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URBAN SAFETY and GOOD GOVERNANCE: THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

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urban safety and
good Governance :
The role of the police

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FOREWORD

This publication is designed for national and local authorities, the police, and civil society organisations which contribute to urban safety development at the local level. The publication highlights the challenges of insecurity that face police and urban managers. It presents and analyses city and police responses to these challenges, based on innovative experiences in countries both North and South.

In recent years, cities have faced a significant increase in crime and delinquency which provokes a feeling of insecurity and an increasing lack of trust in the police. This crisis of confidence in the police is reinforced by the growing role of private security companies in security matters and the diminishing role of the state. In urban areas, this is most evident in the expressed concerns of the public about the inability of the police to ensure security in certain zones of the city, and in particular the poorer neighbourhoods. There is popular disquiet about the police focus on 'bigger' crimes which leads to a neglect of every day delinquencies and hooliganism. Corruption and power abuse also compound the negative perception of police.

Faced with increased insecurity and a crisis in the role of the police, the state, the police and local authorities have come to recognise the need both to decentralise security and to recognise the importance of civil society organisations in crime prevention. Local crime prevention coalitions, composed of institutional actors and civil society, are increasingly conscious of the necessity to find concrete solutions through innovative approaches and responses. This has led to a re-evaluation of the role of the police within a framework of local partnerships and good urban governance. This provides the basis for a closer relationship between the police and the people, and can facilitate a greater sense of police force accountability to the citizenry. Innovative approaches can also bring about an improvement in the overall security problems faced by city residents, such as minor delinquencies and the protection of neighbourhoods or groups at risk.

This publication focuses on the relationship between the police and local coalitions for crime prevention. In effect, it suggests that security is not the sole responsibility of the police, but is more an issue of good urban governance. In other words, security is a collective task of all citizens under the co-ordination of local authorities. Notwithstanding, the police are a fundamental partner in security issues due to their expertise and mandate.

The publication also analyses different examples of the evolving role of the police. For instance, the French "ilôtiers" or the Japanese "kobans" are instances of alternative forms of policing within the community or neighbourhood. These practices however, presuppose a change of outlook and culture within the police and local and national authorities. The process requires time, investment, training, fieldwork, a sense of partnership, evaluation and an adequate institutional framework.

The present analysis takes into account local contexts, particularly in developing countries, and the various transition phases needed for the institutionalisation of an efficient, and community-supported, policing system.

The publication does not aim to direct the municipality and the police towards one selected model. On the contrary, it gives examples of different practices in efficient police reforms within an urban democratic context. This publication aims to contribute to the ongoing search for local security solutions: a 'common good' towards which citizens, local authorities, the police and the State are working together to achieve security for all.

Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka
Executive Director
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LEXICON

- ***Problem-oriented policing***: Dynamic public safety diagnostic process focusing on understanding and overcoming community problems, in which institutions other than the police, such as NGOs and citizens, play a central role. It includes the identification and description of problems in a district through detailed analysis and consultation with citizens, strategic planning to establish priorities and means of action, and assessment to target the impact of action taken and make the necessary changes efficiently. This approach provides an opportunity to forge lasting cooperation between the police and institutional and community partners.
- ***Reactive and proactive approaches***: Reactive approaches, characterized by a security ideology primarily based on punishment, act downstream of the criminal act itself and involve responding to calls and managing crises, without ever attacking the source of tensions or repeated incidents at the source. They limit police action to certain categories of offences, i.e. those most often reported by citizens. Proactive approaches, which focus on prevention, combine the development of appropriate methods for acting upstream of crime and programs aimed at attaching the conditions that give rise to crime and delinquency.
- ***Police ethics***: Mechanism designed by the legislator to ensure that all members of a police force or service perform the duties assigned them by the law by protecting the public against violence, crime and other harmful acts. Police officers must act in accordance with the law, ensuring that it is respected and applied in a manner consistent with their level of responsibility. These rules governing police conduct are aimed at ensuring the integrity and impartiality of the police in promoting the rule of law and respect for democratic principles.
- ***Community policing (street-level)***: Based on the concept of geographical responsibility, this type of street-level community policing emphasizes knowledge through greater proximity and an increased police ability to respond to the needs of the population. Community policemen usually patrol areas by foot, bicycle or horse. This type of policing seeks closer contact with citizens while contributing to the development of local knowledge and expertise.
- ***Koban***: Japanese police system, composed of community mini-stations and focusing on problem-oriented policing, which includes the essential characteristic of close interaction between citizens and police. It is considered an integral part of the community. While giving priority to community or district-based action and the exchange of information, police officers interact with various community organizations involved in law enforcement activities, provide liaison between citizens and the municipal administration, support victims and participate in social prevention.

- **Community policing:** Police model which promotes closer relations between the police and the community for more effective prevention of crime and insecurity, and partnerships with the broader community (local councillors, business associations, groups of citizens, trade unions, urban planners) and all other public or private institutions. Community policing is basically a professional police model spanning the continuum between two major poles: the community-based approach and problem-oriented policing.
- **Accessible/Proximity police:** Similar to the work strategies and organization of community policing models, this police model is primarily based on the idea of an effective partnership between the police and the local community to manage security and ensure order. An accessible/proximity police adheres to the principles of local community policing: geographical responsibility, decentralization and territorial organization
- **Situational Prevention:** This type of prevention is based on a strategic analysis of a given area or district to identify and catalogue opportunities to commit offences and individuals and situations at risk, with a view to changing the conditions that generate crime through improved protection of target people and property. The goal is to develop community-based mechanisms for reducing crime and incivility. Sustainable prevention through the use of situational measures requires enlisting the responsibility and ability of residents to ensure public safety in their community.
- **Social Prevention:** This basically involves mobilizing the individuals and groups that can act on the factors that hinder public participation in sustainable development and the creation of healthy, viable communities. This preventive strategy generally involves drawing up integrated social policies and development programs that can be incorporated into multi-sector initiatives that serve the interests of the community at large: employment, education, urban planning, housing, health, youth protection, social exclusion, policing and justice. In the context of safety and security, the most appropriate social development policies and programs are the ones targeting risk factors contributing to the emergence of delinquent or violent behaviours and to social exclusion.
- **Neighbourhood Watch:** Approach based on the creation of prevention programs which combine situational and social measures to better ensure social control and public safety. These programs are aimed at reducing opportunities for committing offences and decreasing vulnerability through better-focused protection. Neighbourhood watch programs basically depend on the creation of a climate of community cooperation that promotes solidarity, awareness and safety within the neighbourhood.
- **Territorialization:** Concept that bases administrative and organizational responsibility in the district or territory, particularly as regards the fight against petty or moderately severe delinquency. It covers organization of police operations, various types of community policing and the organization of decision-making, decentralization and a broader base for operations territorial responsibility for police operations is based on the following principles: partnership, broader administrative organization, knowledge of the area served, a choice of solutions, police initiative, relationships generating confidence and information, unit patrols, police versatility, cooperation.

1. TRENDS AND INDICATORS OF URBAN CRIME

Throughout the world, violence, delinquency and fear undermine the basic right of individuals to live in peace and fully benefit from a healthy and sustainable community. These elements make no real distinction between prosperous and poor cities, and impose a considerable cost on the population, particularly through the decline of communities, the increase in health and security expenditures and the deterioration of investments. Violence and fear directly threaten life in society, good governance and the sustainable development of the world's communities and neighbourhoods.

1.1 Urbanization and human development

Over the past twenty-five years, the planet has become increasingly urbanized. This has not always been an easy or peaceful process, and the multiplication of spontaneous zones of urbanization has caused the exclusion and social and physical marginalization of an increasing portion of the population. On a whole, the urbanization process is characterized by a substantial increase in the size of cities together with elementary infrastructure problems such as the shortage of appropriate housing, with the resulting emergence of urban zones deprived of adequate collective services and a steadily growing concentration of poor citizens living in the street. In many countries, the expansion of illegal parallel land markets contributed to the growth of shantytowns and over-populated suburban areas (United Nations, 1996).

Constant, rapid urbanization appears to be the demographic trend of the 20th century in most major metropolises and seems destined to continue for several decades to come (Habitat, 1996). By the year 2020, the United Nations estimate that nearly 57% of the world population will live in urban areas. In Africa, the surge in emigration from rural to urban areas suggests that nearly 53% of the population will live in urban agglomerations with growth rates two and a half times higher than rural areas. These waves of emigration contribute to drastic transformations in many developing countries, bringing a flood of individuals who find themselves in the cities without family, housing, resource networks or any legal means of subsistence.

1. Trends and Indicators of Urban Crime

Urbanization indicators show populations of over five million inhabitants in 33 of the world's 100 greater metropolitan areas, 22 of which are located in developing countries (Population Action International, 1990). Currently, 17 of the 20 world's largest cities are located in developing countries, and these drastic changes are a motivation for governments to act globally on this accelerated urbanization process, while also focusing on trends specific to each region.

Many developing cities are marked by a shortage or lack of adequate housing and sustainable human settlements. The UN Global Report on Human Settlements (1996) estimates that there are more than 100 million people living in the street. In Latin America, more than 120 million people did not have housing in 1990, whereas in Caracas, Venezuela, for example, it is almost 25% of the population (Marcus, 1995). In such precarious conditions, problems of crime and insecurity are felt with greater acuity.

These phenomena do not exist only in African or Latin-American countries, since the majority of the world's largest cities face problems of housing and poverty. The United States has the highest rate of child poverty among the industrialized countries, with 20% of its children living under the poverty line (UNICEF, 1993). The European Union has more than 52 million poor people and more than 9 million people without housing or occupying inadequate dwellings. This poverty is concentrated in the periphery of urban areas, which causes a deterioration of living conditions, a loss of potential investment and compromises social improvement and the effective management of security.

Without positing a causal relationship between urbanization and crime, the Report on Human Development indicates an increasingly clear link between human development and delinquency (United Nations, 1994). Over the past 25 years, worldwide uncontrolled urbanization has created deplorable living conditions which result in the progressive deterioration of quality of life and urban social fabric, as well as contributing to a rise in crime in all its forms and posing a threat to individual security and the social and economic development of cities. Thus, in communities where an increasing portion of the population is excluded from the education system or labor market, many individuals, especially the young, see themselves condemned to alternative models of success and peer recognition, which sometimes implies illicit and criminal activities or leads to violent behaviors.

Apart from the influence of uncontrolled urbanization, the political and economic climate as well as culture and traditions are also determining factors in creating a social environment favorable to violence (Vanderschueren, 1996).

Under the combined effect of a number of factors such as family breakdown, insufficient means of social integration and the proliferation of consumer goods, some youth turn to violence. This poses major challenges beyond its expression and legitimacy as perceived by the media and society at large.

1. Trends and Indicators of Urban Crime

1.2 Crime around the world

Almost everywhere on the planet, the incidence of crimes against persons or property is on the rise. Between 1975 and 1990, the number of offenses reported worldwide each year rose from 350 to 500 million. According to the United Nations, violent crimes increased almost 10 percent during the last decade. Offenses such as larceny, robbery and fraud account for 70% of reported crimes and increased by 30% between 1980 and 1990. For all categories combined, more than three-quarters of these crimes are committed in urban areas, with robbery and assault being the principal causes of victimization in industrialized countries. In many countries, economic growth and urban development are associated with rates of crime two to three times higher than those reported 10 or 20 years ago.

While the risks of victimization vary accordingly from one municipal or local district to another, it is also true that residential and commercial areas are the preferred targets for delinquents. The incidence of crimes against property is mainly increased by the characteristics of urban life, such as high population density, anonymity, abundance of material goods and urban development that provides greater opportunities for crime. Whether in a city in Africa or in an urban centre in an industrialized country, the rate of burglary, currently one of the most common crimes against property, would be one of the best predictors of the more general level of crime in a given area (van Dijk, 1996).

Violence has many faces. Violence against women and children indicates a particularly alarming situation, although that it is difficult to quantify. While it occurs in private rather than the public space, the social and human costs of this widespread form of violence are considerable (UNICEF, 1997). It also contributes to social dysfunction and the reproduction of violent attitudes, while occurring in an environment made more complex by a whole range of factors directly and indirectly related to economic crises, social exclusion, migratory flow and a breakdown in social relationships. Millions of women and children are routinely sexually exploited, mutilated and killed, and these manifestations of violence threaten the essential dynamic and the fundamental conditions suitable for human development.

The worsening of urban violence is closely interrelated with drug and alcohol abuse in conjunction with the rise in the use of firearms. In the United States, death by gunshot wounds accounted for 64% of homicides in 1990 and represented the second-ranking cause of mortality for young people. An American study compared Seattle in the United States and Vancouver in Canada, similar cities demographically and socioeconomically, but differing in their handgun regulations. While there was no significant difference in rates of assaults and robberies, the rate of armed homicide was four times higher in Seattle, where gun laws are much more permissive (Sloane, 1988). The availability of firearms, facilitated by worldwide organized crime, multiplies the risks of urban violence and represents a fundamental threat to security.

The Fourth United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems showed that the majority of the world's most populated cities have homicide rates which largely exceed the national rate, emphasizing the urban nature of this type of offense. There are exceptions in countries like Columbia and Sierra Leone. It was further shown that countries with a lower index of human development, characterized by poverty, lack of housing, low education levels and lack of community services, have the highest rate of declared homicides, ranging from 22 to 64 per 100,000 inhabitants. By comparison, the 20 safest cities of Asia and Europe, with homicide rates lower than two per 100,000 inhabitants, have the highest development indexes (Population Action International, 1990).

1. Trends and Indicators of Urban Crime

Crime is of course unequally distributed, and studies reveal a wide variation in data from one country to another. There is nevertheless an upward trend in crime and violence throughout the world and, with the exception of Japan, the risk of being a victim of crime doubled or even tripled over the past thirty years. International surveys on victimization indicate that inhabitants of urban areas in Africa and Latin America are more likely to be victims, mainly of violent crimes (UNICRI, 1995).

Crime is on the rise in the cities and neighbourhoods of Asia as well. In five districts of Beijing, an international victimization survey showed that one person out of eight (13%) was a victim of crime in 1993 and that, over a five-year period (1989-1994), this was the case for one out of every two people. In Japan, it is estimated that the density of land use will inevitably lead to an increase in crime (Miyazawa, 1990).

The World Conference of Mayors on Social Development, bringing together the mayors of over 135 cities, showed that the question of crime, violence, and insecurity ranks on average as the fourth most serious urban problem, with first and second place going to unemployment and the housing shortage. Crime is the number one problem in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Prague (Czech Republic), San José (Costa Rica) and Newark (United States) (UNDP, 1994).

1.3 Cost and size of the criminal justice system

For most governments, increasing the size of police forces has been the main response to the rise in violence and crime. Over the past thirty years, human resources in the police forces of the majority of industrialized countries have increased by 50% and represent on average 85% of all personnel in the justice system (United Nations, 1995). This translates into an average growth, in 30 years, of almost 95% in developing countries and an average of more than 75% for countries in transition.

According to the Fourth United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, the international per capita ratio of police officers was 253 per 100 000 in 1985. In 1990, the average national ratio varied between 172 and 350 per 100,000. International data show a significant relationship between increases in gross national product and police force size, even if the higher police ratios do not necessarily appear in the most developed regions (United Nations, 1995).

Some national police ratios are lower than international standards, such as Tanzania, with only 100 police officers per 100,000 inhabitants (Findlay and Zvekic, 1993). These figures should, however, be viewed with caution, since in many countries police functions are assigned to auxiliary forces whereas in others they are directly assumed by the police.

In spite of the relative increase in police resources, there is a growing consensus that the traditional police alone cannot be expected to ensure security and safety within cities, as the expansion of the private security sector demonstrates.

1. Trends and Indicators of Urban Crime

In France, the private security industry reported revenues of over 16 billion francs in 1990 and employed close to 100,000 people, about half the number in the public forces (Godefroy and Laffargue, 1993). An increasing number of governments, companies and private individuals rely on private security services to better protect them. In several countries, private security agency personnel are double the number in the public police, and worldwide private staff equal or exceed those of the public sector.

In the United States, \$52 billion are spent annually in the private sector compared to \$30 billion in the public sector, with 1.5 million people employed in the former compared to 600,000 in the latter. Supported by major investments, the expansion of the private security industry raises fundamental questions, particularly regarding the respect of rights and freedoms and control of public spaces, while in several regions and cities of the world, private security agencies perform duties which are quite similar to those of the police force. The Report on Human Development indicates, for example, that in the United States, hundreds of billions of dollars (\$290 billion in 1991) were spent on territorial security, while the security of people within the country is decreasing at an unprecedented rate.

International data show that the costs allocated to the criminal justice system are considerable. Between 1986 and 1990, police budgets decreased by 3%, although the total costs of the justice system increased by 1% (United Nations, 1992). In the industrialized countries, the cost of justice administration accounts for approximately 5% of the national budget, while developing countries and countries in transition spend between 10 and 14% of their budget. Less than 1% of this amount is devoted to victim assistance or prevention by integrated social development.

In the United States, the *direct* costs of crime in terms of police, courts and correctional institutions rose to \$90 billion in 1992, including \$35 billion for the police alone. This sum represents 7% of government spending. The *indirect* costs, often underestimated, add up to \$335 billion, broken down as follows: human suffering and potential life loss (\$170 billion), urban decline in the form of resident departures and job loss (\$50 billion), property damage (\$45 billion); support for victims (\$5 billion) and for private security services (\$65 billion) (Business Week, 1993).

Based on the United Nations Report on Human Development (1994), it is estimated that the cost in loss of investments and life destroyed could be four times higher. There are millions of victims in distress throughout the world and thousands of billions of dollars being spent or lost because of crime. Such losses are a major obstacle to sustainable social and economic growth in urban areas, and the classic police response based on the reinforcement of repressive means seems less and less suitable. The increase in human resources and administrative budgets for the criminal justice system (police force, courts, prisons) has failed to have any lasting impact on crime statistics. Moreover, in 1995, the American cities with the largest police forces were also the ones with the highest crime rates (Sherman, 1997).

The limits of the justice system coincide not only with negative perceptions of the police and justice systems in terms of reduced accessibility due to cost and delays, but also with its reduced ability to act, further aggravated by social exclusion, poverty and a lack of community services. In countries, both North and South, where police forces are viewed with mistrust, citizens have even less access to the means of dealing with crime and the fear of crime (Alvazzi del Frate et al., 1993). This situation, while constituting a risk to public safety, demonstrates the inefficiency of the traditional approach based on repression.

1. Trends and Indicators of Urban Crime

If all criminal acts are to be punished, solutions for local authorities to ensure safe and economically viable cities have to move beyond merely reactive and repressive methods. Analysis of local situations, which is essential to guide effective programs and policies, can no longer forego a careful examination of the cost-benefit ratio of insecurity and crime prevention in cities.

Quality of life and security within communities justify urgent investments in crime prevention for the sustainable development of human settlements. To develop sustainable solutions that go beyond traditional responses, we must take advantage of all knowledge and expertise, whether local, national or international, and promote the use of prevention strategies aimed at reducing criminal activity and increasing feelings of security, especially in the cities, which are the driving force in any economy.

2. EVOLUTION OF THE POLICE

To approach the more general concept of modern policing, i.e. the Western police systems whose influence is felt throughout the world, it is important to understand the political, social, economic and cultural contexts in which they evolve and operate and the reasons why the police practices that were effective at one time are not anymore necessarily applicable at a later time. Whatever the manner of perceiving or representing the challenges posed by security, contemporary police organizations deploy new ways of organizing and carrying out their functions in an environment marked by the complexity of common problems: violence, fears related to crime and delinquency, social and physical marginalization of increasing portions of the population, incivilities and uncontrolled urbanization. To act on all these phenomena requires the adoption of strategies of joint action, consolidated partnerships, efficient management of police resources and police involvement in local security prevention initiatives.

2.1 Peel's Principles

Modern police organizations originated in the United Kingdom more than 150 years ago. Still struggling with the upheaval the industrial revolution, U.K. at that time was grappling with a rise in crime, incivilities and police corruption. At that time, policing was based on a system of private guards while the army was called in to intervene in the most serious situations. The resulting insecurity became a dominant political and social concern throughout Europe. With the intensification of social disorders, justice and police administrators thought that a preventive police - non-military and non-partisan - could protect the public and rally its support (Emsley and al., 1994).

In London, following the adoption of the Metropolitan Police Act in 1829, a professional police organization was established. It was based on principles laid down by Sir Robert Peel, now considered the founder of the modern police concept and the precursor of community policing. At the time, this "new police" did not claim to repress crime by military force and severity of sanctions, but rather sought to prevent it. The emblematic figure of Peel's model is the foot patrol, which was supposed to counter public disorders while bringing the police closer to the community. Through this visibility, police forces would gain public respect and cooperation in combating crime and insecurity. The use of physical force and constraint was seen as a last recourse, once persuasion, advice and warnings were exhausted. The intention of the police was to demonstrate their effectiveness through the absence of crime instead of through the visibility of its actions.

2. Evolution of the Police

To obtain and keep public approval, the police officer must observe strict probity, an essential attitude to manifesting Peel's vision that "the police force is the public and the public is the police force". As in the philosophy behind policing in Japan (Koban), the police officer is first and foremost a member of the community who is paid to look after the welfare of fellow-citizens, performing a civic duty seen as incumbent upon every citizen. Police officers became the central figures in effectively reducing they were preventing delinquency. They were versatile actors whose role covered both the resolution of community conflicts and tensions and the task of applying the law.

Emanating from the principles set out in Peel's reform, the radical transformations of the Metropolitan Police Force of London still reflect an exceptional and futuristic vision of the police mission. This may explain how the metropolitan police developed from a fragmented, corrupt, partisan group into a professional organization at the service of the community. By combining repressive and preventive practices to reduce crime and flagrant incivilities, the London police force was radically transformed into a stabilizing agent within society. These are basically the attributes which explain the attraction of this concept and its strong influence on police forces in North America and Europe, and in many other countries governed by common law.

2.2 Modern police reforms

The evolution of the modern police force in Western democracies is generally divided into three periods, characterized by corruption, professionalization and a community orientation of police organizations.

The corruption phase emerged at a time when police practices transformed the traditional image of the police, with its limited power and legal constraint (Reiner, 1993), as in the case of 18th century England, when the public image of the police was more one of depravity than protection. The ineffective control systems of the time, unable to counter police corruption, negated the notions of accountability, transparency and effectiveness and contributed to the image of a despotic police contributing to, instead of preventing, disorder and crime.

The distance between the municipal police and the community was the critical factor in transforming the police in North America. Beginning in the 1930s, a movement of professionalization grew up in reaction to the systematic corruption of police officers who were too vulnerable to political influence. Carried by this wave of professionalization, a period of consolidation, which took the form of mergers and regionalization of police forces, led to the specialization of the police function, largely influenced by three American police administrators: Wilson, Volmer and Parker.

To counter corruption, these police reformers recommended the militarization of police structure and management, and stressed the need for thorough training, the development of specialized expertise and the introduction of control mechanisms on police work, now centered on strict application of the law and the suppression of crime. It then became necessary to establish criteria to measure effectiveness of police action. This highly professionalized police is the most common model in Western democracies, and has been adopted or adapted by many African, Asian and Latin-American countries.

2. Evolution of the Police

One consequence of professionalization has been the establishment of rules and methods of control to prevent police corruption and brutality, with positive results on setting the boundaries of discretionary power and reducing abusive force and the use of firearms (Skogan, 1993). With all the randomly motorized patrols, rapidity of response and specialized investigations, the police have not shown any great capability to prevent or reduce crime, and it is only on rare occasions that they can catch criminals in the act.

Remote from citizens and consequently poorly informed about the communities they serve, police forces can only react to crime and insecurity without tackling the sources of these problems. With the focus on major (organized) crime to the detriment of ongoing community problems and conflicts, the police have been unable to adapt to the evolving social context, first because they have become less and less representative of the communities they serve, but also because they are unable to achieve reform in a culture too resistant to change, or because the training given to officers is obsolete and out of touch with current society.

Throughout the period of riots, violence, rising crime and a decline in the percentage of crimes solved in the United States (1950) and Great Britain (1960), the gap between the community and the police widened (Skogan, 1993). This sparked strong criticism regarding police relations with ethnic groups and marginalized populations. Seeing that the police were losing public trust and were not sensitive to the needs of the population, local authorities started to wonder about the effectiveness of professional police models.

Today, issues of police ineffectiveness and lack of awareness are also justified by budgetary constraints and the increase in demands for greater accountability as a result of pressure due to public expectations regarding security and the increase in crime. All these elements have contributed to a re-examination of the dominant professional model which, based on the reactions to specific crimes, excludes the public and hinders the ability of police forces to take initiatives that can have a lasting impact on quality of life and community well-being.

In this context, police forces have had to develop a service-oriented philosophy, combined with effective co-management and proactive attitudes which require the police to move away from a repressive approach and develop partnerships and community policing in the pursuit of their fundamental mission (Sarre, 1997). Since the 1970s and 1980s, trends in the U.S. have shaped a new philosophy whereby modern police organizations are more oriented towards problem resolution and community policing.

In France and many other European countries, urban police missions are defined by accessible, community police models primarily based on the idea that the police obtain better results with the support of local communities (Jankowski, 1993). Since the early 1980s, enthusiasm for this conception has resulted in the organization of accessible, partnership and proximity police in Australia, Canada, Britain and the Netherlands.

The *Koban* system, with its mini-stations with resident police officers, has always endorsed community and problem-oriented approaches. The *Kobans* illustrate the value added of proximity between citizens and the police. This increases the ability of the police to forecast and analyse events and answer the local demands for safety and prevention.

2. Evolution of the Police

The Japanese police system, with this openness to the public, becomes an integral part of the larger social and cultural environment which promotes the primacy of collective interests and the respect for authority stressing the role of good citizenship and community solidarity in the development of cities. With limited criminal justice resources (police, courts and prisons), the example of the Japanese police has been the inspiration for changes aimed at more efficient social control in such cities as Boston, Chicago and Philadelphia, as well as in Singapore.

FIGURE 1 : ADMINISTRATIVE AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES

Traditional Approach	Innovative Approach
<p>Bureaucratic and hierarchical management; Compliance with rules and codes of conduct; Centralized structures;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Police culture limiting accountability, autonomy and responsibility;• Training focusing on physical fitness and defense techniques;• Effectiveness criteria is based on rapidity of intervention, number of arrests and number of prosecutions.	<p>Strategic management, accent on efficiency, promotion of flexibility and decentralized structures;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Professional culture promoting communication, openness and community consultation;• Training focusing on balance between law enforcement, prevention, solidarity and effectiveness;• Effectiveness criteria based on public satisfaction, the absence of disorder and the quality of police services.

As this figure illustrates, structural and organizational changes in police forces in many developed and developing countries converge towards a preventive mandate and proactive measures in crime prevention and urban safety. Innovative methods correspond to selective and preventive strategies consolidated by partnerships with local residents. They also raise the crucial aspect of a balance between the responsibilities which must be assumed by police and citizens, while contributing to the development of the resources and the capacities of these respective partners.

From this vision, new principles are translated into effective strategies for police organization and action: broadening of the police mandate, accountability to the community, decentralization of decision-making, problem-orientation and a proactive attitude (Normandeau and Leighton, 1992). The implication is that police officers should become versatile security agents responsible for a whole range of activities, while maintaining their role as specialists in the law. Supported by adequate training, police officers can deal with problems such as domestic violence, organized crime and juvenile delinquency. The traditional paramilitary police model thus gives way to a participatory model designed to accentuate the flexibility and the quality of police services, where front-line police officers represent the most important sector of police organization.

2. Evolution of the Police

2.3 Centralized and decentralized systems

Police adaptation to the growing pervasiveness of criminal activity and the diversity of its territory raises the particular aspect of its structural configuration which, in turn, translates its hierarchical forms and modes of management. Despite their complex organization, police structures can be classified under two principal models: centralized systems (Latin influence) and decentralized systems (Anglo-Saxon influence). The general trends in police organization presented in this chapter are illustrated using examples from northern-hemisphere countries, since to date most other countries have taken their inspiration from these models.

In national systems of centralized police forces such as the one of France, the chain of command emanates from the central government, and these are thus described as unified state police systems (Gleizal, 1994). The French police, for example, mainly consists of two distinct forces: the National Police under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior and the National Gendarmerie under the authority of the Ministry of Defense. In this police model, the actions of the National Police concentrate around three missions: maintenance of public order, crime prevention and criminal investigations, especially in urban areas. The National Gendarmerie is also responsible for maintenance of public order, in particular in rural or less urbanized areas, and criminal investigations. The fight against organized crime is a responsibility of both police institutions. This police model is based on the approach that security as a right is the responsibility of the State which implies a strong social cohesion and an organization structured in a way making possible the exercise of authority and the execution of decisions (Souliez and Rudolph, 2000). The organization of the French police thus operates under a single authority "whose central principle is verticality " (Bonnet, 1993: 103).

In the Anglo-Saxon model, police forces are decentralized and organized on a local basis. Decentralized police responsibilities are distributed between the federal authorities, states or provinces and cities and cannot be influenced by the central authorities, although regulations applicable to the whole country ensure the uniformity of police organization and practice (Reiner, 1993). Local authorities also exercise indirect control. These police forces have considerable autonomy in the exercise of their duties and have considerable latitude to adapt policing duties to suit the situation of a given urban area or region.

The Metropolitan Police of London (the Met), founded by Peel, is unique in its organization. The responsible authority is the Home Secretary and the direction and daily operational control are the responsibility of the police chief, the commissioner, who is appointed by the Home Secretary (Reiner, 1993). Since the passage of the Police Act of 1964, the management structure of police services in the United Kingdom is more uniform and may be described as a tripartite system. Responsibility for policing tasks is shared between the local police authorities, the chief constables and the Home Secretary. What is unique about the British model is that unarmed patrol officers occupy a central position and can carry out both general and specialized duties. There are no separate police bodies to ensure law and order or deal with organized crime, nor a police force that comes under the central government authority as in France.

The United States represents one of the best illustrations of a decentralized police model, with more than 16,000 active police bodies (Reiner, 1993). They have jurisdictions which involve local and national authorities and government officials, and their legal responsibility, as in India and Great Britain, is subjected to the rules of common law. India is of course an intermediate case where authority is vested in sub-national political units, the member states of the federation.

2. Evolution of the Police

Although decentralized police systems are accountable to local authorities, they offer enhanced opportunities for initiative and leadership for front-line police officers, which appears essential in a community policing mission that promotes closer contact and cooperation with local residents. Reaching out to citizens and involving them in security management and strategic community planning might encounter some resistance in centralized police forces. Since the early 1980s, modernization of police services in the French police system, for example, has meant that security management is now decentralized to give more initiative to regional and local authorities.

One of the limiting characteristics of decentralized systems is that specialization of police forces leads to many distinct types of police. It was recognized that, while the maintenance of order and information must remain under centralized control, police forces which ensure day-to-day security must become closer to citizens and the community (Gleizal, 1994).

Police forces in Africa, America and Europe have become complex organizations subject to bureaucratic standards, with long chains of command, networks of departments and specialized units. Even in England, the police has clearly moved away from the traditional image of the *bobby*, and has not escaped the waves of hierarchization and specialization (Reiner, 1993). For most police forces, organizational and structural reforms must be directed towards decentralization of decision-making, territorialization of action and administrative deconcentration to respond more effectively to public requests for safety and the specific problems of high-risk urban zones.

For example, in South Africa the establishment of a municipal police, currently available only in Durban, has proven to be an important step in combatting the rise and spread of violent crime in urban centres, suburbs and commercial sectors. According to Johannesburg Mayor Isaac Mogase (1996), the creation of a municipal or metropolitan police force responsible for crime prevention strategies under the control of local authorities constitutes an effective and promising way to resolve public security problems. For municipal and local police administrations, this requires far-reaching changes, even changes in the culture, to promote coordination, mutual responsibility, partnership and complementarity between the police and the community.

2.4 Adaptation to local conditions

Police forces have long experience and a complete arsenal of law enforcement tools to deal with traditional forms of organized crime. However, they are not as well trained and equipped to deal effectively with the increasing forms of violence and delinquency such as pilfering, theft of food, shoplifting, incivilities and other misdemeanours. In both developing and developed countries, street crime, closely linked to poverty and social exclusion, affects citizens who no longer feel safe and who denounce the police as being either absent or powerless.

To counteract these feelings of insecurity and vulnerability, police forces must develop and reinforce the means to forge closer ties with citizens, ensure their active cooperation and improve services to achieve greater accountability to the communities they serve. North American police organizations have come up with several innovative strategies aimed at community or proximity policing, such as problem-oriented policing, community relations units, foot patrols, neighbourhood police stations, crime prevention groups and public information campaigns.

2. Evolution of the Police

In Europe, the central focus of police renewal are actions aimed at preventing crime and strategies that consolidate partnership, concerted action, proximity and community mobilization and collaboration (Vourc'h and Marcus, 1996). In the Netherlands, for example, increased police visibility in public areas has had a positive impact on feelings of insecurity in rural and urban areas. Simultaneously, greater geographic decentralization has made the increase of police presence possible, through the reorganization of patrol work in the working and living environments of the citizens.

So closer contacts and open communications with citizens, combined with proactive strategies, constitute effective and promising methods to reduce fear and promote local safety (Horn, 1991). However, it should be noted police forces today tend to put more emphasis on their capacity to establish cooperative relationships with all citizens and to focus on their needs and local safety strategies than on their capacity to react to crime per se.

Although they are intended as first-line organizations, police forces do not have sufficient means, particularly human resources, to respond to local demands which are not always relevant to their mandate. With the implementation of participatory management and multidisciplinary approaches, however, police organizations can consolidate accessible and proximity strategies, in partnership with local authorities, to prevent crime and violence.

It seems increasingly clear that police forces alone cannot eradicate crime and mitigate the breakdown of traditional forms of social control. They are already overburdened with matters for which they are strictly responsible, as the growth of private security demonstrates, especially in Africa and Latin America. In many parts of South Africa, private security providers are often preferred to local police forces for protection of property. Private police agencies are replacing public police forces and are highly visible in the suburbs, business districts, airports, commercial spaces and educational institutions (Marcus, 1995).

The situation in South Africa illustrates the increasing importance of private security. It has grown at an annual average rate of 30% since 1970. The economic value of this industry is already estimated at more than 10 billion Rands per year, while the annual budget of the South African Police Service (SAPS) totals 15.3 billion Rands. There are four times more private security agents in South Africa than uniformed police officers (Irish, 1999).

The growth of parallel security agencies and the emergence of new community forms of social control in many countries seem to be part of a trend of dissatisfaction and lack of public confidence in traditional police systems, which people see as incapable of responding to their safety and protection needs. This calls into question the ability and the willingness of the State to assume these social costs and raises the important issue of cooperation versus opposition between the private and public sectors, an inevitable consideration in developing new public policies based on geographical responsibility and the coordination of the various spheres of crime prevention and urban safety and the forms of State intervention.

2. Evolution of the Police

While police missions can vary from one region to another, depending on particular local problems, public expectations remain the same. They rest primarily on the reduction of crime, the maintenance of peace and order, the improvement of human and territorial safety and the respect of individual rights. The modernization of police organizations in Haiti or South Africa, for example, is comparable to the American and British reforms early in this century, in terms of responding to the need for far-reaching restructuring to obtain a police force that is both accountable and independent of political authorities (Levin, 1995; Guelke, 1995). These changes are aimed at establishing the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of local communities rather than through recourse to the use of force, to ensure the protection and safety of the citizens in a democratic society.

This form of police legitimacy basically requires constant improvement in the quality of services, citizen involvement, sharing initiative and leadership and forging partnerships at the local level. To pass from rhetoric to action, however, police reforms must make the new philosophy correspond to a new type of professionalism which emphasizes the proximity and accessibility embodied in Peel's vision. This also involves recognizing that the police cannot ensure safety and crime prevention without the involvement of other institutions, civilian organizations and citizens as partners in carrying out and defining its mission.

This is a major challenge. To succeed, forward-looking police forces will have to develop a proactive approach integrating community consultation and participation into their operating mandate. An organizational change strategy is needed to give priority to coordination and cooperation between all partners in urban security, to transform the traditional mission of the police in ways that meet and adapt to the changing needs of the community. A police closer to citizens does not negate the need for law enforcement and specialized modes of action, since there will always be a need for specialized units to handle particular aspects of crime and urban safety. Police renewal instead means recasting the police role as guardians of day-to-day security rather than the maintenance of order; this opens the door to a whole new range of partnerships with citizens so that all act together on the many factors that give rise to local crime and insecurity.

3. SECURITY AND POLICE REORGANIZATION

With the rise of violence and the increase of fear, urban tensions and conflicts became central priorities for governments and local authorities around the world. The majority of local and national surveys show that a feeling of insecurity underlies life in urban centres and neighbourhoods; even if it does not always correspond to a tangible situation, it is directly associated with the broader context of freedom and the basic right to a safe environment for all citizens.

Urban spaces are places where deviant behaviours are more visible, with a particularly significant concentration in high-risk zones. Faced with social exclusion, which affects a growing portion of the population, all levels of government have to adopt effective strategies to act on the root causes of delinquency and insecurity in communities.

3.1 Security and prevention : key issues

Security is a common good, an essential component of sustainable city development. This is a new concern for many countries. As discussed at the Zaragoza Conference (1996), security refers to “a situation characterized by a climate of peace, conviviality and mutual awareness allowing all citizens to freely exercise their individual, political and social rights, and allowing for the normal operation of public and private institutions” (Vourc'h and Marcus, 1996).

Any effective preventive and community development action aimed at reducing crime and ensuring safe, healthy communities calls on local dynamics of dialogue, partnership and proximity. It must also encourage the active participation of citizens, leaders and partners of both the institutional (local authorities, city planning, police, education, health) and civilian sectors (community associations, neighborhood coalitions, NGOs). The first European and North American Conference on security and crime prevention, held in Montreal in 1989, adopted action plans for safer cities. Principles were then adopted in the United Nations resolution on crime prevention in an urban context (United Nations, 1990). These fundamental principles guide coherent and effective approaches aimed at solving local problems and require cities to play a mobilizing role:

- *Local*: it is at the city level, and particularly within local communities, that partners who have the power to modify the conditions that contribute to delinquency must cooperate to develop effective strategies for meeting the needs of the local population, with the financial and technical support of all administrative levels;

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- *Global*: the need to obtain short-term results requires the development of global and long-term prevention and safety policies and common actions which involve action at the local, regional, national and international levels;
- *Partnership*: the prevention of delinquency requires partnerships between the national governments and local authorities to allow the development of effective solutions in the areas of poverty, education, housing, police and justice.

Cities, as the administrative level closest level to citizens, occupy a strategic place to positively influence the socioeconomic factors contributing to crime, reduce the opportunities for crime and promote civic responsibility and participation. They must play an active role in integrated urban policies by contributing to the development of effective safety and crime prevention approaches and policies.

Urban safety challenges all national governments to support integrated urban policies and engage in common efforts to resolve the problems posed by delinquency and feelings of insecurity through both law enforcement and prevention, as well as measures to improve social insertion. This goes hand in hand with the need to reform police and legal systems. In France, experts recognize the need to reconcile the notions of prevention and law enforcement to effectively and sustainably focus police structures and administration. This awareness has resulted in the creation of an organization open to the needs of citizens and autonomous to develop viable proactive policies involving all the major partners: mayors, local representatives, urban planners, citizens, police, magistrates (National City Council, 1992). These collaborative efforts are defined within the framework of a contractualized plan of action for safer social habitat.

3.2 Proximity and territorial organization

Increased demands for safety require greater involvement of a wider variety of players and changes to social regulation mechanisms. In the case of the police, these transformations are characterized by a movement from centralized political legitimacy to a social legitimacy which gives a strategic role to communities and regions (Gleizal, 1994). Japan is still the best example of greater citizen participation and cooperation in the adoption of preventive measures and in the decentralization of crime prevention. This results in a sharing of responsibilities in a climate of cooperative management of safety in public and private areas (Miyazawa, 1990).

Proximity or accessible police, with a proactive mandate, should be part of any policy aimed at solving local problems and developing more effective safety management from the territorial level. The adoption of preventive or safety policies, integrated into a larger urban social development policy, should consist of a balance between prevention, law enforcement and solidarity to act on the globality of social phenomena such as fear and violence, while taking into consideration the particular problems of a given area.

The French policy on the prevention of delinquency, implemented in 1982, reinforces the importance for the police to work in partnership with local communities and authorities. These key notions were incorporated into the objectives of police forces and the orientation adopted embodies four main principles of the Anglo-Saxon model of community policing: greater attention to the public and its safety expectations, partnership at the local level, territorial organization of police forces with as part of their mission the prevention of small and medium-scale crime, and neighbourhood patrols as the priority method of urban police action (Jankowski, 1994).

In decentralized situations like those found in North America, police officers play an essential role in the efficient management of urban security since the police, as a front-line organization, are best equipped to put into application the know-how, expertise and information basic to any integrated prevention policy at the local and municipal level under the leadership of local authorities and representatives.

3.3 Participation and community mobilization

Police forces cannot stem the tide of crime and disorder and exercise social control alone; they need the cooperation and assistance of community groups and associations in preventing and resolving neighbourhood problems. But the development of co-management strategies requires a rethinking of centralized state administration and, more particularly, of the concept of order and the operation of justice and police administrations.

Local governments have implemented these approaches, for example in France and Belgium, to support initiatives and strategies developed by the recent innovations in urban security management, such as decompartmentalization of traditional administrative operations, geographical responsibility and contracts for action between partners.

Since one of the main solutions to crime and insecurity depends on the participation of those concerned, the police must adopt the principle of acting *for* and *with* local citizens. The effectiveness of police forces in local matters largely depends on social conditions in the area concerned, and information seems to be the critical factor in the solid establishment of police practices. The police must start by forging active partnerships and acquiring a thorough understanding of the specific nature of a given neighborhood in terms of crime, social disorders and incivilities. Doing this requires the consultation and active participation of local residents.

To support community participation and mobilization, police forces must rebuild community vigilance, adopt proactive attitudes and behaviors, support local solidarity and respond to the needs of the population (Vourc'h and Marcus, 1996). In relation with local organizations and initiatives such as the classic *neighbourhood watch*, the police plays an essential role in developing and implementing such initiatives and in helping communities themselves resolve delinquency and deviant behaviours problems in cooperation with local authorities, NGOs, citizens, business associations, etc.

But the police forces must also identify and tackle the primary causes of criminal behavior to refocus patrolling activities, decrease repeated requests for service and prevent recidivism. This way police time can be rerouted to other tasks which help communities develop their own means of ensuring neighbourhood safety and development. Proactive police strategies that mainly revolve around problem-oriented policing, community participation and partnership are vital components in the pursuit of a preventive police mission.

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FIGURE 2: INTERACTIVE PROCESS OF PROACTIVE POLICE STRATEGIES

Problem-oriented Policing (strategic planning, proactive attitude, multiple solutions);
Identification of areas of insecurity and crime (High-risk zones, environment, local needs);
Analysis and discussion of problems and solutions (consultation, territorial approach, situational logic);
Implication, civic participation and partnership (responsibility, community mobilization, consolidation);
Development of common and targeted actions (housing, education, town planning, youth, justice, police).

This interactive process, between the police and the community forms an ideal opportunity for developing relations of trust and local expertise to solve common problems. For the police, it is a new way of thinking and ensuring routine safety that emphasizes understanding and acceptance of local priorities. This is achieved mainly through three innovative approaches : territorial organization of police action, problem oriented-policing and community policing.

Territorial organization at the local level: The concept of territorial organization refers to administrative practices or modes of organization from a geographical standpoint. It is one of the most important concepts in current European urban police force reform. It relates to the organization of police action (accessible/proximity police, community policing) and decision-making powers (decentralization of command). Territorial organization of action requires partnership, administrative deconcentration, local knowledge, a variety of solutions, police initiative, unit patrol, versatility and an accent on the relation-trust-information triad.

In France, for exemple, the Bonnemaison Report (1982), which proposed making cities better places to live by eradicating feelings of insecurity, has opened the way for a policy of territorial organization to allow for local coordination of prevention and security activities, while recognizing the power vested in the government. It takes into account the perception of a territorial role in regulating and integrating the action of public and private stakeholders. In relations between the state and local authorities, this strategy makes it a local priority to cooperate rather to act in opposition (Gleizal, 1994).

Problem-oriented policing: In North America, Sweden, the Netherlands and Belgium, the development of new police strategies focuses more on effective resolution of problems by problem-oriented policing rather than territorial organization of police action (Vourc'h and Marcus, 1996). Problem-oriented policing is based on an integrated concept which combines diagnosis, strategic analysis to determine what solution will best remedy the situation and assessment. It is a holistic approach rather than simply a reaction to crime and insecurity. For police forces, it is a new approach to solving problems of crime and safety at the source. In the short and medium terms, the overall objective is to develop appropriate solutions to problems which call for action by both police forces and the community. This is achieved through a better understanding of community problems, a more rapid response to changes in the larger society and an evaluation of actions most appropriate to reconcile the needs and expectations of citizens (Goldstein, 1990).

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The implementation of problem-resolution mechanisms involves cooperation between social services, education, urban managers, business associations, local representatives, community organizations, police forces and citizens. The establishment of partnership structures is the cornerstone of the system, and provides an opportunity for the police and the community to analyze persistent problems within the city and identify appropriate solutions. Problem-oriented policing does not concentrate on crime, but on information gathering in order to prevent rather than to react to it. In sum, the key to success is the involvement and consultation of citizens to counter the obstacles raised by crime and feelings of insecurity.

The product of synergy between all the partners, concerted action creates the opportunity for dialogue and cooperation best suited to the adequate resolution of problems. This is evidenced by the adoption of new methods such as public awareness and education campaigns. It also shows up the difficulties and limits of traditional repressive methods. The theoretical framework involves a diagnosis of community studies or of safety to obtain a grass-roots perception of needs and expectations.

To promote better social conditions and the anticipated benefits of police methods based on partnership, citizens must understand that the formulation of comprehensive prevention approaches or strategies is the most effective way of promoting the economic and social development of cities and neighbourhoods.

Great Britain provides an example of how local partnerships between the police and regional units can become an institution. The Crime and Disorder Act adopted in 1998 stipulates that municipal governments and the 43 regional police forces covering the country must work together to develop local strategies to reduce crime and insecurity. Such strategies must involve other groups such as the healthcare sector and the justice system. They should be based on a thorough local analysis of public security which has been validated by consultation with local citizens. Particular attention should be paid to monitoring implementation of the various elements of the strategy and assessing the results.

Community policing: This may be seen as a form of police democratization based on community participation, cooperation, accountability, transparency and mutual responsibility for effective safety management. Community police forces add a vital proactive aspect to the traditional reactive police model, which promotes the development of innovative ways to tackle crime and promote safe communities. In this perspective, it is necessary to engage citizens in dialogue and active participation.

However, it is essential for this interaction between the population and the police to take place within the recognized role of civilian and public authority. In this context, decentralization to the municipal level of specific responsibilities in the fields of urban safety and crime prevention presents an opportunity for the development of community policing, in particular with relation to the strategic analysis of issues, the identification of priorities, the follow up of initiatives and the measurement of results.

The community policing model, since it recognizes a broader and more flexible police mission, opens up a wider range of legitimate areas of action and accepts that the nature of police work arises from the needs expressed by citizens. There is no set community policing approach; rather, there is a strategic focus on open communication and flexibility in the development of strategies to solve problems and meet local priorities (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990).

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Sir Robert Peel's nine principles

- The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
- The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
- Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
- The degree of co-operation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
- Police seek and preserve public favour not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
- Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient.
- Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in interests of community welfare and existence.
- Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.
- The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.

4. BEST PRACTICES FOR SAFE CITIES

Best practices include innovative methods developed by the police, local initiatives to restructure the physical environment of cities so as to reduce crime and the opportunity to commit offences, broader programs that attack the situations that generate crime, or integrated approaches whereby police forces, local and national governments, business, local organizations and citizens can coordinate their activities for more efficient management of their respective resources. Even though it is sometimes difficult to assess their long-term impact on local and regional communities, there are some common denominators underlying all effective action aimed at prevention and greater security: decompartmentalization of institutional practices, thus increasing synergy between the police and other local institutions, the selective nature and close focus of action, citizen participation and contractual partnerships for local action.

4.1 Innovative police forces for sustainable solutions

While expanding the scope and size of police forces per se has only a minimal impact on crime prevention, proactive and selective police operations have yielded substantial results. Innovative approaches have been developed for the prevention of theft, mischief, armed violence, drunk driving and family violence. In both developing and developed countries, police forces have demonstrated their ability to innovate and bring about sustainable change in social dynamics, and their concrete action in the field is indicative of new orientations such as joint action and problem resolution. These innovations have contributed to improving services to the public, creating synergy and reducing crime.

Partnerships between police and citizens

Local partnerships enable police officers to gain a better understanding of promising and appropriate practices. They make for a broader scope of police action in the area of social prevention, in which the police thus cooperate in creating solutions that can often result in lasting change.

4. Best Practices for Safe Cities

With a view to ***finding sustainable solutions to problems of family violence through joint action, police officers and social workers in London, Ontario, Canada***, founded the Family Consultation Service in 1973. Funded by the municipality, this multidisciplinary team works to improve public awareness of the social role of the police and provides officers with theoretical and practical training. The main objective is to work to prevent family violence beginning with the initial police response, by providing assessment, intervention, information and referral services. Studies have shown that police officers are willing to use the service and that victims benefit. Since the service went into effect, there has been a decline in the number of cases of violence reported within the families involved, a marked decrease of youth delinquency and a reduction of the number of repeat calls, as well as lowered police intervention in the lives of London families (Jaffe, 1984).

In 1983, considering ***violence against women*** and the impunity of offenders within the family resulting from police negligence and a low level of complaints, the Council for the Status of Women of the State of Sao Paulo, assisted by the Brazilian bar association and various women's groups, obtained support from the government, the City of Sao Paulo (15.8 million inhabitants) and the police for the ***creation of police stations staffed exclusively with women***. With the power to receive official complaints, conduct far-reaching investigations and prosecute aggressors, these stations also provide shelter and support to victims and organize workshops for violent spouses.

The number of cases of family violence reported to the first women's police station in Sao Paulo has risen from 2,000 in 1985 to over 7,000 in 1989. Following the opening of similar stations in Rio de Janeiro, there was a 63% reduction in threats against women and 37% fewer cases of sexual assault. With the support of police authorities, the program now has 70 women's police stations throughout Brazil (Jornal Do Brasil, 1991; Eluf, 1992).

Services (social, legal, police) and ***policies more focused on women victims of conjugal violence*** have been developed in Argentina, Australia, Israel, Canada, Mexico and Peru to promote greater safety for women, reaffirm the legal responsibility of the police and foster cooperation between the police and community services to prevent the escalation of violence (United Nations, 1993).

In the city of ***Cebu, in the Philippines***, the Lihok-Pilipina Foundation has played a key role in the development of ***lasting solutions to problems of domestic violence and sexual abuse***, including opening a women's crisis and support centre. This has resulted in a consolidation of various efforts aimed at assisting abused women and their children and promoting primary prevention of domestic violence in close cooperation with various community service networks. Foundation monitors have also worked with the police in most city districts on training police personnel in solving problems of domestic violence (Banaynal-Fernandez, 1994).

4. Best Practices for Safe Cities

Facilitating the resolution of real problems

Partnerships between the police and citizens have brought better response to the real demands of citizens by focusing on solving real problems. Over the past decade, problem-oriented policing has proven most effective when the police have defined local problems in terms of what citizens want. This approach, derived from a rigorous problem-resolution process (identification, strategic analysis, response and assessment) has been successfully applied to a variety of situations, and these experiences have often become best practice models. Working in partnership with the citizens best placed to identify city-wide crime problems and with government agencies, urban managers and municipal representatives, the police can better adapt and maintain the quality of services to improve security in local and regional communities.

This trend in police activity to a more targeted approach better focused on community needs fosters the development of a climate of confidence between police and citizens.

A poor working-class housing project in **Newcastle, England**, was dealing with the country's highest crime rates and rioting attributed to difficult relations with the police. **Creation of a special community police unit based in the area and focusing on problem resolution** resulted in renewed ties with citizens, with whom police could work to identify existing conflicts and develop appropriate solutions. The experience reversed the negative opinion citizens had of the police, who are now seen as partners in the effective prevention of crime and allies in fostering a feeling of greater safety (Morris, 1996).

In 1997, the **Chilean police set up a community radio station aimed at educating the public** on social issues. Programming covers such themes as drug abuse, alcoholism, family violence and delinquency. Program content is based on the sharing of experience and focuses on prevention and educating the public through an interactive process designed to foster positive relations with the community and respect for individual rights. The station also broadcasts daily information bulletins promoting public security.

Through both their objectives and the role they have assumed as a prevention-oriented police force the Carabineros are involved not only in maintaining public order but in educating the public and promoting social solidarity and national integration (Carabineros de Chile, 1997).

The Japanese police system, characterized by **Koban (community police stations forming an integral part of Japanese culture)**, is an exceptional model of problem-oriented policing. Based on the premise that national security is attained by maintaining the peace and the security of each individual community, this approach has as its absolute requirement close cooperation between citizens and the police, who are first and foremost seen as members of the community. In addition to foot patrols and arresting offenders, local police forces are expected to interact with various citizens groups involved in law enforcement, provide support to victims of crime and ensure liaison between citizens and municipal administrations in an effort, for example, to create a safer physical environment.

In addition to the emphasis on local problem resolution, and with the priority of ensuring safe communities, the Japanese police promotes the exchange of information through the publication of bulletins or the establishment of fax networks to keep citizens informed of any recent incidents in their neighbourhoods or to heighten sensitivity to the importance of crime prevention.

4. Best Practices for Safe Cities

Other social prevention measures combine police operations with the efforts of volunteer and specialist organizations to lower the risk of violent behaviour in young people (National Police Agency, 1993).

Whether in America, Asia or Europe, effective problem-oriented police practices have demonstrated that proactive, preventive, selective strategies yield much better results than those obtained by classic police operations based on law enforcement. By prioritizing specific action in areas identified as being at risk (public housing, deserted urban areas), adoption of these strategic approaches has resulted in better performance by police forces since it reduces the number of repeat requests for services which would otherwise make greater demands on officers' time.

By focusing part of its efforts on understanding an area and the needs of the community it serves, problem-oriented policing can better grasp the dynamics and local factors that influence crime and insecurity in or near the area. With the greater flexibility created by their partnerships with strategic players such as security services, urban planners, housing services, local authorities and area organizations and residents, the police are also in a better position to develop lasting, appropriate solutions that have an effect not only on the symptoms of insecurity and petty urban crime, but also and more importantly on their causes.

4.2 Community management for safer environments

Urban development strategies demonstrate the effectiveness of planned, selective police action based on a close analysis of the situation, and underline the success of measures aimed at reducing the opportunity for crime and the development of protection systems. They also illustrate the vital need for all players to cooperate in finding appropriate and lasting approaches which can benefit the community as a whole.

In working towards the creation of a healthy, viable habitat, prevention through changing the environment calls for close cooperation between police forces, citizens, municipal councils, city managers and the public and private sectors. Participatory planning and environmental management lay the groundwork for effective, lasting crime prevention and thus safer cities.

Crime and disorder trigger deterioration in the physical and social urban environment, causing community breakdown and aggravating feelings of insecurity, particularly in areas identified as high risk. Public areas are deserted, business activity declines and community services deteriorate, with the resulting increase in residential mobility and a widespread feeling of insecurity. All these factors have an impact on community solidarity and the quality of community life and affect the ability of communities to independently implement social control mechanisms.

In its assessment of local crime prevention programs for the entire European Union, the European Forum for Urban Safety identified key policy and practice elements best suited to effectively ensuring security in cities and promoting safer communities:

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- introduction of coalition mechanisms to identify problems and the available resources, draw up action plans, delegate responsibility to field practitioners and provide follow-up;
- setting up of coordination procedures with the active participation of the police to supervise the coalition in the pursuit of its objectives and ensure the participation of citizens and local authorities;
- evaluation of the impact at the local level by surveys on viewpoint of groups that can contribute to reducing insecurity to arrive at a more accurate measurement of crime rates, the degree of uncertainty and hidden victimization (European Forum for Urban Safety, 1996).

Using these principles, preventive management of the urban environment represents an effective method for reducing the opportunity to commit crimes and giving residents an enhanced feeling of security.

Security of the local environment or specific urban areas

Inspired by the British approach to habitat protection (*secured by design*), ***the safe habitat label program was established by police services in the Rotterdam-Leiden-The Hague triangle in the Netherlands***. It confirms the effectiveness and replicability of crime-prevention strategies through environmental management by proposing formal guidelines to improve urban space and promote the creation of a social fabric marked by cooperation in prevention. With the objective of reducing crimes against property and the fear of crime, the program combines environmental measures and targets reinforcement in climate of openness and flexibility.

By considering and analysing the viewpoints of many players - criminals, victims, residents and police officers - the approach (according to its manual) suggests factors that might be taken into consideration by district representatives to obtain the Safe Habitat label awarded with the approval of the police. District size and density, land subdivision, specific characteristics of the immediate environment, building architecture and, of course, the participation and degree of involvement of residents in organizing and carrying out neighbourhood watch duties, are all criteria considered in assessing applications. The first label was awarded in 1995, with very positive results, in particular a sharp decrease (70%) in the number of break-ins in the houses involved in the program (van Soomeren and Wilendorp, 1996).

Local authorities increasingly agree that developing community supervision mechanisms through the creation of a network of protection is essential in dealing with crime and the growing feeling of insecurity among citizens. ***Community based Neighbourhood Watch*** is a classic example of the community taking responsibility for the community with a view to preventing crime. The "***cocoon***" ***community supervision project*** introduced in the ***Kirkholt (England)*** housing project in 1985 was characterized by the implementation of preventive methods to make dwellings safer. These included situational measures such as reinforcing locks and engraving valuable possessions and the introduction of a neighbourhood watch program whereby neighbours were encouraged to be alert and report to the police any suspicious activity in their area (Forrester et al., 1990). Since it combines situational prevention and social prevention, close cooperation between citizens, police and municipal authorities is one of the best strategies for reducing home break ins, particularly in high risk areas.

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To ensure the safety of citizens and stop crime, **city guards programs** appear to provide a solution to the problems posed by rising incivility and insecurity. More common **in Europe**, these programs involve young people in assisting the police to identify problems of crime or disorder and suggest ways to resolve them by giving city services information on graffiti, street lighting and parking offences. This seems to form a reasonable, viable prevention method, as evidenced by its popularity in the Netherlands, where it has led to the creation of a national city warden organization with 2,500 wardens in 154 cities (Kop, 1996).

In **Durban and Johannesburg in South Africa**, a **parking guards programs** were set up in 1996. In the case of Durban, 80% of its members are women, mostly from the informal sector of the economy. The programs have proven a practical method for public prevention of street crime and raising public awareness by involving the larger community services network (business, police, tourism, municipal council). Although the South African police is not formally involved the visibility of wardens and their ties with the police demonstrate the potential of joint targeted action to attack the causes of crime and vulnerability (Robertshaw and Maeko 1997).

Such local or national initiatives show the necessity for the police to attack problems of crime and violence at the source to prevent them from spreading, to provide support to communities and develop strategies that combine situational and social prevention measures with action based on partnership with a view to creating a safer habitat.

The **UN Habitat Agenda** affirms the right for all to appropriate, safe dwellings for the sustainable development of human settlements. The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) assists governments and municipal institutions in decentralizing power and promoting citizen participation in making positive changes in the urban environment (United Nations, 1996).

To ensure an accessible, adequate habitat, it is first essential to adopt **policies for the preservation and renewal of public housing** for low-income households and guide research toward lasting solutions to ensure the viability of the totality of public housing. If disorder is to be reduced in the social habitat, particularly in public housing where levels of crime and violence are highest (Waller, 1996, cf. Welsh and Roy, 1996), programs must be set up to manage the urban environment, renovate deteriorated housing, improve quality of life and prevent crime.

For better public housing management, **prevention programs** must base their actions on partnership initiatives involving housing offices, elected representatives, private and public organizations and citizens, who can act together on the conditions that engender crime, insecurity and urban deterioration.

The development of social activities and dynamics that encourage residents to take charge of their own security and manage changes to their habitat forms an excellent platform for the development of measures targeting certain types of offences and eliminating the fear of crime in cities and districts at risk (Rosenbaum, 1988).

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Safety in semi-public environments

The 20th century saw the development of semi-public spaces (e.g. supermarkets) as opposed to private space (homes) or public areas (roads). These include cultural spaces, shopping centres, public transportation or night clubs, in which there may be a mixed public and no exclusion or exclusivity of cultures. They are sources of production and creation of urban culture, opened on the city, co-created by local communities, public and private partners and local networks. The separation of powers between municipal administrations and other levels of government makes it more complex to manage their security. On or near these sites, problems not only of security, but also of urban culture, solidarity and humanity raise questions as to how best to develop and manage the city.

These complex, sensitive parts of the city call for an open attitude and a variety of solutions for handling security and insecurity, notably better citizenship, citizen involvement and community vigilance. A wide range of stakeholders, such as representatives of the police and justice systems, elected representatives, experts in development and city governance and services to communities and citizens, must join forces and share knowledge to successfully manage this multidimensional process, the interface between the cultural space and its social and institutional environment (Vourc'h and Marcus, 1996).

4.3 Police and prevention through social development

Prevention through social development is part of a holistic approach characterized by initiatives likely to promote community well-being, citizen participation and better living conditions with a view to the sustainable establishment of safer communities. Social development is an approach aimed at improving people's ability to live in a safe environment and participate fully in the life of society (United Nations, 1990). This presupposes action taken at the source of social dysfunction such as chronic marginality, inadequate parental education, insufficient community recreational facilities and equipment in city districts and drug or alcohol abuse, particularly among young people.

Targeting youth at risk

In both North and South, there is recognition of the cross-cutting nature of problems of social exclusion, including violence and crime, which reinforces the idea of developing action based on partnerships creating synergy between stakeholders from both the institutional sector (public authorities, police, education, health) and the public (community organizations, NGOS).

In Latin America, cities have adopted a comprehensive approach to crime prevention initiated by municipal authorities. During the 1990s, Mexico City took the first steps to form a Commission and launched a public-awareness campaign. The city of Cordoba, in Argentina, developed an integrated crime-prevention approach based on active participation in districts and a series of programs for young people (Province of Cordoba, 1990).

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In 1991, **a project aimed at preventing violence in urban areas** was introduced by **the municipality of Cali in Columbia**. Targeting the most violent areas of the city, the DESEPAZ (development, security and peace) program is aimed at promoting social development, providing education in pacificism values and fostering democratic policing. It is supported by community participation and leadership working to motivate citizens and develop sustainable solutions to problems of crime and violence. These targeted social development initiatives give priority to health, housing and rehabilitation of young people at risk involved in criminal gangs, as well as the development of small business.

DESEPAZ includes a group of peace promoters made up of young volunteers trained to assist in conflict resolution in districts and gives courses in conjugal relations and parenting. The program also promotes better application of the law, notably by supporting the adoption and application of a blue law governing the sale of alcohol after certain hours with a view to reducing the risk of violent crime linked to alcohol abuse (Eastman et al., 1994). In one target area, a first assessment showed a noteworthy reduction in violence and increased resident commitment to keeping peace in their community. Training sessions on issues related to human rights and relations between the police and the public have also been introduced. The development of measures focusing on the police involves its mandate, responsibilities, concentration of police activities in high-risk areas and improved relations with communities.

In 1990 **Belgian municipal administrations** developed a formula for **urban security contracts**. This is a mechanism for coordination of financial support from the central government with efforts by municipal authorities aimed at improving the quality of life of residents and targeting youth at risk by ensuring their security and protection through measures such as:

- *improvement of preventive measures*: hiring additional police officers and civilian personnel to promote social control through prevention activities while ensuring the availability of regular officers for existing services;
- *targeted social development initiatives*: street work assistance in reintegrating society rehabilitation to assist young people who have had problems with the law prevention and treatment of drug addiction;
- *improving security*: by situational preventive measures in residential areas stricter access control measures and employment of supervisor-superintendents in public housing (Ministry of the Interior 1995).

The overall conditions for success demonstrated by social development initiatives targeting youth at risk are in the first instance:

- support from concerned partners such as government, municipalities, housing agencies and the police
- the existence of leadership by local authorities and public support
- the stability of a group of experts familiar with the local situation and the creation of task forces
- youth participation and support for these initiatives
- youth programs that promote skill development and increased self-confidence.

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Innovation in targeting young criminals

Cooperative social prevention efforts should also consider measures to be taken with respect to young offenders by distinguishing between occasional and repeat offenders. This distinction proposes two avenues for action in the field. First, support to the family, which plays an essential role in the social rehabilitation process and may occasionally require counselling or support services, and second, the identification of young people at risk of being repeat offenders in order to provide them with more appropriate services.

Community or restorative justice provides a model for community participation with the involvement of various groups and individuals as a crucial factor in finding effective, sustainable solutions. Restorative justice can thus be seen as an element of prevention through social development, as shown by the following two examples.

In Tasmania, Australia, an innovative project to restructure the justice system was initiated by representatives of the police, courts, correction services, community, youth and education field. It is aimed at reducing overcrowding in court agendas and correctional centres. Based on the principles laid down by the Family Conference Groups developed in New Zealand during the 1980s, a mediation process brings together the offender, the victim and their respective support groups with a view to arriving at a mutually satisfactory solution (Brown and Polk, 1996).

Portugal's Commissions for the Protection of Minors are official, non-judiciary institutions. They are also based on the principles of restorative justice, involving cooperation from parents, health services, the police and the education system to work out solutions to assist young people who have been abandoned or whose health, education and security are at risk. Prevention and law enforcement thus join forces to come up with alternative measures and provide an ideal opportunity for cooperation between institutions and the community to develop means and mechanisms for taking responsibility that embody a respect for justice and the interests of the community.

Development of these mediation programs, which result in active, lasting partnerships between citizens and community services, working with the police, hold a twofold potential: giving a voice to victims and providing a more adequate response to their needs while acting to make the authors of deviant behaviors more responsible. Local communities participate in seeking alternative, more appropriate methods of rehabilitation for certain minor offences, bringing the offender to take responsibility, effectively preventing repeat offences and ensuring personal and community security.

Settling minor offences through mediation, conciliation and compensatory sanctions are considered effective means of prevention. They provide real access to the justice system, decrease the costs of traditional justice processes, make criminals more responsible through cooperative action and create lasting partnerships between services and the community (Justice Ministry, France, 1997).

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4.4 Police partnership in integrated urban policies

Granting subsidies is directly linked to the future coherence and effectiveness of crime-reduction mechanisms (Waller, 1994). The police are involved as essential partners, as shown by examples from countries in both North and South.

The Scandinavian countries have long recognized that delinquency, violence and insecurity exist in a broader context of socioeconomic policies that might influence them. This approach was confirmed by **Sweden** in 1996 when it adopted **a national crime prevention program** whose vision is based on two fundamental principles :

- crime reduction requires action that targets the root causes of delinquency, with particular attention to action among children and adolescents;
- implementation of local strategies, if they are to be effective, requires cooperation from partners representing employment, health, housing and youth services and must be supported at the national level.

Based on these principles, action is aimed at prevention in all areas, adaptation of the legislative framework, creation of support programs for young people and families, promotion of public involvement and local development of partnership solutions to prevent crime, particularly among repeat offenders. The Swedish national crime prevention council supports these actions and undertakes to supervise implementation of the national policy (Ministry of Justice, 1997).

Adoption of the French crime-prevention policy reflects a decentralizing vision, based on the concept of geographical proximity. It which emphasizes social development measures and eliminating exclusion and insecurity through joint, comprehensive action in partnership with community representatives, municipal police forces, elected representatives and associations.

In 1994, the **French** Social Affairs, Health and Cities, Interior, Justice and Youth and Sports departments adopted a **new prevention policy**. This initiative originated in the desire of officials from all levels to respond to community priorities and provide integrated solutions for problems in districts labouring under difficulties in terms of employment, habitat, development and security. It forms **an integral part of the policy on cities and urban social development**.

The new prevention policy depends on the active participation of partners in the Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville (DIV B interministerial delegation to cities) and the Conseil National des Villes (CNV B national council of cities). Its main instrument is the city contract, which targets difficult areas in priority cities (in 1995, 214 municipal contracts involving over 750 communities and 1300 districts) by integrating specific preventive action into a larger framework of urban social development (housing, urban environment, local economy, employment, public services). The new structure is intended to better coordinate specific prevention in priority areas such as support for adults in assuming their authority and responsibility for education, prevention of drug abuse and recidivism, improving information, assistance and support for victims and ensuring security in sensitive areas such as shops, public transportation and schools (Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville, 1995).

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Set up in 1983, French community crime prevention councils (*Conseils Communaux de Prévention de la Délinquance - CCPD*) were originally designed to integrate the twin currents of punishment and prevention. Over the years, they have abandoned the first area and focused on prevention through social development. This has led to the development of a departmental action framework for crime prevention and the development of plans for taking responsibility for security within each department, focusing on coordination of security forces and the development of partnerships between municipal police forces and private groups and individuals. In parallel with this restructuring task, CCPDs form an essential link between cities and the government and result in promising partnership dynamics. These councils coordinate the action of all groups capable of promoting a safer habitat.

Nigeria: At the international symposium on urban management and urban violence in Africa, held in Ibadan in 1994, solutions proposed to meet the urban problems arising in Africa were aimed at stopping the rise in violent crime through the implementation of a comprehensive prevention strategy centred on community renewal, with priority being given to access to jobs, housing and health care and the provision of adequate public transportation (Albert et al., 1994).

South Africa: The government was faced with homicide rates that had increased by 50% between 1988 and 1993, although these violent crimes began to drop in 1994 (SAPS, 1997). The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) was adopted and implemented in 1996, raising serious crime to the level of a national priority, with emphasis on a preventive rather than a control-oriented approach (Inter-Departmental Strategy Team, 1996). The White Paper on Safety and Security adopted in 1998 promotes a balanced approach based on greater effectiveness in law enforcement, in particular with regard to criminal investigation, and on targeted social prevention measures.

United Arab Emirates: The main recommendations of government leaders, police officers and international specialists meeting with a view to assisting the United Arab Emirates to develop comprehensive, cooperative crime prevention strategies, were aimed at establishing a national crime prevention council that would focus on social development measures and reducing the opportunity for crime, to form part of a broader perspective of renewed urban design. (Abu Dhabi Police Directorate and Security and Social Studies Centre, 1994).

Adoption of international and regional partnership strategies increasingly depends on the ability of all levels of government to respond to community concerns, encourage local development, guide investment and form partnerships between the police, local authorities and those working in the public, private, volunteer and community sectors (Habitat, 1996).

As part of its National Crime Prevention Strategy, **Australia** created the Safer Australia Board in 1995 to **unify prevention strategies at the national level**. Involving partners such as the national, provincial and territorial governments, communities and the business sector, the Board responds to the need to coordinate the implementation of best prevention practices while promoting research (Australia, 1995). With the mandate of promoting a safer Australia, this body advises the Justice Department with a view to ensuring that community security priorities are taken into account, formulating recommendations regarding funding local prevention initiatives and developing a national approach aimed at strengthening resources and the ability of the various partners to act.

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In the *Philippines* the National Council for Public Order is responsible for ensuring close cooperation between regional and local councils to develop **a participatory multidisciplinary approach**. There are also plans to organize prevention committees at the local level (e.g. *Barangay Crime Prevention Council*) and in schools and universities. To consolidate all these efforts the results of a study carried out in the main cities are expected to identify the most effective factors and programs for sustainable crime prevention in urban settings (National Police Commission 1994).

The main conditions for the success of these partnerships that include the police in integrated urban strategies are:

- the availability of information on the effectiveness of methods of action, which is circulated among all those involved, including governments, police forces, private sector organizations (banks, insurance companies, businesses), municipal administrations, urban managers, youth organizations and community agencies;
- raising public awareness by encouraging joint action to spread information on the success and benefits of prevention and sustainable development initiatives;
- long-term commitment by local and national governments to the objectives and cooperative framework of the strategy;
- a perception of the police as a partner, that is, a community-level body responsible for managing the twofold objective of law enforcement and prevention.

5. POLICE AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

The early 1990s saw the emergence and the affirmation of the concept of good governance as a vital component of sustainable development in general and urban centres in particular. This concept of good governance refers to the ability to exercise authority in a society efficiently, honestly, equitably and accountably, while respecting individual rights in a democratic context (World Bank 1992, Harpham and Boateng, 1997). This ability must be translated into the development and implementation of policies and the establishment of interactions and partnerships between the state and civil society. Police forces can contribute to good governance, provided there are structural processes and mechanisms that allow them to perform this role.

Good governance of cities is enshrined in management and development strategies which support civic values, community participation, feelings of belonging and principles of responsibility, transparency and equity within local institutions. The ability of municipal authorities to plan and manage cities in a democratic, effective and responsible manner is of primary importance for the social, economic and environmental development of human settlements (CIDA, 1997).

The Global Report on Human Settlements (Habitat, 1996) indicated that three factors contributed to the increasing importance of urban governance over the past two decades: development and implementation of decentralization policies (including the concept of subsidiarity), a return to democratic mechanisms at the local and national levels in many countries, and the increasing demand of citizens and associations for greater participation in decisions on local priorities.

The Recife Declaration (1996) and International Forum on Urban Poverty (1997) emphasized how good governance can reduce urban poverty, especially through strategies and programs aimed at tackling sources of complex phenomena and offering viable alternatives to employment, housing and access to community services. Civic participation and public consultation processes are the major challenges of good governance. Violence and crime have a devastating impact on the poorest citizens who, already more likely to be victims of crime, are deprived of adequate means to prevent or attenuate their occurrence. Moreover, their access to justice is limited if not non-existent. Any urban development policy must carefully respond to and adequately address issues of poverty, crime and insecurity in everyday life and try by all means necessary to counter their escalation and chronicity.

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The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) is implementing a **Global Campaign for Good Urban Governance**. This campaign is focused on the theme of inclusiveness which should be a guiding principle of decision-making processes at the city level. It aims at fostering decentralisation, local participatory democracy, efficiency, equity and security. The campaign is undertaken in the perspective of sustainable development and has the objective to develop norms in order to measure the progress made. It will make possible the promotion of models of "inclusive cities" which have been successful, through their approaches and practices, in fighting against exclusion and in facilitating in particular the participation of the poor and of women in the life and management of the community. This trend is linked to the movement for the development of cities that promote solidarity and citizenship by stressing the need to eradicate exclusion and intolerance in urban centres (**UNESCO, 1996**). Promoting the richness of ethnic diversity and education in citizenship and peaceful culture are means of achieving this goal, which implies the affirmation of the basic rights of the individual and the implementation of true participatory democracy, moving beyond the traditional representative democracy.

5.1 Police : a public service for good governance

Crime, violence and fear in urban environments pose considerable challenges to the development of safe, supportive cities. The basic principles of good governance must find a direct application in any urban safety strategies aimed at effectively reducing and preventing common problems of crime and insecurity. In the Habitat Agenda adopted at the Istanbul Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II, 1996), governments from all levels initiated a series of approaches and strategies to effectively reduce and eradicate violence and crime within cities. One of these measures is to reinforce personal safety and reduce fear by improving police services and accountability to the community and by encouraging and facilitating the implementation of licit measures and systems of crime prevention at the community level.

It is increasingly recognized that the traditional role of the police, based on the suppression of crime and the maintenance of law and order, must evolve into that of a public service responsible for the quality of urban safety in partnership with civil society. There are any number of examples that illustrate the importance of making radical changes to police organizations, many of which are tarnished with an image of inefficiency, violence and corruption which undermines the legitimacy of the rule of law.

Moving from a political to a social legitimacy, modernization of the police mission involves a return to the principles stated by Sir Robert Peel in creating the London metropolitan police force in the 19th century, i.e. a model in which the central role of the police was to reconcile the maintenance of law and order, individual freedom and close relations between the police and the community. However, these changes are difficult for police systems with ingrained problems of strict repression and political control.

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Police forces will always be responsible for maintaining law and order where necessary, even if they operate in a democratic context respectful of human rights. They will always have to track down offenders and place them in the hands of the judiciary authorities, and will retain special responsibility for fighting organized crime both nationally and internationally. What we are looking at is adding to this traditional role of the police a new proactive dimension related to their role as a public service, working in partnership with the community to prevent local problems. This approach forms an integral part in the recognition of security as a public or common good to be co-produced by all concerned and which guarantees the rights and freedoms of all citizens (Glowacki and al., *cf* European Forum for Urban Safety, 1996).

A clear affirmation of this new balance in the police mission is the initial stage for any far-reaching reform of police operations, priorities and methods. Two examples illustrate this approach, which is aimed at reconciling law enforcement, solidarity and prevention in compliance with democratic rules and codes of ethics.

In Ontario (Canada), the Police Act specifies the legal framework as well as the principles and criteria that must govern the police in the pursuit of its mandate. This law insists in particular on high standards of professionalism and establishes common objectives to achieve them:

- ensure the safety of people and their environment;
- guarantee rights and freedoms;
- cooperate with the community;
- support victims and their needs;
- promote the respect of cultural pluralism;
- ensure an adequate representation of the population within police forces.

The Montreal Urban Community Police Service has more than 4000 police officers and serves a population of nearly 2 million. Its **mission**, renewed in 1996 is based on the guiding principle of a partnership with private and public institutions NGOs, district associations and local citizens groups. This police force promotes quality of life within communities through measures to reduce crime, increase road safety, support a feeling of security and develop a climate of peace in the respect of human rights and freedoms.

In South Africa the Police Act adopted in 1995 relies on principles similar to those stated by Canadian police forces and promotes the creation of a safe environment for all citizens, the respect of fundamental values and the highest standards of professionalism. ***In England and Wales the Association of Chiefs of Police*** adheres to a vision of the police role as a public service acting with popular consent and legitimacy. They are responsible for a wide range of functions such as crime prevention application of the law and maintenance of peace and order.

Whatever the institutional arrangement, modernization of the police mission must be clearly stated in terms of vision and democratic principles, but also in terms of the legislative and regulatory framework to ensure the accountability and transparency of police actions. These mechanisms constitute the prerequisites for a climate of peace and the development of good governance.

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5.2 Police and cities : mechanisms for effective partnership

The true challenge for many police forces is to engage in active partnership with civil society and in particular with local authorities in sharing responsibility for persistent problems. Many effective approaches have been implemented by police forces and cities to develop closer and more attentive relations with the public, adapt their methods of security management and mobilize local partners. There is a general need to clarify the processes and mechanisms that consolidate the partnership between local police forces and authorities, incorporate basic democratic principles within a legislative framework and ensure the transparency and accountability of police actions in a context of good governance.

In the promotion of security as a common good and the role of the police as a public service, it is critical to first seek mechanisms that, adapted to each local and national situation, encourage dialogue between all partners on local conditions in matters of public safety and prioritize effective strategies aimed at improving service to citizens. It is not intended that municipal elected representatives interfere in the operations of the police force but rather assume leadership in one of the most important aspects of urban development. In the context of decentralization, police forces must see such participatory mechanisms as an opportunity to share their responsibility with local and civil authorities.

A seminar held in **Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso** (ICPC, 1997), involving **police leaders and local authorities** from six French-speaking countries of West Africa, emphasized the importance for all government levels and civil society to recognize public safety as an essential element of the quality of life in urban centres and to increase the resources devoted to the prevention of crime and delinquency. The seminar proposed close cooperation between police forces and communities, with the mobilization of all institutional and community actors to achieve ongoing dialogue at the district and city levels. Partnership and community police models call for the constant re-examination of the relationship between police forces and civil authorities in a democratic context.

In countries **where police forces are centralized** on a national scale, it is more difficult to establish mechanisms of cooperation and dialogue between the police and local communities due to the absence of any adequate legislative framework. Examples of recent practices show that cooperation can be achieved provided there is a proper framework and monitoring and evaluation of these practices. In South Africa, for example, there is a national willingness to support exchanges between local police forces and communities. The national Police Act provides for the creation of police community forums in each police district throughout the country.

These forums would promote demands for greater police accountability and legitimacy as well as public confidence in the police. This approach has contributed to the development of innovative partnerships between national police forces and civilian organizations. In a recent White Paper, the Ministry of Safety proposed to reinforce the cooperation and participation of representatives of municipal authorities in these forums, more specifically targeting crime-prevention programs.

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In 1995, authorities in *Burkina Faso* organized a **conference on the establishment of a partnership between the police and the community**, at which leaders and representatives of various organizations focused on the prevention of crime and insecurity in everyday life. Partners of the police expressed their needs and demands and became more aware of new police orientations based on a community approach for identifying the most urgent priorities and establishing effective local partnerships.

In the United Kingdom, the Crime and Disorder Act, adopted in 1998, calls for cooperation between local police forces and civil authorities to develop appropriate solutions for reducing crime and delinquency. The development of this innovative strategy will be largely based on public consultation and on a security diagnosis reached by gathering all relevant information on a specific area. It will be implemented under the aegis of a partners council composed of local police and authorities and representatives of probation and public health services. Working groups to coordinate the measures will target specific areas such as youth, drugs and high-risk districts and rigorously assess measures taken by all partners.

In countries **where police command structures are decentralized** and placed under the control of municipal or metropolitan authorities, various methods of dialogue and cooperation may be envisaged. Many district and city councils have commissions made up of elected members who are responsible for identifying priorities, following up on program implementation, and overseeing budgetary and administrative controls to ensure local security, which often include, in addition to the police, emergency measures, fire prevention and ambulances.

Many of these commissions have the authority to hold public consultations on various issues concerning the safety of urban environment and the prevention of delinquency and insecurity.

Cities such as Dakar and Durban have established municipal or metropolitan police forces, and Johannesburg will soon do so. This trend is expected to increase over the next few years, given the policies of decentralization adopted in many countries. This provides a unique opportunity to increase the ability of local communities to share and assume their responsibility for safety in cities, improve services to citizens through the development of partnerships, and promote the exercise of local democracy and citizen participation while contributing to greater police accountability.

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The contribution of municipal or metropolitan public commissions to good urban governance was well understood by the *Montreal Urban Community* when it created a **Public Security Commission**. In place since 1983, the commission, which reports to the metropolitan council and is composed of city councillors, is responsible for examining major public security issues. Its role is advisory, but the law requires the commission to provide the council with an opinion on police issues related to police objectives, available resources and standards of recruiting, and to review the annual police budget. The Public Security Commission has broad advisory powers. At each public council meeting, there is a question period during which citizens can express their views on the priorities or orientations of the police. Over the past few years, the Public Security Commission has been an extremely useful tool in assisting the police force to :

- present and publicly discuss priorities identified by the police;
- consult the population on important questions such as police ethics and complaint mechanisms, police measures concerning young people, crime prevention in the city and districts and police force reorganization;
- ensure public debate following incidents or abusive police acts and follow up on measures undertaken;
- improve police procedures having a significant impact on the public (use of firearms and alternative police methods, high-speed chases and response to emergency calls).

Moreover, the police force plays a key role in the development and implementation of strategies and action plans in society as a whole. The police force provides essential information on crime, its evolution and its territorial distribution. It can develop local expertise that can suggest effective measures for reducing and preventing conflict and tensions within cities. It has the available resources that allow it to participate in the support, implementation and monitoring of urban prevention and safety programs.

National, metropolitan or municipal police forces can contribute to the cooperative efforts of local authorities and their partners in developing safe districts and cities. In the past 20 years, many police forces have initiated strategic planning of their operations and activities. Efficient planning is rooted in the social environment in which police forces evolve and identify the needs of local citizens. More successfully adapted to a municipal framework, the pursuit of the police mission can only gain by being under the responsibility of the city and thus become more effective and coherent at the local level.

The **Boston Police Department** provides a convincing example of the potential of such **strategic planning**. It is focused on improving the quality of services rendered to the public with better dialogue between partners and the development of lasting solutions to crime and insecurity in particular through preventive measures concerning youth.

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5.3 Police and citizens

The true measurement of the contribution of police forces to good urban governance is their ability to establish and maintain good relations with citizens while exercising their mandate. The modernization of the police mission, the adoption of approaches directed towards partnership and problem resolution and the training offered to police officers on respectful and effective modes of operation which respect human rights are all elements in favour of positive interactions between police forces and the public.

Nevertheless, in many countries, citizens' perceptions of the police are largely negative, and mistrust reigns. There are historical reasons for this situation, especially in the quasi-military role centred on political and social repression exercised by some police forces until very recently, for example, in South Africa.

Other police forces are faced with major problems of corruption resulting from a wide range of factors such as the absence of professional ethics, inadequate working conditions and gaps in the supervision of police work. Even well-established police forces with a long tradition of professionalism are not immune to corruption or misconduct by their members, as we regularly read in the media.

During the 1980s and 1990s, **police ethics** continued to be the significant element in improving service to the public. Ethics mechanisms are established through the development of codes of discipline and ethics governing police behaviour in their relationships with the public and with their superiors and colleagues within the force. Such codes were adopted in particular in Anglo-Saxon countries such as Great Britain, the United States, Canada and Australia. The majority of these police systems, which are national, provincial, regional or municipal, have adopted codes of conduct for their members and promote closer relations with the public. These codes of conduct define the abusive use of force and power, courtesy in relations with citizens, the observance of procedures, honesty, conflicts of interest and the treatment of offenders in detention. They form part of a legislative and regulatory framework that prescribes the role and responsibilities of the police.

Directives governing police behaviours take on their true significance only when there are **effective and credible mechanisms for handling citizens' complaints**. Traditionally, police forces perceived these complaints as a question of internal control, without any concern for transparency and accountability. Today, many police forces take these questions seriously and encourage the creation of structures to evaluate and, if necessary, sanction police behaviour. In traditional complaint mechanisms, complainants seldom had an opportunity to be heard directly by the police officers in charge and, even if an investigation was carried out, only police officers had the right to judge the behaviour of their own and recommend sanctions (fines, suspensions, demotions, dismissals) that were generally not made public. The absence of public consultation and participation resulted in a widespread negative perception of police forces being both judge and jury, without any guarantee of impartiality, equity or transparency.

Following pressure by citizens, groups and organizations for the protection of individual rights, many police complaint mechanisms were modified to make the police more accountable to the public.

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These were radical changes related to the creation of independent civilian authorities to receive and follow up on the complaints of citizens and, in some circumstances, carry out investigations, as in the case of the Toronto Urban Community with its complaint commissioner or in Australia where this responsibility is entrusted to the ombudsman. Another change was to include citizen representatives on these committees, often composed of lawyers and police officers, who assess police behaviour and release reports to the public. Some of these committees have the authority to impose appropriate sanctions on police officers whose behaviour is considered faulty, formerly the sole prerogative of senior police officers.

A growing number of ethics mechanisms include devices to facilitate mediation between the police and citizens, in particular to ensure effective and speedy handling of minor complaints where dialogue between the citizen and police officers would provide an opportunity for apologies and explanations. While more expeditious, this alternative mode also reduces the cost of the overall complaint process, which can be high in today's context of greater recourse to litigation.

With a view to better training personnel, many police forces have set up **awareness and training programs** aimed at improving the understanding and adaptation of police strategies to an often complex and contradictory urban environment. These measures relate in particular to operations in multi-ethnic or multi-racial districts or involving marginalized populations. They are aimed at increasing the ability of the police to understand cultural particularities, develop conflict reduction approaches and come to the assistance and support of victims. These awareness and training orientations benefit largely from the input of local community organizations which are called upon to contribute and provide police forces with an inside view of the local situation.

There is no doubt, however, that corruption remains a particularly disquieting issue in providing an impartial and transparent police force. It is one of the principal obstacles to the establishment of trusting relationships between the police and citizens and to the appreciation of police work. Corruption was largely eradicated in the majority of developed countries by improving the working conditions of police officers, establishing ethics mechanisms and developing strong a professional ethic against police corruption. Even in these circumstances, police forces are still vulnerable to misconduct.

The phenomenon of corruption requires complex solutions which call for radical changes at all levels of society. Corruption is increasingly recognized as a major obstacle to the development of good governance. Corruption can be defined as the use of the public power for private gain and benefits. It can take the forms of bribery, of theft and fraud, of undue influence on decision makers or managers for personal or partisan reasons (Heymans and Lipietz, 1999).

When it comes to police organizations, it is critical in many countries to make the initial target "visible" corruption in everyday life, the kind of corruption that increases mistrust and scorn of the population for the police. This corruption is characterized by illegal actions or abuse of power to obtain monetary or other benefits for police officers and their superiors. In practice, this takes such forms as roadblocks where vehicle checks are a pretext for charging a traffic "tax", favours granted to individuals detained in police stations, favouritism when seeking identity papers or protection payments from merchants to ensure peace in a district, tolerance of drug dealers in return for bribes or useful information for the police. In many cases these corruption practices, which may be found at all levels of the organization, have become an integral part of the police culture and are excused on the basis of low police salaries and poor working conditions.

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Corruption is also seen in differences in the way police officers treat offenders or victims in light of their ethnic origin, for example. Misconduct may take the form of police officers acting as both judge and jury and placing themselves above the law, or breaches of trust with respect to vulnerable groups such as the elderly and homeless. Certain actions, such as receiving stolen property, theft or the sale of seized property, are less visible but are nevertheless serious offences. Finally, one of the most common form of corruption are the rackets organized systematically by the police in popular neighbourhoods. Repressive operations provide an opportunity for the police to seize or steal goods or to have the legitimate owners pay a sum of money to regain possession of these goods. These operations, legitimized by the police authorities and often by the political authorities as well, are a form of abuse of power which tends to create a fear of the police and to reinforce political control.

The next section describes the possible stages in a qualitative transformation of police forces. In such an effort, it is important that measures be taken against corruption at every stage of the process. The initial measures should target the most visible aspects of police corruption and thus send a clear message to both police officers and the public. It is essential that police forces affirm their integrity and their desire to actively combat corruption, and it is of prime importance that officers who supervise work in the field demonstrate this integrity and desire in their own work, which involves both preventing and punishing police misconduct.

5.4 Towards qualitative change in police organizations

If the police are to play a leading role in building a just, fair and safe urban society, a number of steps must be taken to modernize police organizations, make them more accountable to civilian authorities and better equip them to target and prevent crime. Significant progress has been made over the past thirty years, but much remains to be done to reach these objectives, whether in developed or developing countries or countries in transition.

There are a number of trends that support these changes. Moves to greater democracy and acceptance of the principle of the rule of law are increasingly becoming unquestionable values that receive special attention from the international community, which is prepared to support efforts by emerging democracies in this area. In many countries, significant portion of this aid goes to developing legislation, improving the criminal justice system and enabling citizens to participate in the democratic process. Worldwide trends towards greater decentralization and reinforcement of the jurisdiction of local authorities bring the public into closer contact with government, giving citizens hope for greater consideration for satisfying their everyday needs. Public safety is a universal requirement and the cornerstone of quality of life in urban centres.

These major national reforms are increasingly demonstrated through demilitarization of the police, the affirmation of respect for civilian and democratic authority and the creation of local police forces in cities or metropolitan areas. The importance of raising the status of police work so as to enhance the professional attitude and competence of police officers is more and more recognised by civil authorities and police managers. This upgrading in many cases involves improvements in police working conditions and equipment. The means to do this are obviously limited, and the needs are immense. To promote sustainable development and good governance, however, it is in the interest of all countries to adopt long-term strategies to ensure that the police are at the service of an integrated, democratic public security policy.

5. Police and Good Governance

Changing police organizations calls for a gradual approach and planned measures to be implemented in stages. These must focus on the following five elements :

1. Modernization of the police mission and upgrading of the basic qualifications of police personnel

It is of prime importance that the first step be to upgrade and modernize the mission and values of the police. This process sparks an examination of the police role and relations between the police and civilians. It is proof of the desire to be a partner in the development of countries and cities and seek closer relations with the public, and sends a clear message to all police officers that a process of change has begun.

Of equal importance is an investment in upgrading the basic skills of all police officers. In certain developing countries, for example, there is a need to promote complete or functional literacy among a certain number of police officers and provide them with basic driving or computer skills. They need above all to learn about modern crowd-control techniques and the acceptable use of force. Also indispensable is better training for investigators. All these reforms must go hand in hand with a review of the recruitment process so as to improve the quality of new recruits and achieve the representation of all groups (e.g., women, ethnic and cultural groups) within the police forces.

Another goal of this first stage in police reform should be to improve the quality of front-line supervision Officers, who are in an ideal strategic position to ensure that the everyday activities of the police reflect the highest standards of professionalism, equity and justice. Most police officers truly wish to serve their fellow citizens, and police authorities must take advantage of this ambition to improve the quality of services to the community.

2. Implementation of ethics and disciplinary mechanisms and better planning of police operations

The mission and values of any police organization only take on their full meaning when there is a clear statement of the rules that govern the achievement of these objectives. This affirmation takes the form of codes of ethics and discipline which govern both relations between the police and the public and the police force's internal rules of behaviour. If the situation allows, it might be very useful to have public discussions of these questions with various civilian representatives, which would increase the transparency and credibility of the police and strengthen its image as a public service.

In this second stage of the reform process, it is also crucial to begin decentralizing authority and gradually transfer responsibility to different levels of command. Given the size of police forces and the traditional hierarchy of their organization, this measure would be aimed at improving the ability of the police to adapt and react to situations and priorities in actual situations, or closer to the true needs of residents. Many police forces throughout the world have opted to reduce the number of levels in their hierarchy and increase the number of service points.

5. Police and Good Governance

In recent years, a number of police forces have also improved their strategic planning ability. Moving away from a paradigm of reacting after the fact to criminal acts, police forces have gradually switched their orientation towards prioritizing operations based on an analysis of criminal trends, familiarity with the local environment and risk factors and on consideration of feelings of insecurity. This type of approach is essential to achieving any objectives aimed at the lasting reduction or prevention of crime, violence and insecurity in urban settings.

3. Enhancement of the perception of police work through better targeted action based on security problems and public expectations

The strategic planning approach mentioned above should include a local assessment of the security situation, tracing a clear picture of occurrences and causes of crime, violence and insecurity. This involves the development and maintenance of databases and their strategic analysis. It also requires the sharing of information possessed by different public bodies such as the police, justice, health-care and education systems, and an attempt to achieve greater harmony in the areas covered by these various institutions.

This approach might through reinforced through gradual steps by police forces to increase consultation with municipal authorities, target groups (women, merchants, youth) and district residents on their expectations when it comes to public safety and their priorities for the police. This type of openness in the social and urban environment will necessarily help make police forces more aware of the security requirements of civilians and consolidate their role as a front-line public service.

In parallel, police training should emphasize a problem-resolution approach and the development of police ability to adapt their action based on specific problem situations and form partnerships with the community. It is only by teaching these new methods to public contact officers that the police can move from an essentially reactive force to a true participant in a cooperative effort to improve public safety.

This stage should also provide an opportunity to implement the police ethics mechanisms mentioned above so as to improve the level of confidence of the public in its police and ensure fair treatment for citizens' complaints following instances of police misconduct or corruption.

4. Development of partnerships with local communities and public credibility

At this stage, police forces must go beyond mere consultation to set up formal mechanisms for partnership between the police and local communities. This would call for a critical-path approach by both police organizations and municipal or regional administrations. It might be useful here to consider setting up a permanent forum, for example a public security commission, to promote cooperation between the police and local authorities and provide a legitimate, democratic mechanism for the police to account for its activities. This type of mechanism should provide for an examination and discussion of police orientations and priorities, but should not be used as a means for interfering in the operation of the police, as these should remain entirely under the control of police officials.

5. Police and Good Governance

A forum for cooperation between the police and local authorities would make for greater transparency in police operations, provide a better understanding of the limitations of police activity and reinforce police credibility with the various civilian groups. It would to some extent encourage and make legitimate the evolution of the police towards more equitable and effective values and working methods. It is essential that this working arrangement with the community be achieved if the police are to move away from the isolation which has traditionally characterized it. As well, it would help strengthen the primary level of government formed by the city or metropolitan area, which is of course that closest to the concerns and expectations of residents.

5. The police play a leading role in helping create security

This stage would involve the full participation of the police in the development and implementation of integrated urban security and crime prevention strategies for the entire city. The role and contribution of the police would be understood and accepted by all partners. Police operations would also reflect common objectives shared by the various institutional and community groups with a view to making the urban setting safer. This action would be seen as being generally legitimate, democratic and in accordance with human rights. The results of this action would be measurable both in terms of a reduction in crime and a greater feeling of security among residents.

This process would involve all levels of the police, whose credibility would be enhanced. A climate of transparency and accountability would gradually come into being. In this perspective, conciliation and mediation procedures may be introduced into police ethics mechanisms. A high degree of popular confidence in the police is obviously a prerequisite for this stage.

A police organization that has reached this stage would be concerned with constantly updating police training, encouraging greater responsibility at all levels and focusing more on the reality in the field. Such a police organisation give high priority to grooming existing officers for promotion and passing on skills and knowledge.

6. FUTURE CHALLENGES AND PLANS OF ACTION

The foregoing chapters have traced the evolution of the police over the past few decades and the key role the police must play in the development and implementation of any integrated urban security policy geared to today's context of democratization and decentralization. Practical examples have illustrated the contribution police forces throughout the world can make to the development of good governance of human settlements.

If police forces are to be effective partners in the emergence of safe, sustainable urban communities, closer attention must be paid to a number of issues which constitute the challenges of good governance. These issues are related to the qualitative transformation of police organizations, the improvement of their relationship with the public and the recognition of the strategic position of the police in urban development.

Modernization of police forces

Over the past two decades, police forces have undergone major transformations. Many police forces have gradually been demilitarized. Others were decentralized to be more accessible and effective, while still others have adopted innovative approaches to respond to the demands and expectations of the public and bring about lasting changes in the conditions that generate crime and insecurity.

To contribute to the development of cities and districts, it is crucial to strike a balance between the traditional repressive function and the new preventive role of the police centred on seeking lasting solutions to persistent problems in the larger society. The police mission must specifically state as its goal the reduction rather than merely the control of crime while maintaining the respect of human rights.

The structural and organizational makeup of police forces must be modernized to fully accomplish their mission. This new structure should be characterized by flexibility and ensure that responsibility is taken at various levels, as opposed to a structure based only on a hierarchy of authority and centralization.

6. Future Challenges and Plans of Action

At the national level, police forces as a whole must work to promote broader administrative structures, decentralization of decision-making and a sharing of responsibility with local authorities. Where police structures are already decentralized, municipal or regional authorities are freer to adapt police operations to suit the needs and situation of a given urban area. In national, centralized police organizations, chiefs of police and the civil administration must be aware of the need to promote deployment of resources and command structures in the field to achieve effective interaction and closer relations with local and regional communities.

Professionalism and police ethics

Identification of the role of the police as a public service, in accordance with democratic values, must transcend all organizational levels and demonstrate a professional ethic based on accountability, impartiality, police dignity and recognition of the value of their work. These values must be matched with credible and transparent sanctioning mechanisms for police misconduct in their daily contacts with citizens. Corruption and the abuse of power, still widespread in the police forces of many countries, are major obstacles to be overcome in working towards the objective of a police force at the service of the public.

It is essential to consolidate police ethics and professionalism to arrive at a future-oriented mission and mode of operation. This approach must be enshrined in practices that police authorities must guide and promote to ensure the rule of law and the respect of human rights. These practices must be clearly supported by a code of police ethics which defines the role and responsibilities of the police, as well as appropriate disciplinary mechanisms.

Public confidence in the police is largely dependent on the degree to which citizens who feel they are victims of police abuse can file a complaint to qualified regulatory authorities. These complaints require transparent, credible treatment, and police behaviours that are considered unacceptable must be subject to appropriate sanctions. In many countries, government, municipal authorities and police forces have adopted ethics mechanisms which call for the participation of community representatives in examining police conduct. An example is the ombudsman formula, mediation processes and joint complaint and ethics committees involving community, police and judicial representatives.

Throughout the world, local and regional authorities are establishing municipal or metropolitan police forces. These new structures offer an excellent opportunity to incorporate the values of public service and fundamental respect for human rights. Modernization of national police forces provides the same opportunities.

Partnership with the community

New community and problem-oriented policing approaches are based on closer contact and cooperation with society, whether through institutions, community organizations or citizens themselves. Some conditions must pre-exist for these participatory models, largely supported by police partners, to succeed and contribute to good governance.

6. Future Challenges and Plans of action

In the context of decentralization, local authorities must accept new responsibility for urban development, particularly in the area of public security. Citizens increasingly look to their local councillors and municipal administrations for concrete action to reduce problems of crime, violence and insecurity. This demand for safety emanates from all levels of society, from the wealthiest to the most needy. The legitimate leadership role that local authorities want to play in the area of urban security and crime prevention calls for the police to act as a partner in working with the community to achieve safe cities.

The establishment of a partnership between local authorities and the police force is at the heart of any effective strategy aimed at reducing urban crime and insecurity. Municipal representatives and the police must engage in dialogue and discussion to arrive at common priorities in terms of action to prevent and reduce urban crime and insecurity. Assuming that management and responsibility are shared, this objective can more easily be achieved in police forces under the control of municipal or metropolitan authorities.

At the national level, even with a centralized police structure, cooperative efforts must be made to develop original mechanisms for cooperation and dialogue between the police and local authorities. This interaction does not necessarily mean political interference in police operations, but rather refers to the need of viable communication on security priorities within cities and consensus on the most effective solutions to manage and promote safety as a common good, while maintaining the mandate and prerogatives of each side.

The emergence of a new police role creates the need for a partnership culture. In the case of the police, this partnership will require strict, targeted organization to succeed. It calls for an in-depth analysis of local problems, sharing of information, public consultation, setting common objectives and goals, sharing resources and institutional leadership and an evaluation of actions undertaken by all partners.

The problem, however, is not so much in establishing a partnership but in underestimating the resistance of the police organizations towards community consultation and participation. The traditional method of gathering and controlling information, the difficulty in understanding political and social issues, the overly centralized command structure of many police forces, the absence of accountability to civilian authorities, isolation of the police and a poor public image and lack of public confidence by a large segment of society, are all obstacles to the development of effective partnerships between the police and the community. For this reason, police forces must implement organizational and structural changes to enable them to play their full role in these partnerships.

At the city level, the effective pursuit of the police mandate must involve close cooperation and coordination with private security services that have grown at a phenomenal pace during the past two decades. These cooperative efforts call for a clear distinction between the public interest, represented by the police as a public service, and private interests represented by private security firms working for businesses and individuals. This distinction also requires that the police be in absolute charge of public space, particularly in urban centres.

Police forces must also coordinate their work with that of auxiliary forces (city guards, parking guards, municipal inspectors) which are increasingly being recruited by local and regional administrations with a view to ensuring stricter application of certain local by-laws and greater visibility in public spaces.

6. Future Challenges and Plans of Action

Training and awareness

Training is an essential tool for police forces in meeting the challenges of urban safety and good governance. With today's rapid social transformations, police forces are increasingly aware of the necessity to provide good training and awareness programs if personnel are to properly fulfil their mission.

Traditional police training, largely based on technical aspects (patrols, investigations, crowd control), has gradually come to include awareness and training programs more closely linked to social realities such as ethnic relations, human rights, problem-oriented policing and prevention. It is important to continue in this direction, paying particular attention to educational content and methods of passing on knowledge and skills in an environment marked by common local problems of chronic marginality, incivility, street delinquency, insecurity, domestic violence and youth problems.

The training given to both police and civilian personnel at all levels must be seen as an efficient mechanism for promoting the role of police as a public service and deal, in addition to police techniques, with the ability of the police to interact with the local community. Developing skill in analysing local problems, interacting effectively with citizens, understanding multicultural and multiethnic situations, devising strategies for solving problems with other partners and providing more attentive support for crime victims are all part of adequate training aimed at improving police services in urban environments. Overall, training programs must be rooted in the prevailing situation in the city and its districts so as to better analyse and prevent incidents and promote best practices to assist in social and urban development.

Sharing expertise and experience

To guarantee the basic right to a safe habitat for all citizens, it is essential to acknowledge and share in the diversity and richness of experiments and approaches undertaken by police forces and community administrations throughout the world in terms of security and the prevention of urban crime. This sharing of expertise must also be cultivated on an international scale. The future success of these initiatives requires that these processes be structured so as to benefit police organizations and local authorities while contributing to good governance. The analysis of effective practices and experience should yield key elements for the success of these approaches or initiatives and thus enable them to be duplicated in other social and cultural settings.

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