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Introductory Handbook on
Policing Urban Space

CRIMINAL JUSTICE HANDBOOK SERIES

UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIME (UNODC)
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Introductory Handbook on Policing Urban Space

CRIMINAL JUSTICE HANDBOOK SERIES

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Introduction

Over the past 20 years, Governments and civic actors have focused substantially on the question of crime and urban law enforcement efforts. It has come to be recognized that crime is unevenly distributed throughout the world. In certain countries, such as Guatemala, the homicide rate is higher than 30 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, whereas in many other countries, including in Western Europe or South-East Asia, it is more than 10 times lower. Important disparities are also observed between and within regions: in Africa, Egypt, Mauritius and Morocco have homicide rates that are lower than 3 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, far lower than those in South Africa. Discrepancies can also be significant within the same country. In Colombia, for example, the city of Tunja (population 150,000) has a rate of 7 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, compared with 128 per 100,000 inhabitants in the city of San José del Guaviare (population 50,000). Finally, within the same city, homicide rates can vary significantly from one neighbourhood to another. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, rates vary from 2 to 12 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, depending on the neighbourhood.[1]

A recent statistical report of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) shows stable or decreasing global homicide trends over the period 2003-2008 for the majority of countries for which data is available in the Americas, Asia, Europe and Oceania. Exceptions to the trend include a number of Caribbean and Central and South American countries, including Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica and Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), which show significant increases in homicide rates. Research suggests that this may be due, in part, to increases in transnational organized crime, illicit drug trafficking and gang activity. In addition, a slight increase was seen between 2007 and 2008 in a few countries in Europe, demonstrating a need for continued vigilance and effective crime prevention action. Unfortunately, data for a number of countries in Africa and in parts of Asia are not robust enough to provide a clear picture for a useful analysis. Intentional homicide (the intentional killing of one person by another) is one of the most serious forms of crime and a key indicator of violent crime levels in a given country or region.

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[1]International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, International Report 2010 on *Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Trends and Perspectives* (Montreal, Canada, 2010), p. vii.

Statistics on killings may be drawn from both health and criminal justice sources. Since the majority of violent killings involve the use of some form of weapon, statistics on intentional homicide not only provide information on levels of violent deaths in non-conflict settings, but also on overall levels of armed violence.[2]

Crime problems are driven by a series of factors, including poverty, inequality, the rate of urbanization, political transitions, urban density, population growth and poor urban planning, design and management.[3] Successes in controlling crime in cities in high-income countries have depended on the use of innovative analytical techniques developed in response to needs identified at the local level. Efforts have included a variety of community-based crime prevention action plans,[4] geo-referenced crime data to support the efficient and effective deployment of law enforcement resources and preventative approaches focused on developing law-enforcement expertise. Successful crime control techniques involve cutting-edge strategies to gather and use knowledge, often in collaboration with actors such as municipal planners and civic leaders. Cities in the richest countries have benefited most from the new strategies. Nonetheless, urban governments in low- and middle-income countries have increasingly sought to apply the techniques in new contexts, with growing success.

The *Handbook* builds on the basic concepts and principles reflected in the United Nations standards and norms in crime prevention and criminal justice that relate to policing[5] and that are outlined in other United Nations documents on the subject[6] as well as in the wider range of scholarly and policy literature. It seeks to provide practitioners, including government officials, police, municipal planners and members of civic groups, especially in low- and middle-income countries, with a basic conceptual grounding in democratic policing, and guidelines on good practices so that they can successfully undertake democratic policing in the urban contexts in which they operate.

The main issues addressed here are the dimensions of urban crime problems in the growing cities of low- and middle-income countries and how collaboration between urban planners, civil society, government officials and different types of police can help to solve those problems. The *Handbook* also examines a variety of crime control strategies, including community-oriented policing, problem-oriented policing,

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[2]UNODC, homicide statistics. Available from www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/homicide.html.

[3]*Global Report on Human Settlements 2007: Enhancing Urban Safety and Security* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.07.III.Q.1), pp. 67-72.

[4]In many developing countries with poor governance, community-based crime prevention strategies are effective in reducing crime but are often divorced from the allocation of law enforcement resources.

[5]In particular, the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (General Assembly resolution 34/169, annex), the Guidelines for the Effective Implementation of the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (Economic and Social Council resolution 1989/61, annex), the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials (*Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Havana, 27 August-7 September 1990: report prepared by the Secretariat* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.91. IV.2), chap. I, sect. B.2, annex), and the International Code of Conduct for Public Officials (General Assembly resolution 51/59, annex).

[6]United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Criminal Justice Assessment Toolkit (in particular the modules on policing), available from www.unodc.org/unodc/en/justice-and-prison-reform/Criminal-Justice-Toolkit.html?ref=menuside; the *United Nations Criminal Justice Standards for United Nations Police* (www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/08-58900_Ebook.pdf), and the forthcoming publication entitled *Handbook on Police Accountability, Oversight and Integrity.*

intelligence-led policing, situational crime prevention, the "broken windows" theory and the strategy on crime prevention through environmental design. It also addresses broader principles of managing urban space to control crime and strategies for evaluating crime control programmes. The *Handbook* includes references to efforts to control crime in an array of countries, including Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Mexico, South Africa, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

The overall objective of the *Handbook* is therefore to outline the new, innovative techniques and to explain how they have been applied to address crime problems in low- and middle-income countries. The various programmes, policies and approaches described here can provide law enforcement policymakers, front-line officers, urban planners and other city authorities as well as civil society organizations with basic information about an array of strategies and good governance practices to control crime in rapidly growing cities in low- and middle-income countries.

I. Context of urban policing in low- and middle-income countries

The control and management of urban space has been a driving force in the historic emergence and development of urban policing strategies.[7] Owing to the unique characteristics of cities, urban policing is a central governance challenge facing high-income countries as well as low- and middle-income countries as diverse as Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan and South Africa. What makes policing urban space different from other types of policing and what specific challenges do governments face in policing those areas? Within the broader context of United Nations recommendations on crime prevention and the management of human settlements, the *Handbook* outlines contemporary understandings of policing in urban areas and how police and State officials, especially those at the municipal level, can work together to develop crime prevention strategies.

A. Key terms

Megacities. Extremely large urban areas with populations usually in excess of 10 million inhabitants.[8]

Megalopolis. A fusion of multiple cities into one single interconnected urban area.

Low-income countries. Countries with a per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of less than $975.

Lower-middle income countries. Countries with a per capita GDP of between $976 and $3,855.

Upper-middle income countries. Countries with a per capita GDP of between $3,856 and $11,905.

High-income countries. Countries with a per capita GDP of over $11,906.[9]

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[7]In the context of Brazil, see Thomas Holloway, *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a 19th Century City* (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1993).

[8]Fred Pearce, "Eco-cities special: Ecopolis now", *New Scientist*, 16 June 2006, available from www.newscientist.com/article/mg19025561.600-ecocities-special-ecopolis-now.html.

[9]Country income levels area available from http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-classifications.

Urban space. Densely populated land area subject to varying uses. Definitions of urban space may vary from country to country, based on the laws in different jurisdictions.[10]

B.   Definition of urban space

Half the world's population lives in cities. Europe, North America and Latin America became predominantly urban in the mid-twentieth century, and over the next 40 years the majority of the populations of Asia and Africa will also come to live in cities.[11] Cities are sites of critical importance to the future of the planet, and addressing the myriad of issues facing them in low- and middle-income countries is one of the primary governance challenges facing States in the coming generation.

Urban spaces are nodes of high population density, at the core of which sit one or more cities. Diverse populations may live in close proximity to each other, at times contributing to inter-group and cross-class tensions. Housing and areas of commercial activity are often located near each other in vertical spaces with limited outside access. High population density places substantial demands on transportation corridors but also opens up the possibility of developing mass transit systems to quickly and efficiently move populations between different parts of the urban area. Cities are sites of substantial commerce and economic competition that can contribute to greater economic and social opportunities as well as to crime and inter-group tensions. High population density creates a market for mass spectacles, such as sporting events and cultural presentations, which are difficult to accommodate in non-urban areas. Since there is a high demand for common space in those places, urban areas often set aside designated public areas such as markets or parks for leisure activities and economic transactions. In many societies, public space in the form of sidewalks, streets, market areas and parks is informally privatized to support economic activity. Finally, a dense population also creates neighbourhoods that define the lives of many urban inhabitants.

Such urban environments contribute to different types of policing challenges. The high level of inequality present in many urban environments creates competition and can contribute to collective violence.[12] Opportunities for different forms of crime that exploit class differences abound. Intensive commerce and trade can also contribute to crime problems in urban areas. The presence of banks and other sites for securing cash and valuables can lead to large- and small-scale robberies. In addition, the existence of a substantial financial and commercial infrastructure makes urban areas ideal places in which to commercialize illegal goods ranging from controlled narcotics and illegal arms to stolen merchandise. The presence of ample road networks and port facilities can turn many urban areas into trans-shipment points for contraband.

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[10] *Global Report on Human Settlements 2007*, pp. 334-335.

[11] UN-Habitat, *The State of the World's Cities 2008/2009: Harmonious Cities* (London, Earthscan, 2008), p. 11.

[12] For a discussion of urban inequality and politics, see *Global Report on Human Settlements 2007* (see footnote 3 above), pp. 3-4.

Large nodes of desperation and poverty can generate conditions that support drug abuse and trafficking in persons. High population concentrations can also contribute to large-scale demonstrations and political violence.[13] Finally, the density of urban space and the proximity of urban space to media offices can create conditions attractive to those wanting to engage in acts of terrorist violence.[14] Cities are major centres of national political life, and protests can turn into riots during difficult times.

Urban areas can be contrasted to suburban and rural areas, which have considerably less population density and generally a lower concentration of economic activity. While in urban areas there is often a comparatively extensive police presence, police in the countryside may not be able to reach crime scenes quickly and may not be able to establish a regular presence. Residents of such areas may find that they have to rely on their own resources for security. A low population density similarly means that individuals have less constant contact with one another and there is often less immediate competition for access to space for conducting business and for housing. While this hardly means an absence of conflict, the dynamics of rural crime and violence often necessitate different police practices.[15]

In order to understand any urban space it is important to consider the particular concerns of its users. The *Handbook* draws specific attention to the role of women in public spaces and to efforts to create secure environments for women and girls in the urban space in which they live and work.[16] While many efforts to control crime will benefit men and women equally, women face particular challenges and concerns that may be effectively addressed through collaborative restructuring of urban space and police services.

C. Contrasts: large-scale urban areas in low- and middle-income countries and challenges to governance and policing

One approach to understanding the challenges of policing and urban areas in low- and middle-income countries is to contrast the policing in those countries to that in high-income countries. To date, the vast amount of research and study on policing has been conducted in high-income countries, especially in Europe and North America. There is, however, a growing literature on crime and policing in other countries, especially those that have experienced substantial problems with crime over the past generation, such as Brazil, Colombia and South Africa.

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[13]For a discussion of how inequality can contribute to violence see UN-Habitat, *The State of the World's Cities 2008/2009: Harmonious Cities* (see footnote 11), pp. 57-58.

[14]*Global Report on Human Settlements 2007* (see footnote 3 above), p. xviii and pp. 65-66.

[15]For a discussion of rural policing in Africa see Bronwen Manby, "A failure of rural protection", *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 49 (2002), pp. 86-104; Bruce Baker, "Post-conflict policing: lessons from Uganda 18 years on", *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (July 2004); Bruce Baker, "Reconstructing a policing system from the ashes: Rwanda's solution", *Policing and Society*, 17:4 (2007), pp. 1-23.

[16]For a discussion of some of the problems women face with regard to crime see Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, *Police Practices: Obstruction to Poor People's Access to Justice* (New Delhi, 2003), pp. 35-38.

As discussed in the sections above, urban areas in low- and middle-income countries share a number of characteristics. Cities in wealthy countries, however, differ in substantial ways from such urban areas. Cities in high-income countries today usually have fixed patterns of development that have been in place for a substantial period of time. The older, unplanned areas of such cities have often either been destroyed or restructured in order to facilitate economic activity as well as State and social control;[17] however, this has frequently resulted in the loss of valuable social fabric and pre-industrial architecture. The vast majority of governments in the urban areas in high-income countries have developed ordered plans for urban expansion into suburban and rural areas that include different forms of transportation to bring the population into the urban centre. Neighbourhoods are generally regularized, follow an official street plan and have regularized city services. In general, cities in such countries are smaller than those in developing regions and, in many cases, have reached a point where population growth is very slow.[18] In almost all cases a relatively effective and reliable rule of law and regulatory system exists.

Today, 12 of the 15 largest urban areas in the world are in low- and middle-income countries. Cities are growing much more rapidly in less well-off regions of the planet; by 2015, 21 of the 30 largest urban areas in the world will be in developing countries. According to UN-Habitat, 95 per cent of the world's urban population growth over the next four decades will be absorbed by cities in developing countries.[19] These cities include Jakarta, Mumbai (Bombay), Delhi, São Paulo, Cairo, Kolkata and Mexico City, as well as a myriad of smaller and lesser-known cities that may grow at similar or even greater rates.[20] Trends indicate that this growth will continue as large urban agglomerations emerge in low- and middle-income countries.[21] UN-Habitat projects that by 2025, all the urban areas that will cross the threshold of 10 million inhabitants will be in low- and middle-income countries.[22] Table 1 indicates the size of several of the world's largest cities and the estimated growth in population.

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[17] On the role of States in using urbanization policy to control dissent see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale Agrarian Studies (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 53-63.

[18] *The State of the World's Cities 2008/2009: Harmonious Cities* (see footnote 11 above), pp. 13-15.

[19] Ibid., p. 15.

[20] This is particularly the case for small cities in Africa and Asia, which are the urban settlements seeing the highest levels of growth. See The State of the World's Cities 2008/2009: Harmonious Cities (see footnote 11 above), p. 18

[21] Data provided by UN-Habitat.

[22] *The State of the World's Cities 2008/2009: Harmonious Cities* (see footnote 11 above), p. 6.

Table 1.   City populations and projected rate of growth[a]

| Country | City | Estimated population (thousands) | | Projected rate of growth |
		2010	2015	
Japan	Tokyo	35 467	35 494	0.02
Mexico	Mexico City	20 688	21 568	0.83
India	Mumbai (Bombay)	20 036	21 869	1.75
Brazil	São Paulo	19 582	20 535	0.95
United States of America	New York, Newark	19 388	19 876	0.50
India	Delhi	16 983	18 604	1.82
China	Shanghai	15 790	17 225	1.74
India	Kolkata (Calcutta)	15 548	16 980	1.76
Indonesia	Jakarta	15 206	16 822	2.02
Bangladesh	Dhaka	14 625	16 842	2.82
Nigeria	Lagos	13 717	16 141	3.26
Pakistan	Karachi	13 252	15 155	2.68
Argentina	Buenos Aires	13 067	13 396	0.50
United States of America	Los Angeles, Long Beach, Santa Ana	12 738	13 095	0.55
Brazil	Rio de Janeiro	12 170	12 770	0.96
Philippines	Manila	11 799	12 917	1.81
China	Beijing	11 741	12 850	1.81
Japan	Osaka, Kobe	11 305	11 309	0.01
Russian Federation	Moscow	10 967	11 022	0.10
Turkey	Istanbul	10 546	11 211	1.22
France	Paris	9 856	9 858	0.00
Republic of Korea	Seoul	9 554	9 545	-0.02
China	Guangzhou, Guangdong	9 447	10 420	1.96
United States of America	Chicago	9 186	9 469	0.61
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	London	8 607	8 618	0.02
Colombia	Santa Fé de Bogotá	8 416	8 932	1.19
China	Shenzhen	8 114	8 958	1.98
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	Tehran	7 807	8 432	1.54
Peru	Lima	7 590	8 026	1.12
India	Chennai (Madras)	7 545	8 280	1.86

[a]Data provided by UN-Habitat.

These urban areas face significant challenges in governance that do not exist in most high-income countries today. At the most basic level, megacities in low- and middle-income countries are growing at high rates that are well beyond the capacity of many Governments to regulate. The problems associated with this are compounded by a lack of adequate Government resources for housing and the resulting emergence of irregular settlements that have informal street patterns, that are unmapped and that are often unfamiliar to outsiders and public officials.[23] Such areas often lack basic services, which residents must provide for themselves. Transportation systems that were planned for much smaller cities or designed to reach only the wealthier areas of the city become wholly inadequate to meet the needs of large portions of the population, causing many to turn to informally organized and unregulated means of transportation. In cities across Asia, Africa and Latin America, insufficient formal sector employment opportunities drive many into informal work. Workers in the informal sector often find themselves exposed to a higher level of risk for crime, violence and harassment. For example, as a result of the itinerant nature of their work, market sellers working in unregulated spaces are more prone to being robbed or subjected to extortion at the hands of criminals or State officials. Also, the lack of regulation of informal markets often causes workers in the informal sector to turn to criminals for protection.[24] Youth unemployment and underemployment may also contribute to violence and other crime problems.[25] Informal work and unemployment are especially significant issues facing women and young people.[26]

In sum, individuals living in unregulated housing, transported in unlicensed vehicles and working outside the formal sector live beyond much of the State regulatory apparatus and are forced to rely on informal arrangements to provide for their basic security at home, in the workplace and while travelling between the two. The extent to which such vulnerabilities are associated with crime depends on the society, its sociocultural norms and its interpretations of "informality". Sociocultural norms can act as powerful systems of governance, in particular when there is a lack of law enforcement.

There are many other challenges facing governments and police forces in large cities in low- and middle-income countries. The governments and police forces in such cities are less familiar with, and have less access to, much of the population and the urban areas than do police forces in wealthier countries. The resulting provision of informal services substantially transforms the system of governance from that which is expected in cities in high-income countries.

The following list includes some of the main characteristics of megacities in low- and middle-income countries:[27]

- Uncoordinated urban development and services
- Unplanned street patterns

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[23] *Global Report on Human Settlements 2007* (see footnote 3 above), pp. 9-10.

[24] On the role of organized crime in informal protection see Diego Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1996).

[25] *The State of the World's Cities 2008/2009: Harmonious Cities* (see footnote 11 above), p. 89.

[26] Ibid., pp. 86-89.

[27] The list is drawn in part from *Meeting the Challenges of Megacities in the Developing World: A Collection of Working Papers* (Washington, D.C., National Academies Press, 1996), pp. xi-3.

- Poor governance and political resistance to decentralization, accountability and transparency
- Informal systems of neighbourhood governance
- Large pockets of poverty
- Substantial inequality in income
- High levels of pollution
- High levels of migration
- Large informal sectors
- Well-educated populations relative to other urban areas in the same country
- Effective port, airport, road and telecommunication facilities that usually provide connections to other national and international urban areas
- Strong sense of community and social solidarity may exist
- Opportunities for self-help and participatory solutions to daily needs may exist

Megacities pose particular challenges for governance and policing. On one level, local administrations often have limited knowledge about the extent of a particular urban structure. In some cases, there are no comprehensive street maps and it may seem impossible to actually draw such maps or for the city to acquire a thorough knowledge of the urban terrain. Many megacities comprise a series of municipalities and suburban areas that have grown into one large urban zone. This can create substantial difficulties in creating solutions for the whole region since the area will comprise several local governments, perhaps with divergent political directions and different needs and resource levels. Despite such differences, the areas may share related security challenges but be unable to work together to solve them.

Finally, these cities may face unconstrained growth and expansion, which would tax their ability to cope with geographic, structural and geological challenges.[28] The result can be an accumulation of excessive waste or such a high demand for housing or transport that planners and police may appear to face insurmountable obstacles in delivering security and other basic services.

In some cases, police must deal with the challenges posed by policing a city where much of the population lives, by necessity, outside the law. In such situations, it is particularly important that police and municipal officials find ways of building relations with the inhabitants of the city. At times, traditional policing techniques, such as conducting patrols by car or on foot, are inadequate for the situations in which officers find themselves as they address the concerns of communities of squatters or areas dominated by vigilantes or gangs.

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[28] *Global Report on Human Settlements 2007* (see footnote 3 above), p. 10.

High levels of urban growth and inadequate services coupled with recent political transitions sometimes lead to rising crime rates and calls from various groups for more repressive policing. All too often beleaguered police fall back on repressive policing strategies to allay demands from political leaders or the population.[29] Inevitably, however, repressive policing tends to have the effect of achieving, at best, short-term reductions in crime and of alienating much of the population from the police. Repressive efforts further corrode law enforcement, making it harder for police to enforce the law in the future. They also foster additional disorder in cities as police devote time to chasing criminals and engaging in high-profile confrontations as opposed to doing the more "mundane" work of preventing crime and serving the needs of citizens. The problems are exacerbated by the authoritarian and militarized policing legacies of earlier political regimes and conflicts.[30]

While Governments may change, police often remain in their jobs. Strategies and habits acquired under different systems, however, also remain in place. While repressive policing may have had its place in a more generally authoritarian political system that regularly trampled the rights of citizens and focused on repressing dissent more than on controlling crime, it often damages both efforts at policing and effective political leadership in more open systems.

Many countries try forms of "zero tolerance" policies only to abandon them after a short time. Building links between police and other government institutions is critical to developing new and innovative strategies of crime control. Such links are needed to incorporate security concerns into wider governance efforts. They also enable police and government officials to build effective relationships with the population in order to better guarantee security and ensure both order and respect for the rights of citizens.

The list below includes some of the main challenges of policing in cities in low- and middle-income countries:

- Order maintained by informal local structures
- Conflict over resources
- Illegal provision of basic urban services
- "Informalization" of city spaces and services
- High levels of absolute deprivation
- High levels of tension between wealthy and poor
- Police are targets of terrorism and political violence

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[29] Mercedes Hinton, *The State on the Streets: Police and Politics in Argentina and Brazil* (Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006).

[30] On post-conflict policing in Mozambique see Helen Maria Kyed, "Traditional authority and localization of State law: the intricacies of boundary marking in policing rural Mozambique", in *State Violence and Human Rights: State Officials in the South*, Andrew M. Jefferson and Steffen Jensen, eds. (London, Routledge, 2009); on South Africa see Steffen Jenson, "The vision of the State: audiences, enhancements, and policing in South Africa", in *State Violence and Human Rights: State Officials in the South*, Andrew M. Jefferson and Steffen Jensen, eds. (London, Routledge, 2009); on Brazil see Anthony W. Pereira, "An ugly democracy? State violence and the rule of law in post-authoritarian Brazil", in *Democratic Brazil: Actors, Institutions, and Processes*, Peter R. Kingstone and Timothy J. Power, eds., Pitt Latin American Series (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000).

D. Levels and types of policing

The institutional structure of police forces varies greatly. In some countries, such as the United States and Mexico, municipalities retain a substantial amount of control over many public safety issues. In countries such as Ireland and Nigeria, a single national force consolidates most policing activities. In between, there are a variety of alternatives. In Argentina and Brazil, State and provincial authorities are the primary policing authorities.[31]

Just as control of police structures varies hierarchically, there also exist different functional divisions within policing structures across the world. In France and Spain, for example, policing in rural areas is separated from policing in urban areas. In Brazil and Germany, investigative forces controlled at the State level are split into uniformed police who take on first-responder and preventative roles and a plain clothes force that conducts investigations. Many countries also entrust the investigation of certain federal or national crimes to a separate force, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the United States. Policing functions at the national or federal level may be divided among a variety of forces that take care of such issues as border security, investigations and national security matters.

A number of countries maintain separate local guard forces that may be labelled "local police". These forces may undertake a number of preventative and guard activities on behalf of municipal governments when the control of traditional policing activities is delegated to national or regional governments. Brazil and Burkina Faso offer examples of this type of strategy. Such forces, which are often unarmed, vary greatly across the world in terms of their structure and roles. They have different and, at times, more limited competencies than the regular police forces as defined by national and subnational laws. Nevertheless, they offer an important opportunity for municipal public safety policy innovation, can play important preventative roles and may provide a critical entity through which local governments can effectively engage with the State or national public safety apparatuses. Their different reporting lines may enable them to play a critical role in helping to build security into city planning work. They provide an outlet for mayors and other city leaders, who are often in charge of urban planning and management, to control some security issues and to incorporate the views of security officials into local policy planning.

In understanding urban policing, government officials must consider the different types of forces that exist within their national, regional and municipal contexts. Building effective urban policing involves understanding the contributions that the different types of forces can make and incorporating the insights of the leaders of the different institutions into policing policy.

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[31]For a detailed discussion of policing structures see Philip L. Reichel, *Comparative Criminal Justice Systems: A Topical Approach* (3rd ed.), (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, Prentice Hall), pp.149-185; see also *Urban Safety and Good Governance: The Role of the Police* (Nairobi, UN-Habitat and International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, 2001), pp. 11-12.

E.   Proactive strategies to control crime: adapting theories and strategies to local contexts

Rather than thinking about policing either in terms of arresting large numbers of suspects or removing slum areas, law enforcement officials need to consider proactive strategies to control crime, such as community policing, problem-oriented policing and situational crime prevention. In using such strategies, police and other public security officials seek to build relations with the population in an effort to effectively transform urban space and State-society relations to control and prevent crime. The strategies have been used with varying levels of success in different regions. Some of the successes are outlined in the following chapters.

Good urban policing is an ongoing task based on the fusion of local knowledge with effective policies that have been tested in other areas. Effective policing involves not just implementing policies but developing local resource streams, coalitions, knowledge and skills to maintain the policies in the long term. Solving security problems involves bringing together police, local government officials, the private sector and neighbourhood civic actors. The *Handbook* stresses that while urban areas in low- and middle-income countries have much in common with regard to policing, there are also important regional differences that need to be taken into consideration.

Each region has its own unique history and challenges to effective policing. On the one hand, in Latin America, for example, the legacies of authoritarian regimes are at times a significant impediment to effective policing. On the other hand, in many parts of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, countries must deal with the legacy of colonial policing structures. In addition, different regions face substantially different criminological problems. For example, the international cocaine trade plays a major role in violence in many countries in the Americas. In Africa, displacements associated with economic crises and civil wars are core factors contributing to disorder in the region. Africa also has to deal with the challenge of having historically weak States and extremely well-organized and embedded non-State actors with which the police often needs to engage in order to control crime. In Asia, crime challenges are also linked to regional problems, such as the international trade in persons and the trade in opium, though Asia is such a large and diverse region that it "defies" easy categorization.[32] These, of course, are not the only problems faced in each region or necessarily even the defining problems in particular areas but are examples of how criminological patterns vary between world regions. While the *Handbook* outlines major strategies police have used effectively to combat crime, it is important that such efforts be applied to local contexts, which often vary considerably according to the city, country or region.[33]

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[32] *The State of the World's Cities 2008/2009: Harmonious Cities* (see footnote 11 above), p. 19.

[33] For a discussion of the various types of crimes in different regions of the world see *Global Report on Human Settlements 2007* (see footnote 3 above), pp. 12-13; for a discussion of the impact of transitions to democracy on crime, see p. 71.

This broad outline of crime problems in different regions provides only the most general background to the types of challenges that cities in different regions face. Urban crime problems in some parts of Africa may be driven by long-term conflict-related issues, but at the city level governments will find themselves specifically concerned with why assaults on residents or home invasions, at times unrelated to wider conflict, are rising. Understanding such problems in particular cities will generally include examining wider geopolitical problems that drive crime in the context of city-specific problems and the range of options available to police to control the problems. Thus, West African cities may face wider problems as a result of demobilized combatants, the easy availability of weapons or the migration of refugees from conflict areas.[34] City governments, however, will have only limited control over the challenges created by these geopolitical problems. As a result, cities will have to solve the problems facing them with the tools available but, at the same time, with an awareness of the wider geopolitical challenges involved. Most of the strategies outlined in the *Handbook* were originally intended for high-income countries in Europe and North America and while they may inspire action and be appropriate to solving problems in many middle- and low-income cities, they must be adapted to the specific conditions and sociocultural contexts of those cities. Law enforcement officials, of course, must also consider specific solutions to local problems based on local political and social practices as well as on available economic resources.

F.   The Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime

The recommendations contained in the *Handbook* fit into the wider context of the United Nations standards and norms in crime prevention and criminal justice, which include the Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime (Economic and Social Council resolution 2002/13, annex).

Section III of the Guidelines sets out eight basic principles underlying the development of crime prevention strategies, as follows:

Government leadership

7.   All levels of government should play a leadership role in developing effective and humane crime prevention strategies and in creating and maintaining institutional frameworks for their implementation and review.

Socio-economic development and inclusion

8.   Crime prevention considerations should be integrated into all relevant social and economic policies and programmes, including those addressing employment, education, health, housing and urban planning, poverty, social marginalization and exclusion. Particular emphasis should be placed on communities, families, children and youth at risk.

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[34] *The State of the World's Cities 2008/2009: Harmonious Cities* (see footnote 11 above), pp. 23-24.

Cooperation/partnerships

9.   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 includes partnerships working across ministries and between authorities, community organizations, non-governmental organizations, the business sector and private citizens.

Sustainability/accountability

10.   Crime prevention requires adequate resources, including funding for structures and activities, in order to be sustained. There should be clear accountability for funding, implementation and evaluation and for the achievement of planned results.

Knowledge base

11.   Crime prevention strategies, policies, programmes and actions should be based on a broad, multidisciplinary foundation of knowledge about crime problems, their multiple causes and promising and proven practices.

Human rights/rule of law/culture of lawfulness

12.   The rule of law and those human rights which are recognized in international instruments to which Member States are parties must be respected in all aspects of crime prevention. A culture of lawfulness should be actively promoted in crime prevention.

Interdependency

13.   National crime prevention diagnoses and strategies should, where appropriate, take account of links between local criminal problems and international organized crime.

Differentiation

14.   Crime prevention strategies should, when appropriate, pay due regard to the different needs of men and women and consider the special needs of vulnerable members of society.

The United Nations does not support or advise repressive military-oriented policing efforts. The provision of urban security should follow the basic principles of the rule of law and good governance. Efforts to provide security to citizens should focus on prevention, capacity-building and collaboration between Governments and law enforcement agencies. Civil society groups have important roles to play in crime prevention. Guidelines suggested in the *Handbook* should be followed within the broader constraints of national law, and crime prevention programmes should have a focus on the well-being of young persons.

The *Handbook* seeks to support efforts to build comprehensive prevention plans at different levels of government involving different sectors of the State and society to address the concerns of various groups. While it seeks to provide substantial insights

into possible crime control strategies, all efforts must be implemented to address the real world concerns of the locality in which they are applied. States should work together to pool knowledge to respond to the increasing capacity of perpetrators. The *Handbook* focuses on primary crime prevention. Nevertheless, public officials should be aware of strategies to prevent recidivism and address issues concerning incarceration and the reintegration of convicts.[35]

G.   Actors and stakeholders

The *Handbook* begins with the premise of a broad and inclusive set of stakeholders involved in improving security in cities. Addressing the issue of security in contemporary cities necessitates looking beyond the role of the police in day-to-day public safety issues to the participation of a range of other managers, including city planners, school officials and public health analysts. Effective efforts to improve public safety and security incorporate local knowledge of problems and aim to involve community members At heart, security involves citizens taking ownership of their own safety, ensuring general agreement about community standards and active work between police and community residents to enforce the law. Architects, designers, landscapers, building and park managers and engineers also play important roles in building and maintaining urban spaces to ensure safety. The involvement of these different actors in efforts to guarantee security transforms the role of police in public safety. Beyond serving as law enforcers and strategists, police serve as experts in building and improving community safety. Police play their traditional roles in protecting citizens but also work to share security knowledge and facilitate citizen efforts to improve security. Box 1 provides a summary of the key lessons drawn from chapter I.

BOX 1.   KEY LESSONS DRAWN FROM CHAPTER I

- Urban areas in low- and middle-income countries face significant security challenges, including:
  - Overcrowding and infrastructural issues that contribute to crime issues
  - Rapid urban growth
  - Lack of resources
  - Lack of trust

- Collaboration between police and other State and civic actors is essential to developing effective responses to these problems

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H.   Conclusion

Chapter I outlines the basic challenges of policing in urban spaces and sets the stage for discussing the role of police in cities. Cities are becoming increasingly important

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[35]This paragraph drawn from *Towards Community-Centered Crime Prevention*, 2-3.

areas in understanding policing in low- and middle-income countries. Governments must find ways to police such areas effectively, based on reliable strategies and experiences at the local level.

Chapter II addresses an array of issues related to policing in urban areas, including a range of different policing strategies applicable to the complex challenges facing those areas. Later chapters address policing in specific types of urban spaces and examine successful strategies in policing those spaces as well as successful reform efforts in an array of countries.

II. Policing in urban spaces and public places: current trends and practices

Developing effective urban policing strategies is a complex and ongoing process that involves a close understanding of the specific problems that a locality faces as well as the application of relevant policies to address those problems. Over time, police must ensure consistent implementation and be aware of the need to change policies in reaction to evolving criminal markets, organizations and strategies.[36] Chapter II provides further detail about some of the important challenges facing police in low- and middle-income countries and discusses current trends and practices in a few cities that show promise for improving policing in large urban areas.

A. Definitions

COMPSTAT. A data-driven administrative innovation in New York City policing in which local police officers use geocoded data to develop responses to criminal activity in their areas of responsibility and which higher-ranking commanders use to evaluate and hold lower-ranking commanders and police accountable for crime rate changes in their areas of responsibility.

Community-oriented policing. A policing strategy focused on decentralizing policing responsibility in order to enable local commanders and front-line officers to work in conjunction with neighbourhood populations on developing and implementing policing strategies.

Problem-oriented policing. A policing strategy that focuses on using evidence, research and community contacts to develop strategies to prevent crime and solve crime problems rather than focusing on responding to specific incidents after a crime has occurred.

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[36]Michael Kenney, *From Pablo to Osama: Trafficking and Terrorist Networks, Government Bureaucracies and Competitive Adaptation* (University Park, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

Intelligence-led policing. A policing strategy that focuses on accumulating detailed information about criminal activities in order to focus enforcement and patrol efforts on disrupting these.[37]

SARA. An acronym describing a process within the problem-oriented policing model that focuses on four problem-solving components: scanning, analysis, response and assessment.

Incident-based policing strategies. Strategies that focus on a regular police presence in well-off neighbourhoods and business districts and an intermittent police presence in other neighbourhoods.[38]

B.   Challenges of policing urban areas in low- and middle-income countries: a closer look

The island of Manhattan is 13 miles long and 2 across. The streets on the northern three quarters of the island follow a consistent north-south, east-west pattern. The downtown quarter has a less consistent grid, although the streets are well-ordered, long-established and mapped. While police face many challenges in dealing with the variety of criminal activities that occur in parts of the island, they know where addresses are and have little trouble in getting to those places rapidly.

These conditions are dramatically different from those faced by police trying to work in cities in many low- and middle-income countries. Consistent street patterns exist in limited areas and in many regions irregular urban settlements may expand much more rapidly than local governments can map them. Police working in these cities may not know where a specific address is and, for a variety of structural and organizational reasons, may not be able to gain access to those places in a timely fashion. Streets may be poorly lit, homes may not have a formal address, maps may not exist and criminal organizations may limit the ability of police to enter parts of the city. At times, therefore, the crime prevention strategies implemented in low- and middle-income countries will differ from those used in wealthier countries.

Challenges to good policing in cities in low- and middle-income countries

Challenges include:

- Few accurate maps available; irregular and inconsistent streets; poor quality of infrastructure
- Reluctance to work with police and vice versa; lack of mutual trust essential for building better public safety strategies

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[37] Nick Tilley, "Community policing, problem-oriented policing and intelligence-led policing", in Tim Newburn, ed., *Handbook of Policing* (Cullompton, Devon and Portland, Oregon, Willan Publishing, 2003), p. 313.

[38] See Cláudio C. Beato Filho, Bráulio Figueredo Alves da Silva and Ricardo Tavares, "Crime, police and the urban space", University of Texas, Working Paper No. 7.

- Domination of some areas by criminal elements
- Lack of data on crime in many regions
- Existence of gated communities and private protection services, which limit access by law-enforcement entities
- Limited and inefficient road and transportation systems
- Irregular transportation services (informal collective transportation services)
- Vigilantism
- Poverty and economic and social exclusion of large portions of the population
- Rich and poor resorting to self-management of neighbourhoods in a governing system that is ill-functioning

One of the basic challenges facing police is not possessing a thorough knowledge of the urban terrain. While police often develop a deeper knowledge than do many other State officials, owing to their regular presence on the streets in some of the more problematic areas of cities, even police face serious problems in developing the knowledge they need to do their jobs effectively. Rapid and irregular urban expansion has created entire regions within cities that might not be mapped and that follow complex and often disordered street patterns. Rapid construction projects can close off previously passable streets, and create unstable buildings that may collapse and change the layout of the area. Natural and man-made disasters, such as floods and mudslides, can destroy entire neighbourhoods and reorder urban space. In addition, infrastructure may be of poor quality. The narrowness of streets and closeness of buildings may also make it hard for police to tactically appraise areas and may limit the ability of strategic decision makers to apply policies effectively.

Operating in such areas is especially difficult since there are usually no accurate addresses or ways for police to access them without substantial local cooperation. Usually, the criminals operating in them will be more familiar with the areas and will have stronger personal relationships with individuals in the area than will the police seeking to control criminal activity. In addition, if the government is not effective in maintaining high-quality infrastructure, it will also generally not have an accurate picture of criminal activities in a specific area. The density of urban space and the variety of criminal activities that might occur in a specific area make tracking crime difficult. In situations where governments have trouble keeping up with the structure of neighbourhoods, they will have greater problems knowing where and at what rate crimes occur. All of this makes developing effective crime control strategies difficult, especially in the neighbourhoods most in need of better crime control.

Police also often face the problem of having a poor relationship with local inhabitants. Legacies of authoritarianism, colonialism and conflict have often created substantial rifts between the population and the police. The result is a reluctance on the part of individuals who might be able to help the police to provide critical information essential to local crime control. Police may not be able to quickly find a house where illegal activities are occurring. Moreover, it may be difficult to implement collaborative

policing policies that attempt to build on local knowledge to respond to residents' concerns. These situations have the effect of creating a negative dynamic in police-community relations, in which frustrated police come to increasingly resent residents and refuse to work with them to control criminal activity and vice versa.

Problems in working with the population are exacerbated by the presence of active criminal organizations that effectively adapt to police practices over time. The arrival of a repressive police presence will often result in arrests and the seizure of contraband but, without substantial innovation on the part of police or effective work with citizens to gather intelligence, criminal groups will tend to learn from these actions and adapt their strategies more quickly than police are able to respond.[39] Criminal organizations tend to operate with a relatively high level of effectiveness in urban areas as a result of the numerous markets to which they have access and the various places where they are able to hide their activities.

Planned communities also create challenges for police. Police increasingly face substantial challenges in managing urban space within gated communities. The privatization of space and the difficulty police face in gaining access to private space can make law enforcement particularly challenging. Without direct access to certain parts of the city, police may depend on the assistance of private security forces. Private security guards and firms may abuse the law and crime suspects in the areas for which they have responsibility.[40] The ongoing operation of private security firms, many of which may be directed or staffed by off-duty police, can contribute to extortion and other forms of protection-based organized crime in some urban areas.[41]

Just as citizens who are better off seek to improve their security by hiring private security forces, the less well-off will occasionally form neighbourhood watch systems or may tolerate and support the activities of vigilantes. Such groups can pose significant challenges to police. On the one hand, evidence from across Latin America suggests that these groups are often at odds with police and engage in a variety of activities that contribute to a deterioration of the rule of law in major cities.[42] They may involve themselves in broader organized criminal activities and, as a result of their local legitimacy, can easily develop ties with corrupt State officials. Such groups can become involved in acts of communal violence in regions of Asia and Africa. On the other hand, police, especially in Africa, have found themselves in situations where it may make tactical sense to develop ongoing relation ships with these groups

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[39]See Phil Williams, "Organizing transnational crime: networks, markets, and hierarchies", in *Combating Transnational Crime: Concepts, Activities, and Responses*, Phil Williams and Dimitri Vlassis, eds. (London, Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 57-87; Kenney, *From Pablo to Osama* (see footnote 36 above).

[40]On private urban space and policing see Teresa Caldeira, *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in São Paulo* (Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 2000).

[41]See Enrique Desmond Arias, "Dispatches from the field: *milícias* and police corruption in Rio's favelas", *Americas Quarterly*, Spring 2009, pp. 90-93.

[42]See Enrique Desmond Arias, "Dispatches from the field: *milícias* and police corruption in Rio's favelas", *Americas Quarterly* (2009); Daniel Goldstein, The Spectacular City: Violence and Performance in Urban Bolivia, Latin America Otherwise Series (Durham, Duke University Press, 2004); Angelina Snodgrass Godoy, *Popular Injustice: Violence, Community, and Law in Latin America* (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2006).

in efforts to enforce order.[43] While this can provide the police with connections in the areas dominated by such groups, the police face substantial challenges in this regard, including having their legitimacy undermined and building up organizations that could become involved in other illegal activities. One success in this area has been the development of ties between government agents and traditional leaders in southern Sudan.[44] Other examples, which are discussed later in the *Handbook*, include efforts to promote community and community-based reforms in Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania.

Another challenge police face in maintaining order in urban areas is a lack of consistent and regular urban transportation. Fleets of irregular buses and other forms of transportation clog roads and create opportunities for criminal activity. Disordered roads generate significant challenges for police by interfering with their arrival at crime scenes. In the poorest countries, police may also depend on public and informal modes of transport to reach crime scenes. Finally, the existence of irregular and illegal transportation services can also provide an opportunity for organized criminal groups.

A final consideration facing police in urban areas in low- and middle-income countries is the underlying question of poverty and inequality. Police are often called on by government officials to resolve serious problems in portions of the population woefully underserved by the market economy and the State alike. In environments of high poverty and desperation, as well as in situations where the middle and upper classes feel threatened by the poor, police are expected to maintain order. A lack of trust among poorer populations and the embracing by such populations of alternative security mechanisms, including local informal conflict resolution mechanisms and mob justice, compound the difficulties. The result is that the police are often expected to do too much. Rather than just enforcing the law, police are expected to provide social services and stand in more broadly for the State as a whole in crisis situations. Police are then often blamed by the population for any number of problems and are also fatigued by the substantial demands put on them by State officials.

C.   Challenges and responses

The array and depth of problems described above offer a perspective on why crime-related problems in cities in low- and middle-income countries are challenging. How can the police work to resolve the problems? Section C outlines strategies that police can consider in efforts to control crime and violence. The section begins with a critique of traditional incident-oriented policing and then examines alternative strategies for controlling crime, such as problem-oriented policing and community policing.

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[43]Anton du Plessis and Antoinette Luow, "Crime and crime prevention in South Africa: 10 years after", *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, vol. 47, No. 2 (April 2005), pp. 437-438; Makubetse Sekhonyane and Antoinette Louw, *Violent Justice: Vigilantism and the State's Response*, Monograph Series No. 72 (Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies, 2002); Bruce Baker, "The African post-conflict policing agenda in Sierra Leone", *Conflict, Security, and Development*, vol. 6, No. 1 (April 2006), pp. 37 ff.; Gilbert da Costa, "Nigerian vigilantes help police fight crime", *VOANews*, 19 March 2009, available from www.voanews.com.

[44]Bruce Baker, "A policing partnership for post-war Africa: lessons from Liberia and southern Sudan", *Policing and Society*, vol. 19, No. 4 (2009).

Confronting substantial problems with criminal activities and suffering from the legacies of authoritarianism, colonialism and conflict, many police forces in low- and middle-income countries rely on incident-based policing strategies that focus on a regular police presence in well-off neighbourhoods and business districts and an intermittent police presence in other neighbourhoods.[45] Very often, such efforts are reactive, with police on the street spending most of their time responding to specific crimes. In general, incident-oriented policing operates within the broad framework of the law, but when it is applied to less well-off populations, police often overstep the law. The investigations and court systems necessary to support such policing are typically absent. Incident-oriented policing, when led by underpaid and under-trained law enforcement officers, tends to fail, resulting in frustration among both the general population and public officials and leading to calls for improved policing. The first instinct under such circumstances is to say that police are not doing their jobs effectively enough, often, some argue, because police are hemmed in by laws to protect criminals' rights and prevent them from doing their job. Police may also promote such an argument as a way of shifting the blame for their failings onto another institution. The results are increased calls for repression and a shift into what has been referred to as zero-tolerance policing. The police will then attempt to stop all crime, down to the smallest offences, such as evading transit fares and illegally posting signs, in order to give citizens a sense of basic order and to communicate that the Government will not tolerate even minor crimes.

In the North American and European contexts these strategies make some sense.[46] Cities have a basic order and it is possible to dramatically reduce illegal handbill distribution or to stop most informal economic practices in public areas. Cities in low- and middle-income countries, however, often face substantial challenges in accomplishing this given the structure of the urban area and the extent of informal economies. The independent and long-standing judicial systems that usually exist in older democracies impose substantial constraints on the police excesses that may accompany these programmes, which evolving judicial systems in transitional democracies have difficulty imposing. Further, a relatively recent history of authoritarianism, colonialism and conflict may make it more likely that police forces will overstep the boundaries of zero tolerance and practise a more abusive form of policing. However, while a police force in such circumstances may have the ability to repress the population more extensively, it will not have the concomitant investigatory and punishment capacity to give its actions long-term impact. This in turn can lead to ineffective and abusive policing that undermines State legitimacy and relations between police and citizens. Over time, this leads to more crime and less confidence in police and the State and can contribute to a spiral of crime and disorder.

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[45] See Beato Filho, Figueireido Alves da Silva and Tavares, "Crime, police, and the urban space" (see footnote 38 above).

[46] See George Kelling and James Q. Wilson, "Broken windows", *The Atlantic*, vol. 249, No. 93 (March 1982), pp. 29-38; for a critique see Robert J. Sampson and Stephen W. Raudenbush, "Systematic social observation of public spaces: a new look at disorder in urban neighborhoods", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 105, No. 3 (1999), pp. 603-651.

Problems with incident-oriented policing strategies

Incident-oriented policing strategies are:

- Reactive, not proactive
- Dependent upon an investigatory and judicial apparatus, which often does not exist, to make them work
- Alienate the population from the police
- Undermine police intelligence-gathering efforts
- Damage police morale
- Lead to a repressive spiral that further decreases effectiveness
- Can contribute to poor oversight and corruption

There are no easy solutions in setting up good policing in urban areas in low- and middle-income countries. Any effort to police urban areas involves intensive and ongoing analysis and work on the part of public safety officials. Existing evidence across different regions, however, indicates that police should give serious consideration to proactive and integrative policing strategies that help police to prevent crimes and work better with the population in dealing with crime issues. Three related strategies that achieve this are intelligence-led or crime-specific policing, problem-oriented policing and community-oriented policing.

Intelligence-led or crime-specific policing refers to a police model that has emerged in recent years that makes use of innovations in information technology and bureaucratic structures to efficiently deploy police forces to respond, in relatively short periods of time, to major crimes. In such policing efforts, local and regional police commanders are accountable to their superiors in the police force and in local government for crime rates in their areas of responsibility. This hierarchical system is enabled by a comprehensive data collection system that allows crimes to be geoprocessed so that law enforcement commanders can analyse where crimes are occurring and deploy resources appropriately to enforce order. Managerial meetings are regularly held to assess the effectiveness of responses, reallocate resources and deploy new strategies.

Cities around the world have adopted different versions of this approach. Perhaps the most famous effort in this regard is the COMPSTAT geoprocessing system adopted in New York City in the early 1990s. This detailed information system was combined with managerial innovations that enabled police commanders at tactical and strategic levels to hold their subordinates accountable for efforts to reduce crime around the city. The COMPSTAT approach is one of a set of top-down approaches that use information-gathering and accountability to manage crime effectively. The United Kingdom and other parts of the British Commonwealth have for some time advocated gathering data through both crime reports as well as broader intelligence strategies in order to help to build a coherent knowledge base to deploy police and control crime.[47]

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[47] Mike Maguire and Tim John, "Intelligence-led policing, managerialism and community engagement: competing priorities and the role of the National Intelligence Model in the UK", *Policing and Society*, vol. 16, No. 1 (2006), pp. 71-74; Jerry Ratcliffe, "The effectiveness of police intelligence management: a New Zealand case study", *Police Practice and Research*, vol. 6, No. 5 (2005).

New York's success in controlling crime was well-promoted and attracted extensive attention both in the United States and other high-income countries. There is evidence that similar approaches have been deployed in Latin America, although to a much more limited extent.[48]

Problem-oriented policing focuses on developing an in-depth knowledge of criminal activity and using police and civilian expertise to solve the problem. Usually, this also involves an accumulation of detailed knowledge about criminal activity by police and focused efforts to solve a problem. For example, police officers may notice that a very high number of assaults have occurred on a particular street corner. Police would then go to that corner at different times of the day and observe conditions there as well as talk to individuals who live and work in the vicinity in order to understand why the crimes were occurring. They might ask other government agencies to address problems in the area, for example by repairing streetlights or by thinning foliage to decrease the chance of assault. Police may establish more frequent patrols of that particular place or they may even decide to station an officer there at critical times. These efforts should reduce crime in that spot. Problem-oriented policing also focuses on using the research and hypothesis-building techniques of social science in order to develop effective strategies to control crime. This problem-solving method is organized under a strategy based on scanning, analysis, response and assessment. The strategy facilitates the development of a specific hypothesis and provides a model for testing the efficacy of policing efforts by dividing the research and problem-solving process into the following four stages:

Scanning

The initial stage of the problem-solving process involves developing an understanding of the broad range of problems affecting an area. This involves understanding the types of crimes occurring in an area, establishing the implications of those crimes for police and the community, confirming that perceived problems actually exist, building a priority list of how police are going to address different problems they find in an area, understanding the duration and frequency of a problem and selecting problems for further study.

Analysis

This phase focuses on developing a deeper understanding of a specific crime issue that has become a police priority. It includes efforts aimed at developing a deeper and wider understanding of a specific problem and how it has impacted other jurisdictions, gathering data to better understand the problem in the area of police focus, using that data to develop a hypothesis for why the problem is occurring and assessing the resources available to address the problem.

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[48]David Weisbrud and others, "The growth of Compstat in American policing", Police Foundation Reports, April 2004; Lorraine Mazerolle, Sacha Rombouts and James McBroom, "The impact of COMPSTAT on reported crime in Queensland", *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, vol. 30, No. 2 (2007), pp. 237-256; Edgardo Alberto Amaya, "Security policies in El Salvador, 1992-2002", in *Public Security and Police Reform in the Americas*, John Bailey and Lucía Dammert, eds. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006); Jennifer Wood and David Bradley, "Embedding partnership policing: what we've learned from the Nexus policing project", *Police Practice and Research*, vol. 10, No. 2 (2009), p. 140.

Response

Here, police build on the knowledge they have developed to create a focused response. This includes establishing a list of possible interventions based on local knowledge and wider research, choosing a course of action and developing a plan for implementation, stating the objectives of the plan and implementing the plan.

Assessment

Finally, the effects of all interventions must be evaluated through a variety of quantitative and qualitative strategies.[49]

As the above-mentioned stages make clear, problem-oriented policing is based on rigorous techniques to evaluate, analyse and solve problems through police expertise. Police work with crime data and information on evaluations of similar problems and interventions, and with community stakeholders to develop and implement solutions. Box 2 contains information on the CeaseFire programme in the United States.

BOX 2.   THE CEASEFIRE PROGRAMME

A variety of cities in the United States have pursued an innovative community-oriented violence control programme that focuses on building broad local, social and governmental support to control the activity of violent individuals. Building on cutting-edge criminological theories, these programmes generally organize an intervention team that brings together a variety of different criminal justice actors and civic leaders who work with community leaders to bring violent criminals operating in the neighbourhood under control. Law enforcement officers inform criminals that a new programme is being implemented in the area and that certain types of activities will prompt increased efforts to imprison them. Civic leaders and State officials work with community leaders to help create neighbourhood pressure on these same actors to stop violent activities. In the end, these programmes attempt to help community residents construct their own norms to control violence so that State resources can eventually move to other areas. Over time, these efforts have resulted in considerable drops in violence at multiple sites.

Community-oriented policing offers a related approach to helping police deal with crime in urban environments. Like problem-oriented policing, community-oriented policing is proactive in that it prioritizes crime prevention. Both approaches also focus on establishing crime prevention knowledge in consultation with the population. Community-oriented policing differs from problem-oriented policing in that it focuses on building relations with the population and thus producing a new form of order based on close relations between the police and the community, which solves problems through active dialogue between law enforcement officers and the population. While community-oriented policing takes a variety of forms, it is usually based on the creation of formal mechanisms such as councils and specially trained units that help the police interact with the population in order to determine effective strategies, based on local knowledge, to prevent crime. In some places

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[49]This section drawn from "The SARA Model", Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, available from www.popcenter.org/about/?p=sara.

officials pursue a variant of community policing known as sector or proximity policing. This type of programme focuses on establishing a regular police presence in a specific place that is able to convey security to citizens, establish ties with residents and deal with crime.[50]

While problem-oriented policing and community-oriented policing both involve police working with citizens to control crime, the strategies differ in focus. Rather than focusing on rigorous problem-solving methods, community-oriented policing seeks to decentralize the administration of police by bringing it to the neighbourhood level, thereby providing local commanders with a high degree of flexibility and creating mechanisms to enable local commanders to work with community residents to address their concerns and control crime. The solution in community policing is to change the relationship between police and the community and through an ongoing dialogue to develop innovative and effective strategies to control crime. In the long run, the effectiveness of community policing involves engaging citizens effectively in solving their own crime problems by changing community norms and by serving as a check on police activities. Box 3 contains information on community-based policing in Kenya.

BOX 3.   COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING IN KENYA

Facing high levels of violence and distrust of police, the non-governmental organizations Saferworld and Peacenet have worked with the police in Kenya to build an innovative community policing programme in some regions of that country. The project involves multiple levels of police-citizen engagement that include both weekly and monthly meetings between Government officials, civil society groups, police and citizens to discuss public safety concerns and cross-sectoral solutions to those problems. The discussions have led to collaborative training programmes and joint patrols involving police and citizens. This has contributed to the surrender of illegal arms and to increasing trust between citizens and Government officials, thereby helping to develop new infrastructure projects to aid in local development. Such efforts have led to significant reductions in crime in the pilot programme areas.[a]

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[a]Christina Yeung, "Community-based policing in Isiolo, Kenya", Comunidad Segura, 23 October 2008, available from www.comunidadesegura.org/en/node/40722; also see Saferworld, "Implementing community-based policing in Kenya" (London, February 2008).

While such strategies have been developed around the world, there is a handful of cases where there have been notable successes. Bogotá has implemented a combination of community policing and problem-oriented policing which, along with a variety of other reforms, have had marked success: public transportation systems have been substantially improved, the police have been reformed, mayoral control has been reasserted, controls on bar closing times have been implemented and community

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[50]Elena van der Spuy and Ricky Röntsch, *Police and Crime Prevention in Africa: A Brief Appraisal of Structures, Policies, and Practices*, draft report for the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, 31 October 2008, pp 52-55; Lars Holmberg, "Personalized policing: results from a series of experiments with proximity policing in Denmark", *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, vol. 25, No. 1 (2002), pp. 32-47.

councils have been formed. The result has been a decrease in homicides from about 80 to about 20 per 100,000 inhabitants.[51]

In Belo Horizonte, Brazil, a series of security reforms has been adopted, including detailed crime mapping, efforts to control crime hot spots and an innovative community-oriented police reform based on the Boston CeaseFire model, which have served to dramatically reduced homicides in target communities.[52] In Montreal, Canada, a community-oriented policing strategy has also been adopted, which focuses on providing local police with the flexibility to respond to specific neighbourhood demands. This effort has contributed to a 47 per cent decline in crime rates in that city.[53] Such types of programmes have been implemented in a variety of African jurisdictions, including Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa and Uganda. Without accurate criminological data, however, it has been difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of the strategies.[54]

A classic example of community policing is the Japanese *koban* system. *Kobans* are small police posts located on streets, which enable police to maintain long-term interaction with area residents and cultivate knowledge about the area. The geography of urban Japan is extremely complex and can best be understood through a long-term presence in a specific neighbourhood. The existence of *kobans* with specific areas and a stable cohort of officers enable the police to develop an intimate geographic knowledge that cannot be developed through other means. *Kobans* serve as local administrative centres, dispensing information to visitors and residents of areas looking for addresses or needing help from the Government. They also serve as sounding boards where area residents can complain about local problems and resolve disputes. Police in the *koban* carry out annual surveys of businesses and residents by visiting the locations of homes and businesses. Police themselves become part of the community and develop knowledge that helps to control crime.[55]

Community policing strategies exist broadly alongside efforts to deepen participatory governance through councils established at the local level. Efforts include the Indian *panchayat* system, Filipino *barangays* and the participatory budgeting processes adopted in some parts of Brazil and Colombia.[56] The role of such participatory systems in local governance is ambiguous, however. In Colombia, armed groups have attempted to appropriate participatory budgeting for their own political purposes, and the police associated with *barangays* have been accused of abuses in the

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[51] See María Victoria Llorente and Angela Rivas, *Case Study: Reduction of Crime in Bogotá—A Decade of Citizen's Security Policies* (Washington, D.C., World Bank, 2005).

[52] Enrique Desmond Arias and Mark Ungar, "Community policing and Latin America's citizen security crisis", *Comparative Politics*, vol. 41, No. 4 (2009).

[53] Private communication from Alain Legault, Chief of Staff, Office of the Director, Montreal Police Service, February 2010.

[54] Van der Spuy and Röntsch, *Police and Crime Prevention in Africa* (see footnote 50 above).

[55] David H. Bayley, *Forces of Order: Policing Modern Japan*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1991).

[56] On the *panchayat* system see T. M. Thomas Isaac and Patrick Heller, "Democracy and development: decentralized planning in Kerala", in *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds. (London, Verso, 2003); on participatory budgeting see Gianpaolo Baiocchi, "Participation, activism, and politics: the Porto Alegre experiment", in *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds. (London, Verso, 2003).

Philippines.[57] At the same time, however, such efforts have encountered successes in providing opportunities for popular participation in politics in some Brazilian cities.[58]

Community policing and problem-oriented policing both face implementation challenges. Both depart substantially from existing police practice in many places and face resistance. Implementing such types of programmes requires substantial support from police at a variety of levels, which is often difficult to achieve. At the same time, citizens in high crime areas who live in the wake of the effects of authoritarianism, colonialism and conflict often do not have positive relations with police. It can be extremely challenging to implement either of these types of programme without those relationships. The programmes create levels of fatigue within policing institutions and society and will continue to exist only as long as senior public officials stand behind them. Finally, community policing programmes can degenerate into forms of vigilantism if taken over by certain segments of society. While such programmes can be implemented with relative ease, it takes substantial investment on the part of police and community residents for them to succeed. These efforts, when properly implemented, hold out immense possibilities for improved security.

Potential challenges to reform

Potential challenges include:

- Lack of trust between police and community
- Lack of resources
- Police resistance
- Lack of political commitment
- Fatigue

D.   Police reform in context

An in-depth discussion of police reform from the perspectives of the cultural, managerial and structural changes required to make the best use of the tactics and approaches discussed thus far is outside the scope of the *Handbook*. However, it should be noted that none of the tactics and approaches would be fully effective without cultural and managerial changes and changes in the way information is handled. Police reform does not occur in isolation from wider social, political and economic factors, and police are only one part of a more extensive social and economic system. Unfortunately, substantial segments of the State and society look to the police to solve problems that are generated by larger social problems and political

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[57] Enrique Desmond Arias, "Understanding violent pluralism", in *Violent Democracies in Latin America*, Enrique Desmond Arias and Daniel Goldstein, eds. (Durham, Duke University Press, 2010); on *barangay* police see Rameses Victorious G. Villagonzalo, "Speak out: no 'barangay' police", *Sun-Star*, 18 January 2007 www.sunstar.com.ph/static/ceb/2007/01/18/oped/rameses.victorius.g..villagonzalo.lahug.cebu.city.html; for a discussion of how policing powers affect business regulations in barangays see Julia Yap Daza, "Barangay 'police power'", *Manila Standard*, 22 June 2003.

[58] Leonardo Avritzer, "Public deliberation at the local level: participatory budgeting in Brazil", paper presented at the Experiments for Deliberative Democracy Conference, University of Wisconsin-Madison, January 2000.

decisions that police have little control over. Many societies experience higher levels of violence as a result of income inequality, cultural factors or ready access to fire-arms. Law enforcement entities have no control over those issues but they are expected to address the effects, often with negative effects for morale.

Police officers work for government officials and the success of their efforts at reform often depends directly on the degree of support they have from those officials. Main-taining positive relations with wider groups at the State level and in society are essential to the successful adoption and implementation of policy. Serious crime control efforts entail developing detailed, long-term projects that involve substantial investment from various actors within the police, other government sectors and the population. Both community policing and problem-oriented policing face serious challenges, but both have also encountered substantial success. Box 4 summarizes the key lessons drawn from chapter II.

BOX 4.   KEY LESSONS DRAWN FROM CHAPTER II

- Traditional incident-based policing will generally have a limited impact on controlling crime in contemporary urban areas
- New strategies offer police important opportunities to control crime in complex urban spaces. These strategies include:
  - Community-oriented policing
  - Problem-oriented policing
  - Intelligence-led policing

E.   Conclusions

Traditionally, police have pursued incident-based approaches to crime control that focus on arresting offenders after a crime has been committed in order to diminish the possibility that the offenders will commit crimes in the future. The cases and theories discussed in chapter II suggest that by using analytic, localized and evidenced-based approaches to crime control, police can more effectively control crime. Analys-ing existing data, engaging with community members and pursuing other sources of information can help to develop efficient crime control strategies that deal more effectively with the problems facing growing cities. The insights offered by the strate-gies reflect tested approaches to crime control and are consistent with United Nations standards and norms in crime prevention and criminal justice.[59] Chapter III discusses "rational choice" approaches to crime control and provides an understanding of how spatial and temporal distributions of crime can help to develop police policy.

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[59]United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Compendium of United Nations Standards and Norms in Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice* (New York, 2006), p. 283.

III. Improving the policing of urban spaces: different police strategies in urban space

At the heart of the analysis in the *Handbook* is the idea that the application of social scientific knowledge can help to control crime in urban areas. Chapter III suggests tools that police can use to prevent crime in urban spaces. While the preceding chapters have discussed the challenges facing police reform in cities in low- and middle-income countries, conceptual law enforcement frameworks and cases of innovative approaches to urban policing, chapter III continues to develop those themes through a focus on understanding how environmental and temporal factors can promote crime. It also examines different strategies that police and public officials can use to better control crime in cities. The chapter lays out the general concepts underlying crime and the use of urban space, discusses various spatial and environmental approaches to controlling crime and looks at an interesting case study from Brazil, where some of the approaches were used effectively to reduce serious criminal activities.

A. Definitions

Situational crime prevention. A theory and strategy of crime control focused on crime events. This approach suggests that collaboration between police, managers of spaces, criminal handlers and other citizens can help to create conditions that reduce the chances that a crime will occur.

Rational choice. A broad array of social scientific theories that describe human behaviour in terms of rational motivation to achieve individual goals. It has been applied to the field of criminal justice in efforts to find individual motivations for committing crimes and in developing strategies to decrease those motivations.

Guardian. An actor who is responsible for deterring criminal activities by providing protection to potential victims, spaces or objects of criminal activities.

Handler. An actor who is able to control the activities of criminals.

Manager. An actor who is responsible for managing a particular space and who may be engaged by police in efforts to improve a space to deter crime.

Defensive/defensible space. A concept in urban design that focuses on controlling crime by building urban spaces that are the subject of passive observation and where observation by individuals reduces the possibility of crime.

Crime prevention through environmental design. An approach to crime control based on how urban spaces are structured.

"Broken windows". A set of theories that suggest that crime can be controlled by minimizing the degree of disorder in a neighbourhood. The theory suggests that by enforcing the law with respect to even minor crimes, officials can prevent other crimes.

Techniques of situational crime prevention. Detailed sets of enumerated practices to help police in applying situational crime prevention.

B.   Conceptual underpinnings

For some time, scholars have recognized that different types of spatial and social conditions affect the levels of crime.[60] Many argue that crime occurs fundamentally because it makes rational sense for crime to occur. The factors that contribute to crime events are threefold: *(a)* there must be an object or victim that offers a criminal some level of pay-off for committing a crime; *(b)* a place must exist where a crime can occur in which it is reasonable for a criminal to assume that they will not be apprehended; and *(c)* there must be a criminal motivated to commit a crime. This is graphically represented in the figure below.

Figure 1.   The crime triangle

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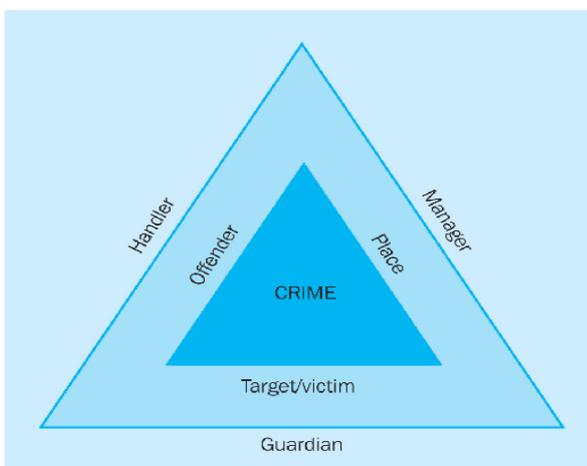
[60]Lawrence E. Cohen and Marcus Felson, "Social change and crime rate trends: a routine activity approach", *American Sociological Review*, vol. 44, No. 4 (1979), pp. 588-608.

The approach focuses on specific incidents and conditions that lead to crimes rather than on notions of how wider social and economic conditions create criminals. In a sense, the theory suggests that if a crime can be committed, it probably will be committed. Crimes occur because a number of social and environmental factors come together to promote those crimes. As a result, criminal activity tends to be concentrated in particularly high-risk areas such as poorly lit street corners. The goal of law enforcement then becomes to decrease the opportunities for crime to occur. Building on these ideas, scholars argue that preventing crime involves guarding potential victims effectively, managing spaces so as to reduce the risk of crime in those areas, and finally, finding ways to effectively handle criminals to reduce the chance that they will commit other crimes.[61]

Much of the contemporary policing in North America and Western Europe, examines the ways in which crimes are concentrated in identifiable hot spots, which can be found and addressed through empirical analysis.[62] Scholarship and practice have shown that urban areas experience crime foci in particular locations at particular times of the day, making it possible to understand the crime problems affecting a city and across a population depending on demographic characteristics.[63]

Different types of crime occur in different locations. Analysis of illegal activity in Belo Horizonte has revealed that 19 per cent of violent crime in that city occurred in 8 of the city's 2,500 census sectors. At a more abstract level, drug-related crimes and illegal sex work often occur in fixed locations that emerge as markets for those particular activities. Assaults often happen in places of high transit and commerce. Homicides may be concentrated in a handful of neighbourhoods with heavy gang activity. Cargo robberies may occur near petrol stations or at particular locations on the road system. Conditions will change from city to city, but it is important to bear in mind that crime is generally not randomly or evenly distributed across urban spaces and an analysis of the location of crime in an urban space can help police to understand how crimes occur in a city and to develop responses accordingly.

Underlying the spatial distribution of crime is the idea that different parts of urban space create different types of criminal opportunities as a result of the use of that space and the differential application of State security resources across the city. So, for example, a poorly lit stretch of street may be the site of an elevated level of crime. Different types of crimes are also distributed on different geographic scales, with some crimes occurring as a result of conditions on particular streets or in specific neighbourhoods, or they spread generally across an urban area. Thus the presence of an automated teller machine in an unlit street, a gang in a neighbourhood or a set of port facilities can contribute to crime on different scales. The results,

[61] Marcus Felson and Ronald V. Clarke, "Opportunities make the thief: practical theory for crime prevention", Police Research Series Paper, No. 98 (London, Home Office, Policing and Crime Reduction Unit, 1998), pp. 4-5.

[62] Jerry H. Ratcliffe, "The Hotspot Matrix: a framework for the spatio-temporal targeting of crime reduction", *Police Practice and Research*, vol. 5, No. 1 (2004), pp. 5-6; also see Herbert Goldstein, *Problem-Oriented Policing* (New York, MacGraw-Hill, 1990).

[63] Ratcliffe, "The Hotspot Matrix".

when mapping crimes, are different types of hot spots depending on the type of crime and the range of that crime[64] (see table 2).

Table 2.   Location and criminal activity

Location	Type of crime
Address or specific place	Assaults on automated teller machine users, bar fights
Street	Robberies, assaults, kidnappings, illegal sex work, drug dealing
Neighbourhood	Burglaries, gang-related crimes
Urban region or city	Larger-scale and pervasive crimes

In understanding the distribution of crime, it is also important to view crime in terms of wider demographic factors. For example, in many societies young men between their mid-teens and early thirties commit most of the violent crimes.[65] Similarly, most victims of violent crime are also generally in that age group.[66] Different age, income and gender groups experience victimization at different rates for different crimes.

Time is also an important factor in crime distribution.[67] Often, night-time hours provide more opportunities for crime. During daylight hours, a higher flow of individuals and better visibility can create conditions in which crime is less likely. On a longer scale, some crimes may follow weekly cycles, with certain crimes occurring more often during weekends. Finally, some criminal events follow a wider seasonal or yearly cycle, with warmer months often leading to more interpersonal violence than cooler months (see table 3).[68]

Table 3.   Temporal factors and criminal activity

Temporal factor	Effect on crime
Day	Crimes tend to occur at greater levels during evening hours or times of transit
Week	Some crimes occur more during weekends and others during the week; fights at bars or crimes of passion may be more likely to occur during leisure time than during work hours
Season or time of year	Some evidence points to correlations between hot weather and crime; and the concentration of events during the year, such as carnivals or other festivals

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[64]John E. Eck and others, *Mapping Crime: Understanding Hot Spots* (Washington, D.C., United States Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 2005), pp. 15-17.

[65]David P. Farrington, "Age and crime", *Crime and Justice*, vol. 7, 1986, pp. 189-250; also see Travis Hirschi and Michael Gottfredson, "Age and the explanation of crime", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 89, No. 3 (1983), pp. 552-584.

[66]Patricia Y. Hashima and David Finkelhor, "Violent victimization of youth versus adults in the National Crime Victimization Survey", *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 14, No. 8 (1999), pp. 799-820.

[67]Jerry H. Ratcliffe, "Aoristic signatures and the spatio-temporal analysis of high volume crime patterns", *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, vol. 18, No. 1 (2002), p. 41.

[68]Andrew W. Lehren and Al Baker, "In New York, number of killings rises with heat", *New York Times*, 18 June 2009. Available from www.nytimes.com/2009/06/19/nyregion/19murder.html?_r=1; see also Craig A. Anderson, "Temperature and aggression: ubiquitous effects of heat on occurrence of human violence", *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 106, No. 1 (1989), pp. 74-96.

Coming to terms with crime in urban areas means coming to terms with the distribution of crime through space and time. As police, together with local authorities, develop clearer ideas about when and where crimes occur, they can develop a more robust notion about how to respond to crimes. They can think about how police resources need to be distributed across space, the types of relations police need to develop with the population and the ways that urban space may be managed or restructured to control crime.

There are many solid answers about how these programmes can be implemented effectively, drawing on cases from across the United Kingdom and the United States where, for example, over the past 20 years, strategies have transformed urban policing. There are, however, few examples of how to implement such types of programmes in the specific conditions that exist in cities in low- and middle-income countries. This results from a variety of factors including the more limited resources available to police in those areas and the often contentious political environment that exists in the wake of authoritarianism, conflict and high levels of crime.

C.   Urban revitalization and policing

At the heart of a secure urban space is good design that minimizes the risks facing individuals and increases the flow of citizens through the city, ensuring that ongoing collective observation will help to control crime and thus reduce police expenditures. The ideas underlying this new approach to urbanism have been extensively applied in contemporary policing in North America, Europe and some parts of Asia. In seeking to restructure communities and cities to create a greater degree of safety, architects, landscape designers and police have developed the concept of "defensive/ defensible space". This strategy was pioneered by a United States-based city planner who had noticed that in the rising urban violence of the 1960s, neighbourhoods that had managed space in particular ways had significantly lower crime rates than other areas. The approach suggests that individuals maintain basic order and security in spaces towards which they feel ownership. If individuals feel disconnected from a space they will let it fall into disrepair and crime may rise. At a certain point, however, if too many individuals have a voice regarding what will happen with a space no one will invest in taking care of it. This approach argues that people feel they have a right to and responsibility for a particular place if it is shared by many. Thus, securing a space requires that people living in the area are committed to making it safe.

Building on this underlying concept, security in a particular residential neighbourhood can be achieved by following certain strategies in organizing the area. First, neighbourhoods need to have some form of access control. This is often interpreted to mean creating gated streets even if the gates are not guarded. At another level, it simply means that a street is to be frequented by a relatively limited number of people. A through street can attract additional foot traffic that may encourage crime under some circumstances and discourage it under others. Controlling crime often

involves, therefore, a collaborative management of space that brings together local residents and other users of that space, with city planners, elected officials and police to develop strategies that effectively manage that space. Second, promoting a defensive space means promoting forms of natural surveillance. In this approach, police and planners think about how to structure space so as to ensure that individuals can watch the space during their normal routines and thus discourage crime. Third, reinforcing a space can entail the use of mechanical devices to make crime less likely and the creation of organizational structures such as community oversight boards to organize efforts to control disorder. Space management or defensive space approaches have also supported the planning of parks and buildings to discourage illegal activity through such means as growing hedges in ways that minimize cover for criminals or providing proper street lighting to promote pedestrian security.

The key is to integrate law enforcement and planning practices into an understanding of local uses of particular spaces and to use that understanding to develop case-specific police strategies. In collaboration with communities, police should be involved in planning, and planners should contribute to security discussions aimed at developing environmental security programmes that work to resolve the particular challenges.[69] There is no straightforward recipe to solve the problems. Rather, controlling crime through design involves the effective integration of planning, police and community representatives in developing effective security and space policies to protect basic rights and control crime.

D. Crime prevention through environmental design

Over time, urban design concepts such as defensive space have evolved into a more comprehensive planning approach to using building and design to control crime, known as crime prevention though environmental design. The approach is broad and contains many variants but follows six basic principles that derive from earlier approaches.

Natural surveillance. Space needs to be built in such a way as to promote passive observation. This includes creating opportunities for individuals frequenting the neighbourhood to watch the goings-on and removing covers that can contribute to criminal activity.

Access management and natural access control. Neighbourhoods and other urban spaces need to be built to control access to them and to limit the possibility of entrance by criminals. At the most basic level, this could mean installing gates, more broadly, however, it could mean shaping city regions so that criminals have difficulty entering those regions or escaping from them after committing a crime. In Green Bay (Wisconsin), United States, for example, the police department has sought to reduce the number of rear exits in bars in order to prevent criminals from using them to evade police.[70]

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[69] Ibid., 39-40.

[70] Wisconsin, Green Bay Police Department, "Street sweeping: Broadway style", available from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing website (www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/1999/99-22(W).pdf).

Territorial reinforcement. This element of the approach suggests that buildings and space need to be made safer by creating a sense of ownership. When individuals feel no responsibility towards a place, as noted above, they are more likely to let it fall into disarray or simply not pay attention to it. At the same time, however, a space separated from the street by high walls can create the risk that individuals will just only take care of themselves and not think of the broader community. Furthermore, high walls and barriers can create additional risks by isolating public thoroughfares and keeping them from view. To prevent this and even foster a sense of ownership of public space, territorial reinforcement seeks to increase ownership of places by strategically using porches, low fences and sparse hedges to demarcate property and at the same time link it to the neighbourhood.[71]

Physical maintenance. Police and other stakeholders seek to maintain the overall structure of the neighbourhood, reducing litter and other sources of disorder in the community. This will encourage area groups to maintain the quality of dwellings and other features that increase the safety of and respect for the area.

Target hardening. In order to increase neighbourhood security, individual residents and business owners need to proactively secure their homes and belongings. This involves a comprehensive effort, for example to ensure that good locks are installed on doors and that windows cannot be opened from the outside.

Minimizing disorder and establishing well-used space. Police and stakeholders must reduce the level of perceived disorder in the neighbourhood and ensure ongoing use of the space to prevent opportunities for crime.[72]

Today of course, the concept of crime prevention through environmental design goes well beyond the constraints of law enforcement and has been applied to the design, planning and management of public spaces. The strategy enables State officials, police and the managers of spaces to work together to build security into the environment effectively.

E.   "Broken windows" theory

One of the driving concepts in contemporary criminal justice thought over the past 20 years in the United States is the "broken windows" theory. Developed by George Kelling and James Q. Wilson, the approach argues that controlling crime depends on dealing with minor disorder as a means of communicating to potential offenders that a space is being effectively observed and that police enforce the law.[73] The underlying idea of the approach is that police have zero

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[71]See Rutgers University, School of Criminal Justice, Crime Prevention Service for Business, "Territorial reinforcements", available from http://crimeprevention.rutgers.edu/case_studies/cpted/terrsur.htm.

[72]For a discussion of the six principles of crime prevention through environmental design see Paul Michael Cozens, Greg Saville, and David Hillier, "Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED): a review and modern bibliography", *Property Management*, 23 (5) 2005.

[73]Kelling and Wilson, "Broken windows" (see footnote 46 above).

tolerance for even minor crimes, such as failure to pay transit fares, littering or vandalizing walls with graffiti.

Over the years, many have criticized the approach and conducted studies showing that its effects are limited compared with other strategies for creating local security. The main problem with the "broken windows" approach, however, is not so much what the underlying theory suggests but rather how policymakers have interpreted it. Having a neighbourhood with fewer graffiti, a city with less litter and a transport system with more fare compliance are good outcomes and may well contribute to lower crime rates. Nevertheless, a "broken windows" approach will achieve higher levels of success in conjunction with wider evidence-based policing and strategies to forge ties between police and communities. Where "broken windows" has worked, it has been implemented in conjunction with other knowledge-based strategies and in the context of educating people rather than as a stand-alone policy focused on the repression of minor illegal acts.[74]

Understanding "broken windows" requires us to appreciate broader patterns of disorder and what Wesley Skogan has called the spiral of decay. Disorder at the neighbourhood level leads to conditions where an area falls out of control due to a wide variety of reasons and where residents have an increasing inability to make effective demands of neighbours and of local government to improve conditions. "Broken windows" provides a perspective on how wider social forces and processes come to bear on public safety concerns at specific moments. Restoring basic order is often an essential component in re-establishing safety but in general it will occur in the context of forging effective ties within and among target communities and of developing effective knowledge to develop new police strategies.

F.   Techniques of situational crime prevention

The strategies covered in chapter III reflect the underlying idea that criminal acts occur because of rational responses on the part of the population to certain urban conditions. Different crimes and different elements of the decision-making process involved in a criminal act are determined by conditions that emerge over time. Responding to crimes requires police and other stakeholders to analyse the particular incentives that give rise to the crimes and find ways to eliminate the incentives. Problem-oriented policing sees the opportunity structure of crime as specific in terms of the type of crime, conditions at a particular time and place, the structure of routine activities, past history of crimes and social and technological change.[75] Responding to crimes involves changing the opportunity structure of crime through close empirical study of the environment of criminal activity. Box 5 describes a strategy used to control the use of weapons in El Salvador.

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[74]William H. Sousa and George L. Kelling, "Of 'broken windows', criminology, and criminal justice", in Police Innovation: Contrasting Perspectives, David Weisburd and Anthony Braga, eds., Cambridge Studies in Criminology (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 90.

[75]Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, "Situational crime prevention", available from www.popcenter.org/about/?p=situational.

BOX 5.   CONTROLLING THE USE OF ARMS IN URBAN SPACE IN EL SALVADOR

Facing a wave of homicides, the city of San Martín, El Salvador adopted an innovative strategy to contain the use of weapons. Working with non-governmental organizations and the media, the local police initiated a series of activities designed to raise local consciousness about armed violence and to restrict the use of guns in the city. The police identified hot spots around the town that accounted for over 50 per cent of gun violence and began training police in strategies to manage the use and carrying of weapons in those places. Working with other State entities, the police helped to change regulations for the carrying of weapons in the city, restricting gun use in 62 critical areas such as parks, bus terminals, markets and green areas. The police then began to work with civic entities and the media to bring attention to the problem of gun violence. They hosted over 30 "cultural afternoons" to raise awareness about gun use and began to work to effectively manage new gun regulations in public places. The programme, which had the support of the United Nations Development Programme and the Swedish non-governmental organization Save the Children, resulted in a 40 per cent decrease in homicides, a 29 per cent decrease in gun crimes, and a 119 per cent increase in firearms apprehension.[a]

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[a]Carola Mittrany, "Menos armas, menos mortes", *Comunidade Segura*, 24 August 2006, available from www.comunidadesegura.org/pt-br/node/30075.

These underlying approaches to understanding crime have fostered 25 techniques of situational crime prevention, which have grown over time from an original 12 and are organized into the 5 categories set out below.[76]

Category 1: increase the effort

The techniques in this category are aimed at preventing crime by making it harder to commit crimes:

(a)   *Harden targets*. Stakeholders seek to reduce crime by making it harder to commit a crime in a particular place by, for example, installing effective locks or using computer codes that prevent a device from functioning without the proper input;

(b)   *Control access*. Crime can be controlled by making access to a site more complicated. This can involve installing an intercom system to verify entrants to a building or more effectively ensuring that visitors do not bring in weapons;

(c)   *Screen exits*. Controlling crime, especially theft, involves ensuring that individuals are thoroughly checked before exiting premises. This can involve checking bags containing merchandise upon exit;

(d)   *Deflect offenders*. Potential offenders can be deterred by being directed away from places where it is easy to commit crimes. Thus, crime can be controlled by separating supporters at sports events or by providing separate locker rooms for children;

(e)   *Control access to tools/weapons*. This strategy aims to increase the difficulty criminals experience in gaining access to tools to commit crimes. Governments can support such efforts by, for example, restricting the ability of criminals to gain access to guns.

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[76]See Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, "Twenty-five techniques of situational prevention", available from www.popcenter.org/25techniques/; also see Ronald V. Clarke and Graeme R. Newman, *Outsmarting the Terrorists*, Global Crime and Justice Series (New York, Praeger, 2006).

Category 2: increase the risk

Efforts in this category seek to augment the chances that an offender will be caught, thereby decreasing the chances that a potential offender will commit a crime:

(a)   *Extend guardianship.* This technique involves individuals in their own security by advising them to travel in groups, carry cellular phones to call for help and engages local residents in efforts to report crimes;

(b)   *Assist natural surveillance.* This approach suggests that stakeholders should seek to augment observation activity in the neighbourhood through architecture designed to promote security and through the removal of foliage that may provide cover for illegal activities;

(c)   *Reduce anonymity.* By providing information to the public, State officials seek to create conditions in which it is unlikely that potential offenders will commit crimes. This can include requiring taxi drivers to clearly display their carriage licences so as to discourage them from charging excess fares;

(d)   *Utilize place managers.* Another technique for reducing crime is to hire individuals to ensure that spaces are used properly, including having attendants on public transit systems or doormen in apartment buildings;

(e)   *Strengthen formal surveillance.* The final effort involves using observational technology such as closed-circuit television and car alarms.

Category 3: reduce the rewards

The techniques in this category focus on limiting how much a criminal can benefit from a specific act:

(a)   *Conceal targets.* Crime can be reduced if offenders have trouble identifying targets. This can include moving expensive goods in unmarked trucks and bags and shipping credit cards in envelopes without the name of the credit card issuer;

(b)   *Remove targets.* This takes the technique of concealing targets one step further by actually eliminating the possibility of a crime being committed by removing the object of the crime from circulation. Examples of this include carrying travellers' cheques instead of cash and taking jewellery out of store windows after hours;

(c)   *Identify property.* This classic strategy makes it more difficult to steal something by clearly identifying the owner. Libraries, for example, often stamp their name on the outward-facing sides of book pages and individuals engaged in animal husbandry brand or tag the ears of their animals. Similarly, the owners of expensive musical instruments often maintain records to identify their instruments if they are stolen;

(d)   *Disrupt markets.* Once goods have been stolen they must often be fenced for criminals to gain value from them. Limiting the value of goods robbed involves working to reduce secondary criminal markets by having police regularly check pawn shops and label car parts to prevent resale if a car is stolen;

(e)   *Deny benefits.* Finally, even if goods are stolen, stakeholders should seek to ensure that criminals will not benefit from those goods. This can be accomplished, for example, by building a radio that will not run in any car other than the one in which it was originally installed.

Category 4: reduce provocations

This strategy seeks to reduce the number of crimes by eliminating possible conditions that can create the underlying reasons for crime:

(a)   *Reduce frustration and stress.* Certain situations, such as long lines, tend to result in higher levels of tension. These problems can be handled through efforts to control the tensions arising in normal social settings by creating adequate spaces wherein people might congregate and by informing people of how long they may have to wait in line;

(b)   *Avoid disputes.* Some social situations lead to higher levels of conflict. Among these are tensions that result from the proximity of groups with different political orientations or from situations where there might be a disagreement about a fee for a service rendered. These problems can be resolved through efforts to reduce those conflicts, such as by keeping different groups of protesters apart or by setting fixed taxi fares to reduce disputes about meters;

(c)   *Reduce emotional arousal.* Certain types of activities and events create greater degrees of tension. Thus it is illegal to utter phrases that incite violence, and schools may make efforts to separate rival groups in order to prevent the outbreak of conflict;

(d)   *Neutralize peer pressure.* Many crimes occur because of relationships within small social groups. Possible responses include breaking up groups of troublemakers at schools, establishing programmes to support individuals in conforming to non-criminal behaviours, such as anti-narcotics abuse programmes for children and adolescents, or implementing programmes that alert workers in the finance industry to the possible ways in which they might be drawn into money-laundering;

(e)   *Discourage imitation.* This technique suggests that stakeholders need to make efforts to limit information that could enable groups to engage in future crimes.

Category 5: remove excuses

This category contains techniques that seek to reduce crime by creating conditions in which individuals are more likely to be conscious and observant of rules:

(a)   *Set rules.* This technique suggests that crime and disorder can be controlled if building owners and transit companies publicly post rules to make expected behaviour clear;

(b)   *Post instructions.* In certain situations, this technique involves simply posting clear signs such as signs instructing drivers not to sound their horns in certain areas;

(c)   *Promote and alert conscience.* This technique focuses on showing why it is important for the public to invest in adhering to certain rules. Thus, public awareness campaigns may provide information on why it is wrong to ride in an unlicensed taxi or to put electronic waste in household refuse;

(d)   *Assist compliance.* Governments can aid promoting compliance with laws by making such compliance easy, for example by making rubbish bins easily available;

(e)   *Control alcohol and drugs.* Finally, controlling crime often involves limiting access to alcohol and illicit drugs, especially under conditions that will promote crime.

G. Crime control in Diadema, Brazil

Some may suggest that mapping crime and developing complex and multi-levelled solutions to crime problems are too expensive for many cities in low- and middle-income countries. Increasing evidence from both Africa and Latin America suggests, however, that there are relatively low-cost ways of incorporating crime mapping strategies into crime control efforts, such as in the case of Diadema, Brazil, where a rough crime mapping system was developed using interns from a local law school.

Diadema is a poor city on the periphery of São Paulo, Brazil. Rapid and unconstrained urban growth, coupled with rising illicit drug trafficking and other crime in the metropolitan area, contributed to extremely high homicide rates that reached 140 per 100,000 inhabitants in the late 1990s. In response, city leaders adopted a variety of approaches to control crime in the city. Working with a São Paulo think tank, officials helped to organize civil society activities in the city around security issues, creating a forum on public safety that brought together citizens, police and elected leaders for the purpose of developing collaborative solutions to crime problems. Six law students were contracted as interns to go over police records to identify crime hot spots in the city. The analysis revealed a variety of crime nodes across the city at different times of the day and suggested that many of the killings were related to drug and alcohol abuse and interpersonal conflicts.[77] Officials noticed that peak homicide rates occurred around midnight and during the night-time hours in which bars and nightclubs operated. In response, the city council voted to impose a dry law restricting the time periods during which bars could sell alcohol. The city government agreed to divide policing duties between the municipal guard force, a local entity generally responsible for patrolling parks and city buildings and the State military police, the primary law enforcement entity in the city. The municipal guard was responsible for patrolling the downtown area, freeing up additional resources for the State police to patrol the outlying neighbourhoods where many homicides had occurred. The municipal government set up a phone hotline as well as cameras in critical areas of the city. The municipal guard also began a programme to conduct bicycle and foot patrols throughout the city to develop closer contact with citizens. The city also succeeded in paving and providing illumination to more streets and closing down an informal market area that had been the site of criminal activities. Legal commercial activities were transferred to a closed and regulated space. In 2003, four years after reaching a homicide rate of 140 per 100,000 inhabitants, homicide rates had fallen by half.[78] In 2008, homicide rates had fallen to 20 per 100,000 inhabitants.[79]

The case of Diadema provides evidence of how multiple spatially-oriented crime control strategies were used to dramatically reduce local violence. Diadema is not a particularly wealthy city; in fact, the initial crime mapping process was undertaken

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[77] *Global Report on Human Settlements 2007* (see footnote 3 above), p. 94.

[78] Most of this section is drawn from Bruno Paes Manso, Maryluci de Araújo Faria and Normal Gall, "Diadema: do 'faroeste' para a vida civilizada na periferia de São Paulo", in *Ciudad y Seguridad en América Latina*, Lucía Dammert and Gustavo Paulson, eds. (Santiago, FLACSO Chile, 2005), pp. 109-110.

[79] Statistics available from www.ssp.sp.gov.br/estatistica/dados.aspx?id=154.

using limited technology and resources. Efforts to reduce crime by redeploying existing resources and restructuring urban space, however, were based on a relatively simple information-gathering strategy that can be employed in other municipalities in low- and middle-income countries. Chapters VI and VII of the *Handbook* discuss how other cities in low- and middle-income countries, including Belo Horizonte, Brazil, and Bogotá have also employed crime mapping. One particularly interesting low-cost case, outlined in chapter V, involves participatory efforts at local crime mapping in South Africa. Box 6 summarizes the key lessons drawn from chapter III.

BOX 6. KEY LESSONS FROM CHAPTER III

- Technical knowledge on policing, including the distribution of crime in urban space, is essential to crime control. Central to this is understanding the distribution of hot spots
- The structure of urban space is critical to crime prevention and is addressed by both the concept of defensive space and the strategy on crime prevention through environmental design
- The "broken windows" approach generally succeeds when implemented in conjunction with evidence-based crime control strategies and must not be confused with repressive policing strategies
- Situational crime prevention comprises 25 techniques

H. Conclusions

Chapter III describes tools that can be useful for the police and other stakeholders involved in efforts to control and prevent crime, in particular from the perspective of reducing opportunities for crime and increasing the risks associated with engaging in crime. Understanding that different types of urban spaces require different responses is crucial to developing comprehensive and effective local crime control policies. Chapter IV provides a more in-depth discussion of different police strategies in such spaces and examines a set of strategies to address crime in cities.

IV. Effective policing in public places

How do police work to improve conditions in specific types of places such as central business districts, public parks, transit systems, public markets and schools? Controlling crime in specific places and protecting the population using those areas depends not only on regulations and on applying penal law after a crime has occurred but, rather, on understanding the types of problems that have emerged in those places, why the problems exist and how the problems can best be prevented and controlled. While police action is necessary to prevent and control crime in urban spaces, the action more often involves analysis, management and vigilance over those spaces than the deployment of repressive force. As will be further discussed in the *Handbook*, many solutions depend on understanding how spaces work and on managing spaces effectively in order to reduce incentives to commit crime. Chapter IV builds on these concepts, discussing strategies to control crime in different types of spaces. Drawing for the most part on detailed examples from North America and Western Europe, the chapter focuses on how strategies can be applied in much more narrow types of urban spaces.

A. Definitions

Public spaces. Freely accessed places that are often, though not always, owned by government entities. The spaces may be used as markets, recreational areas or sites of transit.

Private spaces. Places with restricted access that are usually privately owned. Individuals in most democratic systems have considerable rights to protect private spaces from being searched.

Private security contractors. Providers of policing and guard services who are contracted on the private market. In recent years, there has been a substantial proliferation of these types of actors in a variety of countries.

Stakeholders. Collective actors and individuals who have an interest in the control or management of a specific space or programme.

B. Public and private urban spaces

One of the major challenges in understanding both policing and urban space in the world today is negotiating the line between public and private spaces. As citizens move across the city to do business, study, shop or travel home, they cross a variety of spaces that are subject to different types of regulations and levels of access. Different types of spaces are also subject to different types of public and private security that often go well beyond the general services provided by police. Shopping malls and office buildings, for example, may have their own private security guards who are at times off-duty police officers. Similarly, public parks and government buildings may have a separate force of caretakers and security guards who enforce basic regulations.

Police operating in urban space face the challenge of negotiating this complex environment of mixed private and public security. In many cases, police can collaborate with private sector security firms effectively; in fact, the presence of such firms can augment limited resources. In some cities, there is effective government regulation of the private providers of security and police face few barriers in working with them to enforce the law. In other cases, public regulation of private security is ineffective. Often, the Government may not know who works for such security firms. The organizations may be staffed by off-duty police or criminals and the groups may engage in extortion. Moreover, in some circumstances, private owners may impede police work in the spaces they own in order to limit the capability of the police to investigate crimes.

Plans to deal with policing in urban spaces must address this complex set of security agents. To work towards effective policing in urban spaces, it is important that government agencies and the police consider several strategies to manage these relationships:

  (a) The Government should establish effective regulation of private security firms that ensures clarity in the relationship between police and such firms and that maintains basic quality standards for these groups, including ensuring that private firms are not run by off-duty police officers and that they do not employ active criminals. The rules should also specify the type of armaments carried by private security guards and the type of training received;[80]

  (b) Regulations should be established to clarify the circumstances under which active police can work for private firms. The regulations should clearly indicate how abuses by off-duty police will be handled in civil courts and in police disciplinary hearings;

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[80]In its resolution 18/2, entitled "Civilian private security services: their role, oversight and contribution to crime prevention and community safety" (see E/2009/30, chap. I, sect. D), the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice invited Governments to examine the role played on their territory by civilian private security services and to share their experiences in that regard.

(c)   The Government or police should maintain a registry of private security firms and their employees;

(d)   Police should be involved in managing and training private security guards;

(e)   Police should be proactive in developing relationships with legitimate private security firms. These efforts should help to bring private security firms into relationships with police and help to support official police forces;

(f)   Police should actively pursue any allegations against private security actors including those that employ off-duty police;

(g)   Police should develop productive relationships with other security services working in city buildings, parks, schools and plazas;

(h)   Police should consider actively engaging the population in neighbourhood watch groups. They should, however, ensure that the groups conduct their activities in accordance with the law. Box 7 provides information on the regulation of private security partnerships in the United Arab Emirates;

BOX 7.   REGULATING PRIVATE SECURITY PARTNERSHIPS IN THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

In a world of increasingly scarce State funds many citizens, businesses and Governments across the national income spectrum have increasingly turned to private security contractors to secure goods and provide safety to citizens. In the United Arab Emirates, the Government found there were three times as many private security contractors as official police.[a] Unfortunately, private security contractors are often poorly regulated, providing services that are not consistent with democratic norms, and, at times, may become involved in vigilantism. There are even concerns that private security companies may be infiltrated by criminals and become fronts for other illegal activities. These challenges were addressed in the United Arab Emirates through the formation of a national security institute. This entity seeks to provide uniform training to private security contractors in the country in order to ensure a standard level of training for all security workers. In addition the United Arab Emirates has worked to improve the quality of private security operations through rigorous regulation by the Ministry of the Interior. Such rules include having guards working at companies devote themselves fully to providing security during their shift and not take on other employment duties, a minimum wage, background checks for those working in the industry and fixed daily and weekly work hours.[b] The reforms, developed with the participation of outside advisers, conform to international professional norms in the industry.

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    [a]Presentation by Peter D'Arcy, Director, National Security Institute, United Arab Emirates, given at the UNODC expert group meeting, held in Abuja, on 9 September 2009.
    [b]Hassan Hassan, "Tightening security by educating guards", *The National* (Abu Dhabi), 15 May 2009, www.thenational.ae/article/20090515/NATIONAL/705149846.

(i)   Police should also consider engaging local businesses in supporting policing activities. The efforts, as is the case with the Naivasha programme in Kenya (see box 8), can provide essential assistance in improving the quality of policing and infusing substantial resources into underfunded State agencies.

BOX 8.   NAIVASHA COMMUNITY PROJECT

One interesting example of public-private partnerships in policing is the Naivasha community project in Kenya. Located about 40 miles northeast of Nairobi, the town has a vibrant economy based on tourism and growing flowers. Business growth, however, has not kept pace with the infrastructure and service demands of the region. Residents and entrepreneurs have contributed additional funds for police activities in exchange for greater programme oversight over the activities. The resources have contributed towards the purchase of vehicles and other materials for police efforts and the implementation of a series of programmes to address crime issues in the area, including establishing an anonymous tips service, improving police response time, setting up an emergency communication centre and promoting efforts to bring community members closer to police.

The strategy has been effective in delivering new resources into the hands of police and developing substantial measures for police effectiveness such as deployments of police vehicles and response times. In the context of African policing, it provides an interesting model for engaging the private sector in building support for reform.

Limitations to State funding pose substantial challenges to policing in many countries and private sector funding of reform efforts is one important path that reformers can look to for solutions. It is important to keep in mind, however, the specific challenges that these programmes may face. Leaders of these types of efforts must ensure that police remain fundamentally public and not private in the orientation of their service.

Providing security in specific urban spaces, however, goes beyond working with the private security providers for the spaces. Police must also work with other local stakeholders. These efforts can develop through a variety of relationships but should involve active work between police and stakeholders so that there is effective communication and the involvement of stakeholders in decision-making about local security. Engagement between police and stakeholders can provide the police with ideas on how to solve problems and also creates conditions in which police can collaborate with stakeholders to gain support in maintaining basic security.

These engagements and close analysis of the crime problems affecting spaces are likely to enable police to ask two sets of questions, which will be critical to solving local crime problems:

   (a)   What types of crimes are occurring in these places?

   (b)   What basic changes in local space, citizen use and police practice can control crimes in the spaces?

In developing answers to such questions, police and other stakeholders should consider how they can evaluate and measure the success of their policing efforts. Any analysis of each of these spaces should be considered in the context of the impact of these spaces on crime in other parts of the city.

C.   Stadiums

Stadiums, parks and public plazas are areas subject almost completely to the control of local authorities and police. While these different types of spaces create different

types of criminal opportunities, police must respond to the challenges in each of those areas with an eye to maintaining good order and to helping to minimize opportunities for crime. The spaces are also places of complex and necessary social interactions, and local stakeholders and government officials need to take a leading role in their management in order to ensure that citizens have opportunities for safe social interactions. This involves working closely with the administrators of those areas, for example to adequately trim hedges and thereby reduce hiding places, and to light spaces properly. In some circumstances, police may have the opportunity to work with the users of such spaces, such as the neighbourhood association of an area around a park, to consider the types of responses needed to prevent and reduce crime in that area and to maintain the public space as a safe place over time.

Stadiums pose particular problems ranging from ticket scalping and boisterous behaviour to riots and hooliganism. Stadiums have unique uses confined to specific time periods. Police dealing with the challenge of policing a stadium need to understand the particular local crime issues generated by the stadium and need to engage with local stakeholders and security providers in developing solutions.

Different cities face difficult challenges in maintaining order at stadiums. For example, North American stadiums are relatively peaceful. There are few intra-city rivalries and since cities are located at large distances from each other it is rare that opposing fans have contact. In North American stadiums, the major problems include maintaining basic order, dealing with inebriated and boisterous supporters and controlling illegal ticket scalping. Conditions in Europe and Latin America, however, are different. Well-organized groups of supporters and hooligans have led to high levels of violence and riots around stadiums. Police in these countries have developed different strategies to address the problems.

A first step in addressing such problems is to hold discussions with local stakeholders and security, including stadium owners and administrators, the managers of the teams that regularly use the stadium, neighbours, businesses that are located and operate around the stadium and the organized groups of supporters that use the stadium. Police should meet with these entities and discuss their perception of crime problems, share information about crime levels in the area and ask for thoughts on why crimes occur in the stadium area. Police should develop a plan, present their ideas to these groups and seek feedback and support for changes. The plans should include means through which those attending the event can report abusive behaviour.[81]

The International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA) provides well-conceived rules for stadium safety that could be used to help police in different cities think how to better guarantee safety at stadiums. FIFA suggests a long list of measures including, eliminating standing room, which has been shown to contribute to conflicts between event attendees, placing barriers between supporters and players to prevent

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[81]See Tamara D. Madensen and John E. Eck, *Spectator Violence in Stadiums*, Problem-Oriented Policing Guide, Problem-Specific Guide Series, No. 54 (Washington, D.C., United States Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2008). Available from www.popcenter.org/problems/spectator_violence/.

attacks on players, using closed-circuit television to monitor attendees, providing for adequate detention facilities and first aid sites, setting up visible police stations, using signs to direct visitors to and around stadiums effectively, using stadium structures to separate supporters, using metal detectors and other screening to prevent attendees from bringing weapons to a sporting event, restricting the sale of alcohol at stadiums, providing adequate emergency lighting and ensuring that the public address system functions.[82] This is, of course, only a brief summary of the FIFA requirements but they provide a good guide for how to think about ensuring security in these types of places.

D. Parks

Parks pose fewer large-scale but more regular problems than stadiums. By their nature, parks are green spaces in urban areas that can generally be accessed around the clock even if authorities take precautions to install gates and close the area at a certain hour. They provide an important oasis in urban areas. Such factors, however, also make parks attractive to criminals. Foliage provides important cover for criminals, and parks, often as a result of limited policing, patrolling or passive observation, can become the focus of criminal activities such as illicit drug dealing or assaults. Additionally, the recreational activities carried out in parks can get out of hand, leading to dangers for park users.

As with stadiums and other types of spaces, dealing with the challenges posed by parks involves assessing the particular problems occurring in the park and working with local constituent groups to understand how to resolve them. Local constituents might be park rangers or caretakers, resident and neighbourhood associations in the vicinity of the park, local business associations and schools or elder care facilities in the area whose clients regularly use the park.

Responses to the challenges posed by parks can take a variety of forms. First and foremost, it is important to ensure adequate compliance with local ordinances regarding park use. If police believe the ordinances to be inadequate, they might discuss changing them, for example suggesting an earlier closing time or restrictions on use. In Vancouver, Canada, police addressed very different circumstances through similar strategies. In a poor central area of the city, Canada's third largest, a park had become a centre for local illicit drug dealing. Working with local residents and a volunteer foot patrol, the police set up regular observations of the park and used plain clothes police to identify illicit drug dealers. Park services worked to limit graffiti and assigned workers to regularly clean the area. In addition, with advice from criminologists at Simon Fraser University, the police worked to prune covered areas and remove bushes that provided cover for the illicit drug dealers.[83]

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[82] Fédération internationale de football association safety guidelines, available from www.fifa.com/mm/document/ tournament/competition/fifa_safety_guidelines_e_1785.pdf.

[83] British Columbia, Vancouver Police Department, Grandview-Woodland Community Policing Centre, "Showdown at the playground", available from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing website (www.popcenter.org/ library/awards/goldstein/2000/00-32(F).pdf).

Mexico has adopted a large-scale park improvement programme to increase security called *Rescate de Espacios Públicos*. The effort, promoted by the federal Government, seeks to work with municipalities having over 50,000 inhabitants to recuperate urban public spaces in order to provide local population with places in which they can engage in a wide array of social activities, thereby using the spaces more effectively and discouraging criminal activity. The programme seeks to ensure that public spaces are built and improved to encourage citizens to use the spaces for social activities including sports and the arts and to promote community development. Local governments identify poorly maintained and marginalized public spaces and apply to the federal Government for funds to support their rehabilitation. The implementing agencies must organize community networks to ensure popular participation in the planning and maintenance of improvement efforts. In collaboration with city planners, designers and security agencies, the local population participates in deciding how an area will be restructured to best meet local needs. Improvements can take a variety of forms, including cleaning existing parks and plazas, building sports and community centres and providing improvements for riverbank and oceanfront areas in efforts to increase public use, and hence natural surveillance. Places that have previously received funds may obtain additional resources to continue consolidating spatial improvements or to help develop the social networks and committees to encourage active use of those spaces and prevent illegal activity. Once programmes are developed, local committees, city officials and security officers work with young people to prevent crime. Programme materials promote the concept that when citizens occupy spaces, delinquency retreats. In its first two years of existence, the programme rehabilitated over 1,800 spaces across the country, reaching 287 municipalities and 9 million inhabitants. The improvements included over 2,000 sports courts, the promotion of over 14,000 sports and artistic events and the creation of over 1,500 playgrounds. The programme has also promoted over 3,000 classes and campaigns to address such issues as addiction and community safety.[84]

Similarly focused efforts have helped to reduce crime in the Praça Oscar da Silva in São Paulo, Brazil. Noting increasing violence in the plaza, which is located in an upper class section of the city, local police launched a programme in which they worked collaboratively with local residents and businesses to improve use of the plaza and control crime. The efforts included increasing police patrols in the area and developing a series of collaborative activities with businesses, volunteers and a local university to clean and maintain the plaza and provide for events such as games for children and a cinema in order to make better use of the area and decrease opportunities for crime. The programme received the São Paulo Police-Citizen award.[85]

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[84]Mexico, Secretaría de Desarrollo Social, Subsecretaría de Desarrollo Urbano y Ordenación del Territorio, Dirección General de Equipamiento e Infraestructura en Zonas Urbano Marginadas, *Lineamientos Específicos del Programa de Rescate de Espacios Públicos* (January 2009); Marco Antonio Valencia Tello, "Program on rescue of public spaces", presentation given at UNODC expert group meeting on policing in urban spaces, held in Vienna on 9 September 2009.

[85]Marina Lemle, "Ações vencedoras do III Prêmia Polícia Cidadã", *Comunidade Segura*, 16 November 2006. Available from www.comunidadesegura.org/pt-br/node/30934.

E.   Markets

Like parks, market areas can be freely accessed. As areas of relatively open transit, large segments of the population may frequent them, including individuals who have nowhere else to go or individuals seeking to engage in illegal activities. At the same time, markets differ from parks in that they are substantially monitored by the various individuals engaging in transactions there, including business owners and market managers. This brings in a different set of stakeholders who may help to maintain order in the area but who can also contribute to disorder. Collaborative relationships with such stakeholders are essential to controlling crime in these areas.

A range of different problems can occur in market areas, including theft, appropriation of merchandise, refuse and the different types of problems associated with a large transient population. Businesses operating in these areas can engage in a variety of illegal practices, such as code violations and such criminal acts as illegal dumping. Finally, markets can become sites of a range of illegal activities associated with the large flow of citizens through the area, including illicit drug dealing and sales of illicit goods.

Police and other stakeholders in the area have a variety of options in dealing with the different types of problems. All solutions, however, must be based on a close analysis of problems in the area. In Lauderhill (Florida), United States, which is located just north of Miami (Florida), police dealt with a small shopping plaza that had become an open-air illicit drug market by developing ties with the business community to improve code enforcement and reduce trespassing. Police also worked to make a series of other changes to the environment around the plaza including setting up a playground to attract families, thus increasing passive observation of the area and deterring crime. Finally, police ensured that the owner of the plaza made modifications to the area, including by moving trash bins, improving lighting and installing gates in certain areas to deter crime.[86] Another interesting example of this type of reform, mentioned earlier, is the case of Diadema, Brazil. Here, one of the crime hot spots in the city was an open plaza known as the Camelódromo, which was used by transient vendors. The city addressed the crime issue by setting up a more organized market setting (*mercado popular*), a closed space where informal vendors can sell their goods in an area organized, maintained and regulated by the city. This is one of a number of interventions in the city that has helped to dramatically cut the level of crime.[87]

F.   Schools

Educational institutions present slightly different challenges from those posed by parks and markets. Schools are often highly controlled and monitored areas that

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[86]Florida, Lauderhill Police Department, "Mission Lake Plaza: combating an open-air drug market in a shopping complex", 1996, available from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing website (www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/1996/96-25(F).pdf).

[87]Paes Manso, Araújo Faria and Gall, "Diadema: do 'faroeste' para a vida civilizada na periferia de São Paulo" (see footnote 78 above), p. 89.

present challenges for access by outsiders. It is unlikely, for example, that individuals will begin squatting on school land and, given the age of those who use the institution, there is a limit to the types of crimes that can occur in the space. It is extremely difficult for a school to become the base for a major money-laundering or illicit drug trafficking operation. That said, however, schools can become dangerous sites for illicit drug sales. The presence of young people can potentially lead to substantial disorder and violence and can attract adult criminals who may prey on students.

Stakeholders in schools are usually clearly defined. The buildings are under the administration of a private corporation or State officials. Teachers and staff of the school are a second group of stakeholders. Parents of students are a third group. Depending on their age and the location of the school students may also be organized. The neighbours and business owners in the area around the school constitute a final group of stakeholders. This well-defined set of interest groups creates a basis for police engagement with the school as well as challenges in establishing consensus for change.

The major problems facing schools either come from inside the school in terms of conflict among students or from outsiders illegally coming onto school grounds to harass students or commit crimes. Efforts to address these issues can involve modifications to the school environment to discourage outsiders from coming onto the campus or to discourage illegal activity by students. This can involve creating conditions for better observation of school hallways and access areas or enclosing regions of the school that might be exposed to the outside.[88] Police also need to engage school administrators and teachers in creating an environment that is conducive to controlling crime. This means creating more effective monitoring of access to the campus and to students while on the campus. Finally, police need to find ways to work with parents and neighbours to understand the complexities of problems on the campus and their impact on the community.

One example of this type of effort can be seen in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where the Guarda Municipal, an unarmed local police force, maintains the Grupamento de Ronda Escolar, a dedicated unit that performs regular patrols of schools and works regularly with school leadership on developing strategies for crime prevention in schools. In addition, the unit also maintains contacts with the juvenile court system and helps deal with socio-educational sentences meted out by the court to young people convicted of property crimes. Finally, the unit delivers lectures to students at schools, seeking to forge positive relationships with students and instil ideas about citizenship in efforts to keep Rio de Janeiro's public school children out of criminal activities.[89]

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[88]For a discussion of environmental changes made to school spaces see Canada, Ontario, Peel Regional Police, "The Turner-Fenton project: reducing school disorder with CPTED", 1996, available from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing website (www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/1996/96-39(W).pdf).

[89]Aline Gatto Boueri, "A segurança ronda as escolas", *Comunidade Segura*, 20 March 2007. Available from www.comunidadesegura.org/pt-br/node/32552.

G. City transport and roads

One of the most complex problems for police to deal with is crime in and around the city transport network. A wide variety of activities are covered in section G, including assaults on vehicles, illegal operation of taxi and bus services, assaults on city roadways, subway, bus and train stations, nuisances associated with speeding and car theft. Diverse constituencies are affected by such activities. Some groups have a much louder voice than others as a result of their regular and organized use of city transportation, including transit riders, unions of both legal and illegal taxi and bus drivers and the owners and managers of both public and private transit companies.

Transit-related problems are diverse, and responses must be appropriate to conditions. In London, police decided to deal with high levels of sexual assault by unlicensed taxi drivers through a public awareness campaign, other efforts to increase public awareness and transit options on weekend nights when many of the assaults were occurring. Police worked with city officials to offer a better bus service, increase the range of areas covered by city taxis and offer licensed taxi drivers increased evening surcharges to create an incentive for more taxis to work during high crime periods.[90] Similar strategies were used in Norway to deal with problems involving irregular taxis.[91] The Washington, D.C., metro system provides another example of complex and multileveled efforts to prevent crimes in transit systems. The entire system was designed to reduce the risk of crime. Platforms have high ceilings and no columns, which creates open lines of sight. Lights are recessed in the ceilings to minimize shadows. Commercial activity in stations has been limited to buying tickets so as to reduce targets for crime. Walls are recessed to reduce graffiti. In addition, police rigorously enforce rules and work to improve maintenance. Finally, station attendants use public address systems to alert riders to rules violations. All these efforts have led to very low crime rates on this transit system.[92]

Chile also developed an innovative strategy to respond to crime in the transportation system. Law enforcement officials in the southern town of Coyhaique engaged with taxi drivers to control the level of car theft. After police receive information about a stolen car they quickly relay that information to the city's radio taxi drivers, including the make, model, colour, and licence plate number to help locate the missing vehicle. This contact immediately expands the ability of the police to conduct their investigations. While the force has only one cruiser available for the searches, there are 40 radio taxis that traverse the city daily. Through these efforts, the city investigative police have achieved a 100 per cent recuperation rate for lost cars within

[90]United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Transport Policing and Enforcement Directorate, "Safer travel at night: transport for London", available from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing website (www.popcenter.org/library/awards/goldstein/2006/06-49(W).pdf).

[91]Norway, National Police Academy and Vestfold Police District, "Gypsy cabs in Tønsberg: a case for problem oriented policing", 2004, available from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing website (www.popcenter.org/conference/conferencepapers/2004/GypsyCabs.pdf).

[92]Nancy G. La Vigne, "Safe transport: security by design on the Washington metro", in *Preventing Mass Transit Crime*, vol. 6, *Crime Prevention Studies*, R. V. Clarke, ed. (Monsey, New York, Criminal Justice Press, 1996).

48 hours of robbery. In 2009, the investigative police of Chile recognized the programme as an example of a good practice.[93]

It is also important to remember the particular safety needs of women on public transit systems, where they may experience harassment or attacks as a result of a lack of adequate monitoring, or where confined spaces offer opportunities for sexual crimes. As with the Safe Delhi project (see box 9), there are a variety of different strategies that government agencies can use to limit such acts, including increasing awareness and training transit workers in issues related to harassment and violence against women. For a full discussion of police responses to violence against women, please refer to the UNODC *Handbook on Effective Police Responses to Violence against Women* and *Training Curriculum on Effective Police Responses to Violence against Women*.[94]

BOX 9.   SAFE DELHI: SAFETY OF WOMEN ON CITY TRANSPORT

Since joining the workforce in large numbers in recent years, Indian women have faced a growing wave of violence and harassment. Abuse occurs, for example in the overcrowded and poorly maintained train cars that middle and working class employees take into the cities. In response, train services in India have put in place cars and trains exclusively for women that remove them from the packed conditions that have enabled harassment.

The Safe Delhi project has similarly tried to draw attention to the question of the harassment of women in public spaces by airing community service commercials drawing attention to the pain caused by staring and the insecurity of women facing catcalls on their walks home at night. One of the project videos, for example, shows how a lack of good public lighting can create an environment that encourages harassment and violence. Safe Delhi has also trained bus drivers and conductors to be observant and become equipped to handle cases of sexual harassment and assault in buses.

Addressing the concerns of women can involve building safer urban spaces by improving lighting in public spaces and conditions at marketplaces or by adding train cars to help diminish harassment. Police can contribute to these efforts by tracking where crimes against women tend to occur and participating in discussions with city officials and civic actors about what types of accommodations and changes in space may be necessary to minimize such attacks.

Unfortunately, at times police forces have not responded effectively to the concerns of women. Governments across the world have adopted different strategies to deal with these problems. One of the most prominent is the establishment of police stations oriented to women's concerns. These have emerged in Brazil, India and the Philippines.

As with other types of spaces, police must adopt specific strategies designed to address the problem they are examining in the transit network. These can involve more patrols. Alternatively, transit users can participate in this process by posting contact information to advise police of dangerous circumstances in roadways. Finally, police

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[93]"Biro de la PDI se alinea con empresas de radio taxis en el combate del robo de automóviles", Diario de Aysen (Coyhaique), 12 May 2009. Available from www.diarioaysen.cl/noticias.php?id=5811; Liza Zuñiga, "Boas práticas policiais são premiadas no Chile", *Comunidade Segura*, 19 June 2009. Available from www.comunidadesegura.org/fr/MATERIA-boas-praticas-policiais-sao-premiadas-no-chile.

[94]*Handbook on Effective Police Responses to Violence against Women*, Criminal Justice Handbook Series (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.10.IV.3); and *Training Curriculum on Effective Police Responses to Violence against Women*, Criminal Justice Handbook Series (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.10.IV.5).

can work in conjunction with other city authorities to change the environment of the roadways. This can involve redesigning roads, asphalting roads to reduce vehicle breakdowns and installing better illumination.

Airports and train, bus and subway stations as well as train cars, bus stops and buses present unique opportunities for crime as individuals arrive in cities or move collectively across the city. Often ports and transport stations provide crime opportunities such as bringing illegal products to the city or victimizing new arrivals. Again, as with other elements of the transportation network, a good response requires adequate intelligence, but police may also consider putting in place specialized units prepared to deal with the challenges of ensuring that transportation networks are safe places. Police may also consider outreach to companies that operate vehicles, the drivers of the vehicles and groups of passengers to engage stakeholders in efforts to control crime and to learn from such groups how State officials can work to solve the crime problems on collective transport systems.

H.   Central business districts

Downtown areas are complex fusions of parks, commercial buildings, schools, government offices and markets that combine many of the problems raised above. Business owners want police to prevent burglaries and ensure the safety of their customers. Those travelling into the area to transact business often desire a solid police presence in order to travel securely in the area when carrying money or documents and when leaving with merchandise. Unlike residential areas, however, commercial areas bring together large numbers of individuals with little knowledge of each other into areas with extensive transportation linkages. Dealing with crime problems in these complex areas involves police and planning officials engaging with the multiple stakeholders operating in the area. Among the main stakeholders are government agencies and large numbers of businesses as well as the many citizens and civic organizations that make use of the central zone of the city. Often this occurs through business-government cooperation in urban improvement districts.[95]

The challenges faced in central districts are the multiple uses of the space and the dramatic changes in levels of use. Central areas bring together individuals from various parts of the city and there is often a very small population that actually lives in the area. To further complicate matters, at night central city areas may experience a substantial decline in population, leaving large streets barren of foot traffic and commerce, which create conditions that can facilitate a variety of crimes.

The project to create city improvement districts in Cape Town, South Africa, offers an interesting example of how businesses can work with the Government to effect security in commercial areas. For some time, the Government of South Africa has invested resources into promoting collaboration between the South African Police

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[95]See Lorlene M. Hoyt, "Do business improvement district organizations make a difference? Crime in and around commercial areas in Philadelphia", *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, vol. 25, No. 2 (2005), pp. 185-199.

Service, the municipal police force, local stakeholders and private security contractors with the objective of forging collaborative synergies to more effectively provide security. One approach to this has been the creation of city improvement districts to help downtown business owners work effectively with police to identify local crime problems and promote police–private contractor contacts to better provide the security necessary for commerce and tourism.[96]

City improvement districts are public-private security and urbanization partnerships in which member businesses provide additional subsidies to security services to help ensure effective security in the city district where the organization operates. The city improvement districts partnerships operate as a non-profit entity, presided over by business owners, that facilitates the efforts of businesses to collaborate with police and other government officials to promote security.[97] In Cape Town, the districts have helped to identify crime hot spots in order to spread out security agents more efficiently and develop effective strategies to control illegal activities; have augmented the amount of resources and personnel available for public safety activities; and have regularized parking attendance management. The districts have used sector policing to help police build local knowledge and contacts to implement policing strategies. The districts appear to have been successful in substantially increasing available resources for public safety within the areas they manage and in providing the users of the districts with greater security.

It is important to remember that while such programmes have met with some success they have also been subject to criticism. While efforts have improved commerce and security in some Cape Town neighbourhoods they have done so at least in part through a gentrification process that has increased the homogeneity of neighbourhoods, and working class residents have been forced to seek more affordable accommodations in more distant areas. Furthermore, while the efforts have brought more resources into commercially important areas they have done little for other regions of the city where large businesses do not have operations.[98]

Resolving such problems requires substantial collaboration between police and the broad array of State officials operating in the areas. It also requires substantial commitment to working in new ways over a period of time so as to address the complexity of problems affecting these types of areas. Collaboration between government officials and stakeholders plays an important role in effecting security in the areas.

I.   Slums

In low- and middle-income countries, some of the most complicated areas to police are extremely poor and often self-constructed neighbourhoods, which in some cases

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[96]Clifford Shearing and Julie Berg, "South Africa", in *Plural Policing: A Comparative Perspective*, Trevor Jones and Tim Newburn, eds. (New York, Routledge, 2006), pp. 208-212.

[97]Faranak Miraftab, "Governing post-apartheid spatiality: implementing city improvement districts in Cape Town", Antipode: *A Radical Journal of Geography*, vol. 39, No. 4 (2007), pp. 605-606.

[98]Ibid., pp. 610-621.

provide housing to more than half the residents of an urban area. These areas, which are rarely well mapped and usually lack a solid infrastructure, pose significant political, planning and crime challenges to residents and city officials. They are often built and inhabited by populations that are not effectively integrated into the economic or political systems and that may suffer substantial discrimination simply because of where they live or as a result of a variety of other social, religious, ethnic or racial factors.[99] To make matters worse, slums and shanty towns may have long-term disputes with the Government or private landowners over land occupation or unpaid rent. In these situations, the main connection between these communities and the Government may be through political ties that in some cases may be mediated by criminal groups.[100] Such conditions only worsen relations between State officials and the population. Slums are often seen by some segments of the population as sites of criminality and danger in the wider city. That perception, as well as demands from affected landowners and neighbours, often lead to slum removal efforts that fall brutally on the shoulders of the inhabitants of the areas. Contacts between residents and the police are often limited to engagement in such removal efforts or in other raids against criminal groups that may operate in the area. After such operations, police will often withdraw and leave residents to their own devices and to being subject to local dominance. These conditions augment local resentment and harden police attitudes towards these areas.

To respond to these challenges, Governments need to make special efforts to develop positive policing strategies in shanty towns and other types of irregular settlements. Elected officials and police need to think about how they can effectively forge relationships with such communities, which are all too often at the margins of public policy and whose residents suffer from discrimination and exclusion in a host of economic, political and social realms. Dealing with the security challenges facing these areas is especially important for improving security in cities in low- and middle-income countries, where over half the residents of a city may reside in irregular areas. All too often, policing in such areas is restricted to repressive activities and evictions. Despite the criminal activities that occur, police need to remember that not all the residents are criminals and that residents of the areas should be treated in the same way as residents of other neighbourhoods. For police to succeed in controlling crime in these areas, the Government needs to develop comprehensive policies to establish ties with the population and address the safety concerns of residents, including working to improve relations between police and community members, urbanization efforts, basic mapping, improvement of services, efforts to connect the areas to the outside and build up the local social capital necessary to discourage crime and resolve conflict, and efforts to create opportunities, improve education, deal with recidivism and address problems concerning mental illness and addiction.

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[99] On discrimination against minorities see *Police Practices: Obstruction to Poor People's Access to Justice* (see footnote 16 above), pp. 31-35.

[100] Enrique Desmond Arias, *Drugs and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro: Trafficking, Social Networks, and Public Security* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Laurie Gunst, *Born 'Fi Dead: A Journey Through the Jamaican Posse Underworld* (New York, Henry Holt, 1996).

Slums often receive few or no formal urban services and, as a result, residents often obtain services illegally, which may leave them in fear of city officials. Central to improving the security situation in slums is formally integrating such areas and their populations into the city. This involves extending to them such basic services as clean water and electricity and working with residents to provide reliable transportation services and public spaces to support local social capital enterprises and engagement with the government. For some time, the city of Rio de Janeiro has supported the Favela-Bairro programme, which seeks to regularize urban services to shanty towns and, at times, works to add public spaces to communities to provide civic opportunities.[101] Similarly, the municipality of Medellín, Colombia, has worked to install libraries in poor neighbourhoods, most notably in the violent Comuna Nororiental, to provide opportunities for residents to have access to information and enable them to take advantage of their citizens' rights and engage with the Government.[102]

Another component of improving policing is simply to map the areas. As informal settlements, most of such neighbourhoods are off city grids and, in many cases, are not included on formal maps. Governments should seek to develop adequate maps of the communities. Such efforts can help State agencies to effectively deliver an array of services to the areas and help security agencies to identify crime hot spots so that they can work with community groups to help control crime in the area.

The city of Mamelodi, in the region of Pretoria, South Africa, and two towns in the Northern Cape have served as the base for an interesting experiment using an innovative approach to integrate crime mapping, crime prevention through environmental design and problem-oriented policing. In each of the cities, communities have been organized, bringing together citizens and specially trained police facilitators to have a frank discussion about the spatial nature of crime. Community participants at the events are asked by facilitators to develop individual and collective maps of where crime occurs in the neighbourhood. Individuals begin by making their own maps of community hot spots, which are then organized into a community wide map that reflects the combined experience of participants with crime in their neighbourhoods. The efforts typically reveal a wide range of high-risk areas that the police were not aware of and that residents themselves may have thought about only individually and may not have realized were causing collective concern. The process opens up opportunities for constructive discussions about where crime is occurring in a neighbourhood and why. In one Northern Cape area, residents realized that a tight alleyway that connected a school to another part of the community was a site of frequent muggings. This enabled residents and police to realize that the problem could be solved by simply stationing a school official in that place at certain times of day to prevent crimes from occurring. The sessions conclude with discussions among police facilitators and residents on ways to develop collective solutions to local problems that integrate stakeholders, design techniques and police response.[103]

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[101]UN-Habitat, "Assessment of safety and security in slum upgrading initiatives: the case of favela Bairro" (Nairobi, 2009).

[102]Andrea Domínguez, "Bibliotecas para a paz urbana na Côlombia", *Comunidade Segura*, 16 January 2009. Available from www.comunidadesegura.org/pt-br/MATERIA-Bibliotecas-para-a-paz-urbana-na-Colombia.

[103]Susan Liebermann and Justine Coulson, "Participatory mapping for crime prevention in South Africa: local solutions to local problems", *Environment and Urbanization*, vol. 16, No. 2 (2004).

The history of the communities as informal settlements that often obtain illegal services has led to poor relations between the police and the residents. The presence of violent organized criminal groups can further worsen relations. Police must seek to develop more positive relations with community residents, including by creating local safety forums that enable police to meet regularly with community leaders to discuss an array of problems in the community as well as ways for the police to work with residents in solving the problems. For example, in the shanty towns of Cantagalo and Pavão/Pavãozinho in Rio de Janeiro, the presence of a community policing programme has enabled motivated police leaders to work actively with local leaders not just in controlling crime but also in helping with other community issues. On one occasion, a police commander sought to provide community residents with a bus to help transport children who lived in the community to a social event. This type of contact builds better long-term relations that can help to establish trust and the basis for a better working relationship. Beyond this, police need to seek to work with residents to create conditions where residents themselves enforce norms to control crime by taking local delinquents to task. We can see examples of this strategy in the CeaseFire programme in the United States and the panchayat policing programme in Mumbai (Bombay), as described in box 10.

BOX 10.   POLICING WITH *PANCHAYAT* IN MUMBAI (BOMBAY)

Police in Mumbai (Bombay) have pioneered a participatory policing strategy in which the residents of poor neighbourhoods are directly incorporated into policing activities through *panchayats*, groups of 10 local residents, who actively collaborate with police in developing law enforcement strategy in their neighbourhoods. The members of the *panchayats* receive an identity card that indicates they are police "helpers". The members of the *panchayat* are appointed by local representative organizations and community groups, which provide the police with a room within the neighbourhood to support their efforts. Most *panchayat* members are women and the groups exercise their moral authority in the community to control violence and crime. The *panchayat* volunteers help police with patrol activities and seek to provide informal dispute resolution to neighbourhood residents in efforts to free up police resources for controlling criminal activity. While volunteers do not have policing authority, they are able to use their official position to enforce local norms, to limit domestic abuse and control public drunkenness and other activities that can lead to other crimes. All of this is achieved with a minimum of financial resources from the Government.[a]

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[a]A. N. Roy, A. Jockin and Ahmad Javed, "Community police stations in Mumbai's slums", *Environment and Urbanization*, vol. 16, No. 2 (2004), pp. 135-138.

Beyond all this, State officials must seek to integrate the communities effectively into the wider social life of the city. Police can help to accomplish this by assisting local groups in developing contacts with outside civic organizations. An example of such action occurred in the *favela* of Vigário Geral in Rio de Janeiro when, after many residents had been murdered by police in retaliation for the murder of police by gang members, Médecins Sans Frontières and the Grupo Cultural Afro-Reggae set up programmes in the community, in response to demands from a local community movement, to help provide services to residents. The organizations developed strong relationships with the residents, helped to organize residents and maintained ties between the community and outside organizations. In the end, they helped to

organize groups within the community that could make demands of government officials and work with non-profit groups to bring services to the community.[104] In the long run, the contacts have created pressure to maintain positive law enforcement in the community and provide police with groups they can work with in efforts to maintain order.

The deprivation experienced in these communities makes life difficult. The areas may provide a base for gangs and suffer when these groups enter into conflicts. Controlling crime and developing better relations with residents depends at least in part on preventing conflicts. Governments should consider strategies to stop conflict, such as the Peace Management Initiative in Jamaica, a Government-civil society collaboration in which negotiators visit communities at risk of conflict to attempt to negotiate a settlement among rival groups. Such efforts are supported by the State and include meeting with local leaders in different regions of Kingston to develop a deeper understanding of the factors contributing to conflict and receiving Government support for social initiatives that are implemented to help end the conflict.

Similarly, State officials also need to consider how to provide opportunities to at-risk populations to reduce engagement in uncivil behaviour, violence and crime and to bring them effectively into mainstream society. Chapter VI discusses in greater detail the Fica Vivo! programme in Belo Horizonte, which provides classes to adolescents in violent areas to help to keep them off the street and out of violence.

Finally, dealing with crime in these communities must also address the particular problems of troubled segments of the population. Government officials can help to control crime by establishing effective programmes to ensure the social reintegration of ex-convicts. Former prisoners released into their communities may not have many work opportunities and may find themselves returning to criminal activities to support themselves. Similarly, drug addicts and others with psychological disturbances may not have the wherewithal to seek out services to help them with their problems. Government agencies seeking to control crime should develop social programmes to address the particular needs of those populations. In Medellín, for example, employment and psychological assistance is provided to former armed personnel to help them stay out of criminal activities after demobilization.

J.   Other residential areas

The major problem facing police in some residential areas is access to the region and developing a positive working relationship with the residents. Across different social classes, police face different types of problems in engaging with the population, ranging from a profound lack of trust of police in many poor areas to a lack of confidence in police efficacy in better-off neighbourhoods. Police must use different strategies to maintain a presence in different residential areas and forge ties with the residents of those communities. In better-off areas, much of this can be accomplished

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[104]Arias, *Drugs and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro* (see footnote 100 above), pp. 130-168 and pp. 207-215.

through the creation of formal mechanisms to help police to engage with the community, such as through local public safety councils or police-led neighbourhood watch programmes.

The police need to work with residents in both types of neighbourhoods to control crime by exerting pressure on transgressors to follow the law and other area norms. While both wealthy and poorer areas can benefit from a regular police presence, the particular types of problems that exist in poorer areas require a regular police presence that Governments are often unwilling to provide. A regular police presence, appropriately distributed in a particular area, can help to control and prevent various types of crime, including the emergence of open-air illicit drug markets and other organized criminal activity.

The different types of crime that occur in different areas are summarized in table 4.

Table 4.   Spaces, crimes and possible responses

Type of space	Subtype	Crime problem	Barrier to police actions	Possible response
Residential areas	Well-off regions	Burglaries, assaults, intimate violence, illicit drug dealing, illicit drug consumption, gang activity	Gated communities limiting access, private security firms	Creation of formal police-community councils, regulation of private security, establishment of better patrol presence
	Shanty towns and irregular settlements		Irregular streets, fear of police, heavy gang presence	Formal and informal strategies of engagement with residents, work with government agencies to gain access, regular police presence in neighbourhood, oversight of police working in area
Commercial areas	Shopping malls Open-air markets Informal markets	Burglaries, muggings, lack of stable population to maintain community order, marches, riots, terrorist activity	Lack of groups to work with, unpredictable nature of large-scale violence	Development of relationships with local business associations and government agencies, innovative strategies to control disorder
Public spaces	Parks Plazas Streets (public spaces that are often used for various activities)	Assaults, illicit drug use, appropriation of public space for private purposes	Regular police presence necessary, often no locals to work with except those who are violating law	Regular monitoring and presence, work with government agencies to manage space to reduce opportunity for crime
	Stadiums	Political violence, conflict between supporters of different teams	Large and unmanageable groups of people	Special policing strategies, work with government officials or private agencies to structure space to reduce crime

Type of space	Subtype	Crime problem	Barrier to police actions	Possible response
Industrial areas	Transportation hubs	Smuggling, illegal immigration	Multiple overlapping jurisdictions	Work with government agencies to manage entry of products and people
	Production areas	Illegal dumping, wholesale criminal activity, weapons availability	Activity does not take place in public, crimes are hard to track	Work with government agencies to regulate activity and investigate crime
Transport networks	Bus stops Stations Ferry areas Other locations	Carjacking, car assaults, cargo robberies, smuggling	Itinerant individuals	Work with regular users of roads such as bus and taxi drivers and riders, development of effective intelligence and establishment of specialized policing units to address the concerns of port, airport, bus station and train station users

K.   Conclusions

Chapter IV seeks to examine how community-oriented and problem-oriented policing strategies can be applied in specific urban spaces. The chapter provides insights into different types of strategies to control crime. These types of efforts can broadly be categorized as seeking engagement with the community, changing police strategy and engaging in environmental changes. Nevertheless, practitioners should remember that the chapter only offers examples of the types of programmes that can provide improvements. Individual places require particular solutions and local police should work with other local officials and civic groups to design solutions appropriate to the spaces in which they operate. Chapter V will examine a number of structures connected to accountability and oversight that are critical to the functioning of urban policing. The key lessons drawn from chapter IV are summarized in box 11.

BOX 11.   KEY LESSONS DRAWN FROM CHAPTER IV

- Different types of urban spaces create different types of law enforcement challenges
- Different types of urban spaces require different types of policing
- Shanty towns require the special focus of government officials to overcome a lack of trust and maintain order in these areas
- Working with stakeholders is essential to the success of security policies
- Governments must effectively regulate forms of private security
- The security needs of certain populations, such as women and children, require special attention; a successful example of this type of effort is the Safe Delhi initiative

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V. Improving policing practice, oversight and evaluation

Chapter V summarizes the basic approaches to policing and underlines the principles of good policing as outlined in United Nations standards and norms in crime prevention and criminal justice. Moreover, it considers strategies for evaluation. The information contained in the chapter provides a structure for thinking about different ways in which police operate institutionally in urban spaces and how police operations can be improved over time through collaboration with other State actors and evaluation.

A. Definitions

Evaluation. All work by police and other government agencies should be assessed. It is an essential concept in ensuring the quality of different programmes.

Accountability. A concept in which groups or individuals are held responsible through single or multiple channels for the activities they undertake. A number of languages do not have an exact equivalent of the term.

B. Seven attributes of safer places

Understanding environmental efforts to control crime has been distilled into the following seven attributes of safer places:[105]

Access and movement. Places that provide for easy and unconfined access and movement. Individuals are not isolated in one part of a building and can easily move out of the place.

Structure. Places that are structured in such a way as to reduce conflict.

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[105]This section is drawn from United Kingdom, Home Office, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, *Safer Places: The Planning System and Crime Prevention* (London, February 2004). Available from www.communities.gov.uk/documents/planningandbuilding/pdf/147627.pdf.

Surveillance. Public places that are observed by individuals and public servants.

Ownership. Public places that ensure safety because individuals have a sense of ownership of the spaces.

Physical protection. Places that are adequately secured with locks and other basic devices to prevent entry or theft.

Activity. Places that have an appropriate level of human activity for their function and structure and are neither too crowded nor too empty.

Management and maintenance. Places that must be appropriately managed and maintained to control crime.

C.   Principles of good policing

The United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (General Assembly resolution 34/169, annex)[106] consists of eight articles outlining certain basic principles of good policing. The text of the articles reads:

Article 1

Law enforcement officials shall at all times fulfil the duty imposed upon them by law, by serving the community and by protecting all persons against illegal acts, consistent with the high degree of responsibility required by their profession.

Article 2

In the performance of their duty, law enforcement officials shall respect and protect human dignity and maintain and uphold the human rights of all persons.

Article 3

Law enforcement officials may use force only when strictly necessary and to the extent required for the performance of their duty.

Article 4

Matters of a confidential nature in the possession of law enforcement officials shall be kept confidential, unless the performance of duty or the needs of justice strictly require otherwise.

Article 5

No law enforcement official may inflict, instigate or tolerate any act of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, nor may any law enforcement official invoke superior orders or exceptional circumstances such as a

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[106]See *Compendium of United Nations Standards and Norms* (see footnote 59 above), pp. 343 ff.

state of war or a threat of war, a threat to national security, internal political instability or any other public emergency as a justification of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Law enforcement officials shall ensure the full protection of the health of persons in their custody and, in particular, shall take immediate action to secure medical attention whenever required.

Article 7

Law enforcement officials shall not commit any act of corruption. They shall also rigorously oppose and combat all such acts.

Article 8

Law enforcement officials shall respect the law and the present Code. They shall also, to the best of their capability, prevent and rigorously oppose any violations of them. Law enforcement officials who have reason to believe that a violation of the present Code has occurred or is about to occur shall report the matter to their superior authorities and, where necessary, to other appropriate authorities or organs vested with reviewing or remedial power.

The Code is accompanied by substantial commentary that defines terms and refers to important international agreements upon which the principles have been based. Additionally, the *Compendium of United Nations Standards and Norms in Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice* provides guidelines for the implementation of the Code, the use of firearms by law enforcement officials, the dispersal of unlawful assemblies, the treatment of individuals in custody or detained by police and the training and counselling of law enforcement personnel. These approaches and recommendations are based on wider good police practices, on overall notions of the humane treatment of citizens and prisoners and on the application of general international agreements on human rights to the area of criminal justice.[107]

D. Governance and accountability in policing

Without oversight, police will not function effectively or democratically. Different forms of police accountability are essential for maintaining control over the use of force by citizens and elected representatives. When accountability fails or is captured by elements within the government or police, there is a tendency for police to undertake actions outside of social norms.[108] The forthcoming UNODC handbook on police integrity, accountability and oversight contains a full discussion of police

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[107]Ibid., pp. 343-356.

[108]For examples of the need for police accountability see Paul Chevigny, *Edge of the Knife: Police Violence in the Americas* (New York, New Press, 1997).

accountability. Section D briefly outlines a few basic principles of accountability outlined in that handbook.[109]

Police oversight and accountability

Police officers may be held accountable in many different ways. They may be held accountable in management or business terms for their performance and productivity; more importantly, however, they must be accountable for the way in which they exercise the powers entrusted to them. Different forms of police oversight are essential for maintaining control over the use of force and for preventing police corruption and other forms of misconduct. If accountability fails, there is a tendency for police to undertake actions outside of social norms.

Police accountability concerns implementing arrangements for internal and external checks and balances to make sure that police maintain integrity while carrying out their duties and that they are held responsible if they fail to do so.

External accountability

External accountability mechanisms involve the evaluation of police actions by entities outside police institutions, such as courts or boards of public officials. Civilian forms of police oversight are carried out by the public, for example through representational bodies, non-governmental organizations, civil society organizations or the media. There may also be an independent authority dealing with complaints against police officers. External reviews hold the police accountable to other sectors of the State and society and is essential in ensuring that police meet wider social and political needs. These processes are also important in improving police legitimacy.

Internal accountability

Internal accountability refers to mechanisms within police forces and political systems that oversee and evaluate police activities. The mechanisms include, reporting systems and internal correctional systems. Internal accountability mechanisms reflect the professional expertise of police and facilitate data retrieval. However, since they are not directly accountable to the outside, they may easily reflect parochial police concerns instead of the concerns of political leaders and citizens.

Internal and external mechanisms complement each other. It is important to develop accountability mechanisms that balance the two approaches in the specific social and political context of a city.[110]

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[109] *UNODC, Handbook on Police Accountability, Oversight and Integrity* (forthcoming). See also "Policing: the integrity and accountability of the police", part of the UNODC criminal justice assessment toolkit series. Available from www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/cjat_eng/2_Integrity_and_Accountability_Police.pdf.

[110] For a general discussion of accountability mechanisms in political systems see Guillermo O'Donnell, "Horizontal accountability in new democracies", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 9, No. 3 (1998); Enrique Peruzzotti and Catalina Smulovitz, eds., *Enforcing the Rule of Law: Social Accountability in the New Latin American Democracies* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006).

E. Information sharing and intelligence in policing urban areas

Different sections of the *Handbook* have made clear the importance of police working with other public safety stakeholders. Such connections are essential in obtaining both the information and intelligence necessary for good police work and in providing stakeholders with the information they need to adequately provide for their own security and that of the places they administer, as well as to inform the non-police actors engaged in crime and violence prevention and control of how best their sector-specific policies and actions can contribute to creating safer communities.

The ideas that underlie the policing strategies discussed in the *Handbook* are based on using empirical information to develop effective policing strategies (knowledge-based strategies and approaches being one of the eight principles contained in the United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime). Thus, police distribute resources in response to information they have about where crimes are occurring and what they know about crime dynamics in the cities in which they work. To develop such information, police must work with other public organizations. Police may know that crimes are occurring in a neighbourhood through statistical infor- mation or through the reports of officers working in the area; residents of the area, however, may understand more than police about why the crimes are occur- ring as a result of their experiences living in and using the facilities of the neighbourhood.

At the same time, it is essential that police also share information with other groups so that they can effectively provide security to those groups in the areas in which they live and work. Similarly, for example, working with parks administrators and park users can help to identify which parts of a park are most dangerous at night. Park officials may also know something about how foliage changes in the park over the course of a year and can help police to determine which effective strategies to use in response to changing conditions. Thus, if a park manager knows through the police that criminals are using some hedges to stage assaults, the manager can trim the hedges. Alternatively, the managers of transit systems will benefit from knowing which stations suffer the highest levels of crime and in which parts of the stations crimes occur so that they can undertake improvements to those stations, such as installing security cameras, to increase passenger safety.

Communities using information from the police can work together, for example, to improve neighbourhood watch activities or reach out to potential offenders with alternatives to crime such as educational and employment opportunities. Such efforts can help to secure spaces and reduce the need for police intervention later. Effective communication between police and social actors can enable the police to participate in decisions about the structure and management of public spaces to help create greater safety.

F.   Police evaluation

Evaluating policing is exceptionally challenging. There is little consensus either outside or inside policing agencies on exactly how police should be evaluated across different types of policing organizations. The central factor that police should consider in any evaluation programme is developing a set of evaluation criteria that reflect particular local concerns. Communities with large numbers of traffic accidents may, for example, evaluate their police differently from communities suffering from high levels of trafficking in illicit drugs. Another substantial challenge in evaluating policing is that many measures of police effectiveness value repression over prevention. It is easy to say how many suspects have been arrested but much harder to prove how many crimes have been prevented. This can lead to police focusing on increasing the number of arrests as opposed to developing a broader-based strategy of public safety. A final challenge in police evaluation is the availability and reliability of data on which to base evaluations. In many countries, there is no uniform measure of crime statistics. Police should develop evaluation techniques that work in the administrative and technological context in which they operate. Policing institutions can be evaluated on the basis of a variety of criteria, including measures of crime, insecurity and overall community health. The metrics discussed here are drawn from a report of the Police Executive Research Forum to the National Institute of Justice, a branch of the United States Department of Justice. The full report is much more detailed but contains measures that are, at times, specific to the context.[111]

Overall community safety can be measured using the following types of data:

   (a)   *Crime statistics.* Comprise internal or external statistics that police can use to measure the rates at which crimes occur;

   (b)   *Clearance rate.* Measures the number of crimes that police successfully resolve;

   (c)   *Ratio of crimes to arrests.* Takes into account overall level of crimes and is therefore superior to raw arrest rates;

   (d)   *Percentage of cases dropped by prosecutors owing to problems with investigations.* Examines the overall quality of police responses and investigations;

   (e)   *Number and types of calls for service.* Keeps track of how willing residents are to call the police and of the number of actions initiated by the public regardless of the quality of criminal justice response;

   (f)   *Number of parolees and probationers in neighbourhood.* Allows evaluators to assess the level of crime against the number of convicted criminals living in an area;

   (g)   *Insurance claims for loss as a result of property crime.* Provide a reasonably reliable measure of property crime in places where residents and businesses regularly require insurance.

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[111]This section is largely drawn from Stacy Osnick Milligan and Lorie Fridell, "Implementing an agency-level performance measurement system: a guide for law enforcement executives", final report to the National Institute of Justice (Washington, D.C., Police Executive Research Forum, 2006). Available from www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/214439.pdf.

Community security can also be measured through perceptions of safety. A comprehensive notion of public perceptions of safety can be determined through victimization surveys and broader surveys that measure an individual's sense of public safety. It can also be measured through a variety of other mechanisms, including data on calls to police, on deaths and injuries resulting from crime, on measures of social disorder, such as drinking in public, drunk driving and vandalism, on general physical disorder and on the use of park and public spaces.

Finally, police can evaluate their success by measuring the level of community confidence in, satisfaction with and trust of police. This can be accomplished through surveys of stakeholders as well as through a variety of other metrics, including the level of witness cooperation, involvement of police in community activities, ratio of formal compliments by citizens to complaints by citizens and the number of requests for partnerships with police.[112]

In addition to measuring outcomes, it can also be important to evaluate the process of implementing a policy. Such efforts can help police to understand why a project is or is not succeeding. These types of evaluations involve some of the same metrics discussed here to but may also differ from them. It is often necessary to obtain data at much more local levels and, more often than not, it is necessary to hold a dialogue with police and stakeholders to understand not just if something is working but how it is working.[113]

G. Examples of evaluation strategies

Developing effective evaluations of policing policies can be challenging. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that a variety of strategies are viable for analysing the effect of security policies in low- and middle-income countries.

One of the key tools for understanding the effectiveness of policing policies in circumstances where there is limited criminological data is through the use of systematic survey analysis. Evidence from Bangladesh and South Africa provides insights into how community and household surveys can be used to understand the problems of crime more deeply and to appreciate the effects of changing policing policy. In Bangladesh, a household survey was undertaken in low-income areas. The survey addressed a wide variety of issues, most of which were not related to crime. Researchers inserted a small set of questions regarding crime into the middle of the survey, providing scholars with insights into criminal activities in the area. While the survey was not used to evaluate a particular policy there is little reason to believe that such a strategy would not be useful if applied to efforts to gain an understanding of the perceptions residents had of a particular policy or, if used longitudinally, to look at how the implementation of a policy affected opinions over time.[114] A similar survey

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[112]Ibid.

[113]For more extensive discussions of reforms see Larry T. Hoover ed., *Police Program Evaluation* (Washington, D.C., Police Executive Research Forum, 1998); Jean-Paul Brodeur ed., *How to Recognize Good Policing: Problems and Issues* (Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications, and Police Executive Research Forum, Washington, D.C., 1998).

[114]James Garrett and Akhter Ahmed, "Incorporating crime in household surveys: a research note", *Environment and Urbanization*, vol. 16, No. 2 (2004).

addressed issues of gun violence in South Africa, looking at, among other questions, the likelihood of survey respondents reporting a crime to the police.[115] As a strategy, the survey can be used in a number of ways to understand how citizens perceive crime and the police, and how policies have changed the way in which people perceive crime.

Another strategy for evaluating crime policies is developing a comprehensive database of crime rates and observing the impacts of crime rates on a variety of places before and after the implementation of reform programmes. Cities with the capability to undertake such activities have a significant advantage over others in being able to develop reliable evaluations of policies. Chapter VI discusses two such cities: Belo Horizonte, Brazil, and Bogotá.

A final strategy for evaluating law enforcement is to create a system through which citizens can evaluate police, what might be called "citizen report cards". Such a tool allows officials to obtain citizens' opinions of police actions for use by police and elected leaders to tailor police actions to address popular concerns. As with other forms of evaluation, the exact process used in obtaining the report is critical. On the one hand, State officials could carry out the evaluation as an anonymous survey of the population. Alternatively, civic groups or the Government could organize an independent citizen commission to evaluate the police. Both strategies will elicit an evaluation but the results may vary substantially depending on which is chosen.

H. Communication and awareness-raising

Interaction with the general public is essential to good policing. These efforts, as discussed earlier in the chapter, are not limited to formal interactions. Policing urban areas involves working to build a knowledge base within the community that can help to maintain low crime levels. Police can achieve this through a wide array of strategies, including speaking informally with community members, working to place signs that can help to control criminal activity by directing citizens to walk through safe areas, sending police officers to schools to help to educate young people about a variety of issues and broadcasting public safety campaigns on television.

I. Conclusions

BOX 12. KEY AREAS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER V

- United Nations principles for policing
- Seven attributes of safer spaces
- The need for police oversight
- Strategies for police evaluation

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[115]Clare Hansmann, "An analysis of community-based responses to armed violence", in *Society Under Siege*, vol. III, Virginia Gamb, ed., Towards Collaborative Peace Series (Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies, 2000).

Good policing strategies can reduce crime but implementing the strategies requires a solid institutional basis. Chapters VI and VII consider the complex and changing political circumstances that police confront in engaging in these types of activities. Chapter VI looks at specific successful reform efforts in Brazil, Colombia and South Africa. Chapter VII examines the necessary collaboration between different elements of local governments that are critical to implementing reforms.

VI. Review of selected good practices in Africa and Latin America

The previous chapters examined the broad outlines of how police can respond to crime and violence in different types of urban areas. Most of the underlying concepts that drive these approaches, however, were based on experiences in high-income countries. Chapter VI seeks to broaden the analysis through an examination of the basis for successful broad-based reforms in cities in Brazil, Colombia and South Africa.

A. Definitions

Political consensus (as it relates to police forces). A general agreement among core political actors in a particular police jurisdiction.

Social engagement. Active participation of individual citizen and civic groups in policy development and implementation.

Epidemiological approaches to crime control. Viewing criminal activities as public health problems. Solutions to reducing crime involve changing the unhealthy behaviours of citizens, including high levels of drinking, controlling access to guns, or controlling child abuse.

B. Factors in successful urban police reform

Over the past generation, many low- and middle-income countries have undertaken a variety of policy changes in the area of public security, with varying results. What makes a reform effort involving major policy changes successful in one city and less successful in another?

Political consensus

Central to the success of any broad-ranging policy reform in an area as controversial as public safety is a broad coalition, at the State level and in society, in favour of reform and a general policy direction. It is extremely difficult for a Government to undertake major security reforms while being attacked by a powerful opposition

political party. Not only can the situation limit the ability of the Government to fund reform programmes in the legislature but such a lack of political consensus can also create substantial tensions within the State apparatus and undermine reform.

How can police actors and actors in the State and society work to establish high-level political consensus? On some levels, elements in society that favour reforms can work to obtain agreements from political actors to pursue certain types of changes. Alternatively, police can take the lead in suggesting broad strategies and frameworks for reform using their expertise in building a wider consensus within the Government and in political parties. Finally, politicians must engage and work to build a consensus across parties for a public safety policy consistent with good practices and social needs.

Social engagement

Social engagement helps to maintain a political consensus and also acts as an external check on implementation of policy by police.[116] This helps to ensure that police effectively implement policy, control different types of corruption and abuse and help to control the involvement of State security forces in wider inter-group violence and the vigilantism that may occur in high crime municipalities. The engagement of groups in reform efforts can help to improve police response and can create pressures to maintain programmes after a Government has left office.[117]

Social engagement may need to be managed in different ways at different levels of society. Well-off communities may have strong local organizations and may be effective in delivering their views to the police and in challenging police actions. They may also hire private security firms to provide them with protection in efforts to avoid working with the police. Poorer communities, however, may be more reluctant to engage with police for a series of reasons and may engage in vigilantism. Finally, when violence seems to rise to high levels, civil society can organize itself in favour of more repressive but often counterproductive policing. Engaging across such diverse conditions requires sophistication on the part of government officials and proactive strategies to promote participation by society in reform efforts.

Broad police support

No reform effort will succeed without some form of backing across different ranks and elements of the police. At the highest levels, police leaders need to establish policy direction and impose a system of hierarchical accountability to ensure that their subordinates implement a programme. Tactical commanders must understand the application of a policy and ensure that police on the street actually implement the policy. This does not mean that every member of a police force must agree with a policy but that support and training must be provided at different levels in order to develop the relationships that are necessary for changes to succeed.

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[116]O'Donnell, "Horizontal accountability in new democracies" and Peruzzotti and Smulovitz, *Enforcing the Rule of Law* (see footnote 110 above).

[117]Eduardo Moncada, "Toward democratic policing in Colombia? Institutional accountability through lateral reform", *Comparative Politics*, vol. 41, No. 4 (2009).

Information

Effective policing involves having adequate information about criminal activity in order to develop strategies to control crime. Developing the information requires the expertise of the police and of the broader criminal justice community to collect and manage data. The data must be targeted for use by a particular police force, according to its capabilities and the types of crimes occurring in its jurisdiction. Police should devise a variety of different strategies appropriate to local conditions to gather knowledge and develop responses. One key component to developing and analysing information is the promotion of ties between the police and scholars. Criminologists and other social science professionals often have the theoretical and practical knowledge necessary to devise, implement and improve information-gathering and strategizing programmes.

Bureaucratic cooperation

Effective policing also involves strong relationships with other State agencies. Coordination with prosecutors, among police forces and with sectors of the prison and re-entry systems is essential to effectively investigating crime and enforcing the law. At the same time, police contacts must go beyond the criminal justice system into schools, social welfare agencies and other segments of the State in order to reach out to different parts of society and to help to develop policies that address the needs of specific segments of the population, with a view to preventing crime, reducing recidivism rates and minimizing the need for police action. The components of policing reform are summarized in box 13. The sections below outline successful urban policing in different places.

BOX 13. COMPONENTS OF POLICING REFORM

- Political consensus
- Social engagement
- Broad police support
- Reliable data
- Bureaucratic cooperation

C. Cooperation between police and research institutions: the case of Belo Horizonte

Located six hours north of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Belo Horizonte is the capital of the State of Minas Gerais. For some time, this city of 2 million has had one of the most comprehensive and diversified public safety programmes of any city in Brazil, a country of almost 200 million inhabitants. A well-organized State government has implemented a series of reforms in this area, ranging from the formation

of police-community councils to a restructuring of how the State's investigative and public safety police interact in the metropolitan area.

The history of these efforts dates back to the 1980s when, during the transition from authoritarian to democratic rule, a forward-looking police commander developed a productive relationship with a sociologist at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, the main university in the State, in the belief that the police would have to adapt their methods to the changing political environment. The collaboration resulted in a series of courses for senior police at the university dealing with basic concepts of management and criminology. Eventually, police captains were required to complete a postgraduate course in order to achieve promotion to the level of police major. Such long-term contacts, the presence of the police in university classrooms, something that would have been unthinkable a few years earlier when law enforcement officers were more likely to participate in shutting down a campus than in studying in one, and contact between police and students served to change police perspectives on society and to alter the outlook of some of the faculty towards police.

During the 1980s and early 1990s violence remained at relatively low levels, consistent with previous years, but as the 1990s wore on, crime rates in Belo Horizonte began to rise at about the time crime rates were increasing in a number of other cities in Brazil. The classroom relationship evolved into a more elaborate programme through which scholars in the city became more directly involved in public safety. The city government initiated a detailed electronic mapping programme of the city in collaboration with the university in order to understand a range of details about the use of space in the urban area. With the cooperation of the police, under the command of the State governor, one component of the cartographic effort became a detailed public map of urban crime that provided the basis for later reforms. Scholars at the Centro de Estudos da Criminologia worked with police to produce detailed georeferenced maps of crime incidents around the city.

The maps served to provide the basis for developing and evaluating a range of criminal justice programmes in the State, including the creation of police-community councils across the city, a programme to control violence in schools, efforts to eliminate truck robberies and an innovative community-oriented police and social service programme called "Fica Vivo!" (Stay Alive!). Having data on crime levels allowed police to track the effect of newly-implemented programmes. For example, the police-community councils had a positive effect on murder rates but not in the poorest and most violent regions of the city, mainly because there was more positive engagement between the police and community members in the better-off areas and because residents in the better-off areas were able to provide modest supplements to police funding to support improvements in patrols that residents of poorer areas were unable to provide.[118] A review of the programmes also found that while police had collaborated with residents in developing solutions to problems, they had also asked residents for additional resources to help in implementing new programmes in certain areas.

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[118]Cláudio C. Beato Filho, "Reinventando a polícia: a implementação de um programa de policiamento comunitário", Working paper (2001), pp. 16-20. Available from www.crisp.ufmg.br/arquivos/artigos_publicacoes/reinventando.pdf.

Only neighbourhoods that had residents with relatively high incomes could afford to provide the additional funding to the police.

The Fica Vivo! programme began with a detailed analysis of the locations where homicides occurred in the city, revealing six hot spots centred in some of the poorest parts of the city. In response, the State government set up special intervention teams for each of the areas, bringing together investigatory police, public safety police, social workers, child welfare groups and prosecutors. The teams met regularly to coordinate actions in the community.

Two separate groups led the intervention in each community. The State government appointed two Fica Vivo! coordinators to develop targeted programmes in each community and to set up a centre that would provide a variety of classes to keep adolescents out of trouble. Fica Vivo! also sought to resolve conflicts among different groups in each neighbourhood in efforts to decrease the rate of homicides. The workers tried to work with police to help to promote police interventions at critical moments but also criticized police when they acted in ways that did not reduce conflict. The police also formed special units to work in these programmes called *Grupos de Policiamento em Areas Especiais*, whose officers operated regularly in the communities to develop relations with residents and gather information on criminal activities. They worked with local leaders and Fica Vivo! in effectively applying policing in the areas.

These efforts, which began with a pilot project in the shanty town area of Morro das Pedras, resulted in a decline in homicides of about 50 per cent in each community. While homicide rates declined in the city as a whole after 2004, when most of these programmes were implemented, homicides decreased in the areas concerned at a higher rate than in the rest of the city (see table 5).

Table 5.   Fica Vivo and special police unit locations and homicide statistics[a]

Location	Year programme implemented	Number of homicides by year						
		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Alto Vera Cruz and Taquaril	2005	18	54	53	67	63	36	31
Cabana do Pai Tomás	2005	14	36	26	16	16	12	11
Paulo VI and Ribeiro de Abreu	2005	19	26	39	57	52	29	23
Pedreira Prado Lopes	2004	9	11	5	61	23	14	9
Morro das Pedras and Ventosa	2002	19	27	33	16	11	16	18
Belo Horizonte	–	640	900	1 174	1 284	1 100	998	1 002

[a]Data courtesy of the Centro de Estudos da Criminologia, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais; chart published in Arias and Ungar, "Community policing and Latin America's citizen security crisis" (see footnote 52 above).

It is important to point out that the programmes also faced serious challenges. The Fica Vivo! programmes, as a result of their connection with the police, experienced substantial resistance from the leaders of the communities in which they initially

operated. Police were not trusted by residents and in some cases police behaved abusively towards residents. Ultimately, Fica Vivo! leaders worked with residents to draw the attention of high-ranking police and appointed officials to the problems created by a small number of police and to achieve reform.

The ability of police to work effectively with government officials at both the State and city levels has been a critical component in the success of the reform efforts. From 2002 onwards, the State and city governments were controlled by an electoral coalition that included a governor from the main opposition party, the Brazilian Social Democratic Party and a mayor from the ruling Workers Party. The underlying agreement between the two main political currents in the State enabled policing not to become what one observer referred to as "a political missile".[119] The agreement helped the Government to implement substantial reforms without excessive criticism. The re-election of both the mayor and the governor in later years gave a degree of continuity to the efforts, which has provided security to the police and appointed officials developing and implementing the projects.

D. Bogotá: managing the social environment

Perhaps the most marked success in crime control in Latin America can be found in Colombia, where crime rates have dropped dramatically in several major cities. The most comprehensive and well-documented example of crime reduction in Colombia has occurred in Bogotá, the capital city, where successive mayoral admin-istrations have taken the lead in implementing a broad-based set of projects to control crime and improve the quality of life in this city of 8 million. Government efforts over the years have ranged from setting bar closing hours, reducing the number of weapons available to citizens and creating local police councils to help police and the public work on controlling crime in neighbourhoods.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a variety of reforms were implemented at the national level to democratize urban government. A law in 1989 put the choice of mayors in the hands of voters. Over the course of the early 1990s, a variety of laws were implemented to create local councils at the subcity level and to create city-level public plans for the use of land.[120]

Beyond such macro changes, the roots of reform efforts lay in the administration of Jaime Castro (1992-1994), who began to decentralize city governance, reformed finances and sought to control corruption.[121] Real security-oriented reforms began with the first administration of Antanas Mockus (1995-1997). Central to Mockus' reform efforts was the idea that crime could be controlled by changing the social environment of the city. Seeking to transform what many saw as a culture of violence

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[119]Hinton, *The State on the Streets* (see footnote 29 above).

[120]Matias Sendoa Echanove, "Bogota at the edge: planning the barrios", 2004. Available from www.bogotalab.com/articles/bogota_edge.html (accessed 25 June 2009).

[121]Maria Victoria Llorente and Angela Rivas, Llorente and Rivas, *Case Study: Reduction of Crime in Bogotá* (see footnote 51 above), pp. 6-7.

by establishing bar times to send people home before they became violent, creating a women's night in the city to address issues of violence against women and through a disarmament programme that reduced the weapons available, Mockus also sought to understand epidemiologically the location and circumstances of murders in the city in order to deploy police more effectively.[122] Mockus' successor, Enrique Peñalosa (1997-2000), took reform efforts in a different direction, focusing on restructuring urban space in order to make the city more accessible to its inhabitants and to decrease conditions that gave rise to violence. Peñalosa's signature innovation was building the Transmilenio bus rapid transit system that helped to reduce congestion in the city and make space more accessible to pedestrians. He also undertook efforts to improve parks and reduce degraded public spaces. For example, in the neighbour- hood of El Cartucho, a region of central Bogotá where many types of criminal activity are concentrated, his administration reformed a park and implemented a programme to provide welfare services to the many homeless people and addicts who resided in or passed through the area. Mockus and Peñalosa created and developed police- community councils throughout the city to help address local concerns with crime and worked to provide new employment opportunities to individuals at the margins of society through the civic guide programme. Both mayors also succeeded in deliv- ering new resources to the police to improve investigations, community policing and detention.[123]

To achieve the changes, both mayors worked to cultivate a constructive relationship with the police. Colombia's police are under the control of the national Government and mayors historically have played very little of a role in public safety. Bogotá's mayors worked hard to assert some control over police and to work with police to implement policies focused on solving problems in the city. During that period, the Colombian national police went through broad reforms to increase professionalization and effectiveness.[124] The general reforms undertaken at the national level, probably helped to improve policing within the cities of the country.

When the reform process started, murder rates were approximately 67 per 100,000 inhabitants; in the next decade, the rate would drop to around 20 per 100,000 inhabitants. This was a dramatic decline that brought the city's homicide rate well below the average in the country.

The broad-based reforms in Colombia achieved substantial success as a result of several factors. First, it is clear that there was consistency over time. City leadership may have changed but each administration kept developing policies that sought to improve citizen security. Second, reforms at the local level occurred in conjunction with reforms at the national level, which helped to secure police support for local changes. Third, there were clear efforts to engage society and to create a level of police accountability in line with local demands.[125] Fourth, the reforms sought to

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[122]Ibid., pp. 7-8.
[123]Ibid., pp. 13-15.
[124]Gonzalo de Francisco Z., "Armed conflict and public security in Colombia", in *Public Security and Police Reform in the Americas*, John Bailey and Lucía Dammert, eds. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006).
[125]Moncada, "Toward democratic policing in Colombia?" (see footnote 117 above).

improve urban life for citizens as a path towards improving basic public safety. Fifth, reform efforts involved developing an effective understanding of the distribution of crime in the city and applying government policy to control the crime.

Bogotá's reforms were comprehensive and have dramatically changed social life. It is unclear which of the specific reforms had the greatest effect but it is critical to remember that there are no magic bullets in reform efforts. Success stems from a comprehensive evaluation of problems in a city, developing a set of policies to address them and implementing them over time across successive political administrations.

E.   South Africa

There are few other comprehensive reform efforts in the developing world that have been evaluated in the way that the programmes in Bogotá and Belo Horizonte have. The most significant set of reforms to have received outside scrutiny has been undertaken in South Africa, where police have implemented a series of interesting policies that appear to have had some success in controlling violent crime.

South Africa has pursued a number of sophisticated police reforms since the transition to majority rule in the 1990s. Political leaders during the transition from apartheid realized the need to substantially restructure the police force in the country from one that focused on selective repression to one that focused on guaranteeing broader security to the population in a democratic context while at the same time controlling political dissent.[126] The police force was renamed the South African Police Service and sought in its early strategic plan to reorient policing towards community-oriented solutions.[127] In order to build up legitimacy, the Government focused on developing police-community ties. The community-oriented policing meetings that it established at a number of police stations brought in local representatives to create a level of accountability and to help orient police towards resolving problems through contacts with citizens. This particular strategy encountered substantial difficulties as a result of police resistance.[128] In addition to creating community-oriented policing strategies, the Government of South Africa also sought to improve policing by developing a stronger national investigative force.[129]

South Africa has faced serious crime problems in the years since the transition. The police in many parts of the country have experienced substantial organizational challenges, and growing crime rates have led to the organization of powerful vigilante groups and have caused better-off segments of the population to seek security through private companies.[130] Rising crime rates and the presence of substantial, organized criminal activities have contributed to what has been perceived as a crisis situation.[131]

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[126]Mark Shaw, *Crime and Policing in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Transforming Under Fire* (Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 2002), p. 26.

[127]Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[128]Ibid., p. 31.

[129]Ibid., pp. 131-136.

[130]Ibid., pp. 34-37, pp. 96-101 and pp. 102-118.

[131]Ibid., pp. 83-101.

The country's police forces appear to do a good job in tracking crimes across different municipalities although there are serious questions about the quality of the data.[132] The efforts to decrease crime have depended on a variety of strategies to develop close relations with communities and appropriately use resources to control crime. Positive relationships have also been forged with civic groups including businesses and an academy involved in studying and analysing police programmes.[133]

In addition to the city improvement districts programme and the participatory mapping programmes discussed earlier in the *Handbook*, South Africa has implemented a number of innovative police reform strategies, including the Zelethemba model, a community policing and conflict resolution project. The project, which was set up in Worcester, near Cape Town, sought to respond to democratic deficits in policing by building local governing capacities through community peace committees comprising from 5 to 20 members who hold meetings to resolve conflicts.[134] This programme has received substantial support in South Africa and has been adopted in Argentina in efforts to increase local democracy and control conflict.[135] Two other examples of significance are the Peace Corps projects carried out in Gauteng, near Johannesburg, and the Peace and Development project, near Cape Town, which seek to integrate residents into policing efforts and which have received substantial international support.[136] The South African Police Service has also implemented a sector policing approach. In this strategy, precincts are broken down into neighbourhood sectors that have a specific commander who is responsible for crime control in the region through contact with the community and the convening of a local sector crime forum. The crime forums exist alongside community police forums in some places, and problems have arisen in terms of both sector boundaries and collaboration between sector commanders. There also appears to be some confusion about its implementation as a repressive tactic or a more preventative strategy.[137]

Many of the problems faced by South African policing reforms have stemmed from the apparent challenges the police face in organizing themselves effectively and in establishing comprehensive links to sets of communities over large areas of land. This may in part stem from the presence of strong criminal organizations, as is also the case in such cities as Rio de Janeiro and Cali, Colombia, and in the cities of northern Mexico. The presence of well-organized and dynamic criminal groups impedes substantial police responses because policing becomes a matter of not only effectively

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[132]Du Plessis and Luow, "Crime and crime prevention in South Africa" (see footnote 43 above), p. 428.

[133]Ibid., pp. 434-435.

[134]Michael Kempa and Clifford Shearing, "Microscopic and macroscopic responses to inequalities in the governance of security: respective experiments in South Africa and Northern Ireland", *Transformation*, vol. 49, 2002, pp. 33-37.

[135]Ibid., pp. 35-37; see also Diana R. Gordon, *Transformation and Trouble: Crime, Justice, and Participation in Democratic South Africa* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2006), p. 284.

[136]John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, "Popular justice in the new South Africa: policing the boundaries of freedom", in *Legitimacy and Criminal Justice: International Perspectives*, Tom Tyler, ed. (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 2007), p. 284; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GTZ-Office Pretoria, "Urban conflict management: peace and development project", available from www.gtz.de/de/dokumente/en-suedafrika-conflict-management-PDP-national.pdf.

[137]Millicent Maroga, "Sector policing: what are the challenges?", report prepared for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, February 2004. Available from www.csvr.org.za/docs/policing/sectorpolicing.pdf; Bill Dixon and Janine Rauch, *Sector Policing: Origins and Prospects*, ISS Monograph, No. 97 (Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies, 2004), p. 58.

implementing policies to constrain criminal activities but also of continuously having to confront organizations that can respond adaptively to police actions.[138] The situation can be worsened by the emergence of private security systems and vigilantism. Over time, there have been substantial changes in the way the Government has attempted to approach crime, moving from a more community-oriented model to one focused on repressive tactics.

F.   Conclusions

Chapter VI discusses efforts at reform in three countries. These cases provide evidence of the role of comprehensive reform efforts focused on improving police strategy and social engagement in controlling crime. Chapter VII examines the different types of collaboration and governance relations critical to implementing these types of policies.

> **BOX 14.   KEY LESSONS DRAWN FROM CHAPTER VI**
>
> - Effective reform involves building local coalitions to support reform
> - Effective policing involves engagement with civil society, comprehensive evaluation of problems, reliable data, and development of policies to address problems and their implementation over time and across different political administrations

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[138]Kenney, *From Pablo to Osama* (see footnote 36 above); Arias, *Drugs and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro* (see footnote 100 above).

VII. Role of the police in urban planning and management for safer urban spaces

As the previous chapter makes clear, thinking constructively about crime control goes well beyond responding to crime incidents or even developing responses to specific crime problems, such as thefts in a neighbourhood or car hijackings. Rather, dealing with crime involves thinking about the nature of public space, how the population uses public space and relations among social groups and between citizens and the State. These are large-scale questions that go to the heart of governing urban areas and while police play an important role in developing answers and implementing policy directives they cannot deal with all of the problems on their own. As an institution, the police are not set up for, and should not attempt, engagement in wholesale urban planning or restructuring relations between State and society. Too often, as many police note, security forces are asked by elected officials to deal with the violent effects of poor planning and the outcomes of poor economic and policy choices. Police are then thrust into difficult political situations that alienate them from the population they are tasked to protect and undermine their own morale. Police are asked to go into the street today to implement directives that do little to solve the problems underlying crime but often undermine the effectiveness and coherence of the police as an institution. Police can, however, deal with specific problematic urban structures on a case-by-case basis and try to defuse inter-group tensions and conflict between citizens and State officials. Police can also participate in planning commissions and use their expertise in crime to hold dialogues with city officials on planning issues. Chapter VII focuses on such interactions. It outlines different ways in which security can emerge through governance processes. The discussion should not be taken as exhaustive or as precluding other innovative approaches.

A. Definitions

Institutional reform. Changes in the structure of the police organization, such as reforms in the command structure, training and career paths.

Decentralization. A process through which control is dispersed from high-level commanders to actors at lower levels.

Integrated security policy. Involves reforms that focus not just on restructuring, improving or reorganizing policing institutions but also on engaging an array of administrative sectors that contribute to policymaking in this area.

B.   Crime and political consensus

Cities in many low- and middle-income countries have experienced increases in violence over the past 20 years. Much of the increase can be attributed to the proliferation of small arms, porous borders and civil conflict, enabling private individuals to obtain weapons which in earlier years had been the province of police and the armed forces. The problem has been exacerbated by technological and economic changes that have dramatically increased levels of both legal and illegal trade and uncontrolled urbanization in some of the countries least able to develop effective policies to deal with burgeoning city-based populations. The problems have occurred in an environment of economic adjustment and scarcity in many countries, which has forced large portions of the population into the informal and illegal sectors of the economy and has limited government resources for social programmes and law enforcement. The results are often widespread corruption and abusive police.

Crime control is difficult under such circumstances but it can be accomplished through focused policy development and policing strategy. There are a number of sound approaches and strategies, some of which have been discussed in the *Handbook*, and police in a number of countries have pursued them with some success. The efforts depend, however, on a degree of political consensus.

Even when a widespread consensus does not exist, police can pursue the policies discussed in the *Handbook* in a few ways. First, police can develop focused pilot projects in different areas of the city, which, if successful, can be used to convince higher ranking officials to support further efforts. Second, police can work to accumulate the type of data necessary to evaluate policies. Police can collaborate with law enforcement officials in nearby cities on assembling data and other resources to aid in policy development and implementation. Third, police can work with other groups in the public and the State to make minor structural modifications that will lead to lower crime rates. Fourth, Governments may respond to police efforts to build a broader political consensus around reform. Police are essential in developing efforts at reform. Supporting reforms involves police and municipal officials jointly undertaking demonstration projects, developing data to evaluate programmes, building alliances with politicians and civic groups that favour reform and using expertise to suggest wider reforms. The strategies for building political consensus are summarized in box 15.

BOX 15.   STRATEGIES FOR BUILDING POLITICAL CONSENSUS
- Devising demonstration projects
- Developing data
- Networking with reformers in the State and civil society
- Using expertise to advocate for wider reforms

C.   Police structure and decentralization

As noted earlier, police forces across the globe are organized in different ways.[139] Different policing structures mean that police forces may have distinct relationships to cities. In the United States, for example, police force identity is integrally tied to local civic pride, practices and culture.[140] Police are drawn from the local population and have often spent their entire lives in a metropolitan area; direct opportunities for advancement exist only within a particular force or, on occasion, within the forces of the towns immediately around a city. Moving to a different city would entail having to pass a separate civil service exam. As a result, police develop a tight culture with a deep knowledge of a city and a close relationship with the city's political establishment. When a police force is administered nationally, a different relationship emerges. Police have the opportunity to advance by moving to different cities around the country and, as a result, may have less in-depth knowledge of the particularities of the city in which they are working but have a wider breadth of knowledge about law enforcement issues. In addition, police working in a national force are likely to be directly accountable to officials in the national government. Relations with local political officials in these cases are complex and challenging to manage. There are some distinct advantages to national forces, including economies of scale, greater coordination between police in different jurisdictions and a greater degree of agility in developing and implementing broad-based changes in national policing strategies.

In considering the role of police reform in urban areas, police and policymakers need to be aware of which police forces have the authority to act in those spaces and how to best use their capabilities to promote reforms. Nationally organized forces are likely to have expertise in a broad range of urban contexts as well as more extensive international contacts. As a result, they are likely to have access to the most up-to-date information on new policing strategies. If a national force is directly responsible for local policing, it should find ways of developing that expertise and disseminating it to local commanders. The local commanders would then need to work with the relevant local political officials responsible for issues such as urban design to implement policies. As illustrated in the case of Colombia, national police operating within cities need to be ready to respond quickly to local political efforts to implement reforms. Alternatively, when national forces have little responsibility for local policing, national police need to develop specific strategies for disseminating urban reform ideas to local police. These can involve training programmes or meetings between national police and local police such as those undertaken by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the United States.[141]

Alternatively, local police have extensive knowledge of the areas where they operate and are well-placed to implement the types of programmes discussed in the *Handbook*. The challenge faced by local forces is that they are often tied down by parochial concerns and have more limited contact with other forces and with international

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[139]Reichel, *Comparative Criminal Justice Systems* (see footnote 31 above), p. 210.

[140]On this see Paul Chevigny, *Edge of the Knife* (see footnote 108 above).

[141]See Federal Bureau of Investigation website, available from www.fbi.gov/hq/td/academy/na/na.htm.

entities. Local forces seeking to implement new programmes often delegate a handful of officers to learn new techniques and then disseminate those techniques to other officers in the forces. Those officers may struggle to adapt programmes from other cities to the circumstances they face. These efforts are challenging but local police know the specifics of their own city and are well-placed to adapt programmes to those circumstances. Another challenge of such programmes is the often complex relationship between local political leaders and police. If local elected leaders resist change, police will have difficulty in developing and participating in broader urban reforms to limit crime.

Federalism and security

As the *Handbook* suggests, local control can provide important innovations in public security. One strategy for dealing with security issues is to devolve some questions from the national level to regional and municipal governments. As shown by the case of Bogotá, increasing the degree of local control of security can help in dealing effectively with problems observed by local governments and in integrating the preventative measures available to local State entities into security efforts.

A critical component in implementing the policies discussed in the *Handbook* is the devolution of security matters to institutions at the local level. While State or national Governments may retain primary responsibility for policing, Governments seeking to implement policies like these should seek ways to empower local governments to make decisions in security. This can involve placing some police units under the command of mayors or creating funds to help mayors hire security officials to work for local governments.

City planning and security

One of the governance issues that should come through most clearly at different points in the *Handbook* is the idea that active and effective urban planning and space management can contribute to increased safety. At the most basic level, city leaders and managers should develop institutions through which security concerns are included in broader city development. Planning commissions at the neighbourhood and municipal level will work to provide security more effectively if officials with expertise in this area are included in decisions. Design plans should reflect not only the safe usage concerns included in fire codes but also how spaces are constructed to more effectively guarantee the safety of users. Such plans can include proper lighting and the positioning of walkways to ensure visibility and easy exit.

Safety goes beyond planning, however. As mentioned throughout the *Handbook*, protecting citizens' rights necessitates active, collaborative and engaged management of public places. Even the best-designed building or park can present risks for citizens if it falls into disuse or poor repair. Law enforcement officers can be the first to make the managers of spaces and other city officials aware of developing problems in different areas of the city. Thus, if a park or market becomes the setting for a high number of assaults, police officials should ensure that such information is

available to the managers of those spaces and to local leaders in the communities that use the space. This initial information should not only be used as a basis for planning solutions that might involve an increased deployment of police resources but should also include decisions about whether or not changes need to be made to the space. The establishment of local committees that bring together police, government officials and local leaders in different areas to discuss security issues in those places can facilitate the efforts. The meetings should cover a sufficiently limited urban space to enable individuals at the meeting to have a stake in the outcomes. They should be held regularly, on a schedule that is convenient to the stakeholders.

Regional urban governance and security

One important challenge faced in criminal justice policy is the increasing globalization and regionalization of crime activities. Improvements in transportation and communication make it possible for individuals committing crimes to operate, in some cases, over a wide territory. Policing a road or truck depot many miles outside the city may more effectively and cheaply control the illicit drug trade in one neighbourhood in a city than an intensive local police presence. City officials and law enforcement, however, may have no jurisdiction over that place and, instead, may have to engage in much more costly local prevention and incident-based policing.

Responding efficiently to these types of challenges involves building governance networks and coalitions that go beyond the constraints of individual cities. In many countries, police forces operate at the State or national level, facilitating regional anti-crime efforts; even in these circumstances, however, police need to develop relationships with different municipal governments, often led by competing political parties, to support broad urban security initiatives. One effective way to overcome the tension is to build broader regional coalitions of cities and civic actors that can consider the impacts of local police and urban issues on problems in a wider metropolitan region. In the case of heavily urbanized areas, State governments can help in this process.

These efforts can be undertaken through a variety of strategies. On one level, a higher governmental authority can undertake to form a regional government or civil society council to address the issues. Business and civic groups spread across a set of urban agglomerations may constitute a natural actor on the issues. Unlike urban governments, businesses are not necessarily constrained by the concerns of one location and, instead, may see a wider picture of how problems spread across different urban areas affect their operations. Alternatively, cities in one region facing a set of problems may organize themselves to collaboratively build law enforcement programmes and demand that higher-level government authorities respond to their concerns.

Public-private partnerships in security initiatives

One area of innovation in public policy strategies is the creation of public-private partnerships. These efforts bring together public and private resources to achieve

outcomes that would be difficult to accomplish independently. In some cases, the efforts bring together public and private funds where States and corporations do not independently have the resources to support a construction effort. Alternatively, in some areas such as health, the efforts can involve bringing together public and private entities in efforts to promote service delivery and education.[142]

A public-private partnership can help in a variety of ways in the security sector. The *Handbook* has outlined a series of areas that could support this type of project. For example, if a particular city area were determined to have a wide array of structural conditions that lead to crime, municipal governments might be able to build a partnership with local businesses to help pay for a series of structural improvements that might reduce crime against businesses. Alternatively, as with the Naivasha programme in Kenya, business leaders and underfunded police could enter into an agreement under which the business community would provide additional support for police operations supported by a not-for-profit platform in order to ensure both police accountability and independence. Similarly, the city improvement districts project in South Africa brings together police, government agencies and businesses to provide security in some areas.

These efforts hold out important opportunities for yielding more funding for policing and for creating enduring partnerships between police and the public that could promote greater safety. At the same time, they need to be carefully crafted in order to avoid either the appearance of police extorting resources from businesses or having funding concerns cause police to fall under the sway of private interests. Transparency and third-party oversight are important components in avoiding such dangers.

Security and participatory governance initiatives

One of the most substantial innovations in urban governance over the past 15 years has been the advance of participatory governance strategies. Perhaps the most prominent of the efforts has been the participatory budgeting measures developed in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil, which was later applied in a variety of other States in that country as well as in a variety of other countries, including Ecuador, Spain, and Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of). There are also a variety of other participatory governance strategies that have been developed in other countries, including the *panchayat* system in Mumbai (Bombay), India, decentralized planning techniques in Kerala, India, the *barangay* system in the Philippines and habitat conversation programmes in the United States.[143]

At heart, such strategies seek to involve the population in local decision-making and governance with the aim of bringing local knowledge into policymaking and of creating a popular stake in policy. This is achieved by offering opportunities, including for the population and locally chosen representatives, not only to speak out about policies

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[142]Ute Papkalla and Gesa Kupfer, "HIV-related public-private partnerships and health systems strengthening", Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, document UNAIDS/09.26E/JC1721E (Geneva, 2009).

[143]For a broad overview of developing participatory governance programmes see Archon Fung and Eric Olin Wright eds., *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London, Verso, 2003).

but also to actively participate in deciding the direction of those policies. In Brazil's participatory budgeting programmes, local assemblies come together to decide on spending in certain areas. The priorities are passed up to higher-level elected budgeting councils that make further budgeting decisions. Similarly, in Kerala, *grama sabhas* (ward assemblies) meet to discuss local policy priorities that are then incorporated into the development plans of progressively higher-level governance institutions.[144]

Relatively few efforts have been made to apply such strategies to the area of security but there are some clear lines of action that could be adopted to move efforts in that direction. First, as has occurred in Medellín, participatory budgeting efforts can serve as a system through which the views of demobilized combatants can be brought into the political system. Such on-the-ground negotiations between different local actors can create conditions that, under the right circumstances, may help to reintegrate groups and develop solutions to local conflicts. Second, building on this, local groups can be brought into conflict mediation efforts. Creating local assemblies sponsored and supported by the government can help to bring communities together to build a local consensus on justice and security issues and help to decrease local crime. Third, there is little reason why a portion of the local security budget cannot be put in the hands of neighbourhood residents. For example, a portion of a budget for crime prevention could be spent according to the wishes of local budgeting committees. Finally, police and other government officials working on security could give presentations at participatory budgeting meetings where they could contribute their expertise to helping local groups decide how to spend portions of their local budget to improve security.

D. Local guard (police) organizations

In some regions where a national or State police force has primary responsibility for law enforcement, municipal governments set up an alternative, often unarmed, guard or municipal police force that is primarily responsible for enforcing local ordinances and protecting public spaces and buildings directly under the control of local government, including city hall, schools and parks. While the actual range of policing powers of those types of forces can be quite limited, they often possess access to many resources necessary to prevent crimes since the tools of prevention lie in the hands of local governments.

Such usually unarmed forces can play innovative roles in securing urban space by viewing security through the eyes of municipal officials. In turn, the officers can engage in a range of preventative activities such as education and awareness-building in schools, the formation, oversight and support of neighbourhood watch groups, participation in city planning meetings and working with the users and managers of public spaces to ensure such things as adequate street lighting and pruning of foliage to create safer spaces.

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[144]See T. M. Thomas Isaac and Patrick Heller, "Democracy and development: decentralized planning in Kerala", in *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, Archon Fung and Eric Olin Wright, eds. (London, Verso, 2003), pp. 78-80.

Since they are made up of uniformed officers, these forces can play an important role in liaison between different governance sectors. They can help bring the concerns of State or national police to local officials and city residents. They can also help to transmit the concerns of city officials to the police officers at the State and federal levels. Perhaps most importantly, the force can seek to implement innovative preventative techniques that primary law enforcement officers cannot. The resources available to the officers can provide the city with the ability to undertake research programmes to understand hot spots and residents' concerns and develop responses to the issues at hand.

These types of organizations have been put in place in various localities in Brazil, Burkina Faso and the United Republic of Tanzania. While these types of groups hold out the possibility for new strategies to manage urban space, they also face many of the same problems as traditional police organizations. Oversight of such groups is essential to their proper functioning.

E.   Community watch groups

Another strategy for engagement between State officials, police and the wider society is through the formation and support of local security organizations. The relative ineffectiveness of policing in some low- and middle-income cities has led to groups that seek to ensure order within their own neighbourhoods through regular patrols and the arrest of perpetrators. By creating a local presence that inhibits crime from occurring and builds channels through which communities can develop locally relevant solutions to crime problems, the groups can be extremely effective in helping to enforce the law in situations where there are few police resources. They can also act as an important conduit through which residents can voice their concerns to police and through which police can implement new law enforcement strategies. Their work can develop local knowledge and, in conjunction with police, they can apply that knowledge to controlling local crime. In addition, the groups can participate in city planning commissions that help with mapping and produce spaces that are, by their nature, safer.

Even well-organized and successful community watch groups can, however, face serious challenges and are at times detrimental to justice and the rule of law. One example of this is the *Sungusungu* in the United Republic of Tanzania. These organizations, initially formed outside State law, but eventually legalized through a militia statute, have had some success in controlling crime in parts of the country. Efforts have succeeded as a result of the Dar es Salaam metropolitan area, where such groups have worked in collaboration with the police.[145] In other words, the *Sungusungu* militias have put more law enforcement personnel on the streets. Nonetheless,

[145]UN-Habitat, report on crime and policing issues in Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, focusing on community neighbourhood watch groups ("Sungusungu"), presented at the first sub-Saharan executive policing conference, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Durban, South Africa, 27-30 August 2000, pp. 41-49. Available from www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/1825_12883_sungusungu.pdf.

the groups have been accused of implementing some summary judgements and of not following the rule of law. These groups and other militias in the United Republic of Tanzania can pose significant challenges to the rule of law if not effectively administered and coordinated by the police.[146] While local watch groups can provide important additional support to police they must operate within the law and in support of wider police activities.

F.   Integrated urban policies and the police

The above discussion suggests that controlling disorder in large cities involves bringing the police into wider policy discussions. While the primary role of police will always remain daily law enforcement and investigation efforts, police have a role to play in discussions about the structure of urban spaces. There should be police as well as fire department input into large-scale urban planning and administration. Police also have a role to play at the local level in considerations regarding modifications to ordinances applied in neighbourhoods, changes to parks and the issuing of business licences. Ongoing consultations with the police at these levels are essential to developing urban practices that adequately protect the populace.

Police should, however, be careful not to overstep the boundaries of their expertise. The role of police is not to tell elected officials how to build urban spaces or to decide if individuals have a right to express themselves. Rather, it is to effectively enforce the law and lend their expertise in the area of crime control to city officials and groups working to make the city safer. Police may need to develop special expertise in community relations to support these efforts as they work to participate in the discussions at the local level.

A component of this planning is having the police work with city administrators to achieve results in the area of security. Police and city leaders need to use information about the city to determine the best policies to implement. Data enable police to know what ideas are working and which are not.

The role of police in local partnerships, however, goes beyond this. Police also work with local authorities on such issues as preventing public nuisances and enforcing by-laws or ordinances. These efforts require good professional relationships between police and local officials as well as a clear notion among police about how the efforts contribute to wider public safety. The "broken windows" approach to policing suggests that the rigorous policing of public nuisances and enforcing ordinances can contribute to maintaining a low crime environment. Police, however, need to be careful in pursuing these types of activities. Police must collaborate with local authorities but they also need to be certain that these efforts are an efficient use of police resources.

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[146]Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, *The Police, the People, the Politics: Police Accountability in Tanzania* (New Delhi, 2006), pp. 20-21.

Implementing good policing policy and gaining compliance with local ordinances involves working with organized groups in civil society as well as the State. Many neighbourhoods in cities have well-organized civic associations. This is especially true in informally constructed neighbourhoods that live at the edge of the law and depend on autonomous regulatory structures to resolve local conflicts. In such cases, it is essential for police to collaborate with local civic groups in maintaining basic standards of order and in ensuring compliance with city by-laws. This involves regular meetings with local leaders and, under some circumstances, the use of intermediaries to help in negotiations. These efforts can help to build social support for implementing city ordinances and can create conditions that help the police in their relations with citizens over time.

G.   Regional concerns

The conditions of governance and policing vary substantially between regions, within regions and even within particular countries and cities. As mentioned before, many of the theories, approaches and strategies discussed in the *Handbook* were pioneered in cities in North America and Western Europe. Efforts to implement those efforts must work in specific regional, national and municipal contexts. What follows is a discussion of some regional considerations that are important to contemplate as police forces seek to develop effective urban policing strategies.

Over the past quarter century, Latin America and the Caribbean have experienced a dramatic crisis of citizen security, which has been generated by the transition from authoritarian to democratic governance, by severe problems in income inequality and by the rapid expansion of the Andean cocaine industry, among many other dynamics and driving factors. The type of international narcotics smuggling that occurs often drives the major criminal justice issues in the region. Colombia, for instance, is both a producer of cocaine and historically a centre for its commercialization, leading to violence in both rural and urban areas. Brazil and Jamaica are both major trans-shipment sites for illicit drugs to Africa, Europe and the United States. Here, cities with major port facilities become the centres of illicit drug-related violence that is decoupled from processes of rural crime and conflict. Finally, Mexico is the site of major overland smuggling operations into the United States with crime in that country centred on the control of corridors and towns central to controlling those corridors.

Latin America, however, does have relatively robust State institutions that are capable of collecting taxes and delivering basic social services to citizens. Police continue to follow some of the authoritarian practices from previous eras but most policing organizations have shown that at least in limited cases, they have been able to implement policy reforms effectively. Police and government officials have the capacity and resources to develop effective new management techniques and implement new policies and programmes that benefit the population. In the area of transportation, for

example, some Latin American cities have pioneered innovations in bus rapid transit systems that have been influential around the world.[147]

All of this suggests that many Latin American police forces have the capability to implement many of the suggestions contained in the *Handbook*. However, two major problems stand out that seem to interfere with effective reform. The first is a lack of political consensus for reforms. No effort will succeed without some sort of consistent coalition in favour of reforms. Police cannot forge the ties they need to State agencies and society if their role is seen as limited to the repressive actions favoured by some governing groups. Worse, if police officials believe that elections could radically change security policy, they will be unlikely to get behind substantial reforms for fear that this will have a negative impact on their position after elections. The second problem is that substantial inequality and high levels of organized crime have created situations in many countries in the region that have led some criminal groups to gain control of neighbourhoods in major cities. While this situation varies over time from country to country and city to city, it substantially impedes the ability of the police to act in some areas and to develop strong ties to the local population that can help in developing innovative security efforts. Police need to find special solutions to deal with these particular problems as a part of implementing new urban security reforms in some areas.

Asia is an extremely large and diverse region. It contains extremely wealthy and poor countries and a staggering array of political systems. On some levels it is therefore not possible to write about Asia as a whole. Nevertheless, there are certain issues that are important to consider in discussing urban policing. First, most Asian nations have functioning States and policing systems even if there might be substantial variations in the effectiveness of the forces. In Singapore and in some areas of India, substantial and innovative efforts have been undertaken to secure urban space. There are a number of regional models that could be used in developing the type of policing policies discussed in the *Handbook* in other Asian cities. Second, as with Latin America, a substantial amount of local crime issues are driven by such transnational factors as the smuggling of persons and the global illicit drug trade. These problems contribute to a host of other local urban problems to which the police must respond.

Africa, like Asia, experiences substantially different conditions across its various subregions. In thinking about policing, it is essential to consider several critical factors. The first is the substantial weakness of State structures, especially south of the Sahara. As a result, informal actors, such as local self-protective organizations, vigilante groups and protection rackets, undertake substantial policing roles. In some cases, formal relationships between police and these groups have emerged. Such types of connections are extremely complex and, under circumstances found in other regions, potentially politically destabilizing. Nevertheless, where those conditions exist, police need to understand how to engage with the organizations and how to work with them to control crime in urban spaces effectively. Second, much of sub-Saharan

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[147]Elisabeth Rosenthal, "By degrees: buses may aid climate battle in poor cities", *New York Times*, 9 July 2009. Available from www.nytimes.com/2009/07/10/world/americas/10degrees.html.

Africa has experienced varying levels of civil conflict over the past 20 years. In the Horn of Africa and parts of West Africa, the conflicts have substantially damaged urban infrastructure. In other parts of Africa, State planning has not kept up with the dramatic migrations into urban areas that have created large regions of informal housing. It should be clear to police operating under such circumstances that strategies for using urban planning to control crime need to be substantially adapted to local conditions. Third, substantial inter-group tensions exist in some parts of the region as a result of linguistic and political differences and as a result of migrations and displacement from civil war. Police need to be aware of local differences and how to constructively engage those differences in promoting urban safety. Fourth, infrastructure problems can make it difficult to accurately tally crimes and understand the exact location where they have occurred. This may create difficulties for police in collecting crime data and evaluating the success of policies. Finally, Africa, like other regions, suffers from substantial problems with transitional crime such as illicit drug smuggling and the trade in conflict diamonds, which contribute to local crime problems.

H.   Conclusions

Dealing with policing in urban areas involves interacting with local and national political institutions in the context of particular regional dynamics. Police working to develop innovative strategies to secure urban places need to find ways of working with local officials to implement programmes in the existing conditions in the cities in which they work. This is a complicated and collaborative process undertaken with other officials and civil society groups. The key issues addressed in the chapter are summarized in box 16.

BOX 16.   KEY ISSUES ADDRESSED IN CHAPTER VII

- Importance of political consensus to reform efforts
- Role of local guards in reform
- Role of police and other actors in integrated security reforms

VIII. Conclusions: key lessons on policing in urban space

The *Handbook* addresses a large number of issues and practices. The guidelines provided should be applied within the broader constraints of national law and United Nations standards and norms in crime prevention and criminal justice. Chapter VIII sets out the most salient lessons drawn from the foregoing chapters for use by police and other government officials in their efforts to promote urban public safety.

A. Context of urban policing in low- and middle-income countries (chapter I)

Lesson 1

Cities in low- and middle-income countries face significant public safety challenges. Rapid population growth, scarce government resources, disordered urban development, a history of abusive policing and a lack of trust in the government are contributing factors to the expansion of crime problems in many urban areas around the world.

Lesson 2

To improve crime control and prevention, State officials must establish links between police and other State institutions in order to effectively incorporate security concerns into wider government efforts. These proactive and integrative policies have been proved to help control crime in cities across different regions of the world. Preventative measures will help to effectively incorporate security into an array of city policies including the design of urban space and into efforts to promote the participation of the citizenry in the government. To facilitate this collaboration, police should sit on urban commissions making decisions about space use and design so as to contribute their expertise for building an urban environment that reduces crime. Similarly, city planners should contribute to discussions about security, develop relations with police and be involved in commissions and committees discussing urban public safety. Collaboration between police and civic actors (communities) is essential. Such efforts will help to develop preventative strategies to ensure security and protect citizen rights.

B. Policing in urban space and public places: current trends and practices (chapter II)

Lesson 1

Traditional incident-based policing is often conceptually inadequate to the situation faced by law enforcement officials in many cities. The action of pursuing investigations and enforcing order after a crime has been committed will not be effective in controlling crime in most instances in the complex urban areas of the twenty-first century for several reasons. First, in situations where there is a low level of public trust in the police, these strategies may exacerbate the problems because they often distance the population from the police. Second, in complex urban spaces with relatively poorly resourced police forces, the police cannot keep up with criminals using incident-based approaches. There will always be more crimes than police can handle. A more effective and efficient crime control strategy involves developing preventative measures that incorporate wider societal collaboration. Finally, the repressive tactics that may be associated with incident-based policing tend to alienate the population and undermine legitimacy. This is particularly true of policing policies that see repression and abuse as key means to solving crime problems. This has the effect of undermining the ability of police to develop positive relations with society and, in the end, can create a spiral of declining confidence in police, and rising crime.

Lesson 2

It is essential that law enforcement officials use proactive strategies to control crime. The *Handbook* addresses a variety of strategies including:

(a)   *Community-oriented policing*. This is a strategy focused on developing ties between police and citizens in particular areas to gather intelligence and develop collaborative strategies to address local crime concerns. There are a variety of strategies that exist under the overall community-oriented approach, including setting up formal local forums to help police engage in conversations with local residents about crime problems and come up with solutions to local problems; organizing a neighbourhood watch organization connected with police; or arranging proximity or sector policing, wherein police are placed on the ground in particular areas to develop connections with the area and the local population. At the same time, community-oriented policing programmes may also include more extensive and elaborate government social programmes that seek to work with the population to prevent crime by providing services to the population. A good example of this is the Fica Vivo! programme in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. It is important to keep in mind that effective community policing exists alongside other participatory governance efforts. Finally, the Japanese koban system is an interesting example of community policing that operates through the presence of policing posts covering small areas where police are tasked with mapping streets and maintaining close contacts with the community;

(b)   *Problem-oriented policing*. This strategy employs analysis techniques to help police understand crime problems and develop solutions to help prevent crime. The

main technique underlying the strategy uses scanning, analysis, response and assessment (SARA). At heart, the strategy seeks to develop a deep understanding of a specific crime problem through empirical study of the problem. It involves police working independently and with local stakeholders to develop knowledge about the nature of a specific crime problem and to seek to develop both police-focused and collaborative preventative solutions to it. Problem-oriented policing seeks to understand the opportunity structure of a crime and to develop solutions to the problem through the application of technology, the use of police manpower, the restructuring of local spaces and the development of ties with the community to promote civic actions that can control crime. Good examples of the approach include efforts to improve the safety of parks;

(c)   *Intelligence-led policing.* This strategy focuses on gathering information in efforts to deploy police resources to control crime.

C.   Improving the policing of urban spaces: police strategies in different types of urban space (chapter III)

Lesson 1

Developing technical knowledge on policing is critical to reforms. Such knowledge includes the insight that certain types of urban spaces provide the setting for specific types of crime and that those types of crime vary according to the time of day and year. Police should work with relevant experts in other areas of government and academia to develop knowledge about the distribution of crime. As police develop such knowledge, they can develop better policies to prevent crime. Interventions can include *(a)* distribution of police resources across space; *(b)* relations between police and population; and *(c)* space management, structure and control.

Lesson 2

Techniques of situational crime prevention underlie many contemporary strategies of crime control. This approach suggests that understanding the interactions between police, managers of public spaces, criminals and potential victims of crime is critical to understanding how to control crime. From this perspective, crime emerges because opportunities exist for it to occur. When addressing crimes in public spaces, police should engage with the managers of those spaces to work to maintain conditions that will limit crime, for example by trimming hedges and maintaining adequate illumination. Police should work with the users of those spaces to address safety concerns. Individuals, civic groups and officials must be involved in maintaining secure spaces. Responding to crime involves analysing the incentives and deterrents that are created in crime control efforts. The *Handbook* provides a detailed list of 25 techniques of situational crime prevention. The techniques of situational crime prevention are closely related to the ideas that underlie the concept of crime prevention through environmental design.

Lesson 3

The structure of urban space contributes to public safety. Crime Prevention through Environmental Design provides a framework for thinking about how restructuring urban space can help to control crime. The approach suggests that urban space can be designed in such a way as to minimize crime by promoting, among other things, natural surveillance and the maintenance of spaces. Improvements to security, according to the approach, come not so much through the rigorous enforcement of minor ordinances but rather through long-term efforts to build and maintain spaces that discourage crime and encourage citizen responsibility. To achieve this, police should bring their expertise to city planning commissions, and city planners and space managers should participate in urban commissions addressing public safety. The *Handbook* discusses some of the principles associated with effective use of crime prevention through environmental design.

Lesson 4

The "broken windows" theory is an approach to controlling crime that provides important insights about the role of rigorous rule enforcement and crime control in urban spaces. Evidence suggests that the approach is often misinterpreted to mean repressive policing in cities where citizens are undergoing security crises. More importantly, evidence suggests that while a "broken windows" approach can contribute to crime control, it is best combined with other approaches such as community-oriented policing, problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing and crime prevention through environmental design.

D. Effective policing in public places (chapter IV)

Lesson 1

Different types of space produce different types of crime, requiring different types of police responses suited to the particular challenges concerned.

Lesson 2

Different types of urban spaces produce different types of challenges to public safety. Cities comprise a range of different types of areas, including residential and commercial areas, parks, schools and transportation arteries. Cities have many mixed-use areas and in such areas, the mix of activities influences the parameters and different types of criminal activity that can affect that space.

Lesson 3

Slums require particular policing strategies as a result of the specific challenges they face. Public trust in the State is often very low in such areas and in many cases residents are living illegally on the land. It is important that State officials reach out

to the residents of such communities to develop better relationships. Police are often the principal connection that residents of the areas have to the government. Unfortunately, this often contributes to poor relations between the residents and the government. The presence of the police in the areas, however, can be used to improve relations between the State and the community, as police take actions that can improve contacts with residents. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, police act as a contact point to help solve local problems. Dealing with security issues in such areas should include some sort of community policing strategy. Seeking a stronger strategy for service delivery is essential to improving policing in these types of areas. Police should seek to build contacts with local businesses. City officials must work to improve overall safety conditions in the neighbourhoods by dealing with the problems of precarious construction, landslides and flooding. States should invest in efforts to help residents gain access to the labour market. Solving problems in such areas, as in other areas, involves long-range coordination between police and other government agencies.

Lesson 4

Solving crime problems in different areas involves engagement between police and local stakeholders. Different groups use and manage spaces around the city. For example, administrators and parent-teacher-student associations run schools and contribute to resolving issues at the schools. Similarly, commercial areas may have a variety of organized business groups with a variety of interests, which can contribute to discussions on security in the area. Police should engage with local stakeholders in promoting new security policies. The efforts can provide police with important information about the area and with the support necessary to implement new public safety programmes.

Lesson 5

Governments should establish effective regulation of private security. The *Handbook* addresses this through the example of efforts to regulate private security in the United Arab Emirates. Regulations should clearly indicate under what circumstances active duty police can or cannot work for a private security firm. They should also clearly establish who can work in those positions and the minimal requirements concerning training and working conditions in order to ensure that they do their job effectively and respect the rights of citizens.

Lesson 6

Certain groups at high risk of victimization, such as women and children, require special attention in crime prevention programmes. While women and children frequent the same spaces as other members of the population, the specific threats they face often require policies focused on their well-being. One example of this is the Safe Delhi programme, which seeks to increase awareness of the harassment of women on transit systems.

E. Improving policing practice, oversight and evaluation (chapter V)

Lesson 1

Police strategies should be consistent with the United Nations standards and norms in crime prevention and criminal justice. The chapter makes reference to the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement officials.

Lesson 2

There are seven attributes of safer spaces. This approach can be used as a tool in strategies to provide urban security more effectively. These attributes are: access and movement; structure; surveillance; ownership; physical protection; activity; and management and maintenance.

Lesson 3

Evaluation is essential to effective policy development. The chapter outlines key concepts in the evaluation of law enforcement strategies, with a focus on different metrics that law enforcement officers and other officials can use to measure performance.

Lesson 4

Accountability is critical to good policing. Police must be responsible to other public officials and to society at large. The chapter differentiates between internal oversight of police activities by other actors in the chain of command and external oversight by organizations and actors outside the chain of command. These can include civil society groups or other State bureaucratic actors.

F. A review of selected good practices in Africa and Latin America (chapter VI)

Lesson 1

Effective policing involves not just developing policies but organizing local coalitions and resources to support reforms over the long term. Such coalitions are political as well as civic. On the political level, substantial police reforms involve a consensus among leading political actors that control policing at the municipal level. This may involve an agreement between party leaders or agreements between executives at local, regional or national levels of government, depending on how control of the police is administered throughout the different levels. Political consensus enables effective resourcing of reform efforts, ensures that police can effectively and comfortably support reforms and creates the basis for collaboration on reforms among

government agencies. On the civic level, reform depends on positive relations between different segments of civil society, including academia, civic groups and leaders in target areas.

Lesson 2

Police need to engage with social actors in crime prevention efforts. Policing is central to producing social order but that order can only be produced in positive ways through engagement between police and social actors. The confidence and support of the public in such efforts is crucial to reform success.

G. Role of the police in urban planning and management for safer urban spaces (chapter VII)

Lesson 1

Realms of expertise other than policing are essential in developing strategies to promote citizen safety. The strategies discussed in the *Handbook* involve applying different types of knowledge and analysis to efforts to prevent crime, including building local knowledge as well as technical and statistical knowledge about crime into solutions to problems at the local and city levels. Such knowledge goes beyond the realm of police expertise. The areas of expertise and knowledge required involve, but are not limited to, other actors in the criminal justice system such as forensic investigators, prosecutors, judges, actors in the juvenile justice system, corrections officials and probation and parole officers. This expertise also involves collaboration with actors outside the criminal justice system, such as urban planners, public health officials, school administrators, geographers, park, market and building managers, scholars specializing in crime control and other actors in civil society, including non-governmental organizations and activist groups, local leaders and neighbourhood associations, business associations and unions of taxi and bus drivers, park user groups and environmental conservancies and parent-teacher associations.

Lesson 2

Local guard forces, sometimes referred to as municipal police, can play an important role in preventative policies and citizen safety endeavours. Such entities, which are often unarmed, are generally involved in the planning and guarding spaces under the control of municipal governments. As such, they differ from State or national police forces that undertake primary policing functions. The municipal forces may play a complementary, often unarmed role that can help to mediate relations between urban governments and police, and may also be well positioned to take a lead in developing preventative policies in an urban area. They offer an important opportunity for urban security innovation and may play an important role in incorporating security concerns and objectives into city planning. Since these forces have close relations with municipal governments they may, as in Rio de Janeiro, play important

roles in developing crime prevention strategies focused on children enrolled in city-controlled public schools. Brazil and Burkina Faso offer examples of this type of strategy.

Lesson 3

Multi-level engagement is essential to making good policy. This includes engagement across levels of government, between the government and the private sector and between the government and civil society. These different types of engagement can help to build social and political consensus to support reforms and ensure adequate funding for reform policies.

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