The entire purpose of the work at the colloquium is to help us identify recommendations for action and even if such recommendations are not immediately applicable in our various communities. They should at least provide us with inspiration.

I hope that your work will be fruitful and enjoyable.

Kjellbjørg Lunde
President, Norwegian National Crime Prevention Council (KRÅD)

Ms Kjellbjørg Lunde is born in 1944. She has studied in the field of education, with a qualification in special pedagogy. She taught at the University of Oslo before becoming a member of the Norwegian Parliament for the Socialist Party in 1981. She was a member of Parliament for four periods, until 1997. She is now the Director of Education in Hordaland County, in the western part of Norway. She is also the national head of prison education. Ms Kjellbjørg Lunde has been the President of the National Crime Prevention Council of Norway since 2002. She has recently been appointed as leader of the Governmental committee on privacy.

Abstract: Partnerships in Crime Prevention: The Nordic Model

The Norwegian National Crime Prevention Council (KRÅD) has been in existence since 1980, modeled after existing organisations in Denmark and Sweden. KRÅD functions as the Norwegian Government's body of expertise within the judicial system. The Council's target groups are decision makers and employees within the justice system, as well as operatives in the field of crime prevention and members of the general public with an interest in and a need for the knowledge we possess.

KRÅD now has sister organisations in all the Nordic countries; Denmark, Sweden and Finland (but not in Iceland, as they choose to organise their crime prevention work within their Ministry of Justice).

The Nordic countries are characterised by comparatively large public sectors and generally well developed welfare systems, with high public expenditure. Although the expansion of welfare has been an end in itself, and not a means to prevent crime, it is no exaggeration to claim that social crime prevention has high priority in the daily social work and education in the Nordic countries.

The Nordic Model may be described from the point of view of the function of crime prevention, in relation to the justice system, the socio-political area, child and youth development and preventing crime opportunities. The Nordic Model is characterised by strong affiliation to areas outside the justice system, and the balance made between social and situational crime prevention.

The Nordic countries see social policy as an end in itself – not as explicit means to prevent crime. But relatively small social differences, fight against marginalisation, the support to socially vulnerable people and to ensure that everyone has equal opportunities for education and for making a livelihood has relatively low numbers of crime as a result.

OPENING PERSENTATION

Partnerships in Crime Prevention: The Nordic Model

By Kjellbjørg Lunde, President, Norwegian National Crime Prevention Council (KRÅD)

Dear friends and colleagues in the crime prevention field,

It is an honour for me, as the president of the Norwegian National Crime Prevention Council (KRÅD), to open the second day of ICPC's annual colloquium. It is my strong belief that it is possible to fight crime. But we will only succeed through cooperation: between disciplines, organisations, between the public and private sector and between nations. But if we really want to succeed we need both political and economic forces willing to fight poverty.

In an increasingly globalised world, crime prevention can benefit largely from international co-operation. This organisation and colloquium are good examples of how this can be done.

I don't know what kind of impression you have of Norwegians. We live in a small country. We have low crime rates, compared to nearly any other country. We have the undeserved fortune to have oil and gas in our territory, which give us economical wealth. All this can give us big heads. Therefore it is always useful to meet people from other countries. Opportunities and international events like these remind us of how much we can learn through cooperation, from the "know how" and experience of others.

KRÅD has been in existence since 1980, modelled after then existing organisations in Denmark and Sweden. KRÅD functions as the Norwegian Government's body of expertise within the judicial system. It operates under the Ministry of Justice, but the council is free and independent in selecting matters to focus on and what kind of advice it chooses to give. It cannot be instructed as long as it works within the limits of its mandate.

The Council's target groups are: decision-makers, criminal justice actors, as well as practitioners in the field of crime prevention, and members of the general public with an interest in and a need for the knowledge we possess.

KRÅD has sister organisations in all the Nordic countries; Denmark, Sweden and Finland (but not in Iceland, as they choose to organise their crime prevention work within their Ministry of Justice).

The Nordic countries are characterised by comparatively large public sectors and generally well developed welfare systems, with high public expenditure. Although the expansion of welfare has been an end in itself, and not a means to prevent crime, it is no exaggeration to claim that social crime prevention has a high priority in the daily social work and schoolwork in the Nordic countries.

The Nordic Model may be described from the point of view of the function of crime prevention, as including the justice system, the socio-political area, and child and youth development. The Nordic Model is characterised by strong affiliation to areas outside the justice system, and the balance made between social and situational crime prevention. The Nordic countries see, as I said, social policy as an end in itself – not as explicit means to prevent crime. But relatively small social differences, fight against marginalisation, the support to socially vulnerable people and to ensure that everyone has equal opportunities for education and for making good living conditions has relatively low numbers of crime as an result.

This also applies to the prison-population. I am now, after a long career in the Norwegian Parliament, the director of the educational system in one of Norway's counties, Hordaland, where our second largest city, Bergen, is located. In this position, I am also responsible for the education in all of Norway's prisons. This has been an important field for the prison authorities in all of the Nordic countries for quite a long time.

Norway, the other Nordic countries and old and new EU members are cooperating on educational models for this group. Several projects are funded by the Commission. One of the most promising is a cooperation project with the aim to develop digital competence to make education more effective. Prisoners from one country serving a sentence in another, can follow an educational programme in their home country, and continue her/his education this way, even after released from prison. This may raise some safety questions, but we will soon have solved these. When we do that, the inmates will be able to take part in a recreational programme in a much better way than to day. This will be according to the European Declaration of Human Rights.

In the Norwegian prison system, we work according to the *import model*. This means that inmates will receive different services from the civil society outside the prison walls, including the departments of education, health, welfare, labor market and the social system. Even the prison libraries are served from the libraries outside the prison. The National Government expects the different services to cooperate, and the prison administration has the responsibility to coordinate this cooperation. This work includes the key factors for successful rehabilitation and reintegration in society. Every inmate is entitled to an individual plan for serving the sentence. This plan must cover areas that are important for each individual to succeed in rehabilitation.

We know that crime doesn't just happen. Nor does it grow out of the ground. The causes of crime are numerous. And as a society we can create more safety if we can help convicts out of a criminal career. If we shall succeed with this goal, we have increased the chance for work after the release from prison. And it is here where education is crucial. But more education does not only improve opportunities in the labor market. It also helps to enhance a person's self esteem. We know a lot about the prison population, they are mostly young men. They had great difficulties in school, including problems in reading and writing, and completing homework. This, in turn, gives them a poor economy. And drug use and others forms of crime may be dangerously close.

Education is one of the keys in helping to break this bad circle. I am happy that all of the Nordic countries agree on this point. We apply our common knowledge in slightly different ways. But all our countries have the goal to make a person better equipped for a life without crime after the release from prison, and to improve the situation prior to imprisonment. But we have still a distance to walk before we reach our goal.

One hot topic in the Norwegian criminology debate this year has been whether to criminalize buying sexual services, or not. In all of the Nordic countries it is a crime to buy sex from those under-aged, which is less than 18 years. The Norwegian Government is a coalition, between three parties. All these parties have decided that they are in favor of a ban, much in the vein of what Sweden put into effect in 1999. This means that we in a short time will have a legislation that bans buying sex, regardless of age.

In Finland it is illegal to buy sex from a person who is the victim of human trafficking. As far as I

know, neither Denmark nor Iceland is planning any legislation in this field.

The Nordic countries have for the last years more and more been targets for human trafficking. Trafficking in human beings entails serious abuse of human rights and of human dignity. We will not sit still and allow increasingly widespread trafficking, especially trafficking in women and children, to develop into a modern slave trade. The Norwegian Government has presented a new plan of action that contains stronger and updated measures.

The overarching goal is to combat all forms of human trafficking, nationally and internationally, through measures that will:

Limit recruitment and demand
Ensure appropriate assistance and protection of victims
Ensure that child victims of human trafficking receive appropriate follow-up services
Ensure greater degree of exposure and prosecution of human traffickers
Ensure more knowledge and stronger inter-disciplinary cooperation
Strengthen the international framework and international cooperation

KRÅD has, in accordance with our mandate to put a special focus on under age victims of trafficking. I am glad to say that we have many collaborators in this fight; luckily the Government, the Children's Ombudsman, and NGOs like Save the Children and others.

The Government's action plan contains 37 measures, several of which are aimed at continuing and strengthening the work that has already been initiated. The plan will run until 2009. If some of you are interested in it, you can find a presentation in English on the home page of the Norwegian Ministry of Justice.

I will thank you for your attention and wish good look with the second day of the colloquium. I will thank the ICPC for letting Norway host such an important event. I will thank The Norwegian Police Directorate for all the work they have done to make this a successful arrangement, and even letting my organisation KRÅD taking part in the program planning.

I wish you all a safe trip home to your own country following this event. I hope that you will learn important things, make useful new acquaintances, and I hope you are left with a good impression of Norway and Norwegians. Thank you!

KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

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Nils Christie is Professor of Criminology at the Faculty of Law, University of Oslo. He has been a visiting professor at numerous universities in Europe and North America. He has published several books, many of them translated into various languages

Police as a guardian of civil society

By Nils Christie, Professor of Criminology, University of Oslo

Dear participants,

For some of you, this is your first visit to this country. I will abuse this opportunity by building up the first part of my presentation as an introduction to Norway. It will be an introduction to the country by an inbreed, - a social researcher who has lived long in his land, who is fond of it, but also looks with considerable concern at present developments. Other Norwegians here, or Scandinavians, might disagree and also dislike what I am to say. They will certainly tell you, today or later, where and why I have gone wrong.

The dangerous affluence

But they will agree on my first point, which is undisputable: Measured in money and material belongings, this is one of the most affluent countries on the globe. We swim in oil, we have no monetary debt to foreign countries, on the contrary, the state has an enormous fortune in foreign stocks, we have a low level of unemployment, we have to a large extent free education and free access to health services. And we have a good system of pensions when bad health or old age might kick us out of the work force.

So far, so good. Measured in the type of capital called money and property, we are on the top.

So, what are the troubles?

They relate to our affluence. Each time the super rich take an extra bite of what once was seen as the common property, the base for solidarity gets a blow. Within a short period, Norway has been converted into much more of a class society. Not completely, but the rich have multiplied and become unbelievably rich, the middle class have increased in numbers, but become dissatisfied by not reaching the level of affluence of the super-rich,.

The poor are as poor as ever, but now in a poverty more strongly felt in the sunshine of the beaming affluence.

In addition comes that money often will dissolve social relations. Rich people might think they can buy social life and security and forget about kinship and friends. And the rich ones will also have power to destroy labour and living conditions for poor people so these loose most of their social capital. Money has destructive potentialities in any society.

Consequences for crime control

It is elementary criminology that all this has consequences for what we are here to prevent.

Table 1 gives you the picture of the total number of prisoners in Norway from 1960 to 2007. As in all industrialized countries, prison figures are increasing also in Norway. The prison population has more than doubled since 1960, from 1572 in 1960, which meant 44 per 100 000 inhabitants, to more than 3 500 or 75 per 100 000 inhabitants just now. The number of crimes reported to the police has increased from more than 20 000 a year to close to 300 000 these years of continuously increased wealth. The blessing of affluence!

Bad. But not yet a catastrophe. We are, everywhere in Scandinavia, still below 80 prisoners per 100 000 inhabitants. Iceland is down to 36. We have not reached the level of England and Wales with 148 per 100 000, or the much higher figures in Eastern Europe with Russia at the very top in Europe with 628 prisoners per 100 000. The General Director of the Russian system, Yuri Kalinin, is giving a lecture here in Oslo tomorrow. I hope he will describe the last developments in his country. The US situation is well known. At present they have 750 per 100 according to the International Centre for Prison Studies in London.

We are below 80 per 100 000. Bad, but why is it not even worse? I think it is because we still have preserved some basic elements of our welfare systems. Just as Canada, who impressively enough is able to keep their prison population at 107 per 100 000, even so with the US tradition of penal excesses just across the border. We strive to remain inclusive societies.

The society of sharks

But this is an uphill struggle. Welfare states are endangered species these days. They are particularly threatened by the thinking behind the one-dimensional society, a society that place money above all other values. The market place in our supposedly free competitive economy is not exactly idyllic in form and content. Free competition is a freedom to win, to win all, and let others – persons, social systems, or neighbourhoods, loose all. It is supposed to be to the advantage to us all, in the long run. The business-tycoons that so many hail are not by necessity the best teachers in general ethics pf an inclusive sort. The society of sharks, is what Elliot Currie calls our societies in a classical article in Theoretical Criminology (1997).

With market economy, Currie has a broad concept in mind. He thinks of “the spread of a civilization in which the pursuit of personal economic gain becomes increasingly the dominant organizing principle of social life; a social formation in which market principles, instead of being confined to some parts of the economy, and appropriately buffered and restrained by other social institutions and norms, come to suffuse the whole social fabric – and to undercut and overwhelm other principles that have historically sustained individuals, families and communities.”

And specifically, concerning violence, he talks about the spread of a culture of 'normal brutality'. And he exemplifies (p.162): "We talk a great deal, especially in the US about the links between crime and the culture of the poor people. We talk hardly at all about the role of the *common* culture.

There is much discussion – I think *too* much – of the culture of the underclass, but little about the culture of the *overclass ...* (W)e will simply not understand the character of violent crime in the contemporary world – perhaps especially youth violence – unless we view it within the context of the growth and spread of dominant culture of exploitation, predation and indifference to human life in our time."

What can be done?

To me, and I know also to many of my colleagues, it is close to obvious that Elliot Currie hits the target. And even very conservatively oriented criminologists see it like this. James Q. Wilson, is one of them. "Crime is one of the costs of prosperity" is one of his formulations.

But if all this is right, it opens for some alternatives, - rarely, much too rarely, explicated. I have pointed to some of it an earlier meeting arranged by the Norwegian Board of Crime Prevention. They were not too fond of what I said. So, it is an act of courage, honesty, and a little flair of masochism when they invite me to elaborate further on this topic.

I have five simple advices if we want to establish an honest program for crime prevention.

First; we must re-create multidimensional societies. We live from more than bread. We need Mullahs and priests, poets and philosophers, and then some clowns and fools and loafers in between. We need many goals, many criteria for what is a good life. Fine with some money. But better to hold hands.

But we have moved in the opposite direction. We have disciplined ourselves in the constraint of the monolith. We have – in all great institutions in society - accepted money as the dominant goal to strive towards.

Second; We must engage in a serious discussion on **when enough is enough?** Or may be rather; when is what now is seen as enough **in reality much too much**. Growth of what we already have much of is not an obvious advantage. If the growth of wealth becomes a threat to our societies as we direly want our societies to be, then we have to stop. Stop, think, discuss. But a deep-going and serious discussion about when enough is enough is, with some important exceptions, absent in this most affluent of nations in Norway. We are indignant when some super-rich grabs an extraordinary amounts of money. But we do not take up to serious discussion how society itself is changed through accumulation of wealth and thereby also of power. Those fond of nature, and wild animals fight for the preservation of nature. Those that prevent crime must engage in the same fight for social systems in danger of being extinct, those systems that care more for welfare and social life than for success in the stock market.

Third; With untamed economic growth, the class differences are also increasing. Again the advice is a simple one. **Most of us have to stop increasing our salaries and fortunes**. From a crime preventive angel, it is clear that the half of Norwegians with most income and property ought to reduce their income in a long period ahead of us. From a crime-preventive perspective, a gradual reduction of the values at the stock marked is not the worst that might happen. Most of us are already filled up, satisfied. It is not more money to all we need. We need more to the very poor, and less to the rest of us. And we need participation for all, more to believe in, more to live for. Wealth is too poor a goal for a decent society.

Fourth; we must preserve the welfare states.

Impossible, says leading neo-liberalists to most of this, - the marked has to rule. Strong ideals of equality, strong trade unions, left-wing inspired laws regu-lating the labour market, free education and health and all sort of social support, it will not be able to preserve our economic base.
We have to give up on state control and regulations of the market, or we will loose in the international competition and end up at the level of an underdeveloped country.

These gloomy predictions have failed. Much indicate that it is not only the oil, but more our general social system, particularly some basic elements of solidarity between citizens, also between workers and employees, that can explain why our economy works so well and why we still have much preserved of the country many among us are fond of.

Most of what I here have said is obvious for most students of deviance and social control, at least if one is not completely emerged in the dominant ideology. But what is surprising, is how little attention given to this, even from experts in crime prevention. We hear much about lost children, but little about why they became lost, what sort of social organization that produced such types of loss. We hear much about better lighting of danger-spots in the cities, but little about why youngsters give in and go there. May be they, realistically, know they will never make it any other place than among those at the danger spots according to standard criteria for success in our types of societies.

There are so many representatives for organisations working with crime prevention present here this morning. My challenge to them will be: Stop fiddling with the details. Go to the core. Take care of the social systems. See to it that poor peoples social capital is not destroyed by selling off municipal property. Create basic conditions for stable neighbourhoods. Try to prevent mobility. Neighbours are the best to prevent misbehaviour. And with all major proposals for economic reform – cry out in protest if the reforms will increase class divisions and endanger social capital. Failing to approach the basic problems, organizations for crime prevention loose sight of their major responsibility to civil society, and also to the police that need support to be able to support civil society. I turn to this problem now.

The police cannot alone solve the problems created by increased class divisions and weakened solidarity of our time. Those acts so dangerous for social stability and solidarity are mostly completely legal. But the police can offer important help in interpreting and coping with what goes on, particularly if they get some coverage from organizations close to them, as boards for crime prevention.

I have three tasks in mind for the police. The police as the canary. The police as mediators. A police close to people.

1. The canary

They used canaries in the old days, deep down in the pits. The birds were sensitive to gas. If they stopped singing and died, it was time for workers to leave. Police are sensitive to the social climate. They are where trouble is. They have lots of insights concerning social conditions, - if engaged to reveal these insights. We need their insights. But there are no good channels for conveying the message. Four hindrances are easy to see:

First the media. The police observe misery. The media people want bloody crime and drama. The civil part of police work is not of that interest for the headlines.

Social life in the police cars or at the back stage in police station might also bring social problems out of focus. As so often pointed to in the police literature: Police work might have danger and is therefore an activity particularly dependent on mutual loyalty. A deep going discussion of social – and therefore often political – questions might create internal conflicts in the system, and therefore become muted.

Trade union concern might also intervene. It seems important for police unions to present the work exactly as the media wants it presented. Dangerous heavy work to keep the scum under control carried out by courageous fighters always deserving a higher salary then they receive.

The system is in my opinion in great need for other outlet. Ordinary police work ought therefore to include space and time for frequent meetings and seminars on what policepersons experience. Seminars where they are the experts based on their own experiences, but also met with counter-expertise from other police persons and in the ideal cases also from external resource persons. It might develop as an important challenge for boards of crime prevention to assist in arranging and to give support to police-reflections on civil society. Strengthened like this, the ordinary police might function by giving important warnings back to society when things go extraordinary wrong.

We had an interesting case where police activities might have been in need of support just a few months ago. In several of our cities it has developed an unpleasant tradition of youth violence during weekends around midnight in the centre of cities. Huge police forces have to be there these nights. It has developed into a sort of arenas for Gladiators, local copies of the old fights in Rome. Several police chiefs came up with a simple proposal: Stop serving liquor at midnight instead of four in the morning and the gladiators would stay at home. The police chiefs got no public support, except from me. Go there Friday night, it is just a few blocks away, and you will see how right the police chiefs were. Personally, I do also think that this arena tells us much of a problem confronting a large amount of young people: They are to no good use. There is no need for youngsters, until they are grown up. We keep them going, surrounded by paid guardians, from kindergarten throughout high school. May be child work kept within limits is not the worst way of creating maturity. Police despair when they meet children drifting in the cities days and nights. They ought to be listened to.

Police have also much experience with another category, creating much work. It is the drug users. They fill the day for much of the police force, - and fill up the prisons. Where the police experience is merged with attempts to find other answers, as in many of the many civil attempts of harm reduction initiated in central European countries, police turn out to be very important cooperative partners. For crime prevention it must be close to obvious that a police force could be used for more constructive tasks than hunting and incarcerating the most poor and miserable part of our population in this way.

2. The police as mediators

Here the police have a function already. Since 1991 we have had a law in Norway on mediation in what we call "konfliktråd" – boards for handling of conflicts. We have such boards available for all citizens in Norway. Where prosecutional authorities find it useful, a case can be sent over to these boards. Here the accused person will meet the victim. The encounter might end with an agreement of compen-sation, or may be only with a clarification of what happened and why. Or 'an excuse me' might follow. The leader of the board will report to the police what happened, and most often the case will be shelved. No marks on the person will enter the official file for offenders.
In Norway, some 7 000 cases came to the boards last year. Some of them were civil cases, - neighbours angry at each other, but most of the cases came from the police.

I think it can safely be concluded that this arrangement is generally approved of in the Norwegian society. The system has been positively received from all political parties, and also from the police itself. I think this acceptance is related to several social factors. Alternatives to punishment are met with great interest within most western societies these days. Civil society is to some extent falling apart, the increased burden on the official system for law and order becomes unpleasant obvious.

I lecture relatively often for police. And I am struck, happily struck, by the interest I also here meet on the topic of alternative conflict resolution. The Norwegian police has gradually become more and more educated – and as the individual policeman get to know more about society and its members, it becomes less satisfying to act in the role of a simple guard of law and order, carrying drunken people to the police arrests. Police want content to their role and they are, as most of us, eager to understand what is behind the deviance they meet.

But there are restrictions on what sort of cases that can be brought before the conflict boards. The most serious cases are not accepted. I am in continuous discussion with our otherwise kind and reasonable general attorney on this point. I agree with a statement I once heard from a Canadian chief of police; murder are the best cases for mediation. I say so, because I think of mediation in a very broad sense. It is not a question of acceptance of the terrible act that has occurred. Condemnation of unethical acts is right. And it is not a question of getting parties to agree completely on all points. But it is a question of creating some understanding of what happened. Again and again this came in the centre during the peace and reconciliation processes in South Africa. Victims want to know, to understand. Again and again - and here I have also some experience from Latin America - I am struck by our over-emphasis on vengeance. Knowledge is more healing than pain.

But let me ad: This does not mean that I want altogether to abolish punishment and imprisonment. Some victims will not meet the offender. And vice versa. Boards for conflict handling can never be the whole solution. But they can be a long step towards a more civil society, - as exemplified in Rwanda just these days.

Should the ordinary police themselves mediate, arrange meetings at the police stations, let victims and offenders meet? The Thames Valley police do. I do not think they ought to, in this form. They are authority-persons. Mediation as I understand it ought to be of another type.

But on the other hand, I think policemen to the utmost ought to act as mediators in their daily work, at the street level. The police ought to symbolize civility. Quarrels and conflicts ought, whenever possible, be met with soft methods rather than power. Soft methods in verbal talk, and then talk in the form of **civil talk**. It is a great difference, often emphasized in the training of mediators, between monolog and dialog (Haslund og Hydle 2007). In monolog, the one is talking, the others are listening. Dialog is a much more open form, the emphasis is on questions, not on answers, and on engaging also the other party in using words rather than muscles. Instead of commands, questions dominate the interaction; what happened, how could it happen? And it is also a question of time-perspective. Mediators are often more interested in the future than in the past. Peace-making becomes more important than elaboration of what had happened before.

We use words for talking. But we also use body talk and external symbols for what we stand for. I was in Sweden the other day, lecturing, and was fetched at the air-port and also brought back by police, - the most nice and kind individuals one could imagine. But what a dangerous appearance! All of them with a belt filled with gadgets. A pistol, a baton, a pepper spray holder, a set of handcuffs - and several additional instruments I was unable to identify. And they were out the whole day just to listen to me, and some other friends of civil society.

May be I can reveal an episode from my life with police in Canada. Someone had leaked the news that I am fond of using bicycle. At arrival I got the message: We have reserved a morning for you with our bicycle-police. I was horrified. Strong policemen. Body builders. And then me. But my concern was unfounded. It was a Sunday. The uniformed bikers were continuously stopped by an interested public who would know about their bikes, their general equipment, and their where-abouts in general. After a while, it started to rain. We took refuge in a cafe where questioning continued. It became a very civil morning.

But it is more to this than body language and equipment. It is also a question of the totality of police actions, particularly its more military inspired sides. We have here examples of police actions that have given a feeling of police training for war, rather than one practising peace. Actions against youth in Copenhagen and NATO-demonstrators in Oslo recently were in my opinion of the war type, or a case of training for handling large grouping of an antagonistic population. May be ideas from the war against terror had penetrated our Scandinavian innocence. A contrasting example can be given from a demonstration for cannabis in Oslo some years ago. It had been unpleasant episodes of violence the year before. This time the youths were told from sources they trusted; cannabis is a highly civil and peace-creating substance and symbol. Don't provoke, or be provoked on our joint procession from the City Hall and up to the Royal Castle. It worked. Police kept back. No episodes occurred.

But what impressed me most was that the next day the police chief phoned with complements for this peaceful performance. This is how I want the police chiefs to be.

3. A police close to people

Here I am back to the class divided society, the increasingly class divided society. The rich have the power to buy space in old established neighbourhoods. Gentrification takes place; old run down neighbourhoods are invaded by those with an abundance of money and converted to fancy neighbourhoods. The old inhabitants are forced out, loosing their habitat and also loosing their social capital. Social capital based on neighbourhoods is a beautiful substance, and often more necessary than monetary capital. But social capital has one immense disadvantage; you can't bring it with you when you are forced to move and are alone among strangers.

This makes the need for some sort of help or assistance very strong. But the helpers are not there. They are centralized. All of them are, also the janitors. Big firms with big cars rushing through the neighbourhoods. And the social workers are centralized, away from the neighbourhoods that might need them. Social workers are these days gathered in huge buildings, close to a fortress. A brand new reform has brought them there. You don't meet social workers any more out in the free – they are in their fortress, available some time after a formal application has been sent off.

And where do I think they ought to be, these social workers? Out in the street, or one or two of them in small offices spread out in all quarters where social service was seen as particularly needed. No security guard outside. It would not be necessary. They were now so close to their clients that the clients would live up to ordinary human standards. And most important: So would also the social workers, for here they knew those that dropped in, and they knew they would meet them again and again.

To me, this is the ideal model not only for social work, but also for the organization of neighbourhood police. It is not advanced equipment that is needed in run down neighbourhoods. It is human contact, knowledge and stable relationships. Policepersons with detailed and intimate knowledge from local neighbourhoods have unique possibilities for restoring some civility where civility is lost. These police-people ought, just as social workers, have access to small apartments, preferably slightly run down and at the street level, spread out in the neighbour-hoods. I see dangers in this; police everywhere. But I see also limits to the danger. Social control works both ways. Local police, grounded in the neighbourhoods, are also dependent on these neighbourhoods.
Detailed knowledge about neighbourhoods and people there is essential for their three-headed function as canaries, as mediators and as heralds against unwanted developments. And help to these neighbourhoods is essential. It is essential to counteract the scarcity of functioning neighbourhoods in our types of societies and thereby prevent the steady growth of a society totally dependent on formal control carried out by paid functionaries. We need help from the police to preserve civil society.

Dr. Jean-Paul Brodeur
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Jean-Paul Brodeur completed his Doctorate of Philosophy at the University of Paris, where he also studied Oriental languages. He has a Masters in Criminology from the University of Montreal. He taught philosophy at the University of Quebec and University of Montreal. He has been a professor since 1978 at the School of Criminology, University of Montreal, and a researcher at the International Center of Compared Criminology. He is specialized in every aspect of the police apparatus, information services, anti-terrorism and international criminal justice. He published several articles and books on these issues.

Mr. Brodeur was a research director and consultant for commissions of inquiry, mainly the Commission of Inquiry on Police Operations in the Province of Quebec, the Canadian Sentencing Commission, the Commission of Inquiry on the Stanley Cup riots caused by the "Canadian" hockey club in 1990 and the Commission of Inquiry on the deployment of troops in Somalia. Mr. Brodeur's report on this last case was published in a book in French (*Violence et préjugés raciaux dans le contexte des opérations de maintien de la paix*) and English (Violence and Racial Prejudice in the Context of Peacekeeping Operations). Jean-Paul Brodeur is a member of the Royal Society of Canada and was awarded the Killam Research Fund in 2002, after which he pursued a two year research on the police, information and drafting a Police Treaty.

Abstract: Trust and Expertise in Policing

Studies on social harmony in different countries indicate that the main factor promoting social harmony is the level of trust between citizens. Violence occurs frequently in countries where mistrust prevails. A relationship of trust between citizens arises from the implementation of criminal justice. In the first part, we will try to determine the importance of some components of criminal justice in promoting trust, with a particular focus on the police. Our premise states that trust cannot be imposed by force or coercion on citizens, even if coercion is fully understood, because these elements are incompatible with trust. It depends on the openness of criminal justice and citizen action. We will demonstrate that the growing importance of police expertise has resulted in the marginalization of the citizens' participation in establishing security policies. We will then question the possibilities of reestablishing the influence of citizens, other that in opinion surveys. In our conclusion, we will put forward some criteria that a democratic police should respect.

Trust and Expertise in Policing

By Jean-Paul Brodeur, Director, *International Centre for Comparative Criminology*

I want to explore in this paper the relationship between trust, knowledge and expertise in the context of policing. Taken together these relationships result in a paradox. The move towards community policing, broadly defined as an attempt by the police to engage with the community in setting their priorities and to develop partnerships with community members and civic organizations in achieving them (Skogan, 2006: 28) was triggered in part by the gap that existed between the police and various minorities during the late 1960s (Williams and Murphy, 1990). This gap was believed to cause violent conflicts between the police and minorities. The community policing reform was thus intended to bridge the gap between police and community and to re-establish trust. However, getting closer to it is far from being the only way to establish a trusting relationship with the public, as is shown by the example of medical doctors. In all indexes of trust in selected professions, the medical profession generally comes first, followed by teachers. The trust enjoyed by doctors is built upon their expertise, which also sets them apart from the community. The community is seldom consulted by the medical establishment, which thrives on its apartness and isolation. There is also an important movement within police organizations, particularly in Europe (CEPOL, 2007), to ground their competence and the public trust that would flow from it in a new police science and expertise. One of the important benefits of operating from a secure base in knowledge would be to insulate the police from external, mainly political, interference into their business - doctors are believed to be free of such interference. This other kind of quest for trust thus leads the police in a direction opposite to community policing and its numerous derivatives, as they actually move *away* from the public into the seclusion of expertise. Quoting an example closer to the police than medical doctors, firefighters apparently succeeded in being both distant from the public through their expertise and trusted by them.

The relationship between trust, knowledge and expertise in the context of policing is thus complex and deserving of more examination than currently believed. This paper is divided in four parts. First, I make preliminary statements to avoid misunderstandings and clear the way for the ensuing discussion. Second, I discuss three ways to conceive this relationship in respect to the findings of research. In a third part, I discuss how the police can contribute to building trust between them and the citizens and, more importantly, between the citizens themselves. In a concluding section, I shall very briefly propose criteria for democratic policing.

1. Preliminary remarks

The situation has drastically changed since the early 1980s, when it seemed that community policing held the key to better public policing.

1. There has been since 1980 an explosion of new policing philosophies, strategies and tactics. In their book on policing innovation, Weisburd and Braga (2006) discuss no less than eight new models of policing that were developed in the United States over the last three decades. To this review of developments in the United States, one ought to add at least two other frameworks that are now being tested in the United Kingdom. One of these alternative frameworks, called reassurance police, grew out in part from a particular experiment in community policing undertaken in the city of Chicago (the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy - CAPS).

So, not only do we have a significant number of new models, but some of these models are morphing into yet another variety (e.g. community policing morphing into reassurance policing), thus adding to the complexity of present-day policing. If I were to take into consideration all policing innovation taking place in the countries represented at this conference, the complexity would be overwhelming.
(For the sake of clarity, I have tried to characterize the various models of policing that I will refer too in the course of this paper in Appendix. The reader is invited to consult it).

2. There is one crucial problem with all the new models of policing that were developed, which was never solved to my satisfaction. According to my own research in Canada and my review of the abundant literature on police innovation, it is almost impossible to assess to what degree a model of policing that is claimed to have been adopted by an organization is actually implemented. First, there is generally a limited proportion of the total police manpower that is tasked to practice the new methods, the majority of their colleagues conducting police business as usual. It was estimated, for instance, that one per 500 sworn officers was enough to form an expert cadre for problem-oriented policing (the small proportion was later revised; see Bullock et al. 2006: 175). Second, there are whole departments that are untouched by the reform. For instance, criminal investigation departments were little affected by the new ways to engage the citizens, the reforms actually increasing the gap between patrolpersons in uniform and plainclothes investigators. Third, the new methods evolved from a specific framework to transform police practices into a diluted “philosophy” that was pushed into a distant backdrop that mainly served as intermittent lever for public relations. All these reservations make it overwhelmingly difficult to assess the depth and the magnitude of the changes that were introduced into a police organization that embarked upon a course of reforming itself.

3. Community policing was not implemented everywhere and was the target of intense criticism from its beginning. Yet there was a consensus that it was the standard by which nearly all new experiments in policing had to abide no matter how little they respected it in fact. It was quickly realized that this so-called standard was not even a common label and the initial consensus on the desirable orientation of police reform dissolved. Today, there are advocates and critics of every new policing model that is being churned out by the reform factory. Instead of a consensus, we have a situation that is evolving towards a kind of policing anomie.

4. Countries differ widely in respect to their respective policing systems. There is one difference that is especially significant for my purpose. In many countries, the public police belong to a few organizations that are nationally based. Such is generally the case with the countries of Continental Europe. In English-speaking countries, police organizations are based in cities or regions and are accountable to municipal or regional authorities. In some countries such as the United Kingdom, the police are jointly accountable to the central government and to a regional body. Countries where the basic police jurisdiction is municipal or regional have as many police forces as there are cities or regions, the United States and Canada being examples of countries that have many police forces.

There was a time - in the 1960s - when the larger urban area of Chicago had as much as 1 400 different police forces - each suburb however small had its own force. Although the present trend is leading to the integration of small city forces into regional ones, there are by definition a much greater number of police organizations in countries where the police forces are municipally based than in countries with few national forces.

This difference plays a key role in terms of police innovation. The probability of finding a police force willing to experiment in new ways of policing, particularly in the field of relationships with the citizens, is increased by the number of police forces. For instance, medium-sized US cities such as Flint in Michigan and Newport News in Virginia played an important role in respectively sponsoring community and problem-solving policing. However, because of their financial resources, large police forces are in a greater position to promote technological change and forensic sciences.

5. There are two kinds of coordination. Systemic coordination promotes consistency of action across one organization and between several organizations with the same goals (e.g. various policing organizations, either public or private).

Such coordination comprehends horizontal and vertical consistency. There is another kind of coordination that I will call process integration. It links different organizations that operate on a sequential basis. For instance, the police, the courts, corrections and post-correctional services are part of a process that is aimed to produce security. With few exceptions, such as intensive zero tolerance policing, the various reforms of the police were aimed at blunting the most coercive edges of policing. There is no point in reaching out to citizens if it is to club them on the head. However, there is a sharp disconnect of community policing from sentencing. In the showcase countries for community policing such as the United States and the United Kingdom the rates of incarceration have never progressed as much as when the movement in favour of community policing took hold.

The upshot of these remarks is twofold. First, all generalizations about policing are precarious: there are too many differences in policing for claiming that what one says apply to all police forces and even that it applies to a whole police organization. Second, there is no guarantee that feel-good practices in policing will translate into a more humane society. The seeds of community policing have yet to blossom under the segregating sun of incarceration.

2. Patterns of police and citizen relationships

As I just stressed there are numerous varieties of police-citizen relationships. I have tried to categorize them in three fundamental patterns that I will now try to characterize.

Police-led Patterns

In all variants of police reforms that were developed from 1975 onwards, the police retained the initiative. These reforms can be described in relation to four dimensions: (1) police visibility - the belief that conspicuous police presence increased people's feelings of being in security; (2) intensity - the extent to which police resorted to coercion; (3) externality - the willingness to reach out for external output and to follow up on it; (4) intelligence processing. The original design of the reform was to maximize police visibility, to substitute consensus for coercion, to prioritize input from the community and form external partnerships, and to develop alternatives to criminal statistics templates in processing police intelligence. Community policing was to embody these designed features and was assessed initially as a promising start. It can however be shown police reform developed in directions that conflicted with its original impetus.

- *From Broken Windows to Zero Tolerance*: "Broken windows" was originally a catch phrase coined by James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling in a famous paper published in 1982.

Its original intent was to provide an argument in favour of "quality of life" policing, which was criticized for being too soft on real criminals. This kind of policing focussed on minor offences (e.g. vandalism), incivility and various forms of disorder that generated feelings of helplessness in the community. It was argued that such feelings led the members of a community to barricade themselves behind the locked doors of their dwellings, thus handing out their neighbourhood as an open field for criminal enterprises. Broken windows policing was meant to assist citizens to reclaim their neighbourhood and to revitalize their control over their environment. Instead of community empowerment, it eventually begot zero tolerance for any kind of misbehaviour on the part of the police and lead to a massive increase in the number of arrests. Plainclothes teams of police began to operate nighttimes and intensive undercover operations replaced police visibility. Active coercion superseded the reliance on the power of symbols.

- *From community-oriented to problem-oriented policing*: Community-oriented policing is a strategy to engage citizens as partners in the co-production of security. This strategy stressing the need for externality is rather vague and short on tactics. This is the reason why problem-oriented policing quickly became an essential ingredient of community policing, although the two models are actually different, as Herman Goldstein, the father of problem-oriented policing, came to realize it later on (Brodeur, 1998: 50-51). The insight underpinning problem-oriented policing is that police should not react to incidents, considered one by one, but should group together similar incidents in one category and solve the problem that they raise in one stroke. The key moment of this type of policing is the definition of the problem, which is achieved in the application of various methods by *police* analysts. In his influential book on problem-oriented policing, Goldstein (1990) is clear on the fact that "the police cannot agree in advance that they will focus on the community's choice" (p. 71) and that "police officers on the beat are in the best position to identify problems from the bottom up" (p. 73). This shift of emphasis from community input to police processed intelligence became ever stronger as the police were conceived as "knowledge workers" (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997).

- *From intelligence-led policing to policing-led intelligence:* (Cope, 2004): When he advocated the development of problem-oriented policing, Herman Goldstein expressed his concern that collecting intelligence relevant to define security problems ought not to be confused with processing criminal statistics. As he argued, the criminal label of "arson" may be applied to problems as different as criminal negligence, insurance fraud, covering up a murder, not to mention expressive youth delinquency. All these specific problems call for a different solution. However, crime statistics are so enshrined in police culture that Goldstein wasn't heard. In many police departments, crime statistics are computerized on a narrow local basis (e.g. an urban neighbourhood) and precinct commanders are tasked to produce a percentage decrease of selected crimes within a particular time frame. The consummate example of this strategy is the NYPD program called Compstat (for comparative statistics), which exercised a powerful influence on law and order politicians and police executives. Many countries have now established so-called "crime observatories" that merely bring crime statistics in various combinations.

They play in respect to true police intelligence the same role that public opinion polls play in studying public attitudes, which is to package complex matters in simple control friendly formats. Needless to say, the community has no saying in these war games for police executives and politicians.

- *From "what works" policing to evidence-based policing*: The impressive growth of evaluative research was the natural outcome of the drive towards police reform. With so many true and pretended innovations flooding the profession, it was normal to inquire whether they had productive results or not. The question "What works in policing" became a rallying cry for many researchers as the end of the last millennium neared. Some of the proponents of the new models, such as Wesley Skogan, were among the most eager to test whether they worked or not. Like the previous ones that we discussed, this trend evolved significantly over time. First generation assessments were very broad and methodologically unsophisticated. For instance, the whole field of criminal investigation was negatively assessed by Greenwood and Petersilia in 1975 (Greenwood and Petersilia, 1998). As time passed, evaluation research in police studies progressively modeled itself after experimental research as it was conducted in the more rigorous disciplines such as epidemiology in the medical sciences, with experimental and control groups, longitudinal cohorts and various research protocols (see the section devoted to evidence-based policing in Appendix I. It explicitly refers to the medical model as an ideal.) Members of the public may play a part in these researches as being the subjects of the inquiry, but the research itself is conducted by experts who assess to what extent a practice work on the basis of factual evidence. The practices that were thus tested to be empirically successful are integrated into the arsenal of yet another kind of policing model which is evidence-based. I will not dwell on the fact that the epidemiological research is presently the target of mounting criticism (Taubes, 2007). Rather, I want to mention the fact that evidence-based therapies do not appear to provide an adequate and comprehensive foundation for medicine. Evidence-proven therapies are actually small in number and narrowly constrained by the circumstances where they where shown to work. When faced with problems for which there is no or little precedent, doctors who where schooled in evidence-based medicine have to improvise, one skill for which they had little training, or they apply an evidence-based therapy to a problem for which it might be counter-productive (Groopman, 2007: 6-7).

Needless to say, medicine is much more advanced scientifically than policing and the limits of evidence-based therapies are much more drastic in policing. To sum up, despite expectations to the contrary, police-led reform patterns have evolved towards less police visibility in public space, more coercion, less external input and an increased reliance on traditional data processing and conservatively defined expertise.

Community-led patterns

Police research is relatively parochial. An extensive research project - 51 million (US$) were devoted to funding this project - on the sources and consequences of urban disorder was conducted in Chicago at the end of the millennium by Felton Earls and his colleagues (Sampson et al. 1997 and 1999). One research involved 8782 residents of 343 Chicago neighbourhoods (Sampson et al. 1997); another one involved the videotaping of 23 000 street segments in 193 Chicago neighbourhoods (Sampson et al., 1999). Although Chicago is also the city where community policing was implemented with the utmost care and is the most resilient, police researchers seem rather shy to refer to this other project that was also realized in Chicago.

The insight spurring Sampson, Earls and colleagues to undertake these researches was that endogenous collective action that sprung from within the community was more efficient to curb down crime and disorder than action instigated by formal agencies such as the police (Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997: 918).

One of the principal researchers in the Chicago project remarked that the number of yearly homicides plummeted from 151 in 1991 to 35 after year 2000, apparently because a group of Black ministers took to the streets to engage kids and work with adults to develop after-school programs (Hurley, 2004).

The key concept of the Sampson team research is that of "collective efficacy", defined as cohesion among neighbourhood residents, which is combined with shared expectations for the informal social control of public space. In the research, social cohesion/trust was represented by five conceptually related items: the positive items were willingness to help neighbours, close-knit social texture, and trust; the negative items were adverse relationships between the residents of a neighbourhood and failure to share the same values. Shared expectations were measured by asking some 3 500 members of 196 neighbourhood whether they could be counted on to act in various kinds of situations involving their children (e.g. "skipping school and hanging out on a street corner"), in witnessing violent conflict in front of their home and in acting against budgetary cuts in basic services (e.g. fire stations). Neighbourhoods showing the highest degree of cohesion/trust and of shared expectations experienced lower rates of violent crimes. It was also found that contrary to the "broken windows" theory, the relationship between public disorder and crime was spurious except perhaps for robbery (Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999). Since the "broken windows" assumptions are shared by the advocates of community policing, this refutation may account for the relative lack of communication between the community policing researchers and the Sampson team.

A crucial finding of these researches was that collective efficacy did not happen in a vacuum. Homeownership promotes collective efforts to maintain social control (Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997: 919), whereas "concentrated disadvantage" (poverty) seems to be an overwhelming obstacle to the willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good. These findings underline a characteristic feature of the research on collective efficacy: it is research on the "what" and not on the "how to". Once a key number of structural features of neighbourhoods are given, collective willingness to act for the common good is an efficient way to achieve social control. The question then becomes: how is it possible to bring social cohesion and trust into a disadvantaged neighbourhood where there is no collective efficacy. Despite their failings, this is the question that advocates of community policing tried to answer and which the research on collective efficacy leaves open.

Community Policing Revisited

Despite the slide of policing innovation into patterns of expertise uncritically modeled after medical science and less welcoming to community input, some community policing initiatives proved to be quite resilient and are even enjoying a resurgence of popularity. The most enduring of all the community policing experiences occurred in Chicago. The Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) began to be implemented on an experimental basis in five districts of Chicago in 1993. The experiment proved successful and was extended to 20 other police districts in the following year. The CAPS programme is now operational in all Chicago police districts, with the five original prototype districts serving as a laboratory for testing new ideas and technology. Community involvement has remained to this day one of the cornerstone of CAPS.

The distinctive feature of CAPS and no doubt one of main reasons of its resiliency is that the operation of the programme was supervised from its incipient stages up until now by a strong team of researchers who issued progress reports on its implementation every year and thoroughly assessed its results (see the bibliography of Skogan, 2006: 338-39; special care was devoted to assessing the impact of the programme in 1997 and after its eight, ninth and tenth years in existence). There was one unexpected finding of the assessment research that received a great deal of attention. Although CAPS worked well in the white and the black Chicago communities, it produced results much less impressive with the Hispanic community, where it was expected that it would work better than in the more conflicting context of the black community. Research into this problem showed that engaging the community was much more complex than originally believed. For instance, the assumption that residents of the Hispanic neighbourhoods spoke and understood English - the language used in community meetings with the police - proved to be in the main wrong. This U.S. finding is particularly significant in today's world marked by mass immigration and great ethnic and linguistic diversity.

The United Kingdom has also experimented with innovative models of policing, team policing having been first tested in Great Britain after World War II. This interest in policing innovation endured as the Home Office created what is perhaps the most productive research unit on policing and criminal justice. It was found that although the British police was making good in reducing major crimes, it was paradoxically loosing ground in keeping the confidence of the public (Fielding and Innes, 2006; see the excerpt on reassurance police in Appendix I). The British then embarked upon yet a new experiment in policing, called Reassurance Policing (RP; see Appendix I; also see Tuffin, 2006). This development intentionally borrowed a great deal from CAPS. First, it reactivated the idea of engaging the community with a view of improving its confidence in the police. Second, it adopted CAPS' focus on constant measurement of the impact of the experimented police strategy. Lastly, it renewed with the "Broken Windows" perspective of targeting the sources of community feelings of insecurity. In so doing, it rediscovered that these feeling were not grounded in the fear of being victimized by a major crime but rather on conspicuous signs of disorder, such as abandoned vehicles (the deleterious effect of abandoned cars had been long since highlighted in Wilson and Kelling's seminal 1982 piece on neighbourhood decay).

It remains to be seen whether resilient programmes such as CAPS or revitalized community engaging projects such as RP will stem the tide of expert policing where the role of the community is essentially passive.

3. Policing and building trust

Setting aside for the time being limited programmes such as CAPS and RP which seem to strike a balance between policing and community involvement, our previous discussions have identified two trends, both of which are resulting in a divorce between the police and the community. On the one hand, policing reform is evolving toward forms of expert policing in which the reliance on scientific underpinnings is *de facto* - perhaps unintentionally - reducing the role of community input.

On the other hand, the research on collective efficacy as measured by cohesion, trust and a willingness to act for the common good did not find that the police had an important contribution to it. In consequence, we could explore two questions. One question would be how to reintegrate the community into expert policing.

The second question has a reverse formulation: how to define the police contribution to collective efficacy. I will devote more care to exploring the second question. The research on collective efficacy is not (yet) focused on its policy implications and problem-solving capacity. It identifies the structural determinants that are positively and negatively related to collective efficacy. Concentrated disadvantages and poverty were found to be destructive of social cohesion and trust, which are the bases of collective efficacy. Is there a role for the police in re-establishing trust and social cohesion and thus restoring collective efficacy? This question is not entirely foreign to concerns that spurred James Q. Wilson and George Kelling to write their paper entitled "Broken Windows". Furthermore, the place of trust in policing is increasingly seen as central by police sociologists such as Peter Manning (2003). However, the study of trust in policing has not yet received the attention that it deserves and there are few findings that can be presented as definitive. My remarks will therefore be tentative and my aim is much more to call attention to a necessary debate than to articulate a doctrine.

A group of individuals committed to global peace and environmental sustainability has recently developed a Global Peace Index that can be consulted on the Vision of Humanity website. These individuals belong to the intelligence unit of the British magazine *The Economist* and to various university research centres. The index ranks the countries of the world according to their peaceful character, which is assessed through measures taken on several dimensions. One of these dimensions is safety and security within a country. The first indicator of a lack of safety and security is the level of distrust in other citizens. This level is determined through several measurements, one important measurement being the ratio of police per number of population. The reasoning behind such a measurement seems to be the following: the more citizens have to rely on the police for having peaceful relations among them, the less they trust each other. This observation surely conforms to common sense, but as often happens with alleged common sense, things deserve further examination. There are rural areas where the police are generally unseen which are populated with people known to be highly mistrustful of each other. At the other end of the spectrum, when British society invented the modern police at the turn of the 19th century, it was not generally described by historians as a society that was experiencing a collapse in social cohesion and trust. What should be acknowledged from this very brief discussion of the Global Peace Index is that the relationship between policing and building trust is never one-sided. It generally takes the form of complex dilemmas where we have to balance carefully the elements involved to select the best option. I will now try to describe some of the main dilemmas.

- *Varieties of trust*: There are two very different ways in which the police can build trust. They can strive to build trust or confidence in them as members of an institution. We might for lack of a better expression call that vertical trust (or more elegantly, confidence). Most attempts by the police at building trust are directed at vertical trust or confidence in them. There is also a second variety of trust that is a feature of the relationships of the members of a community between themselves. We can call that horizontal trust (or narrowly apply the word trust only to this kind of relation). The crucial difference between vertical and horizontal trust (or confidence and trust) is that only the latter is mutual and implies reciprocity.

The police want to be trusted by the citizens but they are generally suspicious of them. Needless to say, the police can return trust in particular situations, as opposed to their professional culture of having to be suspicious.

- *Protectors and benefactors*: Some professions fall within the category of protectors (the police, the military, guardians and so forth) and many others in the category of benefactors (doctors, teachers, and, more generally, service providers).

There is one crucial difference between benefactors and protectors. Doing good implies two parties, the benefactor and the beneficiary who are involved in a relation of mutual satisfaction (when things work out well). Providing protection generally implies three parties; the protector, a potential victim being protected, and a predator *against which* the potential victim is protected. This enforcement triangle is at the root of the distinction between vertical and horizontal trust. Professionals who provide protection are by definition split in their loyalty toward real and potential victims and toward predators. This is also why it is difficult for the police to generate mutual trust between all the members of a community (identified offenders are excluded from trust relationships). A recent six-site evaluation of the British National Reassurance Policing Programme found that it had a positive impact on one of the social cohesion indicators: the percentage of people saying they trusted many or some of the people in their area increased by three percentage points across the trial sites and fell by two in the control sites. This effect was small and statistically significant in only one comparison between a trial and a control site. There was no overall effect on other indicators of collective efficacy such viewing one's community as tightly knit and an increase in community or voluntary activity (Tuffin, 2006: 3).

- *Expertise and trust*: As we previously argued, the possession of a recognized expertise is one of the major ways to build what we called vertical trust. Upon closer examination, it is not sure whether expertise generates actual trust or symbolic prestige. Expertise depends on a process of reconstructing experience to make it amenable to a scientifically calibrated intervention. The process implies that the expert extract from the rich texture of experience a few features that are usually subject to quantification and which he or she can act upon. This simplification of human experience - often of human suffering - may be so reductive that the reconstructed problem is perceived by those afflicted by it as being foreign to their plight. In those situations, expertise is a source of discredit rather than a fount of trust. Psychiatric expertise fell for a time into disrepute for having lost its mooring to mental illness as experienced by patient. Despite all the warnings on the crippling nature of crime labels, police expertise is still largely grounded in criminal statistics and communication formats that have a tenuous link with the actual problems that spring in the field. As Peter Manning stressed in his last book, the police "communicational system (then) becomes a source of distrust" (Manning, 2003: 230)

- *Police and citizens*: Police and citizens interact in many ways. (1) The citizens are police clients, either on an individual basis by calling the police or either on a collective basis by making known their demands for service through public consultations and through the constitution of pressure groups upholding, for instance, the rights of victims; (2) They are the prime source of information for the police and it is unlikely that this situation will be substantially reversed by surveillance technology; (3) They provide vital assistance to the police through formal partnerships or through informal networks influencing behaviour; (4) Their role at the court level - as witnesses, members of juries or in other capacities - is also crucial;

(5) They finally act at a distance through public opinion surveys, although it is questionable whether it is their own opinion that is expressed through these surveys. Vertical trust (confidence in the police) plays a crucial role in every capacity. Mistrustful citizens do not call the police, or consult with them, or inform them, or become police witnesses, or assist them unless forced to do so. They also tend to savage the police in public opinion surveys when their trust in them is decreasing.

- *Public consultations*: Public consultations play an important part in the generation of both kinds of trust that I discussed. Having been involved in many police consultations with the public, I would like to draw attention to the fact that there are two different ways of consulting with the public. In the most frequent case, what is sought by the police is public *approbation* of a plan that was pre-established without their input. The scope of the amendments that can be introduced by the public into the plan is narrowly limited. In the most desirable cases, the priorities are not predetermined by the police organization. These instances are fewer, because the police fear - not always without justification - that their agenda is then going to be set by moral entrepreneurs and would-be politicians within the community.

A clash of trusts: The border between trust and suspicion is very porous and unbridled trust in the police can morph into mutual suspicion among citizens. Citizens inform the police, either because they trust them or because they are in fear of them. There is however a threshold beyond which they trade the mutual trust binding them for benefits handed to them by the police. They then become a nation of informers, of which the 20th century offered many examples. Principled historians tend to exaggerate fear over zealotry in the generation of police States. What happens here is that one kind of trust destroys another and more basic kind: confidence in the police overtakes mutual trust among citizens.

- *Punitive populism*: Much has been said in the UK about punitive populism. Research that I conducted when I was director of research for the Canadian Sentencing Commission (Canada, 1987) long before the problem of punitive populism was raised produced troubling findings, which have been replicated several times since then (Brodeur and Shearing, 2005). Under the assumption that crime is a breach of security, a sample of the Canadian public was asked what was the most effective way to control crime: only 4% answered that increasing the number of police was the answer, as compared to 27% who said that making sentences harsher was the most effective measure (Canada, 1987, Table 6, p. 485). To the question of where should the main responsibility for controlling crime be laid, only 8.3% answered that it lay with the police, as compared to 24% for whom it rested with the courts (Canada, 1987, Table 12, p. 490). For reasons that are difficult to fathom, the public tends to invest judges imposing punishment rather than the preventive police with the duty of providing them with security. When members of the public take actually part in criminal justice decision making, such as granting parole, they often make harsher decisions than the professionals. It was also shown that the police tend to resist the more repressive demands by the public, such as performing an arrest (Mastrofski et al. 1995). This undeniable punitive streak should keep us from sentimentality when we claim more public participation. It does not always generate trusting relationships.

Asymmetrical impact of police behaviour: The journal *Policing and Society* devoted a whole issue to reassurance policing. This issue contains an important paper by Wesley Skogan (2006c).

Several studies of police encounters with the public have noted that how citizens rate their satisfaction in the context of such an encounter has an impact on their confidence in the police that is not only different but asymmetrical. The police may get essentially no credit for delivering professional service, while bad experiences can deeply influence people's views of their performance.

This hypothesis was tested using survey data on police-initiated and citizen-initiated contacts with the police in Chicago. The findings indicate that the impact of having a bad experience is four to fourteen time as great as that of having a good experience and that the coefficients measuring the positive impact of having a good experience were not statistically different from zero (Skogan, 2006c: 99). The experience was replicated in seven other urban areas located in three different countries with similar results. Skogan rather direly concludes that "the empirical message is, unfortunately, "You can't win, you can just cut your losses." No matter what you do, it only counts when it goes against you." (Skogan, 2006c:119).

- *Threats and guarantees*: The preceding remarks do not point to a positive role of the police in building trust. It seems to me that the notion that the police can do more damage than good in the construction of a trusting society is too pessimistic, but not without foundation in respect to what is presently known. This does not mean that we cannot explore how the police could play a more constructive role. One of the insights of early criminology was that there is a hard core that pervades the most harmful forms of crime, which either embody violence or *deception*. Policing has been so far mainly conceived as a form of counter-violence (as in "counter-terrorism"), that is, a legitimate defensive reaction against predatory violence. However, this only takes care of one part of the hard core of crime. Deception is not only instrumental in a great number of very harmful crimes, but it is the main factor undermining trust, its arch-enemy, as it were.

The management of trust is a complex endeavour in the field of economics, where establishing and maintaining confidence implies the use of practical means that go beyond the cultivation of mutual feelings. Offering guarantees plays a special role in the furtherance of trust. English words such as "guarantee", "warranty" or the French word "*garantie*" and its derivatives originally referred to a process of certification of the truth or authenticity of something that might be a person, what that person said, a substance, or a product. Interestingly enough, all these words derive from the ancient Indo-European root "*wer*", which meant "true". This verbal root is the origin of words such as "*verus*", "vrai" and "wahr", which respectively mean "true" in Latin, French and German. As is plain to see, the same root is also the source of "guaranty", "warranty" and similar words in various languages.

In the same way that the police use legitimate force against predatory violence, could they not act in some capacity as "guarantors" or "trustees" against the abuses caused by deception? Needless to say, such mechanisms of certification are already functioning in many sectors of activity (e.g. the economy, the arts, and various markets). Yet there is still a vast amount of deception that is exercised at ground level in the daily lives of many relatively helpless victims, particularly the elderly. The police could play an important role in a process of "certification" of micro-transactions and social relationships and thus contribute in a positive manner to the establishment of a trust society. It must be stressed that the police are already called about to perform such a function at the most basic level of the protection of personal identity.

4. Concluding comments

The preceding analyses stress the point that policing has enormously grown in complexity. They do not point to one all-encompassing conclusion and I will just offer a few concluding comments.

I don't believe that the momentum of information-based policing will be lost in the short and mid-terms as it builds on powerful social undercurrents that are felt almost everywhere. I would nevertheless like to raise two questions. First, reviewing police reforms over the last thirty years should make us very cautious in our assessment of how profound and enduring the changes really are. Some police departments claimed at one time or the other to have been through all the models that are described in Appendix I. Let me remind you that there are eleven of them. One sometimes gets the impression that police departments - like other organizations - are split in their personnel between an upward-moving cadre that is stimulated by all forms of innovation and a hardened thick underbelly of rank and file personnel convinced that policing is an immutable routine requiring minimal training and no education of the mind. Second, evolving from information-fed practices that may thrive on rumours to knowledge-based interventions requires a quantum leap. The confusion between the data smog and expertise can be fatal to a policing organization.

We have also seen that we were more knowledgeable in the ways that the police could undermine trust and collective efficacy than in the ways that they could promote them. I also have two comments to make about this situation. First, although a great deal of the criticism directed at the police is rhetorical and even prejudiced, I think that we should not belittle the capacity for social mischief of some of the harder edges of policing. The galloping militarization of riot policing is for me inimical to the pursuit of a peaceful society. The recycling of riot police units into part-time softer functions to keep them busy is courting disaster. My second remark is in line with the first one. If we had not been as fascinated as we were with the so-called monopoly of the police on the use of legitimate force, we might be in a better position to develop thoughtful anti-deception strategies that would be more efficient than forceful physical action in building confidence in the police and trust among citizens.

Finally, the bigger issue that lies at the bottom of engaging the community is democratic policing. I cannot review in this concluding paragraph all the criteria that jointly define democratic policing and will limit myself to observations that have a link with the matters previously discussed.

Police visibility: The issue of police visibility is broader than deploying foot patrol to reassure citizens. Although police undercover work is necessary to fight organized crime or terrorism, there is no more efficient way to destruct the social fabric of a community than stealth policing and infiltration. The basic core of police visibility is physical: citizens can see them and they ought to for the greater part of the police organization and its staff. However, there are other ways in which the police should be open to the public, one of them being to issue public statements of policy.

Police openness: The notion of openness is problematic. We all know intuitively what it means, but we experience difficulties in explicitly formulating its meaning, precisely because we are so familiar with it.

I will tentatively propose this limited formulation: an open organization is one that is able to have contacts with outsiders, which are neither overtly nor covertly exclusively shaped by power. To illustrate the point, most contacts between the police and the public are structured by the power of the police. A police organization that can receive external input in the context of a dialogue between equals, where there is no hidden agenda, is making steps in the right direction to become an open organization.

Police limitation: The most basic characteristic of a police state is that the police become a criminal/political justice system in themselves. In addition to their traditional order maintenance and crime detection functions, undemocratic policing systems usurp the functions of the court system and they operate their own correctional facilities. Western democracies are not at risk of falling into such a totalitarian pit - *pace* Guantanamo and CIA "black sites". What must be kept at bay are incremental police appropriations of the prerogatives of their criminal justice partners, such as the meting out of "street justice" where the police are at the same time investigators, judges and punishers.

Police accountability: This requirement is the most obvious and much has been said about it. I will only add one brief note. We are misguided in taking a problem-solving approach to police accountability. Police accountability is not a problem but a predicament. Not being a problem in the technical sense of the word, accountability does not admit of one definitive answer, such as creating a unique body for processing public complaints against individual police and for overseeing security policy. Being a predicament, police accountability is constantly evolving and ways to secure it must be constantly reinvented. Government oversight agencies tend to loose their teeth over time and must be replaced.

There are no doubt other conditions that must be respected for democratic policing to be vibrant. What I said about the four criteria that I addressed should be revised, expanded or rejected. This task is now upon you.

Appendix I: Policing models

Community-oriented policing

It is defined by three core elements. (1) *Community involvement*: community policing is defined in part by efforts to develop partnerships with community members and the civic organizations that represent many of them collectively. It requires that police engage with the public as they set priorities and develop their tactics; (2) Community policing also involves a shift from reliance on reactive patrol and investigations toward a *problem-solving orientation*. In brief problem-oriented policing is an approach to developing crime reduction strategies. It highlights the importance of discovering the situations that produce calls for "police assistance", identifying the causes which lie behind them, and designing tactics to deal with these causes; (3) *decentralization* is an organizational strategy that is closely linked to the implementation of community policing.

(Wesley Skogan, in Weisburd and Braga, 2006, chapter 2)

Problem-oriented policing

Problem-oriented policing contains three principles. The *empirical* principle states that the public demands that the police handle a diverse range of problems. The *normative* principle claims that police are supposed to reduce problems rather than simply respond to incidents and apply the relevant criminal law. The *scientific* principle asserts that police should take a scientific approach to problem. Police should apply analytical approaches and interventions based on sound theory and evidence, just as decisions of doctors are supposed to be based on medical science.

(John Eck, in Weisburd and Braga, 2006, chapter 6)

The Broken Windows Approach

The core ideas of the "broken windows" approach were presented in the 1982 article published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. (1) Disorder and fear of crime are strongly linked; (2) Police negotiate rules of the street. "Street people" are involved in the negotiation of those rules; (3) Different neighbourhoods have different rules; (4) Unintended disorder leads to breakdown of community controls; (5) Areas where community controls break down are vulnerable to criminal invasion; (6) "The essence of the police role in maintaining order is to reinforce the informal control mechanisms of the community itself." ; (7) Problems arise not so much from individual disorderly persons as from the congregation of large numbers of disorderly persons; (8) Different neighbourhoods have different capacities to manage disorder.

(William H. Sousa and George L. Kelling, in Weisburd and Braga, 2006, chapter 4)

Pulling Levers Policing

Pulling levers strategies are one fruit of the problem-oriented policing movement. It emerged as part of the Boston Gun Project aimed at youth "gang" violence in Boston. Pulling levers (all legal tools and sanctions) or focused deterrence strategies deploy enforcement, services, the moral voice of communities, and deliberate communications in order to create a powerful deterrent to particular behaviour by particular offenders. It includes: (1) Selection of a particular crime problem; (2) Pulling together a *public criminal justice* interagency enforcement group (police, probation, parole, prosecutors and federal agencies); (3) Conducting research, usually relying heavily on the field experience of front-line police officers to identify key offenders (including groups) and the context of their behaviour;
(4) Framing a special enforcement operation directed at those offenders and groups of offenders; (5) Matching those enforcement operations with parallel efforts to direct services and the moral voices of affected communities to those same offenders groups; (6) Communicating directly and repeatedly with offenders and group to let them know that they are under particular scrutiny… One form of this communication is the "forum", "notification" or "call in", in which offenders are invited or directed (usually because they are on probation or parole) to attend face-to-face meetings with law enforcement officials, service providers, and community figures.

(David M. Kennedy, in Weisburd and Braga, 2006 chapter 8)

Third Party Policing

Third party policing is defined as police efforts to persuade or coerce organizations or non-offending persons, such as public housing agencies, property owners, parents, health and building inspectors, and business owners to take some responsibility for preventing crime or reducing crime problems.

(Lorraine Mazerolle and Janet Ransley, in Weisburd and Braga, 2006, chapter 10)

Hot Spots Policing

The idea of hot spots policing can be traced to recent critiques of traditional criminological theory. For most of the last century criminologists have focussed their understanding of crime on individual and communities…The emphasis placed on individual motivation in criminological theory failed to recognize the importance of other elements in the crime equation. They noted that for criminal events to occur there is need not only of a criminal, but also of a suitable target and the absence of a capable guardian…One natural outgrowth of these perspectives was that the specific places where crime occurs would become an important focus for crime prevention researchers…In the mid to late 1980s a group of criminologists began to examine the distribution of crime at microplaces…Perhaps the most influential of these studies was conducted by Larry Sherman and his colleagues. Looking at crime addresses in Minneapolis they found a concentration of crime at places that was startling. Only three percent of the addresses of Minneapolis accounted for 50 percent of the crime calls to the police…The idea of focusing police patrol on crime hot spots represented a direct application of the empirical findings regarding the concentration of crime in microplaces…In policing, most innovation has been developed using what might be termed a "clinical model." In such a model, research may play a role, but the adoption of innovation is determined by the experiences of practitioners and often has little to do with research evidence. Such models have a weak theoretical basis… Our discussion of hot spots policing suggests an alternative model for police innovation. Hot spots policing was consistent with developing theoretical insights in criminology and was supported by basic criminological research on crime and place.

(Weisburd and Braga, in Weisburd and Braga, 2006, chapter 12)

Evidence-based policing for crime prevention

In characterizing the evidence-based model and policing it is important to first define what is meant by the term "evidence". Throughout this chapter evidence is taken to mean scientific, not criminal evidence…At the heart of the evidence-based model is the notion that "we are all entitled to our own opinions, but not to our own facts "(Larry Sherman)… In an evidence-based model, the source of scientific evidence is empirical research on the form of evaluations of programs, practices and policies. But not all evaluations are made equal. Some are more scientifically valid than others. The randomized controlled experiment is the most convincing method of evaluation crime prevention programs…

Evidence-based policing is a part of a larger and increasingly expanding evidence-based movement. In general terms, this movement is dedicated to the betterment of society through the utilization of the highest quality evidence on what works best. The evidence-based movement first began in medicine and has, more recently, been embraced by the social sciences.

(Brandon G Welsh, in Weisburd and Braga, 2006, chapter 16)

Compstat

Compstat is most frequently understood by its most visible elements today. These include: up-to-date computerized crime data, crime analysis, and advanced crime mapping as the basis for regularized, interactive crime strategy meetings which hold managers accountable for specific crime strategies and solutions in their areas. Compstat, however, is a far more complex product of changes in management and organizational arrangements, including flattening, decentralization, greater personnel authority, discretion and autonomy, geographic managerial accountability, and enhanced problem-solving. Based on the New York experience, it is my view that Compstat cannot be a fully viable entity if the above administrative, managerial, and operational activities do not precede it.

(Eli B. Silverman, in Weisburd and Braga, 2006, chapter 14)

Reassurance Policing

Reassurance policing is a model of neighbourhood policing which seeks to improve public confidence in policing. It involves local communities in identifying priority crime and disorder issues in their neighbourhood which they then tackle together with the police and other services and partners.

(Richard Tuffin, 2006: 1)

Reassurance policing (RP) seeks to address the gap between broadly improving indicators of risk of criminal victimisation and declining indicators of public confidence…Through its orientation to “signal crimes”, events that disproportionately influence the public’s sense of security, RP is almost intrinsically “about measurement”. A core practice involves police officers and auxiliaries working with the public at beat level to identify physical and social “signals” (positive and negative) and marrying diagnosed reassurance inhibitors with action to address the problem (e.g. having abandoned vehicles removed from neighbourhoods).

(Nigel Fielding and Martin Innes, 2006: 130)

***Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy* (CAPS)**

Community policing is not a set of specific projects; rather it involves changing decision-making processes and creating new cultures within police departments. It is an organizational strategy that leaves setting priorities and the means of achieving them largely to residents and the police who serve in their neighbourhoods. Community policing is a process rather than a product. Across the nation it has proved to have three core strategic components: decentralization, citizen involvement, and problem solving. In practice these three dimensions are densely interrelated. Departments that short-change even one of them will not field a very effective program.

(Wesley Skogan, 2006b: 5-6)

Intelligence-led Policing

The (National Intelligence) Model (NIM) provides the picture that drives effective strategy, not just about crime and criminals, but for all enforcement needs from organized crime to road safety. It is capable of use in relation to new or emerging problems within a force or operational command unit; to provide the strategic and operational focus to force, organisation or local command unit business planning…This work is the outcome of a desire to professionalize the intelligence discipline within law enforcement…It is also recognition of the changing requirements of law enforcement managers which highlights three particular needs: to plan and work in co-operation with partners to secure community safety; to manage performance and risk; to account for budgets.

(National Crime Intelligence Service (2000), The National Intelligence Model (available on NIM Web site)

NIM is an information-based deployment system and a cornerstone for the management of law enforcement operations in England and Wales. Historically most policing has been driven by the need to respond to calls from the public. This is necessary police business but crime and incident patterns are not identified.

NIM identifies patterns of crime and enables a more fundamental approach to problem solving in which resources can be tasked efficiently against an accurate understanding of crime and incidents problems. NIM promotes a cooperative approach to policing and many of the solutions to problems will require the participation of other agencies and bodies. It is further strengthened when used in conjunction with other partner agencies, eg, joint tasking and co-ordination processes, and when it incorporates community information into the strategic assessment. (*Guidance on The National Intelligence Model,* 2005. Produced on behalf of the Association of Chiefs of Police Officers by the National Centre for Policing Excellence, CENTREX)

A note on sources: the majority of the definitions consist of selected quotes excepted from Weisburd and Braga (2006). This is a very useful book as it brings together 17 key proponents of innovation in policing, asking them to define and argue for the model that they advocate. Each advocate is paired with a critic.

The sources for the other definitions, which include researchers in government agencies, were chosen because of their close relation to the development of a particular model.

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BIOGRAPHIES, ABSTRACTS and PRESENTATIONS

Rapporteur

Paula Miraglia
Executive Director, ILANUD Brazil

Ms. Paula Miraglia is the Executive Director, ILANUD Brazil (United Nations Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders). She holds a Master Degree in Social Anthropology at the Anthropology Department of University of São Paulo (USP), Brazil, and is a Doctorate candidate at the same department. Her current research regards homicides, poverty and youngsters in one of the poorest and most violent areas of São Paulo. Her academic and professional activities for the past ten years have concerned themes related to urban violence, crime prevention and security matters, investigating several different arenas of violence production involving youth, social vulnerability and crime. During her master degree, she conducted fieldwork at FEBEM (Foundation for minors' well-being), the biggest juvenile reformatory in Brazil, and simultaneously, carried out a research within the Juvenile Justice System. She has worked on the conception and implementation of the II Municipal Security Plan for the city of Diadema in Brazil. She is also a member of the Commission on Justice and Public Security from the Brazilian Institute of Criminal Science (IBCCRIM).

Speaker

Dr. Peter St. Jean
Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Buffalo

Dr. Peter St. Jean is a Dominica-born Criminologist and Sociologist and is currently an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Buffalo. He is a member of the Dominica Academy of Arts and Sciences (DAAS), the Stop the Violence Coalition in Buffalo, the Buffalo Local Action Committee, and P.E.A.C.E. His book Pockets of Crime: Broken Windows, Collective Efficacy and the Criminal Point of View (University of Chicago Press June 2007) follows from four an a half years of ethnographic research in Wentworth, one of the most violent police districts in Chicago, Illinois. Dr. St. Jean completed his undergraduate studies at Essex County College, NJ; St. John's University, NY; and Sophia University, Tokyo. His MA in Criminology was completed in 1997 at Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, and his Ph.D. was earned in 2002 at the University of Chicago, Department of Sociology.

Speaker

Erik Nadheim
Director, National Norwegian Crime Prevention Council (KRÅD)

Erik Nadheim is the Director of the National Norwegian Crime Prevention Council (KRÅD). He is a criminal law specialist with legal training who has worked as a partner in diverse law firms. Mr. Nadheim also has considerable political experience, having been consecutively designated as Personal Advisor to two Ministers of Justice and to the Norwegian Labour Party Parliamentary Group. Erick has also acquired expertise in the social arena as advisor to the Ministry of Welfare, and to the Directorate of Social Insurance.

Building effective partnerships for safe communities

The Norwegian National Crime Prevention Council (KRÅD) functions as the Norwegian Government's body of expertise within the judicial system. It is a Government agency working under the Ministry of Justice. The council is free and independent in selecting matters to focus on and what kind of advice it chooses to give. It cannot be instructed as long as it works within the limits of its mandate.

The Norwegian crime policy's main aim is to prevent crime. By producing data and disseminating knowledge on crime and crime prevention work, the Norwegian National Crime Prevention Council works to reduce crime and improve levels of safety in society.

One of KRÅD's main tasks is to encourage local municipalities to follow a model for coordination of local crime preventive enterprises (or SLT which is the abbreviation in Norwegian). This model was used in Norway in the beginning of the 1990's, after it had been proven successful in Denmark.

At present, approximately 170 of 430 Norwegian municipalities are using this model. The key factor is to coordinate all municipal action in this field. High level local authorities and the local police chief make a promise to be involved by participating in an administrative board. One person will be engaged as a coordinator. KRÅD receives funding from the Ministry of Justice to distribute amongst municipalities who choose to adopt this approach.

Speakers

Per Svartz, Commissioner
Kjell Elefalk, Development Director
Police Authority of Scania, Malmö, Sweden

Police Operational Safety Outlook in the County of Scania, Sweden, September 2007

New paradigm in policing – using the citizens for strategic information on street level and for management decisions. The lessons learnt from external focus and the citizens perspective in The Police Authority of Scania, Sweden during the period 2000 - 2007

The County of Scania has a population totaling some 1.2 million and is located in the extreme south of Sweden, close to Denmark and continental Europe. Its three major cities are Malmö (population: 280,000), Helsingborg (approx. 124,000) and Lund (approx. 105,000). There are also 30 other towns and municipalities of importance as an administrative and political geographical area.

The Scania Police Authority is divided into five Police areas with 14 community Police areas. The Authority also has a criminal investigation unit and a number of other county-wide entities. The Scanian Police Authority has about 3,300 employees and a budget of just over SEK 1 bn, currently equal to some EUR 125 m.

Measuring safety with the aid of public surveys is a very important part of the Police's operational analysis methodologies. The process is conducted through biannual questionnaires across all Scania's 33 municipalities, divided into 62 different geographical segments. Other public surveys used to measuring the citizens perspective monthly or annually are "The Emergency Call-out Process in Scania—Public Satisfaction" and "When the Public Report a Crime, How Satisfied Are They with Police Work in Scania —Assessed Using the SQI Method".

The Swedish police have been working since 1996 to develop new methods and reforms for the direction and management of police work and for improving the quality of their service. This work has entailed the use of a wide variety of different tools and methods, for example, the Balanced Scorecard, the Swedish Quality Award, citizen surveys, various techniques for entering into dialogues with citizens, staff commitment measurements, management/direction through dialogues, methods for developing learning organizations and for the setting up of operational goals in organisations with complex activities, the Swedish Quality Index, e-learning, benchmarking, CAF (Common Assessment Framework) and the Council Method for increased staff participation. All of this has given us a great deal of experience and has helped us to develop our police service in a very interesting manner. Especially the Police Authority of Scania has been one of the most active participants of the trials.

Speaker

Erich Marks
Executive Director, German Congress on Crime Prevention

Erich Marks held fulltime offices in various institutions such as Help for Young People "Brücke Köln" (1980 – 1983), Federal Association for Social Work, Penal Law and Crime Policy – DBH (1983 – 2001) and the Foundation German Crime Prevention – DFK (2001 – 2002). Since 2001 he has been working as Executive Director of the Council for Crime Prevention in the Lower Saxony Ministry of Justice. Furthermore, Erich Marks has filled a number of Voluntary Offices. Among others Executive Director of the German Prevention Conference (DPT) and the German Foundation for the Prevention of Crime (DVS), member of the Board of Directors of the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC), member of the Executive Committee of the European Forum for Urban Safty (EFUS) and chairman of the Foundation pro Kind. Erich Marks is the author of many publications pertaining to his specialist field of activities.

The role of the police of Germany in crime prevention

In the Federal Republic of Germany, responsibility for the police and their tasks and crime prevention programmes lies primarily with the 16 Federal States (Länder). At national level, the 'Police Criminal Prevention by State and Federal Government' programme (ProPK), the Federal Police Force, and the Federal Criminal Police Office are the principle crime prevention agencies.

The range of tasks and self-conceptions of the various police services in the area of crime prevention have changed and expanded fundamentally over the last two decades. The police continue to play a very important role in crime prevention, which is predominantly oriented in Germany as part of the fabric of society.

The lecture will give an overview of police and social crime prevention in the Federal Republic of Germany, presenting central structures and the main tasks along with some examples of practical projects.

Rapporteur

Laura Capobianco, Senior Analyst and Project Manager, ICPC

Laura Capobianco joined ICPC in February 2001. She has an Honours BA in Criminology (University of Toronto), an MA in Sociology (Concordia University) and is a PhD candidate in Communications (McGill University). She has experience as an analyst, and an instructor and lecturer in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Concordia University in Montreal, and at Carleton University in Ottawa. Her research interests include: media representations of crime, the use of information communication technologies (ICT's) in crime prevention, Indigenous peoples and governance, and contemporary issues in policing. Laura also has over 12 years of experience working in the private sector (Financial Services Industry).

Since joining the ICPC, she has contributed to the preparation of a municipal crime prevention toolkit, undertaken research on prevention programmes and protocols on women's safety, Indigenous peoples, and private sector partnerships internationally, the use of communication strategies and technologies in crime prevention, management of safer public spaces, and policing partnerships. Most recently, she has begun to develop a specialized network of prevention specialists in the Caribbean region, and conceptualized a series of preliminary projects of exchange. Laura continues to coordinate the *Virtual Network on Crime Prevention and Indigenous Peoples*, launched in 2004, and the *International Bulletin on Community Safety and Indigenous Peoples*, launched in 2006.

Animator

Dr Paul Larsson, Professor, National Police University College in Oslo

Paul Larsson is Professor at the National Police University College in Oslo. He has a doctoral degree in Criminology from the University of Oslo (1998). His doctoral thesis “I lovens grenseland” was published in Norwegian by Pax in 2002. Larsson worked as a researcher at the Institute of Criminology at the University of Oslo from 1986 to 2001. His main research topics were community service and penal theory, white-collar crime focusing on tax fraud and crime (doctoral work) financial crime, and the regulation of crime in the financial world (postdoctoral work). From January 2001 to December 2003, Paul was Assistant Director and Head of the Analysis and Crime Prevention Section at the Norwegian National Police Directorate (POD). He was Head of Research at the Police University College in Oslo from 2004 until March 2005. His ongoing research covered problem oriented policing (POP), the regulation of money laundering and trafficking in cannabis. Larsson has published more than 60 works including books, reports and articles in international and national journals. He has also acted as a speaker both nationally, and internationally, on various topics such as organized and economic crime, criminological theory, crime prevention and police science.

Speaker

Barbara Holtmann
Leader, Crime Prevention Research Group, and the Contracts Research and Development Manager for Safety and Security, CSIR

Barbara Holtmann is the leader of the Crime Prevention Research Group, and the Contracts Research and Development Manager for Safety and Security at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). She has experience in Crime Prevention in the private sector, having spent 3 years at Business Against Crime as a Project Director and in government, as Chief Director Communications at the Department of Safety and Security. Barbara is a member of the Board of the ICPC.

Presentation

The role of police in making communities safe
Feedback from the SAPS, ICPC, CSIR Seminar in Cape Town May 2007.

In anticipation of the ICPC Colloquium on the role of Police in Crime Prevention, in Oslo November 2007, the International Centre for Prevention of Crime (ICPC), the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) hosted a Seminar in Cape Town in May 2007. Police Services across Africa were invited to participate in the Seminar, which aimed to interrogate the role of police in crime prevention through case studies in specific aspects of crime and violence. The focus areas chosen for engagement were: Gangs, Guns and Drugs, Substance Abuse, Gender based Violence and Vulnerable children.

These subjects were chosen as they represent real and urgent problems in most African environments. They are also complex problems demanding of complex solutions; while they are undoubtedly problems for the police, they are also problems that have implications for other sectors and other sectors have responsibilities and mandates that are significant for their resolution.

The format of the Seminar was carefully designed to ensure active participation in a problem solving approach to the chosen subjects. In each case, an expert from civil society was engaged to lead a group through a site visit, a briefing and the development of a strategy to address the problem. The SAPS in the Western Cape identified station precincts appropriate for the study of each problem and the local station commander hosted the group and facilitated presentation of current strategies and interventions in the precinct.
Each group was tasked with understanding the problem, projecting “what it looks like when its fixed” and preparing recommendations for addressing the problem.

A brief plenary session set the scene for the real work of the Seminar. Participants were encouraged to focus very narrowly on the role, action and practical intervention of the police in solving the problem, rather than listing the roles of other role players.

This caused some concern among participants, who said that they could not solve these problems without partnership with others. This reflects an interesting shift over the last decade, from

police approaches that resisted partnership and were territorial about crime prevention to a general and widely accepted acknowledgment of the inability of police to resolve problems on their own. The challenge was to ensure that in the partnership approach, police actions and responsibilities were not lost of forgotten.

The participants were offered an intense and information rich exposure to the way in which the identified problems occur in the geographical locations they visited. The bus journeys provided opportunity for discussion and debate and generated sharing of both problems and strategies from different environments. The designated experts in each group provided background and led discussion based on relevant theory and known practices. After the visits, each group spent time together articulating their responses. They defined the problem statement, contemplated a vision of success and proposed a strategy for the police to intervene to contribute to attaining such success.

Gangs, Guns and Drugs

The first group went to an area of what is known as the Cape Flats, an impoverished area outside the city of Cape Town, where there are sprawling communities, both formal and informal, many of them populated through a seemingly endless stream of migrants who come to Cape Town in search of jobs and services. There is poor infrastructure and crime and violence are endemic.

The target locations for this group were Manenberg (170 000 people) and Nyanga (980 000 people), two very different communties. Manenberg has a sense of community & stability, which is not present in Nyanga, where people are in transit and there is little or no social cohesion, no community structures, and no sense of ownership or permanence.

In Manenberg there exists a close relationship between police & organised civil society. Both have organised sectors along the same lines. The organisation Proudly Manenberg and the police involve each other in their strategies and activities; community do much of the safety work in Manenberg that the police have to try to do in Nyanga in the face of massive opposition.

Whereas local police are accepted and have good relationships in Manenberg, policing in Nyanga needs specialised units such as Public Order Policing (POP) and involves a tougher approach, with some recognition that people are in very difficult circumstances and that a “zero tolerance” approach will not achieve peace and stability. Police must be flexible but have to make choices at a very local level and on their own; they have to live with the consequences of policing interventions in an immediate “in your face” way.

In Nyanga the police are constrained by an inability to build long term strategies or relation

ships necessary for sustainable Community Policing approaches. Community members articulate what they want from the police but these are generally demands for short term interventions that respond to urgent needs because of the nature of the environment.

Gangs are an entrenched feature in Manenberg, whereas in Nyanga they have less of a hold because of the transitory nature of the community.

The debates in this group were stimulated by the issues of gangs, guns and drugs but moved invariably to discussion about building community and social cohesion. This was seen as significant in terms of the role players required to address the problem – and as a prerequisite to the police being able to achieve their goals and objectives for good basic police work that would contribute to sustainably safe communities.

Substance Abuse

The second group focused on substance abuse, with a primary focus on alcohol abuse. The visit was to a town called Hout Bay, made up of an informal settlement, an old formal fisherman settlement and very upmarket suburbs. Hout Bay is primarily a tourist destination and fishing village nestled in a valley between Table Mountain and Chapman's Peak. There are very big socio-economic discrepancies between sectors in the community. Many of the most poor are migrant; prior to 1994 there were no informal settlements in this area. Everyone in Hout Bay uses the same shops and facilities. There are also shebeens and taverns serving specific parts of the community and a so-called Spaza shop, a small unlicensed informal grocery store that also sells beer. Even early the afternoon there are people in taverns and many more hanging around; children outside the taverns doing nothing and without supervision. A shebeen owner claims they target drunk clients and pick pocket them.

Shebeens are themselves unsafe structures and lack facilities but are seen as a place that provides at least some leisure activity. Taverns that are located in less poor places are also well populated during the day. The village of the fishermen is also very active and there are many people drinking. There are obvious signs of alcohol abuse in many people, both physically and in terms of their behaviour.

Police are central, visible and everyone knows them and they are generally well accepted, even by the legal Shebeen owners. Community members are very involved. There is a very active neighborhood watch (with regular reports to the police), Community Police Forums and there are many police reservists. Police have formal partnership and work with private security and community patrol. There is also a local voluntary organisation made up of former police or military. They respond to search and rescue and emergencies as well as protecting visitors, etc. In terms of a locally formulated agreement, police patrol and do proactive policing in poor areas, whereas the private role players cover the remaining areas.

Despite all these interventions and partnerships, the area suffers a lack of other role players in addressing social problems and this makes policing harder and police successes less likely to sustain.

Gender

Gender violence is one of the most prolific and intractable crime problems in Africa yet it does not hold a prime position on the policing agenda. This lack of priority was reflected at this Seminar by a very low level of police participation in the group focusing on gender based violence. Police members had to be sought out to attend, whereas other groups were over-subscribed.

In South Africa statistics show that girls between 12 and 17 are most vulnerable to rape, with an overall 52 000 recorded rapes over the past year. The figure has hovered between 50 000 and 55 000 for a number of years. Approximately 40% of recorded rape victims are under the age of 18. In 70% of reported cases according recent research force was used in rape, 50 to 60% of victims sustained physical injury. It is difficult to find statistics about rape in other African countries.

Successful prosecution of rape cases is highly dependent on a quality response from not only police but rest of the Criminal Justice System (CJS). Success in rape cases is also made more difficult by drug usage and alcohol abuse amongst victims. Such use makes girls and women very vulnerable to rape; it is estimated that well over 50% of victims are high on drugs or drunk at time of rape.

Early debate in this group was focused on trying to define the role of the police either in terms of the deterrent value of arrest and prosecution or in terms of preventing rape through the use of information to highlight places and times of vulnerability.

The group agreed that there is a need to use local indicators for rape and prevention, as crime statistics are not accurate. Despite this acknowledged inaccuracy, police performance is inevitably measured by reduction of recorded crime statistics.

There was discussion about whether police who respond to crimes against women should be women however it was agreed that male police should be expected to do a quality job and that deferring the job to women is not appropriate and will not solve the problem of poor service delivery to victims.

The group visited Kuilsriver station and precinct. The station team demonstrated the way in which a return to good basic policing and attention to detail, discipline and methodical follow through results in positive impact. This includes strategic and targeted visible policing, proactive drug and alcohol policing, victim support services, referral networks for instance to shelters, regular follow up of suspects, quick response.

Vulnerable Children

The group explored the necessity for partnership in addressing the vulnerability of children. Community Safety was defined as a partnership of the state service providers with community members; the debate focused on partnership with adults and not with children or youth.

There was emphasis on joint identification of problems and strategies or solutions. The big question: who is accountable and responsible for implementation? Key role players were identified as police, social services and education and civil society. The group grappled with the identification of the role and practical activities of the police in reducing the vulnerability of children.

The group visited Cape Town train station; here a formal partnership between police and private security exists, but lacks clarity about who does what. About 120 children over 14 years old and 30 under 14 years live on the streets in the City Centre, of whom many sleep at the station. There are also "day walkers" who go home at night. There is a Shebeen at the back of the station, alongside the long term taxi rank. There is an active sexual exchange here and users infect young girls with HIV and make them pregnant. Young girls are taken from the street, given the highly addictive "tik" and used in pornographic films. These children engage in petty crime.

The children know & respect their social worker; there is however s a desperate need for male social workers. The children present with high levels of foetal alcohol syndrome (FAS). An NGO, Homestead Shelter, works to reunite the children with their families.

The group supported the concern of the police, who bewail the slow progress of the Child Justice Bill. They believe it will clarify and make mandatory, roles and responsibilities.

There is a trauma centre at the police station and this exceptionally includes volunteers who are police members. The group agreed that street children start out as victims and then become offenders on the street. Police try and see the big picture with the children, while addressing the crimes they commit. "These children come from 3rd world communties into a 1st world city and they commit crimes because they need to survive". (Homestead)

Contextual Lessons

Perhaps the most interesting observation of the Seminar was that there was such a high level of discomfort that resulted from the demand that the police could define only roles that they could themselves fulfill. It was of course very difficult to separate out and articulate the role of the police without constant reference to the role of other key stakeholders. Over the past years, the move has been to persuade the police more and more that they cannot work alone, that they must work in wide and integrated partnership with an inclusive range of stakeholders and service providers. The result is often a fuzziness about the exact function of the police themselves. It cannot be enough for the police to "facilitate partnerships" or work together with others. They must have actions and interventions that align with their core business and these should not be lost in the broader objective of partnership.

The Seminar was deliberately structured to separate issues and themes that are of course inter-related. Once again the intention was to explore in a pedantic way the actions specific to one problem or another, in an attempt to ensure that each received the focused attention that it required, regardless of overlapping issues. The longer term challenge is to take these separate responses and strategies and examine them in terms of their implication for one another.

The Seminar generated an excellent level of participation from a range of African countries (and some from beyond Africa) with different contexts, approaches and policing histories - this richness is reflected in the observations that emerged; yet became clear that what was shared was an understanding of basic good policing methods and practices and the way in which these things are a prerequisite for and central to crime prevention, regardless of the context.

The Seminar acknowledged the cruel reality of the environment and conditions in which the police in Africa are required to perform their duties, and that these are not about to go away. The role of the police in crime prevention in such an environment requires bravery, exceptional resilience and endless energy. The ability to pick up and start again in the face of massive obstacles and unreasonably high crime rates is perhaps as important as any actual policing action or intervention.

Recommendations:

1. Never under-estimate the importance of community; the quality of policing is directly impacted by the quality of community engagement. Effort spent in developing and formalizing partnership with community should be seen as an investment in better policing; without it the task of crime prevention becomes more and more impossible.

2. It is good to have a big vision of success but we need to focus on what is achievable within the context of structural constraints and social conditions. It is no good setting yourself up for failure; small successes should be celebrated and seen as achievements in themselves. It is not always necessary to measure against the long term goal and be daunted by the length of the journey yet to be traveled.

3. Specialist training is essential for the police to understand laws, policies, and to ensure consistent enforcement and application of the law. This should extend to provide a good understanding about issues such as alcohol and drugs, child development, gangs and other specialist areas.

4. Good management at Station level makes a world of difference; it is valuable to aim for back to basics policing with attention to detail, statement taking, swot analysis, practical strategies, research, and integrity of data; a multi-disciplinary approach, communication & feedback – a basic “policing toolkit”.

5. We need to broaden our indicators of police performance to include such variables as improved cooperation with other service providers, improved relationships with community, increased arrests for specific crime types (such as crimes related to alcohol and drugs), successful prosecutions, improved data.

6. Local, national and regional cooperation and shared learning have a major role to play – we can “start in our back yard” but partnership amongst African police services should include training, good practices, partnerships. It is suggested that these should be made tangible through joint publication of successful interventions.

7. Local authorities and communities should be included in training initiatives.

8. Honest discussion and exploration of common problems generates new ideas and approaches – and provides a sense of shared burden. Crime prevention is difficult and often lonely for the police and connections made have an intrinsic value that should not be underestimated.

9. The journey ahead may be long, but we have at least embarked upon it.

The role of the police in crime prevention, in making communities safe in Africa can be seen in terms of the enormity of the task, in which case it may seem overwhelming. It may also be seen in terms of the enormous energy with which it is approached in police services and forces throughout Africa, in which case it becomes possible to anticipate a time when our communities may indeed be sustainably safe.

Speaker

Dr Christelle Chichignoud,
Inter-ministerial Delegation to the City, France

Christelle Chichignoud completed her studies in geography and holds a Doctorate in Geopolitics, the dissertation for which was “Safe Territories and Unsafe Territories in France seen from the perspective of French law enforcement forces". Her research is based on the relationships and the means invested in the various hierarchies of the French police forces in terms of their territory and jurisdiction. She has focused particular interest to units dedicated to prevention and to their perception within their respective institutions. She has been conducting research for several years in the French Institute for Geopolitics. She also lectures at the University, where she contributes to the teaching and training of security professionals. She is currently providing expertise to the Inter-ministerial Delegation to the City regarding questions related to prevention and citizenship.

Abstract

As a police officer or constable in France, “working on prevention” is not a simple task, it is considered with reluctance and is controversial, even within the institutions undertaking these very efforts. However, some police and gendarmerie units have put forward initiatives to prevent juvenile delinquency or other high-risk behaviors. Other front-line units have also established prevention initiatives, whether they are targeted towards one type of delinquency or a specific group, even if these units do not believe that these initiatives are systematically a form of intervention. Furthermore, several partnerships now include the National police and the Gendarmerie in their preventive actions. How can we thus explain the mistrust and disregard of some police officers or constables towards the units working on prevention or even towards any type of prevention involving police officers or constables? This presentation on professional practices, prevention initiatives undertook by police or gendarmerie units and developed through partnerships will help us understand this cultural and institutional resistance.

Rapporteur

Dr. Clive Harfield
Reader and Deputy Director, John Grieve Centre for Policing and Community Safety, London Metropolitan University

Dr Clive Harfield is a UK police officer currently three years into a five-year career break in academia where he holds the position of Reader and Deputy Director of the John Grieve Centre for Policing and Community Safety at London Metropolitan University. His 18-year police career includes service with three English local forces, the National Crime Squad and the National Hi-Tech Crime Unit. He has represented UK law enforcement at G8 on hi-tech crime issues (2002-2003) and is now a member of the Foreign & Commonwealth Office International Policing Assessment & Planning Group. An active researcher, he has held a Fulbright Fellowship at Georgetown University, Washington DC, (2001) and Joint Visiting Fellowships at the College of Law and the National Europe Centre, the Australian National University, Canberra (2007). His publications include COVERT INVESTIGATION (co-authored with Karen Harfield, Oxford University Press, 2005), and POLICING (co-authored with John Grieve and Allyson MacVean, Sage Publications 2007). His forthcoming work includes INTELLIGENCE: INVESTIGATION, COMMUNITY, PARTNERSHIP (co-authored with Karen Harfield, Oxford University Press 2008) and the HANDBOOK OF INTELLIGENT POLICING: CONSILIENCE, CRIME CONTROL & COMMUNITY SAFETY (co-edited with John Grieve, Allyson MacVean and Sir David Phillips, Oxford University Press 2008). He has published a number of papers in a variety of academic journals and is a regular columnist for the weekly newspaper POLICE REVIEW.

Animator

Paal Christian Balchen
Assistant Chief of Police, Section for Analysis and Crime Prevention, Norwegian Police Directorate

Paal Christian Balchen works as Assistant Chief of Police in the Section for Analysis and Crime Prevention at the Norwegian Police Directorate. His main areas of responsibility are, implementation and development of knowledge based policing within the Norwegian police service, and leader training through the programme called Knowledge based leadership. This programme aims at top leader groups. Mr. Balchen also works on the development of police methods to prevent crime among juveniles, and on police partnership approaches with other agencies.

Mr Balchen has worked in several positions and several locations within the police service. Formerly, he worked as Chief Inspector and leader of a crime analysis unit in Oslo Sentrum police station. From 1999 – 2001, Mr. Balchen was appointed as an adviser and coordinator for multi agency cooperation in Bærum municipality. He has also worked 4 years as a teacher

at the Norwegian Police Academy. During that time he wrote a book about policing and crime prevention. Mr. Balchen also has experience as a patrol officer and investigator. He was trained by the Norwegian Police Academy.

The extent and complexity of the total crime situation presents the police with challenges of a different character than previously. The demand for police activity and each individual's competence increases in tune with societal developments and the expectations that are placed on the police. The police should have both competence and skill set to prevent and reduce so called "everyday crime" and at the same time, expose and fight serious and organised crime. The police should work to maintain the safety of the community and respond to the need for the public's help and service.

Prevention and crime fighting is not a task the police can carry out alone. Cooperation between various sectors and departments must therefore be further developed. To be able to make better use of police resources, and ensure the community's joint resources are utilised in a beneficial way, it is necessary to define roles and responsibility.

To be able to further develop more effective strategies and methods demands expert knowledge of the challenges facing the police. Clear routines and procedures for procuring, analysing and passing on information and knowledge are very important in this regard.

Speaker

Frédéric Ocqueteau
Director of Research at CNRS

Frédéric Ocqueteau, Sociologist, is Director of Research at CNRS (CERSA Centre d'Études et de Recherches de Science Administrative), France. He was Director of Research at the Institut des Hautes Études sur la Sécurité Intérieure (Ministry of Interior) from 1998 – 2001. In this position, he conducted research on the implementation of community policing reform at the national level in France (1998-2002), including a survey on the attitudes of Police Commissioners in this process. Frédéric Ocqueteau was also nominated as an expert for the Advisry Council on the National Observatory on Crime created in november 2003.

Difficulties related to the involvement of French Police in crime prevention

At the current time in France, the involvement and the crime prevention practices of the public police do not correspond to the official discourse. It is not that involvement is totally absent, but rather that such involvement is weakened by a number of factors which tend to minimise prevention practices.

Even in the past, the impacts of such strategies were considered to be less than effective (the1990's, were undoubtedly the years that had the best reputation). Through the first years of 2000, the reputation has declined further. Why?

1°) Summary Report on Institutions in 2007: We must point out the fact that there are many prevention officers working within police departments or in conjunction with them and when we can examine their work, we must conclude that such work provides potentially good value.
2°) Assessment of the contribution of general prevention officers to the reduction of crime and disorder in public and semi-public spaces: We must also mention two major phenomena that emerged in the first decade of 2000: The first is the trend to marginalize/ devalue the role of prevention officers within "national police" institutions and to minimize the value of their actions in functions such as providing assistance to "victims" because of the pressure within departments for interventions focusing on repression of "perpetrators".
3°) Overall explanation: a range of dissimilar but convergent factors: The general ideological context which gives greater value to increasingly rigid programs of law and order; the increased pressure of management standards within police departments resulting in attaching more importance to repressive performance indicators and better compensation for police training based on competition among the members. There is pressure from police unions which are hostile to any type of reform based on better community and citizen rapprochement or decentralisation of public safety. The inability of administrative elites to learn how to evaluate the impact of prevention experience gained through partnerships that help reduce "difficult urban situations". The police have never developed a *problem solving* strategy or tried to implement such strategies despite the good reputation such strategies have.

Conclusion: However, there is still a minority among the elite forces of the national French police which is well known for its involvement in community prevention operations (local safety and crime prevention councils, CLSPD), and members of this minority are favourable to a greater openness to civil society and social work. However, for the time being, the representatives of this minority remain silent and powerless.

Speaker

John Graham
Director, Police Foundation, London

John Graham is Director of the Police Foundation, London. John's previous posts include Associate Director of the Audit Commission and Deputy Director of Strategic Policy in the Home Office. He spent two years at the Social Exclusion Unit in the Cabinet Office and has been a Scientific Adviser to the Council of Europe since 1996. He serves on a number of Boards as a Non-Executive Director, including the Camelot Foundation and the Canadian Research Institute on Law and the Family.

Abstract: Contemporary developments in knowledge-based policing

My presentation will focus on recent developments in neighbourhood and reassurance policing in England and Wales – often referred to as "new localism" – within the context of recent policy developments in community safety, community engagement and local governance. It will summarise the findings of recent evaluative research on the National Reassurance Policing Programme and (if available) the Neighbourhood Policing Programme and place these in the context of the emerging findings from the Independent Review of Policing.

Speaker

Mariano Ciafardini
Head of the National Directorate of Criminal Policy, Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, Argentina

Police reform and community crime prevention in Argentina

Due to the constant inner tensions that come from dealing every day with a complex and conflictive reality, police agencies have developed a rigid operational frame that makes reform difficult. In Latin American countries, the crisis of police organizations is endemic and structural. A significant part of Latin America's criminal activity takes place with active police co-operation. Fortunately, there have also been attempts to bring about new practices that will redefine the deteriorating relationship between the police and civil society. A recent issue receiving more attention in Argentina is the role of the police within crime prevention strategies, most notably, the articulation of policing and community participation in a crime prevention strategy that includes social elements.

In Argentina's largest cities, community crime prevention is gaining momentum after more than a decade of discussions and more or less thwarted attempts at implementation. Another issue that is currently being discussed between the public and government representatives concerning situational crime prevention is precisely the role of police presence and particularly the shortcomings of the police as a deterrent of crime through street presence, patrolling, and police walks in residential neighborhoods. There is a growing interest among the public in getting to know how local police agencies manage their funds and resources and design their surveillance strategies.

A cultural change is needed in our police, especially in local police agencies, so they can accept and incorporate the new paradigm of community participation in crime prevention. International cooperation and training can play an important role in achieving this end.

Rapporteur

Mr. Yves Van De Vloet
Director of the police of Bruxelles-Capitale-Ixelles

Yves Van De Vloet is Director of the police of Bruxelles-Capitale-Ixelles. He is responsible for the Departments of Prevention, Victim Assistance, and Strategic Analysis. He is also Project Manager for the European Forum for Urban Safety, an NGO he has collaborated with for more than fifteen years, in relation to the exchange of practices on regarding drug consumption, and on safety diagnosis. He collaborates with the School of Criminology, University of Liege and he teaches as well in the regional schools for police officers in Brussels and in the region of Hainaut, Belgium.

Speaker

President Egil Olli
Sami Parliament, Norway

Presentation: Safety in Indigenous Areas

On behalf of the Sami Parliament, I would first of all like to thank you for inviting me to this conference. The Sami Parliament is a representative assembly elected by the people. We are there to strengthen the Sami people's political position and to assist in making sure the Sami people in Norway are treated fairly. I am pleased to see that we shall have a follow-up of last year's topic, which was indigenous peoples and crime prevention, in that this year will focus on safety in indigenous areas.

It cannot be taken for granted that everyone who is present here today knows a lot about the Sami people, so I would like to tell you a little more about who we are. The Sami are a true indigenous people. The Sami are one people, but they live in four states: Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The traditional Sami settlement area stretches from the Kola peninsula in the northeast to Engerdal in Southern Norway, and to Idre in Southern Sweden. In our own language we call this area Sápmi.

There are three official Sami languages in Norway: Southern Sami, Lule Sami and Northern Sami. There are also big differences among the Sami, in that some have Sami as their first language, some have Norwegian as their first language and some are bilingual.

What language a Sami person chooses to speak will often depend on who he is talking to. What language a person feels most comfortable with, will often depend on the situation. Because the Sami were exposed to a massive norwegianisation until not that many years ago, it cannot be taken for granted that today's Sami all have a good command of their own Sami language or are fully acquainted with their own Sami culture.

The Sami population, and particularly those who have Sami as their mother tongue, that is their first language, have a great need for police services in their own language in order to have proper legal protection.

A police service which is well acquainted with Sami culture, Sami customs and the Sami sense of justice will therefore be of crucial importance for a good police service for the Sami population. For this reason the authorities have a particular responsibility to facilitate a police education that can give future police officers a thorough functional competence in Sami language, culture and social understanding. More should also be done to make Sami young people train as police officers.

Having said that, let me underline that the ability of the police to create secure conditions in the Sami areas of Norway is extremely important for the Sami people's legal protection. In many ways the Sami will have exactly the same needs for security as the rest of the Norwegian population. In addition, though, issues may arise that are related to the Sami language, culture and history which police officers serving in a Sami area must know about.

If they are interviewed by the police in Norwegian, Sami people whose mother tongue/first language is Sami will encounter major problems in understanding and in making themselves understood. This is directly connected to issues of legal protection. There is both a language barrier and a cultural barrier, and people in this situation depend on a good interpreter, or on the interviewer speaking Sami.

The Sami Parliament emphasises that Sami speakers in the Sami administration area now have a statutory right both to speak Sami during a police interview and when filing a verbal complaint. This has not always been the case, but it is a pleasing development.

Then one might ask whether these rights are properly safeguarded at the various police stations. Sami people who speak some Norwegian are likely not to want to be a bother, and so they try to speak Norwegian as best they can. In such situations the police officers also have a personal responsibility to assess when communication becomes so unclear that an interpreter should be present. Since the police have limited resources and there are only a few good interpreters, an interpreter is in practice only called if a person is to be interrogated and a wish for an interpreter has been expressed in advance. On the basis of the rights of the Sami people, the Sami Parliament wants to underline that it is often the police who need an interpreter from Sami to Norwegian, and not the Sami speaker who needs the interpreter.

Prison services in our northern counties Troms and Finnmark face some of the same challenges. The law states clearly that prisoners are entitled to speak Sami to each other and to their relatives. Since there are few prison guards who speak Sami, however, Sami prisoners are nevertheless often not allowed to speak their native Sami with family and friends.

This is unacceptable in today's society, particularly since Sami and Norwegian are languages on an equal footing in Norway.

The Sami Parliament believes it is important to develop the Sami language, so that it has a future in a modern society. It is also important to us that those Sami language rights which have already become statutory, will be upheld and safeguarded at all times.

Traditional Sami is without many of the concepts that are used in Norwegian legal terminology. This creates a problem when the police for instance have to read people their rights. A project is being carried out today with the support of The Sami Parliament, where the purpose is to develop Sami legal terminology. This is important work because it will allow Sami to be used in more police contexts.

Written Sami is a relatively new phenomenon, and not all Sami speakers are able to read the language. The young generation growing up now has a much better opportunity to learn this skill than their parents and grandparents had. But even within the Sami administrative area, most of the forms and application forms you get from the police are in Norwegian only. If you are applying for a passport, a firearm licence or you are reporting a lost driver's licence, the forms you fill in will be in Norwegian. Since the goal is that Sami and Norwegian shall be on an equal footing, that principle should apply here, too.

Nevertheless, one can spot encouraging trends. I would particularly like to mention that the police are now cooperating with The Norwegian National Collection Agency in developing several hundred standardised letter templates in Sami for use in the police's administrative work. This is work which the Sami Parliament strongly approves of, as it allows for bilingual case processing. At present it is possible to issue fines and salmon rights in Sami. A few information brochures have been translated into Sami. Certain laws that particularly affect the Sami population have also been translated, but they need quality assurance as it turns out they are not always accurate. The Sami Parliament believes it would also be useful to have the rest of the legislation translated into Sami.

The Sami Parliament realises that conflicts might arise between Norwegian legislation and Sami customs and sense of justice. Sami customs have developed outside of the Norwegian legal system. The legislation and administration that have been set up for Norway and which also apply in the Sami areas, have not paid much attention to Sami customs. In those cases where a Sami sense of justice is different from the Norwegian, it is time to look at new solutions. That way we can avoid situations where the Norwegian legislation says something which the Sami in practice find difficult to understand. In this connection it is important to assess what are genuine customs and what are fictitious ones, in order to give real Sami customs the necessary credibility.

This work has been started, particularly through the Sami rights committees. The establishment of the Inner Finnmark District Court, which is to pay particular attention to and emphasise Sami customs, is another step in the right direction. In connection with the Finnmark Act, a commission will clarify what rights are already in existence.

The Sami Parliament wants to express its expectations with regard to the further developments, hoping for legislation and administration that are more in line with the actual, acknowledged sense of justice in the Sami population.

In their daily work, the police make decisions on the basis of discretionary assessments. Then it is of great importance that the police officers understand the people they are dealing with. In most Sami areas, local communities are small and tight-knit, and the local population will also be close to police officers serving in the area. Whether the local population trusts the police will thus depend on what approach the police adopts when dealing with local people.

There are some differences between Sami and Norwegian manners and mores that may affect the interaction between the police and the Sami population. If you for instance, like the Norwegians have been raised to think that punctuality is important, it might be rather frustrating to deal with people who have a rather relaxed attitude to time. Norwegians tend to think that silence expresses consent, while the opposite is true with many Sami people.

It is possible to learn to understand a culture. It is important for police officers to realise that some of the problems and disputes they encounter may be the result of cultural differences. If you want the Sami to express trust in the police, it is important that the police are conscious of their own attitudes and behaviour. This will not only create a sense of confidence, it will also make the work of the police easier and give them access to more information.

We know there are problems recruiting police to some locations, particularly to smaller local communities. This means that it can take quite a lot before the police can attend in some locations. Many Sami people feel that their problems are not taken seriously enough, and that they don't receive help when they ask for it. This makes people feel insecure, and it is an issue that needs to be addressed by people higher up in the system.

People will often understand that it can take the police some time to arrive if they have to cover a large geographical area. People are used to that. But given the recruiting problems, increased centralisation and districts being merged, the Sami Parliament is concerned that the police services and their availability in the Sami areas will deteriorate.

Outside some brief office hours, everyone trying to reach their local police office will be redirected to a centralised operations centre. The police officers taking the call may not be all that familiar with the areas they receive reports from, and they do not speak Sami. It can lead to misunderstandings when Sami people call in a stressful situation and then have to explain the problem in Norwegian. Those who speak Sami as their mother tongue feel safer and more confident when they can explain things in their own language.

Then they feel much better understood.

Many places have both a Sami and a Norwegian name, but the Sami will often use just the Sami place names. Then it is important for the police to know these Sami place names, and that is a big challenge for the police.

With that in mind, it must be a top priority to recruit Sami-speaking students into the police training. Today we have very few police officers with a Sami background, which means that many of the police officers working in a Sami area come from a different linguistic and cultural background. If we look back on Sami history we realise how important it is that the Sami of today don't feel run over, but meet police officers who conduct themselves in the right way and show a good understanding of the community where they are working.

The Sami Parliament has for some time been asking for the introduction of measures to enable those police officers who have expertise on the Sami sense of justice, their customs and language, are given the opportunity to serve in a district where this expertise is needed. The Sami Parliament wants the police to be given framework conditions that will allow such people to be recruited to the Sami areas. More should also be done to enable officers already working in these areas, to take further education.

It is important to us in the Sami Parliament that the Sami rights that already exist are being followed up in the right way, while one also has to work for a further strengthening of the Sami perspective in our future work.

Speaker

Chantal Bernier
Assistant Deputy Minister, Community Safety and Partnerships Branch, Canada

Chantal Bernier is Assistant Deputy Minister, Community Safety and Partnerships Branch and joined the Department in November 2002. Previously, she was Assistant Deputy Minister, Socio-Economic Policy and Programs at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada from 1999 to 2002 and Director of Operations, Machinery of Government Secretariat at the Privy Council Office from 1998 to 1999. For 10 years, Ms. Bernier was a lawyer for the Department of Justice, specialized in public law, in particular, International Law, Native Law, Constitutional and Immigration Law. Before joining the government, Ms. Bernier was in private practice, specialized in Native Law and International Law. Ms. Bernier holds a bachelor of Civil Law from the Université de Sherbrooke, a certificate in Common law from the University of Notre-Dame, Indiana, and a Masters in Pubic International Law from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Chantal Bernier's presentation will highlight Canada's new approach to crime prevention and the role police will play in it. It will set out national goals for safety and the central role of police in partnering with other sectors and civil society in attaining these, structural means to support effective partnerships, initiatives that epitomize good practice, and finally lessons learned thus far.

Speaker

Javiera Blanco Suarez
Under-Secretary for Police in the National Defence Ministry

Javiera Blanco Suárez is a lawyer from the Universidad Católica de Chile and Master in Management and Public Policies in the Industrial Engineering Department of the Universidad de Chile. She was Projects Manager of the Fundación Paz Ciudadana between 1998 and 2006. She has specialized in topics of Citizen Security, Penal Process Reform and Police. On September 1, 2006, she was appointed by President Michelle Bachelet as Under-Secretary for Police in the National Defence Ministry, and is the first woman to hold this post.

The experience of the Carabineros Police in Chile

The police service in Chile is divided into two branches: the uniformed police, or Carabineros, and the civil police, known as the Investigations Police. The Carabineros de Chile is a national, hierarchically structured, military-style police institution. Its mission is essentially preventive with the objective to maintain public order and domestic public security in all the territory of the republic. In recent years, the Carabineros have defined a set of strategies aimed at improving police prevention and crime control. In this context, it has developed various policies and strategies that, since 1995, constitute the modernization process set out in the institutional strategic plan. The two macro objectives set in this Strategic Plan are:

To increase institutional efficiency: aimed at increasing the timeliness and quality of police services for meeting demands of the users as well as strengthening relations with the community.
To reach a good quality of organizational life, aimed at reducing internal tensions and strengthening harmony in internal functioning and development.

Both objectives are within the framework of an approach aimed at satisfying more efficiently and effectively the demands for security, within an approach of respect for human rights and of active community participation. For this, within the current vision of the institution, it stresses the leading role that the community must play now, not only as the receiver of the results of police activity, but as co-producer of public security jointly with the police. Among the strategies based on a close relationship between the police and the community are:

Aimed at better links with the community and at developing a community-oriented approach, a **Community Integration Model** is currently being developed, an **Observatory of Best Policing Practices** and the implementation of strategies under a **problem solving approach** (**POP)** to respond more efficiently and effectively to community demands for security.

Active and permanent collaboration with local crime prevention agencies, through the **Program 24 hours**. This program is a strategy of focusing social policies on young people under 18, who have been brought into police stations for infringing rights or breaking the law. Carabineros de Chile hands over the list of these entries to social agencies and so the local government focuses its attention on these cases and works together with the social prevention network.

Speaker

Samwel Lyimo, Deputy National Programme Coordinator Safer Cities Tanzania Programme, Tanzania

Samwel E.A. Lyimo is a trained lawyer, having majored in criminology and penal law. He also is a police officer by training and experience, having served for 28 years in the Tanzanian police force and sporting the title of Senior Assistant Commissionner of police. He studied at the Police College of Tanzania, the Ontario Police College, Canada, and the Bramhill Police Staff College, UK. He is a member of the International Police Chiefs Association. Aside from having supervised and coordinated police operations, Mr Lyimo has administered police colleges in Tanzania and Mozambique. He also conducted victimation surveys and safety audits in urban centers. He coordinates urban safety initiatives as Assistant Coordinator of UN Habitat's Safer Cities Programme in Tanzania.

Building Effective Partnerships with Police in Prevention: Tanzania Experience

UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime emphasizes that cooperation/partnerships should be an integral part of effective crime prevention initiatives, given the wide-ranging nature of the causes of crime and the skills and responsibilities required to address them. In Tanzania, the Draft Policy Context of Community policing circulated to Stakeholders, (Safer Cities Tanzania Programme included), states, (in part):

"In a democratic society, law enforcement is a shared responsibility between law enforcement organs and the public. In this context, the success of the Police Force in discharging its duties requires a significant degree of involvement of many other stakeholders including the community……."

Greater community participation in policing through crime prevention initiatives is likely to have benefits for both police and the community. This essentially draws its legitimacy from the country's Constitution in Article 146(2) (b) in which Community Policing and Safer Cities initiatives in Local Government is based.

1.2 Crime Prevention - Defined

Crime prevention means different things to different people. Police may rightly construe crime prevention to mean:

Visible policing through street-patrols, and guard duties;
Crackdown/operations with searches and seizures;
Supervisions and Inspections of licensed premises;
Escorts: Money, VIP Prisoners; etc

For a social worker crime prevention might mean setting projects to re-integrate offenders back to society after being involved in different crimes. These are different activities but they all contribute towards preventing crime.

Crime Prevention is about stopping crime from happening, rather than waiting to respond once offences have been committed. Preventing crime aims at the *triangular factors* that cause crime, and these will include:

The Victims;
Offenders; and
The environment

Again Crime and violence do not happen spontaneously. Inadequate urban environment that excludes members from benefits of urbanization and participation in decision-making development, do encourage crime. Lack of long-term solutions to social, economic and governance in cities and failure to promote inclusive policies targeting the most vulnerable groups is the root cause of crime and violence in urban centres in the country.

Hence, crime prevention calls for combining efforts of those who enforce the law, (e.g. police), with the efforts of those who prevent people getting on the wrong side of the law. Given what has been said above on factors contributing to crime, one should therefore think of crime prevention as an approach that combines several strategies involving different partners affected by the consequences of crime and violence.

Crime prevention is therefore defined as:

"Responding to a few priority community crime problems, using targeted multi- agency programmes. These programmes aim at addressing the causes of and opportunities for particular crime problems. They should also enforce laws, ensure that order is maintained in the day to day activities of the community and reduce public fear of crime."

2.0 PARNERSHIP WITH POLICE IN CRIME PREVENTION
Situational Analysis

2.1 Tanzania Police Force

2.1.1 Mandate

The Tanzania Police Force carries out its mandate including that of crime prevention through the Country's Constitution: The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, (1977), and the Police Force and Auxiliary Services Act (Chapter 322 of the Revised Edition 2002). The Force is involved in law and order process by dealing with issues relating to the preservation of the peace, maintenance of law and order, prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension and guarding of offenders, and the protection of property. It also deals with numerous other activities relating to law enforcement, such as traffic regulations, regulations on licensed premises, mutual assistance in criminal matters and crime proceeds. The mandate of the Police Force extends throughout the United Republic of Tanzania.

Included are the Local Government Laws, Act No.8 of 1982 Section 54
"maintain and facilitate he maintenance of peace, order and government within area of jurisdiction….for the purpose of better execution of its functions….local government authorities shall take all such measures, as in its opinion are necessary desirable, conducive or expedient … for the suppression of crime, the maintenance of peace and good order and protection of public and private property lawfully acquired"

2.1.2 Policy Frameworks

There are number of national policy frameworks which supports local governments ensure safety and security. These include:

The Tanzania Development Vision 2025; which envisages, among others, a natured peace among residents and ensuring that legal and regulatory framework is in place and properly functioning. Also affirmative actions towards vulnerable groups, gender equality and empowerment of women, and overall qualities of desirable moral and cultural uprightness are some elements of the vision that have direct linkages with safer Cities approach activities.

The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty, - MKUKUTA, (2005), elucidates the government commitment to support demand driven skills development with specific emphasis on assisting vulnerable persons.

The 2002 Poverty Reduction Strategy Policy, (PRSP); emphasizes government support to demand driven skills for vulnerable groups, youth and women include.

The 1995 National Land Policy underscores the need to establish Income Generating Projects, (IGPs) among local communities with view to enhance employment opportunities and poverty reduction.

The 2000 National Settlement Policy underlines high incomes which in turn make the population afford more and better social services which will in turn include shelter, support Sungusungu groups, safety audits, Ward Tribunals, women and youth groups engaging in prostitution, drug related crime and alcoholism.

2.1.2 Strength

For effective operational performance of the Force, including that of of crime prevention, the Force is expected to have a sufficient level of strength in various areas underpinning its functions and duties. This includes adequate strength in police general duties and specialized units. However, this has not been possible because of the difficulties in financing the recruitment and training new officers. Currently, the Force has an establishment of around 30,000 officers and is need of about 50,000 in order to achieve a modest ratio of about 1:450, a ratio internally accepted in policing activities. With the current level of officers, the ratio is 1:1196. it is in this context that the Force will continue to recruit and train new officers so as to be able to stabilize the strength level to meet service delivery needs in a country that has about 35.9 million people, covering 945,100 squire kilometers.

2.1.3 Distribution and Service Delivery

According to the said Police Force and Auxiliary Services Act, the Force is expected to be distributed in the whole of Tanzania (Mainland and Zanzibar). At the moment, most parts of Tanzania receive modest police services from the Force. The Force is also expected to deliver services to various matters such as:

Visible policing through patrols and beats;
Emergence responses and crisis management;
Marine patrols;
Airports and Railways security;
Protection of VIPs;
Guarding of financial institutions; and
Assisting in rescue operations.

However, due shortages in the workforce and police infrastructure, there are a number of places which are yet to get such services, hence relying on other law and order arrangements such as the:(i) Auxiliary Police System;(ii) *Peoples Militia* with *Sungusungu*; and (iii) Private Security guards.

These services provide, though, in an *ad hoc* manner, complementary services to the Force, and they have so far assisted Police to ensure that country enjoys peace and tranquility, and that people and their property are protected.

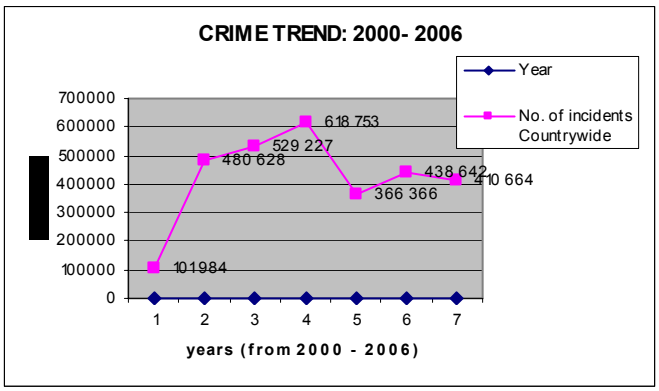
2.2 Crime Situation

Tanzania, shares *porous* borders with eight,(8) other countries, namely: Kenya and Uganda on the North and North West; Rwanda, Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo, (DRC) on the West; Malawi Zambia, and Mozambique in the South, with a total borderline of 3, 402km. The Indian Ocean runs through the Eastern part of the country with a coastline of 1,424 km. The inland waters of Lakes Victoria on the North West, Tanganyika on the West, and Nyasa in the South cover a total of 52,000sq km. This geographical location has both positive and negative impacts on the crime situation in Tanzania. Some of the major negative impacts arise out of the fact that most of the countries surrounding the country are experiencing or have experience civil strives, wars and other political and social upheavals. The spiraling effect of the crises emanating from these countries has to some extent affected the criminal trend in Tanzania. Notable examples include the spine *chilling* series of bank robberies reported to be masterminded by foreigners from neighboring countries in collusion with nationals.

Other available statistics indicate that between January 2000 and December 2005, there was a notable decrease on the total number of major incidents reported to Police. For example, whereas a total of 87,973 incidents were reported in 2000, a total of 73,555 incidents were reported to the Police in the year 2001. In 2002, only 67,371 were reported. This was a decrease of 6,184 incidents which is equal to 8.4% of the reports received in 2001 this figure fell to 58,516 incidents in 2003. The figure slightly rose to 61,376 incidents in 2004. In 2005, the number of incidents reported to the Police fell to a record low of 46,650. This represents a decrease of 14,726 incidents, which is equal to 24% when compared to figures of 2004. Available statistics for the year 2006 shows 410,664 incidents were reported to Police compared to 438,642 reported in 2005. This represents a decrease of 27,978 which is equal to 6.4%

Statistics also show regional variations whereby regions like Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Mbeya, Kagera, Kigoma, and Mwanza show increased criminal activities, compared to Lindi, Rukwa, Mtwara, Ruvuma and almost all regions in Zanzibar except, Mjini Magharibi with low crime rates. Similarly, urban areas are more affected by crimes than rural areas.

Crime incidents reported to Police in the Country is summarized as follows:



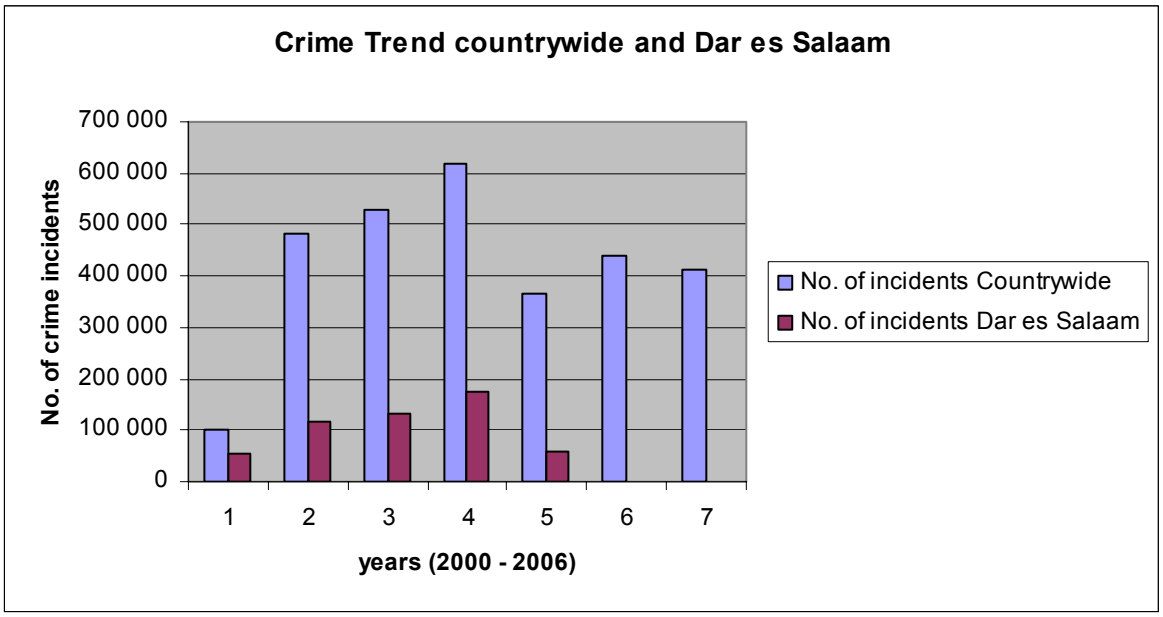
Crime Trend: 2000 – 2006

Fig.1:

S/n.	Year	No. of incidents Countrywide	No. of incidents Dar es Salaam	% Dar es Salaam Countrywide
1.	2000	101,984	53,050	52%
2.	2001	480,628	117,077	24.4%
3.	2002	529,227	130,626	24.7%
4.	2003	618,753	173,334	28%
5.	2004	366,366	57,392	16%
6.	2005	438,642		
7.	2006	410,664		

Source: Budget Speeches, Ministers of Home Affairs, and Dar es Salaam:(2000/01-2004/05)

Fig.2:



Source: Budget Speeches, Ministers of Home Affairs, Dar es Salaam: (2000/01-2004/05)

Note: Police crime records only provide part of the crime picture, because they are limited to those incidents which the public choose to report to the police, and do not provide sufficient evidence of the effectiveness of the police or lack of it; because crime rate can be high due to more supportive public reporting and /or police operations/raids carried at a given period, place or type of crime targeted in raids; e.g. in traffic, or drug related offences, etc.

As a result of these limitations, and general lack of information about victims of crime, public perceptions about *fear and cost of crime*, and that of *police performance*, crime ***opinion surveys*** and ***victimization surveys*** should be undertaken to supplement police crime statistics. Safer Cities Tanzania Programme conducted these Surveys in Dar es Salaam in 1999, May/ June 2000 and three years later in June 2003; followed by others conducted in Arusha and Mtwara Municipalities June 2003. Results were discussed in various Stakeholders Consultation Workshops held for the same, and later published for public consumption.

However, Tanzania has continued to enjoy peace and tranquility; despite those *sporadic* criminal incidents which have left the people more united and vigilant in joining hands with the police in fight against crime through programmes like Neighborhood Watch Groups and Safer Cities approaches, which are expected to contribute to the envisaged Community Policing practice currently in the pipeline through the newly created Ministry of Safety and Security, (2006/'07)

2.3 Community and Stakeholders involvement in Crime Prevention

Police in Tanzania receive assistance from a number of people and institutions in its policing activities, crime prevention included. Currently people and institutions provide Police with:

A number of useful information on crimes,
Through Criminal Procedure Act, 1985; arrest, search suspects committing or about to commit crimes.
Contribute both financially and materially to police activities such as the provision of buildings for police stations or posts as well as transport and communication facilities.
People and institutions also provide evidence in court that help resolve crime during prosecutions.
Local government initiatives through programmes such as Safer Cities as well as those involving
People's Militia and *Sungusungu* Groups.
Private Security Guards is also a result of people's involvement in policing matters *albeit* on a commercial basis.
Individuals and institutions have also installed surveillance systems to help them prevent and control crimes and criminal related activities.
The Civil Society and Media houses have similarly contributed to police initiatives in a significant way.
Civil Society's initiatives through programmes like the one involved in control of small arms and public awareness on crime prevention.

Yet, most of these activities remain uncoordinated, *ad hoc* and operating a legal framework that is inadequate due to lack of a National Policy on Public Safety and Security said to be under preparation by the Ministry of Public Safety and Security and Stakeholders. Included are undertakings aimed at Police Reform and Modernization, Community Policing Policy and implementation Strategy, all aimed at making POLICE more effective and accountable.

3.0 BUILDING EFFECTIVE PARTNERSHIP WITH POLICE FOR CRIME PREVENTION- INSTITUTIONAL AND CAPACITY BUILDING

3.1 Long Term

Policy Formulation on Safety and Security guiding development of a National Strategy focusing on the following, among others:

Implementation of Policy and legislation harmonization and regularization for awareness, Coordination, for developing effective and accountable enforcement mechanisms

Institutional Issues: Institutionalization and Implementation Framework; linkages with key role players in Local Government Authorities,(i.e***. Safer Cities National Programme***), Civil Societies, Business Community (e.g., Tanzania Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Agriculture- TCCIA); Government Institutions e.g. Ministry of Home Affairs, (Immigration Department), Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, (Courts and Attorney General Chamber AG), Drug Control Commission, (DCC), Prevention and Control of Corruption Bureau, (PCCB)

Linkages with countries, and International Institutions, ***(e.g. ICPC***) undertaking the implementation of the Programme through Developing Partners, and UN Agencies, (e.g. ***UN-Habitat Safer Cities Global Programme***) for coordination in sharing information, experiences and best practices.

Strengthen law enforcement and facilitate access to justice delivery at community level

3.2 Short and Medium term

Building police/public *functional partnership* through sensitization and awareness creation: (*Primary Stakeholders*: grass root level including Municipal and District leadership; *Secondary Stakeholders*: Government Ministries, Public and, training institution, NGOs, (e.g. Centre for Peace and Economic Development CEPEDE on small arms, and Legal and Human Right Centre- LHRC), Religious and Media institutions)

Identification of potential partners and key role players

Needs Assessment on police partnership in crime prevention; through *Communit*y *Crime Profile* in Crime Opinion Surveys, Victimization Surveys and Police Crime records at local community level

Development of implementation strategies, e.g. *Community Neighborhood* Programmes through the existing structures and on going crime prevention activities, through Defense and Security Committees at *Mtaa*, (10 houses) *Vitongoji, (*5 houses) Ward, District and Regional levels

Support community prevention initiatives, e.g. *Sungusungu groups*, and Income generating groups, (IGPs), with special emphasis on security groups and *groups at risk* and the victimized, (women, youth, and children)

4.0 CONCLUSION AND WAYFORWARD

4.1 Opportunities

Despite challenges and constrains to be experienced in building effective partnership with Police in crime prevention initiatives, there are number of opportunities to be found in planning, implemementing, monitoring and evaluation of the undertaking. These include**:**

Supportive Legislative Mandate, Policy Frameworks, mentioned;
Political support on the part of the country's leadership;
Ongoing Reforms; including the current National Police Reform and Modernization Agenda, Sector Legal Reform, Civil Service and Local Government Reform
Existing linkage and networking with on going programme at national and international levels such as the current linkage with ICPC, UN-Habitat, UNODC, etc
The envisaged Community Policing Policy spearheaded by the implementation of the ongoing ***Community Neighborhood Watch initiatives*** by POLICE through the Ministry of Public Safety and Security and other Stakeholders, ***Safer Cities National Programme*** included, at formulation and implementation level.

Way forward

It is therefore being recommended that the whole process of ensuring effective Police partnership in crime prevention be mainstreamed in Local Government Authorities in accordance to the said Constitution and Local Government laws

An independent resource centre be established to work with all partners to support and facilitate crime prevention initiatives through capacity building, monitoring and evaluation, documentation and dissemination of lessons and experiences at national and international levels.

Rapporteur

Mzwandile Petros
Provincial Commissioner of the Western Cape

Provincial Commissioner Mzwandile Petros was born in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape. He qualified as a Mathematics and Science teacher in the mid 1980s. He started out his career as a high school educator and later moved on to the NGO and civic sectors. Throughout his career, Commissioner Petros continued to develop himself in fields such as Conflict Resolution, Mediation, Human Rights, Leadership and Intelligence through accredited institutions. In 1997 he obtained an Advanced Diploma in Public Management from the University of Stellenbosch. He became a member of the South African Police Service in 1995, starting his career in the Crime Intelligence environment where later he served in various positions of command. For a period of two years he also served at the South African Police Service, Crime Intelligence and Detective Academy in Pretoria as the National Trainer of the Handlers Course.

Prior to being appointed as the Provincial Commissioner of the Western Cape he held the position of Deputy Provincial Commissioner responsible for Crime Intelligence and Detection in the Province. During the course of his career in the South African Police Service, he was also trained and developed in specialised in-service training in Detective skills, Information Management and Strategic Planning, Operations Management and Advanced Crime Intelligence. He also attended an Operations Management course in Sydney, Australia during 2000. Commissioner Petros has numerous accolades to his credit, including the coveted the Star of Merit awarded by the Minister of Safety and Security in recognition of his excellent work in the investigation of terrorism in the Western Cape. Since his appointment as Provincial Commissioner in 2003, he has given strategic direction to the SAPS in the Province and nationally on policing issues. Commissioner Petros was instrumental in the development and conceptualisation of SAPS= provincial corporate strategy, the People Oriented Sustainable Strategy (POSS). This is a strategy focussed on reduction of crime in the Western Cape. An advocate of lifelong learning, Commissioner Petros has empowered a significant number of SAPS middle and senior managers in the Province. During his tenure as Provincial Commissioner, he has forged strategic partnerships with different communities of the Western Cape.

Speaker

Cecilia MacDowell Santos
Associate Professor, Sociology and Latin American Studies, University of San Francisco

Cecília MacDowell Santos is Associate Professor, Sociology and Latin American Studies, University of San Francisco Researcher, Center for Social Studies, University of Coimbra, Portugal. She is the author of Women's Police Stations: Gender, Violence, and Justice in São Paulo, Brazil (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) and of Delegacias da Mulher: Gênero, Violência e Justiça no Brasil [updated version and revised translation of Women´s Police Stations] (São Paulo: Hucitec Press, forthcoming October 2007). She is co-editor (with Edson Teles and Janaína Teles) of Desarquivando a Ditadura: Memória e Justiça no Brasil (São Paulo: Hucitec Press, forthcoming December 2007 (vol. 1) and March 2008 (vol. 2)). Santos received her Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. She also holds a Bacharel em Direito degree (Brazilian equivalent of J.D.) from the Federal University of Pernambuco, Recife Law School, in Brazil and a Master in Law from the University of São Paulo. She teaches courses in the areas of globalization, sociology of law, and gender and development. Her research interests include globalization, law, human rights, gender, and women's movements in Latin America, particularly Brazil.

Engendering Police Culture in Brazil: Innovations and Challenges of Women's Police Stations

This paper addresses the innovations and challenges in changing police culture from a gender and feminist perspective in Brazil. It discusses the culture of policewomen working in the women's police stations by looking at the ways in which they have related to the feminist discourse on violence against women since the creation of the world's first women's police station in 1985 in São Paulo. The paper examines the processes shaping the multiple and changing positions of *explicit alliance*, *opposition*, and *ambiguous alliance* assumed by policewomen regarding feminists since 1985. As this case study demonstrates, the culture of policewomen and policewomen-feminists relations evolve due to interactions between the political conjuncture, the hegemonic masculinist police culture, developments in the feminist discourse on violence against women, and the impact of the contact policewomen sustain with women clients.

Dr Elena Azaola,
Researcher, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social

Elena Azaola is a doctor in anthropology and a psychoanalyst, having studied in the Universidad Iberoamericana. She is a researcher in the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social and has a distinguished history as a researcher, publishing more than 100 books and articles in Mexico and in other countries, which have gained her awards, scholarships and recognitions. She has devoted 30 years to the study of delinquency in Mexico and also to prisons and police Institutions. In view of her background, the Legislative Assembly unanimously ratified her as consultant to the Human Rights Commission of the Federal District, an honorary post that she has held since 2002.

Abstract: The weaknesses of public forces in Mexico City

Insecurity has been increasing steadily for more than a decade to become the primary concern of Mexicans. Despite this, social scientists have devoted little effort to researching a phenomenon, the understanding of which requires uniting various disciplines and analyzing the roles played by various actors. A recent study places one of the most frequently ignored actors, the police, in the limelight. The study, written from the approach and with the tools proper to social anthropology, convincingly argues that, before trying to reform the police, it is essential to listen to them and to take their opinions seriously. It also stresses that no public security policy can be successful if it ignores meeting basic demands about the standard of living and working conditions of the police that prevent them providing a professional service, guided by the principles that govern the performance of such bodies in democratic societies (responsibility, legality, professionalism, accountability, neutrality). The study analyzes the public security policies put into effect in Mexico City from 2000 to 2005, and is based on the testimony of interviews with 300 police officers. One of the most revealing topics lies in the contrast between image and self-image, arising from confronting how the police view themselves, how they feel they are regarded and how the citizens see them. Finally, the study spells out a series of guidelines for police reform processes in Mexico, that have been made available to the authorities of the Secretariat for Public Security, who have welcomed the study and collaborated in its publication.

The weaknesses of public forces in Mexico City

Introduction

This paper outlines some of the results of a study initiated in 2001 on the preventive police in Mexico City and published on a book in 2006. One of the key goals of this study has been to give voice to police officers so as to understand their views and their understanding of their job and the obstacles they face when doing their work.

The premises upon which the study is based is that police officers must know about and be willing to carry out any police reform project if it is to produce deep changes; that if reform is to have the backing of the police, it must take their needs into account and respond to their problems; and that to know and understand the problems that are most important for police officers, it is necessary to listen to their points of view.

The study upon which this analysis is based consists of the testimony of over 250 police officers in all ranks of the hierarchy. Half of them were interviewed at police headquarters, and the other half consists of an analysis of autobiographies written by police officers of different ranks and career lengths that proposed to write the story of their life as policemen.

The preventative (street) police in Mexico City is made up of 76 thousand officers, half of whom are considered employees of the Secretariat of Public Security (*Secretaría de Seguridad Pública*, SSP), and the other half (auxiliary and bank police) has an irregular status so that although they are members of the force, their labor rights are not fully recognized, and they operate autonomously and according to arbitrary and not very transparent criteria. Of the total, including auxiliary forces, 80 percent are dressed in blue uniforms, while 20 percent are traffic police (*policía de vialidad*) and dress in brown uniforms. It is considered a privilege to belong to the traffic police and to wear the brown uniform, even though not all officers have access to a patrol car or a motorcycle. This is because these officers are those with the greatest opportunity to extort those who have violated the Traffic Code, and the income they relieve from extortion far outstrips their wage.

II. Main Findings

It is a known fact that there is widespread dissatisfaction with police performance among the inhabitants of Mexico City. It is a perhaps lesser known fact that there is also deep and widespread job dissatisfaction among the police. High levels of uncertainty prevail, as norms are not consistently applied in the contractual relationship between the Public Security Secretariat and the police. There is also widespread vertical (inter-rank) and horizontal (inter pares) lack of trust within the institution, which constitutes a significant obstacle to the adequate performance of police work. Because norms and procedures are not consistently applied, a parallel informal or paralegal regime governs relations within the force. Deplorable working conditions have also generated a sense of abandonment or lack of protection among police officers, leading to their growing loss of interest in properly fulfilling their duties. Another important problem is what the rank and file describes as a continual lack of citizen respect and recognition.

There are some recurring issues that emerge both in the interviews and the autobiographies. First among them are the problems related with deficient working conditions. Second, there is the problem of corruption and the way in which the police address the issue.

Other issues that come up frequently are relations with police chiefs, a negative self-image and citizen image of the police, problems related with lack of training, the way officers feel they are treated by the institution, and alcohol and drug consumption among officers. The following section uses a small sample of the collected testimonies to examine these issues.

Deficient Working Conditions

A set of issues that is often referred to by police officers is related with deficient working conditions. There is a broad consensus on this matter, although there are nuances and differences depending on rank, seniority, or the sector or grouping to which officers belong. The problems are related to wages, material conditions, working hours and promotions.

Wages

There is great dissatisfaction with wages among the rank and file. It is commonplace to hear officers of all ranks say that low wages promote and even justify corruption. They also say that poor police performance is related with low wage levels.

> *This job is not valued in our society. In any other country, a policeman is well paid but a policeman is not well paid here and so he can't do his job properly*

> *To improve [the situation of] corruption, they would have to pay us a good salary. They pay us 3 thousand pesos per fortnight, minus the deductions …. This is not enough for the family … if we have no stimulus, well, we look for another way to get ahead… if we got a decent wage, we would do our work more carefully and we would not risk things for the 100 or 200 pesos that drivers give us…*

Strange at this may seem some police officers have gone so far as to suggest that if it is not possible to pay them a better wage, their employer should help them to find another job.

> *I think that a policeman should be helped, or the corporation itself should help him, to find an extra job, to improve his living standard… I would like to be called into the office someday and that they would find us another vocation other than this one of being a policeman, so that there would be more opportunities for the people who have a real service vocation*.

The rank and file do not just express dissatisfaction because of poor wages they get paid, but also because rules and procedures that would make their jobs more secure are not consistently applied, because there is a lack of recognition for their work, the are no other incentives and benefits, and because of the many promises they receive there are never fulfilled. Thus, one of the major causes of discouragement is that they do not know what they can count on.

> *The main problem is resignation among most of the elements and a great disillusionment because they feel defrauded for so many promises that for whatever reason are never fulfilled… clear rules are needed for this to work properly… rules that chain up the corrupt one that wants to be a chief and do not allow him to be one. Recognition of higher ranking colleagues is very important when good work is done. We are greatly lacking in self-esteem, to the point of sometimes thinking about suicide because of the feeling that no one cares about us as human beings. We need people to listen to us and to take an interest in what is happening to us…*

As these testimonies show, the problem is not just that policemen get paid very little for their work, but also that their efforts are not valued or appreciated, and that they are not able to express their points of view. This is why they repeatedly insist on the need for their superiors to listen to them and to take their opinions into account. Indeed, they often describe situations in which far from gaining recognition for undertaking important work, they were further discouraged by inadequate responses.

Equipment and Uniforms

Police officers are almost unanimous in their discontent with lack of equipment and with their uniforms, which are either inadequate or of very bad quality.

> *We the police lack equipment, we don't have it because of the corruption at the higher levels. They have not given us uniforms for two years…*
> *Our flack-jackets are not part of our uniform and we have to buy them ourselves, the quality of the uniforms is very bad, and we are not given good equipment.*

> *Because we are a special group, we suffer from many unmet needs. We have to buy our own torches, the batteries, everything we need to go into an alley. We are aware that we have to buy something but we do not have enough means to buy uniforms only to have them stolen.*

> *The top administrative ranks have not given us uniforms or credentials for over ten years. The majority of delinquents carry better weapons that we do. We even have to pay for bullets, they charge us 10 pesos, and most of the times we shoot into the air just to scare people.*

As regards equipment, the problem is not just that they are not given the minimum equipment necessary to do their job properly, but also – as the testimonies show – that equipment is distributed discretionally, stolen, or that police officers are forced to pay for it, be it access to a weapon, a motorbike or a patrol car. And they are also charged if they want to work in certain [less dangerous and more *profitable*] areas. According to the testimonials, they are also charged for bullets, torches, batteries, and also for the repair of patrol cars that, as is shown below, they prefer to pay for rather than to limit their source of "income." It is notable that the issue of the uniform is more relevant than that of equipment, or is at least more frequently mentioned. This is because the uniform is not only an important personal presentation element for officers, but also a part of what constitutes the identity of the police. Indeed, the identity of the police seems to be intertwined with or represented by their uniform, which explains why, when they are given a bad quality uniform, they feel they are being offended or scorned.

> *I want to go on serving with this uniform that is my life and thus honor the name of the Secretariat… I'm not thinking of turning in this uniform, I am not shamed of being a policeman…. I love this uniform and wouldn't change it for anything in the world…*

Working Hours

The working day is predominantly a cause of complaint among the higher (superintendent) and mid-level ranks (officers and inspectors), as shown by these testimonies.

> *We get no family or social life, no working hours…. We have not had a holiday for more than 15 years. Many of us are single because we destroy any chance of having a family… We do not get to see our children grow up. Sometimes we see what we gain but we don't see what we lose: family and health.*
>
> *We get up at 4 o'clock in the morning and at 22:30 we get home, annoyed, exhausted, tired, angry… everything on the street is a noisy confusion… we only want to get home in order so that we can begin to get comfortable. The family sees us from 11 o'clock at night until 4 in the morning…. We cannot enjoy our family.*
>
> *Chiefs and sub-chiefs should do shifts and work only 8 hour days, and not work for the long hours that we do because it feels horrible to fall asleep when we get into the patrol car…*
>
> *We never get holidays, never. In 7 or 8 years we have not missed one day [of work]. Having a post in the structure means we cannot miss work, get ill, nothing. If we get ill, we get fired.*
> *We are always at work at 5:30 in the morning until 11 at night. So the people who run the Secretariat are tired, exhausted. A mid-level officer is not allowed to go on holiday or take sick leave. This is an attack on the family, not only on oneself, and this has an effect on the discontent of commanding officers.*

Although working hours appear to be a greater source of discontent among the upper ranks, there are many reasons why it should concern policemen with no leadership positions. The main one is probably that the area where they live is not taken into account when assigning them to a sector or group, which often means that the journey to and from work prolongs their working day by up to 3 or 4 hours. Indeed, policemen are not allowed to request reassignment for this reason. Other reasons why the working day might be prolonged is when police officers are punished with 8 to 36 hours of arrest, which usually happens for banal misdemeanors (such as not wearing their helmet, for instance), or because of arbitrary decisions by their bosses. Even when interviewees say that the time and the conditions of arrests have improved, they still claim that conditions are far from complying with clearly established rules and procedures. Indeed, almost every policeman says that has been subjected to unjustified arrest.

Article 42 of the Law of Public Security of the Federal District of 1993, in force at the time of the study, states that "the arrest or detention suffered by a subordinate for significant misdemeanors or for accumulating five warnings in a calendar year," and can last up to 36 hours. However, the law does not stipulate which kind of conduct deserves this punishment, which gives bosses ample margin for discretion.

Another issue addressed by many interviewees is the bad quality of the food they are given at police barracks or that they get when they are on the street, as well as the difficulties they face when trying to satisfy their most elementary necessities while at work. Many policemen said their bosses were indifferent to or insensitive about their basic necessities, and that the same was true of citizens who make fun of them or censure them for eating in the public space. This is so to the point that they feel their humanity is ignored.

> *If you are a policeman, it is as though you were not a human being: you can't go to the bathroom or eat; citizens don't like it when they see you eating some tacos. When they see us eating, people shout at us asking if that is what they are paying their taxes for…*
>
> *There are no proper facilities at the barracks, good toilets, a dining room, a library… There would be no need for a policeman to go out and get [money] to have lunch if there was a good dining room with even just some coffee and bread. A human being with a nice bellyful would go out to work happily… If they want better security, they have to improve the barracks, the toilets, dining facilities, otherwise in what conditions do we leave the barracks to out on the street?*
>
> *There is something that is very fundamental: people have to realize that us police are human beings, not robots. We cannot work like robots… Society does not trouble to think that we also think and feel like they do, that we are not made of steel and that we are not supermen either…*
>
> *I would ask for more psychological support because sometimes we need to know that we matter to somebody.*

The image of the robot, the machine of steel or the superman emerges when they refer to their condition and their human necessities, and this clearly shows how they feel ill treated.

Promotions

Another of the main causes of discontent is lack of respect for procedures and norms that regulate careers and promotions. There is a broad consensus about this within the rank and file (not among the top ranks). The testimonies include frequent references to disappointment because promotions are not made even when the requirements stipulated in the regulations have been met.

At the time that the study was undertaken, these norms and procedures were in the Rules for the Establishment and Operation of the Police Career System of the Police of the Federal District. See: Reglas para el establecimiento y operación del Sistema de Carrera Policial de la Policía del Distrito Federal, Gaceta Oficial del Departamento del Distrito Federal, February 28, 1994: 5-8.

There are also references to the innumerable arbitrary decisions that ignore the requirements and lead to the practice of giving jobs to family members, friends, or people that are recommended, without recognition of the efforts made by officers who have served for years without ever being promoted.

> *There have been no courses for promotion for ten years. I was promoted twice during the first eight years, but over the last ten years I have not been able to rise up the ranks… There are so many obstacles in our way, and when you do not find the right way, you lose heart. When you prepare for something and you don't succeed, you get frustrated… What has happened to all those promises?*
>
> *There are people that prepare themselves and rise up the ranks, but there are others that ascend just because they are someone's relative. Everyone wants a motorbike or a patrol car, but only chosen relatives get a look in. There are no places other than for the mounted police or in the grenadiers* (granaderos).

Various testimonies pointed in the same direction: loss of motivation due to repeated attempts to make rules work that are never applied; lack of trust and uncertainty that generate a sense of insecurity when rules exist but are not obeyed; and finally, a sense of apathy and paralysis caused by these situations. The table below compares opinions about working conditions according to rank.

Table 1: Views of Working Conditions among Police Officers by Rank

Top Ranks	Mid-Level Ranks	The Rank and File
*I have been on the job for 45 years and I earn a good wage, I cannot complain. Things have gone well for me, so what I have I owe to the police. I have not paid for my rise up the ranks; I have earned it with my work. The regular policeman works 8 or 12 hour shift, but we who have a post in the structure have no personal life and because of my age and seniority I hold on to this, I do my job carefully because it is the only thing that sustains me. If I retire they give me a pauper's wage of 5 thousand pesos, and I lose my rank. And do you know what this has cost us? Our life… It is harder to be a boss now because the elements talk to you as an equal (*se te ponen al tú por tú*). Arrests used to last 8 to 15 days, but not anymore, there was more discipline before. They did not know as much before, and now they read the regulations and know that arrests can only last 36 hours. They have lawyers advising them. We should not let them to be advised like this.*	*The street is a jungle; you have to cross yourself to go out. It is not our judgment but that of our bosses that counts on the street, or we risk being arrested. For them everything is wrong, if they find us eating or if we go to the toilet, you have to ask permission for everything. They don't care what we eat or if we drink, they don't care about what time we go home, so what rights has a policeman got? Only a few of us enjoy this job, we do it because we need to, because as we say, where shall we go at our age? I prefer to risk dying here, to go to jail or to be kicked out, than to be […] unemployed. One feels bad because there is no work security, if a new superior comes along one gets fired, or one loses ones position. Effort is not rewarded.*	*I took exams to get promoted and they even gave a rank to those who failed, and those of us who passed were told there were not enough posts. They tell me the same thing at every examination session (*convocatoria*). It would be better if they told me how much I have to pay for a rank rather than making me go round in circles. I've been in service for 22 years and have taken the exams several times; they always say the same thing, there are no open posts. They demoralize you and even lower your wages. They should be fair and not have preferences, because they promote their friends and their secretaries. It is traumatizing to be in service for so many years and always remain a lowly policeman. We are not given the chance to ascend honestly. We have been here for so many years and I have not even been thanked, we don't even get the medals we used to receive every five years. Now they just give us 2 additional pesos for every five years and 34 pesos for meals for the family* (despensa).

Source: Interviews by Elena Azaola and Esperanza Reyes, Secretariat of Public Security.

Corruption

This section looks at the different explanations that policemen offer for corruption and at some of the corrupt practices they engage. It also offers an overall view of the issue and raises some questions about it. First, there is the simplest explanation that corruption is caused by low wages paid to the rank and file.

> *Policemen are corrupt because what they get paid is not enough.*
>
> *If they paid us a good wage, corruption would be solved. What happens right now is that with the infractions we are paying ourselves for the salary that we are not given.*

By contrast, others think that people become policemen because they intend to obtain income through corruption:

> *The uniform is used to get rich: 95 percent of policemen come in with the idea that they will get rich.*

For others, the problem is the lack of institutional support they receive at the onset of their professional careers, which becomes a decisive factor in the corruption of police officers. Some policemen mention the moment they started the basic training course given at the police academy as the time when they began to have close contact with corruption.

> *…the teachers and instructors themselves were part of the much hated corruption because some teachers with no ethics would sell exams and ranks and some instructors, for a certain amount of money, would let people off when they were arrested.*

> *We went to the shooting range three times, but as we were not given bullets, the teacher would tell us that if we waited to shoot we would have to pay him to buy them… This is when I realized that it is in the academy that the spirit of corruption of the policeman is formed.*

Yet others stated that corruption began when they were assigned to a specific sector or group.

> *You get to the sector and the bosses begin to ask you for money. They force the policeman to get money off people. There are policemen who say that if they go out with 5 pesos, they have to come back with 1,000; that's what they say.*

> *As soon as you set foot in the sector, you get asked for money for everything: the uniform, notebook, not to get sent here or there or not to have to do this or that job, and most of all for a patrol car…. As soon as you get in, it's a begging spree* (pedidera)*. I give the money, if I have it, because you get a benefit…. There is consent at all levels.*

It is hard to add anything else to the above testimonies. In any case, it is important to emphasize the common element among them: the ease with which people admit their own and others' participation in corruption; the absence of a framework in which legality is the frame of reference, and the acceptance of a parallel order or paralegal regime that in fact governs the institution. Equally, the lack of questioning of corruption and the sense that one is confronted with something inevitable is striking. Some women police officers said that they also participate in corruption.

> *There is more corruption among the men than among us women, which is why they say that the police are corrupt. We also take what we can, we don't ask for money but if we are offered it, we accept. What happens is that we are not offered it as openly and unashamedly because some of us get offended and kick up fuss, but others don't.*

Cases of corruption are also mentioned by those who have held administrative posts.

> *There are lots of irregularities, for example, according to a staff list I had 1,200 policemen in my charge, but in reality there were only 200; the others were seconded to politicians and I didn't even know them and nor have their files. The DF government itself would give them leave and would send them out with journalists, former presidents; a crime of diversion of human resources…. Some were seconded for as long as 15 or 20 years and I never knew where they were; but they had a rank and received a wage.*
>
> *Before, there were also journalists and artists that received the rank of police officers and would receive a wage corresponding to their supposed rank. The wives of the chiefs got them as well. So there were artists that were captains, colonels, etc.*

The above quotes show how the ties of corruption are woven between institutions through informal agreements that reveal the predominance of a paralegal order. This system operates on the basis of personal and political that includes the higher and middle management of the police organization. In other words, on the margins of and above existing laws, a number of policemen have ceased to carry out their public security functions, so that they can protect the private security of civil servants and their family members, members of the governing party, friends, or journalists. On the other hand, there are groups within the institution such as the patrols on motorcycles or cars that are especially envied since they are considered to be the best sources of "income." It is therefore said that not just anyone can enter these groups, since posts are reserved for family members or people recommended by the chiefs.

> *Patrol car duty brings in quite a lot of money … some colleagues repair their patrol cars or buy parts when the cars break down, because if they wait for them to get fixed, they stop earning… they prove that it is best to invest their money in the institution than in any other business… In the police, you can invest and gain juicy benefits, although the fault is partly that of the population that does not report on this.*
>
> *We get charged 100 pesos for not coming in to work, 500 for getting in the patrol car, and I could go on like this listing the infinite number of acts of corruption that exist within the corporation…*

Some policemen hold their chiefs responsible for corruption. Various testimonies mentioned the existence of what is known as the Brotherhood (the *Hermandad*) among the chiefs.

> *The top ranks are part of a power group, of the so-called corrupt* Hermandad *that does not allow trained young policemen to take up leadership posts, since those posts have not only cost them years of service but also money, and they do not think that one should rise up the ranks without paying the price. They own this Secretariat and between them they rotate sectors with the help of a godfather (*Jefe Halcón*).*

> *There have been sector chiefs that have been removed for corruption but instead of being punished, the have been put in another sector.*
>
> *The famous* Hermandad *has to end, that mafia that does so much damage to the corporation and the only thing it does is rotate posts…. But never has a chief been fired; that really would be a notable thing.*
>
> *We all go in wanting to be good policemen, but our aspirations are cut short by some chiefs who, instead of supporting us, send us out to work so that they can demand quotas from us.*
>
> *All of us who have been career officers get caught up in the game of receiving money* [from people] *to give to the commander and* [in this way] *receive privileges… it is a chain that reaches up to the top.*

The above provides another different and practically opposed reason for corruption: according to these latter testimonies, corruption is not a result of insufficient wages among the rank and file, but the result of pressure that the top rank officials put on lower ranking officers to raise for them certain amounts of money. This operation is also portrayed as unchangeable even though most of those interviewed report that, in one way or another, they are victims of such a system. Other testimonies mention that ranks can also be bought and that many are chiefs because they paid for the post they occupy.

> *There are still personnel whose ranks were given or bought during past administrations.*
>
> *That is the first link in the chain of that old corruption: everything has a price here.*
>
> *Here you can ascend through your wallet (*bolsillo*), buying posts. I have never had that opportunity because I never came across any of the influential ones…they would have to be my acquaintances for me to do it.*

Another form of corruption is to earn money by protecting criminals:

> *One of the things that aids corruption is fear, because when we get a criminal, we know who they are and we know they will get out and sometimes even offer us money… and since wages are very bad and we do not get promoted, well, sometimes we take it.*

Another source of corruption relates to the distribution of benefits. For example, the contribution of the police to build houses, which is allocated through a lottery system, is flawed and tilted. Various policemen testified to the fact that their chiefs often win the lotteries.

> *Here, the police do not get given houses, but they say that there are police chiefs with 3 or 4 apartments they receive because they have "won lotteries."*

Another corruption problem that is often mentioned is the management of the police force savings bank, a problem that has not been resolved despite having been the object of a criminal investigation and prosecution a few years ago.

Another view is that police corruption cannot be explained without taking into account the participation of the citizenry, although in some cases the emphasis on citizen responsibility appears to be an attempt to exonerate the police. In addition, some policemen cover up corruption saying that they do not extort citizens but rather the latter give them "gifts" to show their gratitude and appreciation for their services.

> *Corruption is often the fault of citizens who offer us [money] to sort out a problem. Other times it is a gift because they are grateful for our work… So we don't know if it is right or wrong to accept what citizens give us out of gratitude, which is a gift… I don't think there is anything wrong with it, its not as if we extort them.*
>
> *People think that all police officers are corrupt but corruption starts with the citizens because it is easier for them to speed up their business and save time with money. The government allows many things, the city is engulfed in corruption, and since we do not get good social benefits because of the economy of the country, the policeman allows himself to be corruption.*
>
> *I would like to ask citizens and the mass media: why are they so keen to put the blame on us if there is corruption everywhere in this country? [Even] various government authorities and leaders have stolen money from the Mexicans.*
>
> *There are others that steal millions and get immunity. But when the policeman steals four pesos, he is persecuted.*

The above testimonies are worrying because, in addition to referring to gifts as a way to cover up or justify corruption, they appear to suggest the following argument: if politicians can steal, why should the police not? Or, if there is impunity for politicians, why should the police not benefit from it as well? This seems to suggest that police corruption is justified or minimized by pointing out that others are corrupt. There is also a rather widespread view that it is not possible to put a stop to corruption or even to address it with any degree of success.

> *Corruption within the police is an evil that cannot be exterminated… At the rank and file level, when a policeman is efficient, corruption should not be seen negatively.*
>
> *People say that if we were paid better wages there would be no more extortion (*mordida*). I don't think so; there would be extortion and the wage.*

Finally, others suggest in their testimonies that corruption is not just a mark of the relationship between police officers and citizens, but also that it profoundly alters the relationship that police officers have among themselves. This is apparent in the following testimonies:

> *Discipline has to be imposed but what breaks the chain of command is corruption, since we cannot look at our chiefs in the same way after we have given them money and after they have accepted it. If I am going to apply corrective measures to someone for not doing their job and if the chief has received money from someone, then he will not be able to apply that corrective [measure] because the subordinate will not respect him anymore, so that is how the chain of command is lost, because of corruption.*

Corruption, then, not also alters or subverts the relationship between police and citizens, but also irremediable distorts relations among police officers. The testimonies suggest that most policemen cannot escape corruption. This not only exposes them to citizen opprobrium, but also breaks down and undermines police self-confidence. If chiefs ask their subordinates to pay dues, and if the latter, in turn, ask citizens to do so; if anyone who has attained a certain rank is suspected of having bought their post, or if every person knows about acts of corruption among their colleagues and the latter, in turn, know about one's own acts of corruption, then nobody is immune and nobody can trust anyone else or be trusted by anyone else. This is perhaps the greatest weakness of the police institution.

This being the case, corruption is probably more damaging to the police than to citizens. In other words, it is clear that policemen cannot escape corruption, which leaves them exposed, makes them vulnerable and puts them in such a weak position that their capacity to carry out their duty properly is extremely limited. It is as though they are unable to act other than from a position of vulnerability, a state that does not allow them to escape corruption: theirs, that of their chiefs, and that of their peers. A situation like the one just described is clearly unsustainable or places a heavy burden on the functioning of the organization, and so it appear that the only way to counteract vulnerability is to subscribe to a sort of tacit pact that forces policemen to protect themselves and cover up for one another. This pact, however, only serves to establish a precarious equilibrium that is under a constant threat of breakdown. This explains the growing number of policemen who have been reported, are being investigated, or are in prison.

As regards corruption among the citizenry, it seems that the procedures in place to ensure compliance with traffic rules are so ineffective that, as pointed out in various testimonies, everyone finds it advantageous – even if only on the surface and in the short-term – to violate the rules and find a way around them through corruption. In this case, it is necessary to think about how to elaborate procedures that both favor rule obedience and also allow for the reestablishment of bonds of trust between the police and the citizenry.

Image and Self-Image

One of the issues that have received little attention in the specialized literature is the self-image of the police. However, this is an issue that is relevant when trying to understand the way they view themselves, and think how they are being seen by others, in their language and according to their own categories. It also seems important to see whether there has been changes in the way officers viewed the police before they entered the institution and how they see themselves once they members of the organization, as well as the way in which they think they are viewed and how they view citizens from their own vantage point. This set of "images" are important in-sofar as they can tell us how policemen feel *vis-à-vis* everyone else, the perceived constraints their work that emerge as a result of their image, and the way in which this affects their performance.

By collecting the views of policemen on these issues, we have attempted to understand how they see themselves and how they feel other see them, which is another way of looking at how they relate with others once they have adopted the policemen identity. And it is also an attempt to relate or integrate a subjective dimension (self-perception) and objective reality (relations with other agents or sectors). As we know, both dimensions are always present, and interact and condition each other.

Self-Image

Most testimonies presented below aim to answer the question of how policemen viewed the police before they entered the institution and how they see it and themselves now:

> *Just hearing the word 'police' would leave a bad taste in my mouth … I thought that all these people did was to rob or extort people that had the misfortune of falling into their hands. Six years on the other side has not changed my idea of the police much, there is no end of justifications, some very valid, others less so, but what is for sure is that the police does not work as it should.*

> *Before I entered the corporation the opinion I had was the same as the one many people have today: I thought that being a policeman was the worst thing, that policemen were crooks, extortionists. I was one of those people that would hurl insults when I was a* patrulla *detaining a driver… I thought that it was degrading to be a uniformed police officer, that these were people that were not educated enough. I was against the police in every way.*
> *When I entered the institution, I was insulted and attacked and even beaten on many occasions by people that think like I used to think.*

> *For normal people or civilians, the police have always been s source of fear, repression, beings from another world, illiterate, drunkards, drug addicts, thieves, etc. Obviously, I could not think differently when, seeing an armed officer, I would imagine being detained so that they could rob me or put me in the police car.*

> *Before I entered the corporation, I thought that they were going to treat me badly to train me, that they were going to scorn me for making a mistake or because I had not done well in my training.*

The idea I had was that the police lacked academic training, which was apparent in the way they spoke; that they were careless with themselves (dirty); that they were thieves and all the other synonyms that society uses to label us, abusive and even murderous.

Before becoming a member of the institution, I thought that being a policeman was degrading, that it was a job that did not live up to the sacrifice I had made to study for my degree… When I used to see policemen on the street, they never symbolized security, but rather they inspired my mistrust. However, the need for economic income led me to overcome my prejudices and to ask to be admitted to the mounted regiment.

Initially, I had a deplorable and very negative idea about the police, perhaps because I had never had any dealings with them or maybe because of their reputation for corruption and arrogant, but experiencing the inclemency and arbitrariness faced by a good police officer myself, I realize how wrong I was.

In my opinion, 80 percent of policemen are negative and only 20 percent want to serve society.

The above testimonies provide a lot of information that makes it possible to get an idea of how policemen see themselves and how they feel they are seen by others. Some of the characterizations made are that policemen are thieves, abusive, arrogant, ignorant, dirty, alcoholic, corrupt, rude, addicted to drugs, and aggressive.
Although these traits are not mentioned in all the testimonies, taking the sample as a whole what comes across is the predominantly very negative view of the police before entering the organization. In some cases that image became more positive with membership, when a majority of officers report that their perception changed somewhat. In other cases policemen say that entering the organization did not change the negative image they had previously, but actually that image was corroborated. It is perhaps relevant to ask what kind of relationship can be established with the citizenry on the basis of this self-perception, or how are they able to perform with such low self-image. The following section addresses these questions.

Citizens' Image of the Police

Having looked at how policemen view themselves and how they think others observe them, this section now looks at how policemen view citizens and what they would like to say about the created image of the police.

Everyone, from the highest politician to the lowliest of citizens use the police as their shield to hide the bad things they do. They say we are corrupt when in fact it is the citizen that is corrupt, and the first thing he does is to offer us money to get rid of the problem alter infringing a law or a regulation.

Citizens make demands of us, and I feel angry with the citizenry because it complains, for example, that I am a drunkard but they themselves don't start by changing things. It is not just the police that is corrupt, but the citizen that is willing to give [*us money*] *as well. Corruption is bred because of necessity. Citizens do not support us; they shout at us, they throw stones at us…*

I would like a society that would not stigmatize us for our humble origins. In fact, it is true that we lack a certain economic status, but we do have a strong fighting spirit and enough courage to give our lives for someone that we don't know.

I am aware and know the problem that surrounds us perfectly, because of the pressure that citizens especially submit us to… I think that everyone knows that we the police are not loved or supported by anyone. Everyone calls us thieves, conmen.

As regards the citizenry, my experience like that of any colleague is of aggression, as well as insults and the classic threats that they will put me in jail for doing my work but, even with all this, I have a good view of society since in the end we are there to serve it.

When we try to impose order, we get insulted. They have no idea what it is like to spend 8 hours standing at a crossroads… There are crazy people on the street that insults us for no reason. Sometimes you get into arguments with people and even when a citizen attacks us, he is always right. Sometimes you have to shout at people.

We are the scum of the earth for society because they say we are evil and corrupt and it does not occur to them that we are part of that same society and we are as corrupt as it is. The whole of society has lost its values… It is not worth talking to a society that is more corrupt than we are…

For the policeman, citizens are also arrogant, corrupt and incapable of respecting the rules. It is as though the police feel they have become scapegoats, so that they have to purge the evil that others do. Their anger comes across in many ways. They feel scorned, made to look ridiculous, abused, and some even refer to a desire to get revenge on the citizenry.

Others adopt a more resigned attitude as if they had no choice but to tolerate the citizen's abuses. Whatever the case is, at least in abstract, their relationship with the citizenry is apparently characterized if not by confrontation at least by fear of being insulted, scorned and mistreated. It seem as though policemen have to engage in various battles when they go out on the street: on the one hand against crime, accidents and disorder, and on the other against citizens' mistrust. Under these conditions policemen are unlikely to offer protection and security given the way citizens regard them.

Institutional Image

The following testimonies refer to the way in which policemen view the institution to which they belong, and how they see themselves as members of that institution, as well as how they compare with other police organizations in the world.

> *We are at a disadvantage internationally, but only in terms of equipment and installations because in terms of courage, aptitude, of what we call esprit de corps (*espíritu policial*), we are at the level of any other country, if not in first place.*
>
> *I think that there is no comparison that can be made with international institutions because we are so far below any that one might mention, not because we despise ourselves but we must know our place and try to overcome [our situation] and improve so that one day we can be counted among the best police forces in the e world.*
>
> *The SSP is among the best public security forces in the world, and what we lack is better training to optimize our performance, legal support when we carry out our duties, and to improve the quality of life of police officers with better salaries and benefits.*
>
> *I think that in the police corporations in our country there are great deficiencies, not only economic, to acquire whole infrastructure that would allow us to be better equipped, trained, to be professionals when combating crime; but also deficiencies related to culture, conscience, commitment, royalty and honesty.*

The testimonies above contrast with those in the previous sections because they show that while there is recognition of the institutional deficiencies that put the police at a disadvantage in relation to other similar institutions in other countries, there is also an undeniable price in belonging to the institution. This is true to such a degree that many testimonies underline what policemen consider to be their greatest virtues: bravery, commitment, esprit de corps, which in the eyes of some compensates for the mostly material deficiencies, and places them on a par with other police forces abroad. However, what prevails and is apparent in the testimonies, are the very high levels of tension and lack of trust between citizens and the police. Statements that devalue or denigrate them appear constantly in their self-portrayal. What is clear is that whatever the means adopted to confront that reality (including identification with the image that denigrates them, rebelling against it and considering that that image is better applied to corrupt citizens, or expressing a hope that police-citizen relations will improve in the future), at present the ability of the police to perform the duty, and to provide citizens with security and protection is compromised.

III. Conclusions

This chapter has focused mainly on the obstacles that street preventive police in Mexico City faces in order to fight rising crime effectively. As shown one of the most important obstacles are the deficiencies and weaknesses of the police organization that became more visible.

These shortcomings were already there, but they seem to get worse as the demands on the institution increase. Regarding the challenges that fighting rising crime poses on democratization, it is clear that the consolidation of democracy and the rule of law requires more solid and better managed organizations that enjoy higher levels of trust and credibility.

It is important to note that in Mexico City there has been no comprehensive police reform process, but although one cannot talk about successful policies to transform the police, comparing to the organization 25 years ago, there have been modest improvements and some slow progress in the right direction. Civilian control over police has been somewhat achieved, but efficient police administration is still lacking.

In terms of human rights accountability, it must be said that this issue is only just beginning to emerge on the institutional police agenda, and the organizational changes to implement it have not been carried out. Just over the last decade public institutions began to supervise the compliance with human rights. The police was the focus of many complaints lodged against it and the one that has resisted the most.

Finally, it should be reminded the difficulties to reform an institution with 76 thousand officers. There are significant obstacles to improve working conditions, and the elaboration of incentive programs for officers. At the same time, constant changes at the leadership level, undermines serious efforts for stable practices. The design of new policies calls for high-level expertise, and indeed the lack of experts in this area has been a liability.

As for corruption, there is a complete collapse of mechanisms and procedures to ensure accountability at all levels of the organization. Equally, there is no strategic plan to combat the culture of corruption and the predominance of the paralegal regime within the organization.

Rapporteur

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Department for crime prevention

Abstract: Hungarian Police in Dubious Battle

Borrowing the title of John Steinbeck's most famous novel of 1936 was deliberate. The Hungarian police face antagonistic expectations. Succeeding the political transition of 1989/1990, the police that used to define itself as the sole actor in maintaining public order came across a set of new demands. The concept of liberal democracy needed a police that worships human rights and fundamental freedoms- values Hungarian police are often reproached for disrespecting. New players of the market economy looked for a police to partner with others to produce and maintain public safety. Meanwhile politicians and decision- makers showed strong devotion to introduce law and order policing, even if some of them were very much convinced of the inefficiency of such policies. Last but not least, the public proved on the one hand very punitive, while on the other hand communities claimed to have their own security needs, assuming a communicative police, open to values of community policing, and involving the community as a valuable partner in crime prevention.

Successfully escaping organisational and functional reforms, and potentially adjusting the structure of Hungarian police inherited from a communist dictatorship, to the needs of a liberal democracy and a market economy, of course generate tensions that affect the Hungarian police from the inside.

To veil functional and organisational incongruence and discrepancy, Hungarian police firstly concentrated its powers on reinstalling public order and fighting crime characterised by increasing crime rates so as its reputation recovers. Efficiency became a keynote value of this epoch, badly outclassing principles of Rule of Law, human rights and fundamental freedoms often understood to only serve the interests of those undeserving criminals. Later, from the mid nineties onward, the goals and achievements of liberal criminal policies started to infiltrate policing in Hungary.

Cooperative crime prevention action with the police, and some elements of community policing showed up among short and mid-term objectives of the Hungarian police. However, the Hungarian police continue to face contrary demands. The police are expected on the one hand to effectively and dissuasively combat crime both on the domestic and on the international level. Hungary joined and also initiated a set of international and regional police cooperation mechanisms committed to meet the challenges of serious criminality, such as trafficking in human beings and arms, drug smuggling, serious frauds, corruption, organised crime and terrorism. On the other hand Hungarian police is supposed to show empathy towards communities' needs and be a cooperative agent of community crime prevention, one of the latest inventions of crime control mechanisms in Hungary envisaged to tackle traditional and petty offending in a responsive manner. Market players already installed their own private security arrangements that the police are supposed to respect, and cooperate with. This second wave of expectations keeps pushing the Hungarian police to give up its ideas of being a solitary player of public order. In my presentation I describe the underlying trends that feature the shift of Hungarian police from once undisputed and undoubted monopole position to acting as a strong professional partner of achieving public order and preventing and controlling crime.

Speaker

Jerry Ratcliffe
Associate Professor, Department of criminal justice,
Temple University, Philadelphia

Dr Jerry Ratcliffe is an Associate Professor with the Department of Criminal Justice, Temple University, Philadelphia. He was formerly a police officer with the Metropolitan Police in London (UK) but due to a severe winter mountaineering accident he left the police after 11 years service. At the University of Nottingham he completed both a B.Sc. with Honors in Geography and GIS (UK) and a Ph.D. As a lecturer in policing (intelligence) at the New South Wales Police College in Australia, he ran graduate programs in criminal intelligence, and for a number of years coordinated Australia's National Strategic Intelligence Course. In 2007, Dr Ratcliffe was awarded the Professional Service Award for outstanding contributions to criminal intelligence analysis by the International Association of Law Enforcement Intelligence Analysts (IALEIA).

He has published over 40 research articles and three books: '*Strategic Thinking in Criminal Intelligence*' (Federation Press, 2004); '*GIS and Crime Mapping*' (Wiley, 2005) and '*Policing Illegal Drug Markets*' (Criminal Justice Press, 2005). His forthcoming book, '*Intelligence-Led Policing*' will be published by Willan Publishing. He likes to fly light aircraft, ski, scuba dive, and drink single malt whisky (not all at the same time).

His presentation explores how intelligence-led policing differs from other models of policing, such as community policing, Compstat and problem-oriented policing. From this it is possible to determine a definition of intelligence-led policing as; a business model and managerial philosophy where data analysis and crime intelligence are pivotal to an objective, decision-making framework that facilitates crime and problem reduction, disruption and prevention through both strategic management and effective enforcement strategies that target prolific and serious offenders (Ratcliffe, 2008). By centering the analyst at the hub of the police decision-making structure, intelligence-led policing is significantly different from previous applications of criminal intelligence within law enforcement.

Speaker

Wenche Bauge Helle
Chief Superintendant / POP-coordinator,
Bergen Centrum Police Station

Wenche Bauge Helle started to work as Chief Superintendent / POP-coordinator in Bergen Centrum Police Station in 2007. She has worked in several positions and several locations within the Norwegian police service. Formerly, she was Superintendent in the criminal investigation department. From 2000 – 2002, Ms Helle was appointed as coordinator for multi agency cooperation in Bergen municipality. She is educated by the Norwegian Police Academy with further studies as management, education, and juvenile crime.

The connection between violence and the number of places that serve alcohol

For several years Bergen has experienced a higher rate of reported violence in comparison to other cities and areas of the same size and population in the last decade. A preliminary analysis of the violence in the centre of Bergen shows that the violence is concentrated to particular areas in the city and at particular times of the day. It also shows that the crime is situation-oriented, and that there rarely is any relation between the victims and their perpetrators.

The fact that violence is concentrated to particular areas and certain times of the day can be responded through by applying a problem-oriented approach. This work philosophy reflects an over-all way of working together, both within the Police district and in cooperation between the police and all other departments and actors.

After having identified the problems, it was decided that Bergen Central Police Station would implement a project, where the main method of problem-oriented policing would be used to reduce violence and public disorder in the centre of Bergen. The Project was implemented from October 2005 to June 2006. The main aim of the project was to reduce the violence in the area, and implement POP as a work method in the day-to-day way of policing.

The project evaluation demonstrated the feasibility of applying this method, through active co-ordination and a collaborative problem solving approach, in working to reduce violence in the city centre.

Speaker

Arno Lamoer
Commissioner, South African Police Service

Arno Heinrich Lamoer was born in Riviersonderend, Cape Town on 26 April 1960. He matriculated at the Emil Weder High school, Genadendal in 1977. He taught as a teacher at the Junior Secondary School in Worcester - 1978 and at Riviersonderend Primary School in 1979. Commissioner Lamoer joined the then South African Police Force at the beginning of 1980 by enlisting at the local police station. He completed his basic training with flying colours at the Cape Town Training College in Bishop Lavis during December 1980 and was nominated the best student. He stayed on at the college as instructor and lecturer until 1986. He then was promoted to the rank of lieutenant and transferred to become Station Commander at Atlantis, police station.

During 1990 he was transferred to the Manenberg Police Station where he first served as Staff Officer and later as Station Commander until the beginning of 1994. For two brief periods the following year he was appointed Head Area Visible Policing in Wynberg and the Western (Cape Town) Peninsula Areas respectively before being appointed Deputy Area Commissioner, area Eastern Metropole, at the end of 1996. During 1998 he was transferred to the Organized Crime and Public Safety Directorates which were headed by Advocate Percy Sonn. From mid-2000 he served as Commander for Special Operations in the Western Cape, heading, among other things, the investigations into, and operations against urban terror and gangsterism in the Western Cape. During September 2001 he was appointed Area Commissioner for the SA Police Service in the Eastern Metropole. Divisional Commissioner Lamoer was appointed Divisional Commissioner of the Division: Operational Response Services in 2002 and on 1 June 2006 was appointed Divisional Commissioner of Division: Crime Prevention/Operational Response Service. He is currently the Divisional Commissioner for Visible Policing in the South African Police Service and is responsible for all uniform policing in South Africa including Peace Keeping operations under the banner of the UN/Au, all major events (including FIFA World Cup 2010) and specialized uniform support.

Integrating Community Policing into a Broader Crime Prevention Approach

The paper will present conclusions and findings from a professional seminar for police agencies and policing stakeholders from the African continent. The Seminar was hosted jointly by the South African Police Service, the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime and the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research during May 2007. The seminar explored the contribution made by police services to crime prevention. The concept of community policing as part of crime prevention and four specific common crime problems were also explored during the Seminar.

These focus areas were: Addressing the problem of easily accessible illegal firearms, the appearance of a “gun culture” and the fight against gangs and organized crime (drug traffic, traffic in persons, sex trade); How to respond to youth violence and to help children who are vulnerable to victimization and offending such as street children and HIV/AIDs orphans; Specific actions relating to the use of alcohol and drugs; Prevention of sexual violence against women. The objective of the Seminar was to contribute to a common understanding of community policing for crime prevention, and to identify what this means for African countries, to identify good practices, evaluating elements that can be easily transferred based on three transversal themes: The role of the police in crime prevention; Evaluation and performance indicators for community policing; Local partnerships between police services/forces and other prevention stakeholders. The paper will focus, from a police perspective, on the recommendations and implications of the two days seminar for African policing agencies.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN POLICE REFORM: A FOCUS ON CRIME PREVENTION

Moderator

Tor Tanke Holm
Head of the Section for Strategic Analysis and Crime Prevention, Norwegian Police Directorate

Tor Tanke Holm is head of the Section for Strategic Analysis and Crime Prevention in the Norwegian Police Directorate. He has previously worked as police advisor at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) and has headed the Law Enforcement Department of the OSCE Mission in Serbia and Montenegro.

Speaker

Mark Downes
Head of the International Security Sector Advisory Team (ISSAT)

Dr. Mark Downes is head of the International Security Sector Advisory team (ISSAT) at the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF). He previously worked with the OECD Development Assistance Committee and was the main architect of the 2007 ***OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform*** (www.oecd.org/dac/conflict/if-ssr), which provides guidance on how the international community can support effective and accountable security and justice reform. Mark also worked with the OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, in its law enforcement department and on issues of police reform.

Supporting the effective delivery of security in fragile and conflict affected states - the role of prevention, police reform and international police cooperation.

The fundamental security of persons and property, including protection from violence and confidence in the ability of the state to objectively implement and uphold the rule of law, is dependant upon a nexus of state services that includes the police, the prosecution and the prison services. In countries emerging from conflict or in those countries in political transition the issue of both the capacity and the integrity of these government services, directly impact on the sense of security felt by both the public and business communities. In countries emerging from an authoritarian past, these services can, if left unchecked, be utilised for political purposes, be militarised in nature and highly centralised in structure.

International cooperation in the field of policing has traditionally focused either on securing the peace, through international personnel playing a peacekeeping role or on the development of police capacity (in a reactive sense) through the provision of training and equipment.

While the former approach can provide the space for broader political, economic, and security reforms to take place, the latter does little to create a police service that is accountable or in touch with the population it serves. Experience from the international engagement in cases as diverse as the Balkans to West Africa has shown that there needs to be a balance between capacity development and supporting the creation of policies, procedures, and a culture of accountability. Much progress has been made in recent years regarding the international assistance to police reform. It is clear that police reform cannot be dealt with in isolation but must be part of an overarching strategy to tackle issues of security and justice service delivery, which include not only the formal police structures, but the military, the courts system, community groups, parliament, as well as the prison services. Challenges remain however as to the type of assistance best suits to situations where political will and or capacity is lacking. Similar questions remain as to the effectiveness of our current approaches and the type of personnel and expertise required to support reform processes in these difficult environments. A distinction also has to be made between in international support focused on stabilization and longer term development oriented support programmes. At the heart of the latter approach is a focus on prevention rather than reactive policing; this requires in many cases a shift in police culture but equally it requires a change in the way in which international cooperation prioritises police reform and places an emphasis on policing practices as well as police capacity.

I. The security and development nexus - the role of Security System Reform (SSR)

If states are to create the conditions in which they can escape from a downward spiral wherein insecurity, criminalisation, and under-development are mutually reinforcing, it is clear that socio-economic and security dimensions must be tackled simultaneously. This means that the traditional approach by the international community of supporting security and justice reform by focusing state security, through the provision of training and equipment, needs to be reviewed in order to recognize the need to integrate a human security lens and a service delivery perspective into international cooperation and support programmes.

People want to feel safe and secure just as much as they need food to eat, clean water to drink, and a job to give them an income. Without security there can be no development. Farmers cannot farm if their land or livestock is under attack; girls cannot be educated if they are scared of the journey to school. And businesses will not invest where there is conflict, or where the rule of law is not upheld. The police service represents the gatekeepers of the security and justice system, they are also the security actors with whom people have the interaction on a daily basis. As such the police service provides the litmus test for the public when it comes to assessing the health of the criminal justice and, by extension, the political system.

The international community has learned hard but valuable lessons from its efforts to help build peace and prevent slippage back into conflict in the after math of war. In Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Timor Leste and Afghanistan, the issues we face – trans-national crime, corruption, terrorism – are not new but have drawn more attention to the nexus of security and development issues. The role that the international community and international police cooperation can play in reform processes cannot be underestimated. That said, it is now recognized that police reform is isolation will not improve security and justice service delivery.

Recent work by the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has underlined the need to take a integrated approach to security and justice reform. This approach, known as Security Sector (or System) Reform (SSR) seeks to increase a partner countries' ability to meet the range of security needs within their societies in a manner consistent with democratic norms and sound governance principles, including transparency and the rule of law.

The manner in which a country's security and justice system operates is central to the concerns of the poor and vulnerable. Ineffective policing, weak justice and penal systems, and corrupt militaries mean that the poor suffer disproportionately from crime and fear. As stated in *Security System Reform and Governance; Policy and Good Practice* (DAC, 2005), an accountable, effective and efficient security system, operating under civilian control within a democratic context, acting according to international standards and respecting human rights, can be a force for peace and stability. It provides the necessary framework within which political, economic, and social development can occur.

SSR covers three inter-related challenges facing all states: (1) developing a clear institutional framework for the provision of security that integrates security and development policy and includes all relevant actors; (2) strengthening the governance of the security institutions; and (3) building capable and professional security services that are accountable to civil authorities. Emphasizing effective, legitimate, and democratically accountable institutions, SSR provides a framework to develop appropriate strategies to meet a nationally-defined vision of security and development needs.

As such security system reform strengthens a country's resilience to conflict – by tackling the main causes of insecurity, which can be crime, conflict or in some cases the very institutions mandated to provide security and justice.

II. Who provides security and justice?

In conflict affected and fragile contexts both the capacity and the integrity of government services directly impact the sense of security felt by the public and business communities. The formal security and justice sectors require varying levels of independence from political influence, accompanied by adequate oversight and control, as well as a legal framework that is in line with international norms and standards. In post-conflict or fragile states these services are, more often then not, utilised for political purposes, militarised in nature and highly centralised in structure. When international police cooperation is aimed at creating both accountable and effective services, it is important to understand who provides security and justice. International support tends to focus on state structures – however in many cases the state is not the actor providing security and justice services, that role can be taken largely by non-state actors.

The Development Assistance Committee or DAC (see further www.oecd.org/dac) brings together the main bilateral donors, with the World bank, the IMF, the EC and the UN to harmonise development policy and practice. The DAC through its Network on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation (www.oecd.org/dac/cpdc/if-ssr) has focused over the last number of years on the role that security and justice reform can play in creating a conducive environment for development to occur.

For example, it is estimated that in sub-Saharan Africa, 70 to 80% of justice services are provided through non-state means. While recognising the irreducible role of the state, this reality challenges how the international community provides support to police reform processes. The role of non-state groups in crime prevention has long been recognised, however, in post-conflict contexts working with non-state security providers can provide additional political risks for the international community. Supporting non-state actors and the increasing use of private security providers, can also have a negative impact the long term ability of the state to provide equitable and effective security.

That said, the reality in fragile states is that the state may not be deemed legitimate by significant proportions of the population, and historically may have never exercised full sovereign authority over its territory. This requires a paradigm shift, challenging the international community and individual governments to work in ways and with partners with whom they are unfamiliar. Overcoming this challenge of enhancing service delivery in the short-term, while developing the state's capacity to provide and regulate services in the long-term is crucial and the issue at the heart of any police reform process.

III. Resource scarcity necessitates innovation in crime prevention techniques

The need for innovative solutions to crime prevention is clear when contrasted with available state resources in many countries. In northeastern DRC for example, one Dutch NGO estimated that there are only 2-3 police officer per 100,000 of population. Can the police service therefore take the lead in crime prevention with such scarce human resources? Likewise in Sierra Leone, the minimum 2005 budget for the national police was 200% greater than the public revenues could support, while in south Sudan 88% of the 2007 estimated budget for the police goes on salaries and even then the salary is by no means a living wage. Only 1% of the south Sudan police budget was allocated for fuel and vehicle maintenance, which clearly implies that the police service is restricted to urban centers and is thus inaccessible to the majority of the population.

It is clear in many of these situations that the police service or a state-only approach to crime prevention is not an option. For this reason the international community should consider taking a multi-layered approach to supporting security and justice service provision. This means providing assistance to those groups, both state and non-state, that provides security and engage in crime prevention, while also developing the states capacity to hold those service providers accountable. Non-state actors may include private security companies, market associations and other types of safety and security groups. There are different means of developing linkages between state structures and non-state service providers, including the exchange of information, licensing and monitoring of private security companies, training, neighborhood watch and community security groups or assigning a police officer to be a their liaison. In many such cases, the role of the police will be more to coordinate an approach to crime prevention, rather than being the main actor in such an initiative.

In parts of Sierra Leone and Liberia for example, youth groups – who during the wars may have committed horrendous crime – are now involved in providing security services in areas where the police either cannot or do not serve.

These groups could be deemed vigilantes, but viewed in the context of these particular countries, engaging with threse groups and ensuring that they are accountable for their actions, can provide both a conflict prevention, peacebuilding and crime prevention opportunity. The risks are doubtless high, but the alternatives in such situations may also be few.

A further example from Uganda, is where the taxi drivers association works with the Kampala City Council and the police service to provide order and security in the taxi parks; it is even authorized to detain alleged criminals in the parks, the association also enforces traffic regulations and provides assistance at children's crossing. While this provides a positive example in other countries in the region taxi association are also known as sources of insecurity.

It is clear that some militias or non-state groups may be either protective or predatory, and so having a clear understanding the local context is critical before support is provided to these groups through international cooperation agreements.

IV. From *policekeeping* to police reform – the evolution of police reform priorities and international assistance programmes

Context should define the type of support that the international community can provide and what type of support will have the most impact. In most immediate post-conflict environments, the infrastructure, policy framework and capacity will be lacking for significant reform, crime prevention and proactive policing procedures to be implemented. The primary needs or first-best solution in these situations might be to 'secure the peace' and to focus on confidence building measures between the warring factions; as well as between the state and the public. Through such confidence building measures the objective is to lay the foundations for future reform, but in the immediate term the provision of security or the prevention of the re-emergence of conflict may be the overriding need. This does not mean that the political process required to support a change of police culture or a realignment of police practice away from reactive policing methods cannot begin in this phase, but visible results from such a process may only emerge some years down the line. The development of clear lines of management, decentralization of responsibility, the development of strategic analysis capacity, and an open discussion on service delivery indicators can help to shape the discourse concerning the type of police service best suited to meeting the publics security needs in a post-conflict environment.

The reality is that while the foundations for long-term reform can be laid in the early post-conflict phase, the building of that reform process requires a more stable environment where development issues take over from crisis prevention. It is important for those designing international cooperation programmes to recognize that each phase requires different skills and personnel. A focus on crime prevention will require a shift in policing culture and better analysis on the causes and incidences of crime. A review of training and the integration of pro-active policing strategies into the police training curricula can play a significant role, while the development of a capacity for strategic planning within the police service can facilitate this culture change. A major gap in most police reform situations is the lack of adequate systems of management, transparency regarding procedures and an open dialogue about policing practices. It is in the latter that knowledge transfer and cooperation between the police services of different countries can have most impact.

Police reforms cannot take place within a vacuum of political support, and so ensuring adequate discussion on policing practice with the public and within the political sphere is essential.

International policing missions in post-conflict contexts have been utilised largely as a substitute for the military and as a means of securing the peace in post-conflict situations. However, recently police missions have been developed that focus on security sector reform within transition countries, the RAMSI engagement in the Solomon Islands is a case in point. For the international community to fully utilise the potential of such missions, an operational strategy is required that is adaptable to the context in which policing missions find themselves; from securing the peace in a post-conflict environment, to strengthening the rule of law, security sector accountability, crime prevention and facilitating the fight against organised crime. It also requires an understanding of the dual role of policing and police reform within the context of the new threats that challenge regional stability. Insecurity, organised crime and state failure represent the major new threats to regional security and represent the areas on which the international community's actions within the policing sector need to focus. Such areas of police reform include enhancing operational effectiveness in the fight against organised crime and guaranteeing police accountability for their actions towards the population.

In many cases the transition from securing the peace to ensuring stability is a difficult one for the international community to make. What is certain is that the nature of conflict means that there will be an increasing tendency to utilise police officers instead of soldiers in post-conflict situations. This is evident through the work of the OSCE in the Balkans and the decision by both the UN (through its Standing Police Capacity mechanism) and the EU to establish a rapid reaction policing unit (at least on paper), as part of its European Security and Defence Policy.

An understanding of social transition is required for policing missions to be utilised in the most optimal manner. A review of the situation in the Balkans is a prime example of the stages that a country goes through during a conflict or transition process and the needs of the police service as it secures the peace and transforms itself into a professional and representative police service. Following the creation of the international protectorate in Kosovo in 1999, there was a need for the international community to place operational police officers on the ground, while simultaneously establishing a training program for a new police service. Now some some seven years on the transfer of responsibilities to the Kosovo Police Service (KPS) is occurring, albeit slowly. The role of the international community in Bosnia was something similar, entailing the establishment and training of a 'new' police service, however with the inheritance of a police structure from the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia was at a different stage of development when compared to Kosovo. The major difference between the Bosnian and the Kosovan policing missions was that the international policing mission in Kosovo held executive authority, while this did not occur elsewhere in the Balkans. In Bosnia, the international community did place officers on the ground as a confidence building measure, however their tasks were less operational and more related to capacity building and monitoring.

The Development Assistance Committee or DAC (see further www.oecd.org/dac) brings together the main bilateral donors, with the World bank, the IMF, the EC and the UN to harmonise development policy and practice. The DAC through its Network on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation (www.oecd.org/dac/cpdc/if-ssr) has focused over the last number of years on the role that security and justice

For the purposes of this paper the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will be referred to as Macedonia.

In Macedonia, the international community was present both as monitors of the peace agreement and operationally involved in training and the development of community policing within the conflict zone. The development of the EU policing Missions in both Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM) and FYR of Macedonia (Proxima), has witnessed the shift from training and confidence building to the development of police service capacity to deal effectively with day to day policing task/needs.

Taking the experience from a number of policing reform processes, it is clear that within the national police reform process most of the challenges relate to the structural issues and can be summarised as:-

Enhanced Financial and Human Resource Management within the Ministry of Interior/ Police - not viewed as a typical police reform related area but one that would have a significant impact on the sustainability of the reforms. Furthermore, transparency in human resource issues would have a significant impact on policing culture and moral. The basis of these developments should be an audit of current resources and procedures.

Required division between political and operational components of the Ministry - a problem with many post-conflict or transition countries that historically had political and policing structure enmeshed. An independent but politically accountable police service can be a guarantor of the criminal justice system and not a pawn of the political structure.

Creating the proper Legal Framework - the example of Balkans, as in many transition environment, is the over-legislation of issues thus creating a veritable legal straitjacket for the reform process. There also appears to be a misunderstanding as to what should be legislated and what should be regulated. A law on the police service should merely establish the mandate, legal basis and powers of the police service, while issues of structure, job functions and recruitment practices are all issues that should be dealt with by internal police service regulations and are adaptable to a changing social environment.

Creation of a system of police education based on problem solving, crime prevention and policing principles – the theoretical approach taken in many policing education processes, does not in many cases prepare the officer of the tasks that the public expects of the police service. A harmonized system of basic training course, coupled with a standardised approach to issues such as human rights and policing 'best practices' should be a the starting point. In addition, sufficient opportunity should be provided for all officers to update and upgrade their skills through in-service training facilities.

Establishment of a transparent police structure - that enhances operational effectiveness, makes optimal use of resources; facilities internal communication and intelligence transfer and provide for the delegation of authority.

Develop system of police accountability - that underlines the ability of the police service to self-regulate, but also ensures external structures that guarantee the democratic control of the security sector.

The development of institutions such as the Ombudsman will enhance the confidence of the police service in the eyes of the general population, but specifically from the perspective of minority groups. This should be augmented by municipal/local level accountability structures.

Develop a strategic approach to the modernisation of the police service - there is a significant need to strategically plan and chart the future direction of the police service and to establish national strategies on a number of crime areas. Clear policies, with the necessary political support, are essential for the development of the police service and the co-operation of the international community.

Development of a national plan on crime prevention and community policing - is required to institutionalise a change in police culture, to increase the transparency, effectiveness and representative nature of the service. The plan should include recommendations on training, delegation of authority to local police authorities regarding the development of specific community policing initiatives and should transcend all aspects and areas of the work of the police service.

To be effective, police reform requires an integrated approach. Experience has shown the benefits of developing and implementing police, justice and prison reform in a coherent and co-ordinated manner. The police play a linking role in the criminal justice system, and as such provide a means of developing sector-wide strategies.

Similarly defining the role of the military and the police is especially important in countries emerging from conflict. The guiding principle should be that the police have primary responsibility for internal security and that the military are in principle only responsible for external security. At the level of internal security, the military should only be used in highly exceptional and well defined circumstances (the exception being Gendarmerie like constabulary forces that operate in come countries with military like status). Clear links are also needed between a police reform process and the role of parliamentary oversight.

V. Police reform – lessons learned from the field

Taken from the experience provided from the process that developed the *OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform,* a number of lessons can be identified regarding international assistance programmes

As with most reform processes, the **objectives and ambitions of reform projects should be calibrated to fit the context**. The needs and priorities of particular police services will reflect the specific histories and political developments of their countries, and so in turn should reforms. For example, states emerging from dictatorship or armed conflict will inherit power structures that pose very specific challenges for police reform, whereas countries with high crime – especially organised crime – may see 'democratisation' of the police as less of a priority.

Using **professional networks**, such as the South East European Police Chiefs Association or SEEPCA, **can be an effective tool for change**.

Like anyone else, police officers are more likely to be convinced of the value of reform if they hear it word-of-mouth from their peers than if they are told through leaflets and speeches. Professional networks are therefore useful in this regard, particularly as police chief typically want to appear modern and progressive.

Training has its limits. The focus of training programmes provided by the international community often tends to be on providing visible skills (e.g crime scene investigation). However, a lesson from policing programmes in Guatemala is that such skills be learned but are rarely used. Training thus needs to have a practical focus and ideally arrangement should be made to ensure that the skills learned are immediately incorporated into work routines and practised. And instead of just focusing on senior managers or new recruits, training should also target middle managers who can help push for change and sustain it. What is called for is a culture change that addresses police behaviour and attitudes; an overhaul of management practices and procedures may be needed to allow training to become effectives.

Process matters as much as the outcome. Ensuring that reform initiatives are implemented in a transparent and participatory way will bring considerable benefits. In Kenya, for example, the fact that a Strategic Plan for the police was successfully developed in open workshops with a wide cross-section of officers and not just the commissioner has been credited with opening ip a more consultative and non-hierarchical way of working. In Lesotho, consultations on the development of a police Complaints Authority has entailed the police and the public attending the same workshops, to ensure a common understanding of police accountability.

VI. Common challenges in the provision of support to police reform processes

Does the international community have the right skills to support reform processes? As the international community moves from a 'train and equip' approach to supporting police reform process, to a more strategic approach focused on enhancing service delivery, accountability and crime prevention, the skill sets required by though involve din international cooperation also needs to evolve. Traditionally we have sent police officers into international missions, with little regard to the additional skills required. They may be the best analyst, community policing officer and forensic scientist in their home country, but transferring those skills or develop similar capacity where none exists new skills and provides new challenges for those being deployed.

A whole-of-government approach is required for successful support to police reform processes. Not only are additional skills required but as outlined above, as part of international policing deployments police officers are being placed into highly fluid, volatile and politically sensitive situations. Police reform requires multi-disciplinary skills and a multi-disciplinary team. It also required coherence in donor government policies, fro police cooperation, to development to foreign affairs.

International police cooperation needs to be viewed as an essential part of the career development of a police officer within their national police service. Participation in international policing missions is, in many cases, rarely viewed as positive from the perspective of career development. Police officers who participate in international police cooperation, bring back to their home services additional skills, cultural and political awareness, that can only be viewed as positive for their development as a police officer. This needs to be acknowledged for the right type of officers, with the rights skills and training to be deployed as part of as part of policing missions.

How transferable are current crime prevention techniques into context where resources are scarce and capacity is limited? Much of current crime prevention strategies are based on technological development that would make their applicability in development context unfeasible. In addition, models of community policing need to be adapted to the political and cultural context. Traditional neighbour watch programmes would not be feasible in many parts of the Balkans or places such as Guatemala, where memories of vigilantes or informants makes such programmes culturally sensitive. More work is required on how to development capacity or implement crime prevention, in contexts where there is either a lack of political will or police/civil society capacity.

VII. Next steps: improving international support for police reform processes

As outlined above, different skills and personnel are required for different phases of police cooperation. Experience from multi-lateral missions have shown that there is a need for more predeployment training with regard to police reform objectives, capacity development capabilities and political understanding of reform processes. In many cases we, as the international community, are send officers into policing missions ill equipped to deal with the complex and highly political environments in which they find themselves.

Training represents only one pillar of a police reform process. It is also clear that policing expertise, which is vital to a programme of international cooperation, is only one of the skills required to support a reform process. Management, communication, financial expertise are all equally important, as is the ability to coordinate the international community and strategic link and map the reform process.

Further work is required to better define the objectives and role of the police service within society. In a post-conflict context this means integrating policing reform issues into peace agreement and into DDR programmes. In more development orient environments, ensuring a discourse on policing and security within national development frameworks is critical to maintaining the political support required for what will be difficult reforms. A whole-of-government approach is required if international support and policing reforms are to go beyond the rhetoric and focus on the in a proactive sense on the tackling the causes and consequences of crime.

Speaker

Dr. Sohail Husain
Director, Analytica Consulting

Dr Sohail Husain is Director of Analytica Consulting, a provider of international technical assistance, research and training services in community safety, policing, justice reform and urban regeneration. He is accredited as a Justice Adviser to UK DFID, a Civilian Expert to the UK Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit and an Associate Consultant by the British Council. Sohail previously held posts as Deputy CEO of Crime Concern and Lecturer in Geography at Southampton University.

Police Reform in the Western Balkans: A Comment on UK Support Programmes

Since 2001 the UK Government has funded programmes to reduce the risk of a recurrence of war and ethnic conflict in the western Balkans. A central theme has been support for transformation of the police from an organ of state control to a service working for all sections of the population. Important elements of the reform programme include the embedding of accountability, fairness, probity, discipline, diversity and access to justice. Critical for success however has been the need for police to engage with municipalities and communities so that the 'right' problems are identified, and then prevented or solved constructively, thereby building confidence in and respect for police officers. Good progress is being made with a twin-track approach that involves the introduction of neighbourhood policing alongside the establishment of multi-agency community safety councils. Small localised initiatives have been found to have a powerful impact. However, historical tensions, central government control and the absence of civil society mean that considerable technical assistance is needed. Two particular questions have to be addressed. The first is how to supply information about good practice whilst encouraging independent thinking about what will work best in local conditions. The second is how to provide enough help to maintain good progress, whilst discouraging dependency on external support.

Speakers

Supt D.E. Coates M.A.
Director, International Peace Operations Branch, Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Supt Coates has 29 years service with the RCMP which has included contract policing in Alberta, National Security Services, Federal Policing in Ottawa and Quebec, with around10 years working in the field of international policing. Supt. Coates was initially deployed to the United Nations Mission in Haiti in 1993. He returned to Haiti in 1994 as part of the UN Advance Team and was subsequently deployed to the Grand Anse region where he re-established contemporary policing services for the 800,000 people living in the Region. Supt Coates assumed responsibility for the management of Canadian police deployments in 1996. There he developed the business model and systems for the RCMP to meet this growing demand which resulted in over 170 Canadian police personnel being deployed to seven missions around the world. In 2004 Supt Coates was seconded to the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, a private, not government organization mandated to support Canadian contributions to international security through military, police and civilian programming in the areas of research, education, training and capacity building. Seconded initially as Director of Police Programs, Supt Coates was subsequently appointed Chief Operations Officer, responsible for the management of all programming in Canada and around the world. In this capacity he positioned Canada and the PPC to have continental reach in Africa.

This past year Supt Coates was seconded to work with the Australian Federal Police International Deployment Group. In June 2007, Supt Coates returned to the RCMP as Director of the International Peace Operations Program. In this role he has the responsibility of building a new program that will enable Canada to maintain the deployment of 200 Canadian police personnel to international peace operations around the world.

Abstract: International Policing: A Strategic Approach to Crime Reduction

Policing in the 21st Century requires the development of holistic strategies that address the root causes of crime at their source, which often extend beyond our national boundaries. Organized crime and terrorist organizations are increasingly fluid, high-tech and have become very proficient in the movement of illicit commodities around the world. Their entrepreneurial approach to business has resulted in the development of diverse portfolios co-mingling licit with illicit activities. Regions of insecurity provide fertile grounds for these organizations to expand their operations. This poses new and formidable challenges to law enforcement organizations around the world.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN POLICE REFORM: A FOCUS ON CRIME PREVENTION

Increasing numbers of countries experiencing conflict and failed or fragile states have resulted in unprecedented levels of international intervention. The demand for civilian police (CIVPOL) to intervene in these environments participation has grown significantly and their role has become increasingly complex.

Mr. Andrew Carpenter, of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Police Division recently stated that the demand has increased by 30% since 2006 and that an additional 60% increase is anticipated over the next two years resulting in approximately 16,000 CIVPOL being deployed to UN operations around the world.

CIVPOL focus on the implementation of the rule of law, the principles of democratic policing and the application of the community policing model. Their role varies from monitoring and reporting on local law enforcement activities, having an executive mandate responsible for the maintenance law and order and the development of indigenous law enforcement capacity to effectively respond to the challenges associated to policing in the 21st century.

The establishment and maintenance of a secure environment in post conflict environments or in failed and fragile states is largely a police responsibility. Without a secure environment social, political and economic development will not occur. It is only through the accomplishment of these objectives that the international community will be able to prevent a return to conflict.

This requires the development of multi-lateral and bilateral international policing initiatives. Police are not able to accomplish these objectives on their own. In these environments it is essential that they work in close partnership with military, other law enforcement and civilian elements, both international and local, to develop comprehensive strategies that contribute to sustainable peace and security.

CIVPOL have proven to be an essential component of security system reform, implementation of the rule of law and the development of sustainable law enforcement capacity. Their engagement on international peace operations is a strategic approach to crime reduction and contributes directly to ensuring safer streets and communities at home.

Speaker

Captain Jean Côté, Deputy Director,
Deputy Director, International Relations and Protocol, Sûreté du Québec

Cpt. Côté has been a police officer with the Sûreté du Québec for 28 years. He currently holds the rank of captain and is Deputy Director of the Office of International Relations and Protocol. He began his career at the Montréal-Métropolitain station before moving to the station in Sainte-Julie. At these posts, he occupied the functions of patroller, patroller-investigator, investigator, relief supervisor and manager of the office of investigation. He was promoted to Corporal and Sergeant at the Services for Cultural Communities at the Office of the Community Relations. He thereafter became Provincial Coordinator of the program INFO-CRIME Quebec for two years. He continued his career at the Office of Community Relations as Assistant to the Officer in Charge of the Service for Prevention and Community programs. He contributed to the design, development and establishment of Community Policing at the Sûreté du Québec. Moreover, he coordinated the development of new prevention programs centered on the needs of clients. He has also conducted training in community policing, problem solving and intercultural communication at the Sûreté du Québec. Cpt. Côté has also given lectures on behalf of the Sûreté du Québec at the main colleges and universities in Quebec, as well as at several congresses in the United States, Canada and Quebec. He was promoted to lieutenant in charge of the Service for Prevention and Community programs in 2001. In 2003, he was promoted to captain and Deputy Director at the Office of International Relations and Protocol. He coordinates international relations activities and peacekeeping missions for the Sûreté du Québec. Cpt. Côté has worked internationally since 1995. He oversees the reception of police officers or political delegations coming from various countries who are interested in best police practices. He informs these visitors about police organisations from Québec and Canada, and in particular, the Sûreté du Québec. Mr Côté has a degree in labour relations and criminology from the University of Montreal.

Summary: Prevention in Haiti

Since the middle of the nineties, Québécois and Canadian police officers have taken part in the UN peacekeeping missions Haiti. Over the years, the officers have carried out many humanitarian initiatives to assist the Haitian population. Our observations lead one to consider these volunteer activities as part of a philosophy of community policing and crime prevention. In order to demonstrate this link, this reflection will brief1ly summarize the operation of the police organizations in Canada. Next, the approaches of community policing and crime prevention that Canadian and Québécois police services privilege in their community will be discussed. Then, based on examples from the work done in Haiti, we will examine how these approaches of community policing are integral parts of the work of the Québécois and Canadian police officers, even in a theatre of operation abroad.

Moderator

Dr. Margaret Shaw
Director of Analysis and Exchange, ICPC

Margaret Shaw PhD is a sociologist and criminologist and Director of Analysis and Exchange at the *International Centre for the Prevention of Crime* in Montreal, Canada. She worked for over 20 years in the Research and Planning and Crime Policy Planning Units at the Home Office, England. In Canada she has taught in the Department of Sociology & Anthropology at Concordia University, Montréal, and acted as a research consultant to federal, provincial and municipal governments, including on women's offending, evaluation, and restorative justice and policing. With ICPC since 1999, she has undertaken a range of reviews and reports on international strategies and practice in crime prevention relating to local government, children and youth, school safety, women's safety, hate crimes, indigenous communities, and with UN HABITAT, on youth participation and urban governance. She helped develop the workshop on crime prevention at the *11th UN Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice* in Bangkok, Thailand in April 2005, and the workshop on technical assistance in crime prevention and criminal justice at the *15th UN Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice* in April 2006.

Speaker

Slawomir Redo
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

Dr. Sławomir Redo works in the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), currently in its Division for Operations, Governance, Security and the Rule of Law Section (Vienna, Austria). He is a member of the Academic Council of the United Nations System and the Central Eurasian Studies Society. In 1999-2002 he served as a Senior Criminal Justice Expert in the UNODC's regional office for Central Asia (Tashkent, Uzbekistan) and now manages project-based crime prevention work. His recent practical accomplishments include, inter alia, successful conclusion of the "*South-South Regional Cooperation for Determining Best Practices for Crime Prevention in the Developing World 2004-2006*" involving countries of Southern Africa and the Caribbean (www.southsouthcrime.org), and the ongoing e-distance learning project on the "*Virtual Forum against Cybercrime*", initiated by the Korean Institute of Criminal Justice Policy (www.kicjp.re.kr), a member of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme network of institutes. His academic work includes about 45 various articles, mostly from the area of United Nations crime and justice studies, three own and three co-edited books, including the forthcoming "*For the Rule of Law. Criminal Justice Teaching and Training @cross the World*", European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI) – Korean Institute of Criminal Justice Policy (KICJP), Helsinki-Seoul 2008, prepared with Prof. Kauko Aromaa.

Abstract

Dr. Redo in his presentation to the Colloquium focused on "International Cooperation in Crime Prevention and Community Safety". In the light of the United Nations field experience in peace keeping, and the report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the "The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies" (doc. S/2004/616), the presentation stressed that prevention was the first imperative of justice. The presentation introduced the related United Nations guiding crime prevention principles, adopted at the recommendation of the United Nations Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice by Economic and Social Council (resolution 2012/13, Annex). These principles are: 1. Pursue the rule of law; 2. Include marginalized people in legitimate socio-economic activities; 3. Focus on community; 4. Work on an interagency basis; 5. Make crime prevention sustainable and accountable; 6. Apply knowledge through evidence-based practices. Their further presentation may be found in his article "Six United Nations guiding principles to make crime prevention work" (in:) "*International Perspectives of Crime Prevention. Contributions from the 1st Annual International Forum*", edited by Marc Coester and Erich Marks (Forum Verlag Godesberg 2008, forthcoming).

Speaker

Gregory Sloane-Seale
Coordinater, Citizen Security Programme, Ministry of National Security ,Trinidad & Tobago

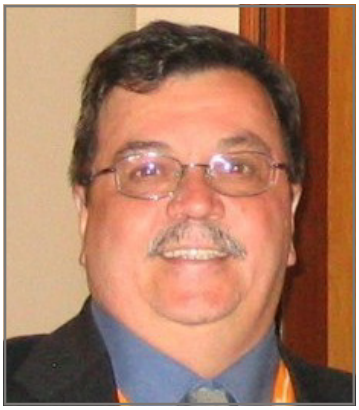
Gregory Sloane-Seale has been working with "at risk" youth and their communities since 1989, first in Toronto, Canada before returning to his native Trinidad & Tobago in 1995. Gregory has collaborated with UNICEF Caribbean on their Xchange Project which focused on Youth Violence Reduction in the region. Currently, Gregory is employed with the Government of Trinidad & Tobago within the Ministry of National Security where he coordinates a community oriented Crime & Violence reduction programme known as the Citizen Security Programme in conjunction with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).

The nature of assistance, the assumptions of the donors, policymakers and perceptions of the recipients of monies on the ground

In many instances international donor agencies offer prescriptions or solution to crime for countries & communities based on "best practices" from "foreign" experiences with the expectation that a "one size fits all" methodology with some local adaptations would have the intended effect on the recipient community. Given that time is of the essence in the dispensation of funds, and that positive impact must be measured in order to substantiate collaboration in the first instance, many programmes have been implemented with donor pressure to conform to their prescription or do without. As a result of these expectations and past experiences, many communities accept whatever is given to them without having been genuine development partners. This creates a recipe for recipient apathy towards programme success. The Citizen Security Programme in Trinidad & Tobago is a government initiative being funded in part through a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank aimed at reducing violence & crime through community based interventions. From the programme's inception, the bank and the Project Preparation and Implementation Unit has been working closely with partnering communities in developing programme and intervention strategies that are relevant, participatory and lead by the community. This method, though not new to some donor agencies is a paradigm shift for the bank and its partners in recent years and we shall briefly review some salient findings herein.

Moderator

Serges Bruneau
Programme Director, ICPC



Serges Bruneau has an Honours BA of Criminology (University of Montreal), and joined the ICPC in September 2003. He has vast experience in the fields of rehabilitation of young offenders, Quebec health and social services, and crime prevention. He has also worked in the fields of homelessness, drug addiction, and prostitution. He has specialized in crime prevention at the local level, where he coordinated the City of Montreal's Crime Prevention Program, Tandem Montreal, for over ten years. He has contributed to several initiatives, such as the Quebec cities guide titled "Sécurité dans les milieux de vie. Pour le mieux-être des citoyens, des citoyennes et des familles". He was former member of the National Crime Prevention Centre and of Québec's roundtable on prevention. He is currently, President of the Conseil consultatif québécois en prévention de la criminalité and is ICPC's Programme Director.

Rapporteur

Patrice Allard
Division Chief for social development, City of Montreal

Patrice Allard has been working in social and municipal fields for over 15 years. As Division Chief for social development at the City of Montreal, he supervises programs, projects and activities related to local development, urban cohabitation, equity and accessibility, as well as prevention of poverty and social exclusion. In charge of urban security from 2000 to 2005, he has helped developing the Montreal Programme for the support of citizen action in urban security in boroughs (Tandem), the implementation of social mediation projects and the constitution of the Director Comity on street gangs. Bachelor of arts in communications (University of Quebec in Montreal) and detaining a cultural research and animation certificate, Mr Allard has worked in both institutional and community sectors. He represents the city of Montreal on a regular basis

Speaker

Juma Assiago,
Urban safety expert, UN Habitat

A social scientist by profession, Mr Assiago is an urban safety and youth expert with UN HABITAT. He joined UN-HABITAT in 1999, working in the area of urban safety and youth programming. He is tasked with assisting governments and other city stakeholders to build capacities at the city level to adequately address urban insecurity and to contribute to the establishment of a culture of prevention in developing countries. He has served in various UN inter-agency coordinating processes and technically supported various international youth crime prevention and governance processes. He is also involved in developing youth safety tools and approaches in urban contexts. His main thematic area of focus is on the use of social, institutional and situational crime prevention measures to reduce youth crime and delinquency in cities. He has also participated and presented papers in several international conferences on youth and children empowerment. He is also currently involved in the strategic planning process of the Safer Cities Programme which among others is defining the key role of the police in urban development and developing a network structure taking into consideration the governance of safety and safety in public spaces.

Astract: Partnering with the police on prevention

The presentation focuses on UN-HABITAT's experiences on partnership with the police on prevention. It highlights the experience of UN-HABITAT noting that the problem is not so much in establishing a partnership but in underestimating the resistance of the police organizations towards community consultation and participation. At the same time, it notes that the involvement of local authorities in crime prevention is a relatively recent development particularly in the developing world. Mayors and local governments have affirmed that one of the effective ways of reducing violence and crime within cities is by improving police services and their accountability to the community. It argues that the police have an important contribution to make far beyond their law enforcement mandate, by contributing to sustainable urban development and that any effort to build trust between the Police and the public, requires safety to be addressed as an issue of good urban governance. It proposes that the Police as a strategic institution should be incorporated by cities into broad-based community revitalisation strategies to realise meaningful partnerships that are embedded in the generalisation of police functions. In this perspective, it draws on the Safer Cities projects and offers them as a good local framework to experiment and implement community policing projects. UN-HABITAT will seek to focus its cooperation with cities and countries in the next 5 years on enhanced normative operation framework and to develop partnerships as tools to articulate the different roles of actor in crime prevention. There are ongoing plans to develop an international framework on Policing for Urban Development which will in principle exchange experiences on best practices in police and local government partnerships and enhance training and awareness as an essential tool for police forces in meeting the challenges of urban safety and good governance.

Speaker

Clifford M. Johnson
Executive Director, Institute for Youth, Education, and Families, National League of Cities, Washington, D.C

Cliff Johnson is the executive director of the Institute for Youth, Education, and Families at the National League of Cities in Washington, D.C. In this role, Cliff is leading NLC's efforts to strengthen the capacity of municipal leaders to meet the needs of children, youth, and families in their communities. The Institute is working in five core program areas: education, youth development, early childhood development, the safety of children and youth, and family economic security. Prior to his appointment as executive director of the Institute, Cliff spent three years as a senior fellow at the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities working on the development of new approaches to job creation and innovative welfare-to-work strategies. For more than a decade from the mid-1980's to the mid-1990's, he served in senior staff positions at the Children's Defense Fund, including three years as director of CDF's Programs and Policy Division. For many years, Cliff led CDF's work on issues related to youth employment and family economic security, and he played a major role in organizational initiatives focused on adolescent pregnancy prevention. Cliff began his career as a legislative aide in the U.S. House of Representatives. He also co-authored two books on labor and social policy while serving as a research associate with the late Sar Levitan at George Washington University's Center for Social Policy Studies.

Community policing has been a familiar part of American discourse and strategy regarding law enforcement and crime prevention for several decades. This approach, characterized by a focus on prevention, problem-solving, community engagement, and partnerships as well as traditional law enforcement techniques, continues to enjoy broad support among local elected officials and many police leaders. However, mayors and other city officials that remain committed to a community policing model now face a series of new challenges. Numerous cities that had success in lowering rates of violent crime have failed to sustain their community engagement efforts, shifting their attention and resources elsewhere and subsequently witnessing a resurgence of violence in their communities. The growing intensity of gang violence and retaliatory killings in crime-plagued neighborhoods have also fuelled pervasive fears among residents and deepened a culture that resists or even vilifies cooperation with law enforcement officials. Finally, distrust of police among newly-arrived immigrants to the United States has grown in recent years, as undocumented residents (and often their relatives, friends, and neighbors) shun contact with all public agencies in order to avoid detection and possible deportation.

In response to these developments, some U.S. cities are crafting gang and violence prevention strategies that seek a deeper and broader engagement with residents, faith-based organizations, and other community groups.

These new initiatives begin with the premise that traditional policing techniques and law enforcement strategies alone cannot yield large and sustainable reductions in homicides and youth violence.

They are also rooted in the belief that a more comprehensive approach that explicitly links prevention, intervention, and suppression efforts is necessary to achieve long-term public safety goals. This presentation, based upon the recent work and experience of the National League of Cities and its Institute for Youth, Education, and Families, will review current challenges and some of the city-level innovations they have stimulated.

Speaker

Claude Carignan
Mayor, City of St-Eustache and President of the Committee for Public Safety, Quebec Union of Municipalities, Quebec, Canada

Claude Carignan is Mayor, City of St-Eustache and President of the Committee for Public Safety, Quebec Union of Municipalities, Quebec, Canada. Law graduate from the University of Sherbrooke, Claude Carignan also holds a specialized diploma in administrative law from the University of Montreal. He has worked in private law firms since his admission to the Quebec Bar in 1988. Mr. Carignan has taught at the Faculty of Law at the University of Montreal and the University of Quebec in Montreal, and at the National School of Public Administration. Since his election as Mayor of Saint-Eustache in November 2000, he has worked in decision making institutions at local, regional and provincial levels. Treasurer and member of the Executive Committee of the Quebec Union of Municipalities, Claude Carignan was designated as President of the Justice and Public Safety Commission of the Organisation. In this respect, he is a member of the Permanent Committee of the Police Forces of Quebec. These combined experiences have given him a valuable expertise, which he uses when participating and organising workshops and conferences in several national congresses and colloquiums on justice and public safety.

Speaker

Ove Kristoffersen
Senior Adviser, Crime Prevention Coordinator, City of Oslo

In Oslo, the work of preventing crime among children and young people is organised through the collaborative model SaLTo, involving the police. SaLTo's implementation involves many sectors (city, national, voluntary and private sectors). The work of crime prevention should be problem-oriented and based on expertise, in line with the city's preventive strategies and the strategy on Problem Oriented Policing (POP). The City of Oslo and the Oslo Police District are gathering relevant statistics, information and experience. A basis for knowledge and analysis is developed through Strategic Plans and Trend Reports.

Speaker

Christophe Caresche
First Assistant to the Mayor, 18th

Since 1989, Christophe Caresche has been an elected counsellor in the 18th arrondissement in Paris where he lives. He was the first assistant to the Mayor of the 18th arrondissement from 1995 to 2001, and in 1997, he was elected to represent the city of Paris (18th riding). Since 2001, he has been the assistant to Bertrand Delanoë, Mayor of Paris, who appointed him as head of prevention operations for the Council of Paris. He is a member of Socialist Party and is a specialist of questions of safety, prevention and immigration.

Presentation

Paris has 2,150,000 inhabitants, within a greater agglomeration of close to 11 million people. It is the political and economic capital of France. Every day, the city receives another million people who come to work in the city or who come as tourists.

It is a city in which a large number of criminal offences are committed each day involving crimes against property, and in recent years, an increasing number of crimes against persons. However, most investigations have shown that the citizens of Paris feel safe. Paris is the city

which has the largest ratio of police officers/number of inhabitants in France, due to the fact that is the national capital.
As a city, Paris has an atypical status because it is both a city and a department.

The Mayor of Paris also occupies a unique function, because on the one hand, he does not handle various administrative police functions (which are delegated to the Prefect of Police in Paris) unlike most other Mayors in France. On the other hand, he is an integral partner in the national regulatory framework for the co-production of safety and crime prevention, which is a co-production ensured by the city, the police and the justice system.

It is under this administrative framework that the city of Paris has developed a number of operational structures for crime prevention and victim assistance. The city has made considerable investments in this area: more than 200 million euros. In addition to “conventional” specialised prevention structures, such as prevention through school activities, sports or vocational training, it is worth mentioning several innovative projects:

- The creation of the Paris observatory for public tranquillity, which keeps inventory of all public order offences committed within city boundaries and provides valuable information for decision making. The observatory performs analysis work which is used to develop strategies for prevention and for the protection of property and individuals and to provide guidelines for the intervention services mandated to protect the citizens of Paris.

- Night and evening correspondents: 100 municipal officers, all of whom are civil servants trained in social mediation skills. They begin their duties every day of the year, working from 4:00 p.m. until midnight, in six neighbourhoods of the capital. Through their operations they are in contact with the more sensitive portions of the population (hard drug users, - crack, heroine, subutex, the homeless, runaway teenagers, isolated elderly citizens…). They also work with all the marginal members of the city. They provide a close link between these inhabitants and the local neighbourhood authorities; town hall, police, technical services, social services, bailiffs...). They also provide conflict resolution services (public nuisances, outbursts of noise, squatters, neighbourhood brawls...). They work to reduce neighbourhood tensions and disputes.

- The creation of the observatory for gender equality and the professional network of professionals who work with women who are victims of violence: public information campaigns, specific training for municipal shelter employees, awareness campaigns in the schools, and the creation of new center for women who are victims of domestic violence…

- A service for material assistance to vulnerable citizens who have been victims of criminal offences. In fact the "traditional" victim assistance programs provide mainly psychological or legal services. However, when a person living in a situation of fragility (very often the elderly living in solitude or isolation) is the victim of an assault, a theft or a burglary, the very first needs of the person are for direct and practical assistance because of the damages or losses incurred: how to approach the banks and local administrative offices (replace a bank card, check book, identity papers, transport pass…), contact a local locksmith in the case of a burglary, etc, etc...

- Mechanisms for the prevention public incivility especially in terms of public cleanliness or ver-

bal aggressions which require both education and awareness.

- Reception provided by municipal services for about 100 persons per year convicted by the Courts to perform community work.

- Development of situational prevention services (special configuration of sensitive sites to reduce the potential of passing from the intention to the act, video surveillance…)

- Educational supervision established in two arrondissements of the capital, networks of interdisciplinary professionals who work in cooperation with parents to propose school programs for the reinsertion of children and adolescents who are susceptible to drop out.

In the field of crime prevention, the Mayor of Paris has without a doubt a major role to play as a guide and initiator. Other major partners such as the police and the justice system work side by side with the city. The partnership policy which has been implemented for several years has allowed for the progressive rapprochement between different cultures of work, but a great deal more remains to be accomplished.

CONCLUSIONS

Valerie Sagant,
Director General, International Centre for the Prevention of Crime

In conclusion, I wish to underscore the high quality of the presentations we heard and to congratulate all those who transcended their local contexts and drew out lessons that are beneficial to us all.

As a result of all the very productive debates, I have come to the conclusion that, despite the diversity of perspectives, there are certain observations that we all share:

Expectations from the police are high and are concomitant with the expectations for safety. They stem in part from the level of crime experienced and in part from the feeling of insecurity, which itself is rooted in multiple causes, many of which go beyond the borders of criminal justice and may include socio-economic factors, fear of others, fragile sense of self-identity...

It is impossible for the police alone to respond to the demand and **its role in prevention work is complex.** There are many needs: professional skills, development of competencies, knowledge acquisition and education. This complexity was pointed out clearly, but it does not always seem to be among the priorities of the authorities.

The **contexts** in which the police are expected to provide prevention operations are undergoing evolution: urbanization, diversification of populations groups, an increasingly complex corpus of criminal law, and the advent of terrorism.

The relationship of trust between the police and the community is a fundamental requirement for all democratic police services. Such a relationship is lacking in many countries. It is a fragile relationship that requires constant reinforcement.

Our debates gave rise to many questions, which cannot all be addressed here. However there are a few that I wish to highlight, as they indicate new directions for progress and are closely related to the issue of knowledge.

The first type of knowledge is being familiar with **the communities in which the police are called to intervene.** This is predicated on knowledge of the real crime trends and the needs of the populations and other local stakeholders. To be able to act effectively, the police need to have an accurate understanding of the situation in their communities. It is not enough to base police work on mere statistics. The need for safety goes far beyond the straightforward mapping of zones of high criminal incidence. Some of the more useful tools that have been recently developed are crime observatories and geo-coding; but for these tools to bring actual added value, they must be implemented in a broad based partnership. Information sharing between partners is an important feature of a relationship based on trust. But implementation requires time; therefore mobilizing the talents and resources of diverse stakeholders over time must remain a high priority.

The second level of knowledge is related to the **establishment of closer links between theory, practice and evaluation.** The colloquium gave us a clear and detailed picture of the different police models that have been developed by researchers and public policy specialists.

We also were shown how such models may evolve from their original principles to adopt new practices that are sometimes implemented in an entirely different way. This is true of community policing and its objective of a closer relationship with the local community, more proactive interventions and a greater insertion into the local context. The model has not always been as successful as planned.

Furthermore, the assessment of practices must be undertaken using more systematic and rigorous evaluation. Otherwise the innovations risk going adrift and the notion of reform might be high-jacked for political or economic reasons. It is essential to identify both the counter effects and the conditions of success for a “new police”. These two days of meetings with such a diversified group of experts, both police representatives and researchers, decision-makers and practitioners, may have left the impression that there is not only great potential but also a lack of dissemination of the knowledge gained from new experiments.

It is perhaps in this respect that the usefulness of the ICPC and its annual event becomes clear. Both provide the opportunity for international exchange, comparative analysis and dialogue. I wish to sincerely thank our Norwegian hosts who contributed to the success of this event. I also wish to thank all of the members and partners of the Centre. We hope that the work will prove beneficial to all. It is up to each of us to draw on the conclusions that will be most useful in our respective communities.

PHOTO ALBUM

COLLOQUIUM PICTURES

Gregory **Sloane-Seale**, Citizen Security Programme, Trinidad et Tobago, Patrice **Allard**, Ville de Montréal, Canada, Clifford **Johnson** , National League of Cities, USA

Inger Anita **Øvregård** , Head of the Reindeer Police Section, Vestfinnmark Police District., Norway, and Spt. Douglas **Coates**, Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Colloquium main room, Thon Opera Hotel, Oslo

Serges Bruneau, Director of programmes, ICPC, and Daniel Cauchy, Director of Police Partnerships, ICPC

Chantal **Bernier**, Assistant Deputy Minister, Public Safety, Canada and Erik **Nadheim**, Director, National Crime Prevention Council, Norway

Sergio **Ibarra**, Project Manager, Querétaro, Jose Manuel **Ogando,** Secretary of Citizen Security, State of Querétaro, Mexico.

Yves **Charette**, Deputy Director, City of Montreal Police Service, Canada, Paul **Girard**, Deputy Minister, Public Safety, Québec, Claude **Dauphin**, Vice-president, City of Montreal Executive Committee, Canada, ICPC Treasurer, Cpt. Jean **Côté**, Deputy Director, international relations and protocol, Sûreté du Québec (SQ), Inspector Daniel **Cauchy**, SQ, Director of police partnerships, ICPC

Raymonde **Dury**, ICPC President, and Barbara **Holtmann**, ICPC Vice-President

Ingelin **Killengreen**, High Police Commissioner of Norway, Colloquium Opening Speech

Dianne **Heriot**, Australia, ICPC Vice-president, Barbara **Holtmann**, South Africa, ICPC Vice-president, Erich **Marks**, Germany, ICPC Secretary, Valerie **Sagant**, France, ICPC Director General

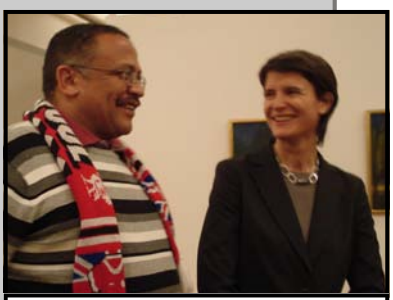
COLLOQUIUM PICTURES

Michel **Marcus**, EFUS, ICPC Vice-President, Thierry **Le Lay**, Director General, Protection and Prevention, City of Paris

Valerie **Sagant**, ICPC Director General

Paula **Miraglia**, Executive Director, ILANUD,Margaret **Shaw**, Director of Analysis and Exchange, ICPC, Kristina **Lenard**, Hungary, Laura **Capobianco**, Senior Analyst and Project Manager, ICPC, Elena **Azaola**, Researcher, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores,

Kristina **Lenard**, Hungary, Margaret **Shaw**, Director of Analysis and Exchange, ICPC, Tor **Tanke Holm**, Head of the Section for Strategic Analysis and Crime Prevention, Norwegian Police Directorate, Laura **Capobianco,** Senior Analyst and Project Manager, ICPC



Arno **Lamoer**, Commissioner, South African Police Sevice, Valerie **Sagant**, ICPC Director General

Egil **Olli**, Sami Parliament President, Norway, and Sami representatives

Raymonde **Dury**, ICPC President, and Gregory **Sloane-Seale**, Citizen Security Programme, Trinidad and Tobago

Serge Amand **Yapo**, South Africa, Ove **Kristoffersen**, Norway, and Bla Konan Kan **Parfait**, Ivory Coast

François **Filion**, Communication Officer, ICPC, Clifford **Johnson**, National League of Cities, USA

Erling **Børstad**, National Police Directorate, Norway, Nathalie **Rodrigues**, Business Manager, ICPC, Daniel **Cauchy**, Director of Police Partnerships, ICPC

DELEGATE LIST

ADERSSKOG SOLVEIG
AHLGREN-FRANKLIN DOROTHY
AHNFELT ELLEN
ALI NAWSHER
ALLARD PATRICE
ANDERSEN MARI BIRKENES
ANDERSSON JAN
ASSIAGO JUMA
AZAOLA ELENA
BALCHEN PAAL CHRISTIAN
BAUER INGER JOHANNE
BAUK HANS JØRGEN
BEITLAND KRISTINE
BERNIER CHANTAL
BERTHELSEN MARIE-CLAIRE
BILBERG KRISTIN
BIRKELUND LIV HILDE
BJØRNGAARD WENCHE
BLA KK PARFAIT
BREKKE ERIK
BRODEUR JEAN-PAUL
BRUNEAU SERGES
BURES RADIM
BØRRESEN FRODE
BØRSTAD ERLING
CAPOBIANCO LAURA
CARESCHE CHRISTOPHE
CARIGNAN CLAUDE
CAUCHY DANIEL
CHARETTE YVES
CHICHIGNOUD CHRISTELLE
CHRISTIE NILS
CIAFARDINI MARIANO
CLACHER DANIEL
COATES DOUGLAS
CÔTÈ JEAN
CRONIN FRANCINE
DAUPHIN CLAUDE
DOUTREWE PAUL
DOWNES MARK
DURY RAYMONDE
DYP KJERSTI MALO
ELEFALK KJELL
FARIAS CRISTOBAL
FILION FRANCOIS
FIMEYER MARIE LOUISE
FINSBERG JOHN
FJERMESTAD BÅRD
FORSTER FRANCOISE
FOSSEN CATHRINE
FRANK CHERYL
FREDRIKSEN HELGE
FREDRIKSEN TOR MAGNE
FURUHEIM BJØRN
GALANTE FRANCOIS
GAY CATHERINE
GIRARD PAUL
GRAHAM JOHN
GREBSTAD TONE
GUDMUNDSEN GEIR
GUHA LILA
GUILLOT GERMAN
GUINOT-DELERY PIERRE
GUSTAVSON ANNE-CATHRINE
HANSEN HUGO
HARFIELD CLIVE
HELLE WENCHE BAUGE
HERIOT DIANNE
HOEL INGVILD
HOLLANDS STEPHEN
HOLM TOR TANKE
HOLT ØYSTEIN
HOLTMANN BARBARA
HORTEMO OLE
HUSEBY KNUT ERIK
HUSAIN SOHAIL
HUSTAD ARNT EVEN
HUSTAD STEIN ARNE
IBARRA SERGIO LUIS
ILLUM JØRGEN
IRJUD CHRISTIAN
ISAKSEN BRITT ELIN HÆTTA
ISLAM RASHADUL
JOHNSON CLIFFORD
JOHNSRUD ANDERS BILLE
JOHNSRUD KAROLINE
KILLENGREEN INGELIN
KLEIVEN MAREN ELINE
KRISTOFERSEN OVE
KAASA STEINAR
LAMOER ARNO
LARSSON PAUL
LAY THIERRY LE
LENARD KRISZTINA
LEZAETA PEDRO
LIE ELISABETH MYHRE
LIEN ELIN
LIGETI MIKLOS
LUNDE KJELLBJØRG
LYIMO SAMWEL
MARCUS MICHEL
MARKS ERICH
MELAND PÅL
MELING LARS
MIRAGLIA PAULA
MYRSTAD BIRGER ANDREAS
MØRK HANNENADHEIM ERIK
NICKELSEN ANNA KARINA
NIKAC ZELJKO
NORDSTRØM BERTIL
NÅLSUND PER JOAR
OCQUETEAU FREDERIC
OGANDO JOSE MANUEL
OLLI EGIL
PERSSON HANNE MARIE
PETROS MZWANDILE
PHAM NATHALIE
PHILIPS ALEKSANDER
PIENAAR SUSAN
PORTUGAL CONRADO
QUIMBY MICHAEL
RAMSTAD LISS-ELLEN
RATCLIFFE JERRY
REDO SLAWOMIR
REYES ALEJANDRA LUNECKE
RIBIOLLET BERNARD
RISENG ANNE SIGRID
RODRIGUES NATHALIE
RUGLAND GRETE
SAGANT VALERIE
SANDVIK JOSTEIN
SANTOS CECILIA MACDOWELL
SHAW MARGARET
SKJEBSTAD KRISTIN ANETTE
SKULSTAD HÅKON
SLOANE-SEALE GREGORY
SMOGELI GRO
SOLUM IVAR
ST.JEAN PETER
STORBERGET KNUT
STORRØSTE BENTE
STRØMMAN OLE JOHAN
STØRKSEN DAG
SUAREZ JAVIERA BLANCO
SVARTZ PER
TAMEZ MACEDONIO
TOLLOCZKO PHILIP
TVENGE KJELL MAGNE
UNNEBERG ESPEN
VANGEN TONE
VLOET YVES VAN DE
VUKOVIC SOFIA
WASEIGE JOSEPH
WILBERG KIM ANDRE
WÅRUM MARIT
YAPO SERGE
ØISETH OLE VIDAR
ØVREGÅRD ANITA
ØVRUM BJØRN
AANSLØKKEN OLE HERMAN

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