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Addressing the Enforcement Gap to Counter Crime:
Investing in Public Safety, the Rule of Law
and Local Development in Poor Neighborhoods

**PART 2: OPTIONS FOR WORLD BANK
ENGAGEMENT WITH POLICE**

Governance Global Practice



Heike P. Gramckow, Jack Greene, Ineke Marshall & Lisa Barão

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PART **2**

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Foreword and Acknowledgements

Justice is central to the World Bank's core agenda of reducing poverty and boosting shared prosperity. It is an intrinsic goal of development overall and influences the achievement of many specific development outcomes. Well-functioning and inclusive justice institutions prevent and mitigate conflict, crime, and violence; ensure executive accountability and people's meaningful access to services; give people legal identity and voice to protect their rights; enable investment and private sector growth; and promote equitable and inclusive development outcomes.

The Bank's 2011 *World Development Report* demonstrated that conflict, crime, and violence are major barriers to development, with direct economic costs that can add up to substantial proportions of GDP.¹ Of the various dimensions of the rule of law, the basic control of violence has the strongest correlation to economic growth in developing countries. Moreover, crime and violence especially affect the poor. High levels of criminality and widespread violence create fear that constrains mobility, erodes trust between people and communities and their trust in institutions, and reinforces stigmas toward and the exclusion of certain groups perceived to be dangerous, all of which impede long-term development. Effective and well-functioning justice systems can provide the critical legitimate processes that are needed for the resolution of grievances that might otherwise lead to conflict, crime, and violence.

Implementing holistic approaches to violence, crime, and insecurity has become a part of the Bank's work. These engagements have thus far been limited and led chiefly by two Global Practices (GPs), primarily in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Urban and Social Development GP focuses on urban design and social approaches to violence prevention,² and the Governance GP's justice team is collaborating with them on analytical work, operational design, and initial implementation and on initial engagements with ministries of justice to support police and other criminal justice sector agencies, especially in Latin America. Citizen security and violence prevention are currently a small area of the Bank's work, but they have significant growth potential, primarily in Latin America and the Caribbean, though demand also exists in the Middle East and North Africa, Europe and Central Asia, and various fragile and conflict-affected states.

1 In El Salvador, for example, the value of lives lost due to death and disability reached approximately US\$271 million, nearly 2 percent of GDP, in 2010. See World Bank, "Crime and Violence in Central America: A Development Challenge (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2011a). In Guatemala, violence cost the country roughly US\$2.4 billion, or 7.3 percent of GDP in 2005. See UNDP, "El Costo Económico de la Violencia en Guatemala" (New York: UNDP: 2006).

2 In the area of violence prevention and citizen security, there are six Development Policy Loans (DPLs) worth US\$2.7 billion in Brazil, Colombia, and Honduras. In addition, the Bank's portfolio includes 53 projects aimed at violence prevention (20 investments, two Institutional Development Funds (IDFs), 16 analyses, and nine technical assistance operations). Roughly 60 percent of violence-related investments are located in Latin America and the Caribbean, with the remaining 40 percent divided between East Asia and Africa.

This document was developed as a result of a request from World Bank President Jim Yong Kim to the Governance GP for more information on the link between crime and poverty and the Bank's current and potential engagement to support client countries in their efforts to counter crime in their communities. The resulting review of the evidence base and the Bank's response to date pointed to the need to highlight the importance of law enforcement to counter crime as part of a holistic approach, especially in poor communities, which not only suffer from economic and social ills but also rarely have access to the government services needed to address these problems. Effective policing services are also lacking, leading to a serious enforcement gap in many poor communities that requires attention and investment to allow these neighborhoods to recover and eventually prosper.

The authors would like to thank the World Bank's internal and external reviewers of an earlier concept note and a draft of this document: Rodrigo Serrano-Berthet (Lead Social Development Specialist, Social, Urban, Rural, Resilience Global Practice [GSURR]), David Hawkes (Lead Specialist, Integrity Vice Presidency, Directorate of Operations [INTOP]), Jorge Luis Silva (Public Sector Specialist, Governance Global Practice [GGODR]), Joan Hofman Serrano (Senior Social Development Specialist, GSURR), Jimena Garotte (Senior Counsel, Legal Vice Presidency), and Holly Burkhalter (International Justice Mission). Input was also provided by Alexander Berg, Deborah Isser, Doug Porter, Jared Schott, and Nicolas Menzies (GGODR). Their feedback and comments have helped shape this paper into what we hope will be a useful contribution to the growing literature on crime, poverty, and development and ways to address police reform in challenging circumstances. We also thank Patricia Carley for her excellent and skilled editing.

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1. Investing in Police Reforms: A Link to Successful Development

The first volume of this report examined the implications of socially disorganized communities on the continued spread of violence and crime, as well as the ways that police services can become engaged to rebuild their legitimacy, improve community safety, and restore support for the law. Criminologists have long recognized a connection between crime, violence, and social disorder on the one hand and marginalization on the other, whether of communities or individuals. Environmental theories of crime suggest that people who live in socially disorganized communities, where local informal social control has become frayed and the community is unable to effectively supervise individual behavior, are less able to address crime and disorder problems and must rely instead on the formal apparatus of the state, including the police and the wider justice system, to help protect community safety. Absent a constructive police response, however, these communities often spiral downward into more disorder and crime, sometimes leaving them controlled or overseen by criminal organizations or gangs and thus further undermining inclusive development and the rule of law.

Research on police practices in these communities suggests that the police can exacerbate community problems by failing to support legitimate community leaders. They can also impede community building efforts by demonstrating indifference to community problems and/or participating in corrupt practices. Moreover, it is clear worldwide that poor communities in particular feel the brunt of crime and violence (Haugen and Boutros 2014) and that their vulnerability to crime and violence inhibits the very measures that would help pull these communities out of their desperate situation. Without safety and security interventions in violence-prone communities, other development assistance in sectors such as education, public health, and so forth are blunted by the all-consuming insecurity and fear of victimization that crime and violence cause.

Recognizing the critical link between security and the ability to achieve its twin goals of eradicating extreme poverty and contributing to shared prosperity, the World Bank has increased efforts to support programs that aim to prevent violence and promote citizen safety.³ The 2011 *World Development Report (WDR)* already positioned security as a critical development issue, with a corresponding operationalization plan. Other corporate measures have included guidance for staff on the Bank's engagement in criminal justice activities;⁴ the creation of a Criminal Justice Resource Group (CJRG) that spans several Global Practices;

3 Violence is recognized as a chief impediment to the realization of all of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals and is an important part of the discourse on the post-2015 agenda for global development.

4 The "Legal Note on Bank Involvement in the Criminal Justice Sector," which clarifies the legal mandate of the Bank in the area of criminal justice reform, was updated in 2012 and led to a "Staff Guidance Note: World Bank Support for Criminal Justice Activities," providing guidance on managing the legal, reputational, and operational risks of Bank engagement in the criminal justice sector. See A-M Leroy, "Legal Note on Bank Involvement in the Criminal Justice Sector" (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2012); and Justice Reform Unit, "Staff Guidance Note: World Bank Support for Criminal Justice Activities" (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2012). The launch of these two documents was followed by the creation of the Bank-wide Criminal Justice Resource Group (CJRG), which aims to support Bank teams and client governments in the assessment, design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of criminal justice programs.

and the generation of knowledge on various aspects of violence prevention and criminal justice reform. The extent of crime, violence, and corruption, as well as governments' capacities and efforts to deal with these issues, are all elements of the Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) for International Development Association (IDA) countries, and the cost of crime to the business community is weighed in the Bank's World Development Indicators.

With an increasing focus on urbanization, and urban upgrading in particular, the World Bank's clients are demanding greater investment in violence prevention, urban safety, and citizen security. Not surprisingly, the Systematic Country Diagnostics (SCDs) of a number of Central American and other countries, including Liberia, Madagascar, and Papua New Guinea, have recognized the substantial impediment to development that crime and violence represent. According to an informal 2013 portfolio review, the Bank's lending, technical assistance, and analytical services in citizen security and interpersonal violence prevention amounted to approximately US\$276 million in that year. This spans activities ranging from violence monitoring and municipal planning to implement citizen security strategies, to crime prevention through urban upgrading, school-based violence prevention, and support for criminal justice reform. Added to this are the Development Policy Loans (DPLs) of US\$2.7 billion that contain violence prevention and citizen security prior actions or policy pillars in Brazil, Colombia, and Honduras.

This increasing demand, together with the restructuring of the World Bank into 14 Global Practices, provides an unprecedented opportunity to consolidate programming that addresses violence and citizen security into integrated strategic solutions rather than through sector-specific interventions. The 2012 legal opinion clarifying the scope of the Bank's criminal justice work in a development context has also created the necessary space for the Bank to engage in a wide range of interventions, with only a few exceptions, if the appropriate risk management approach is part of the design, that is, if one recognizes that sometimes the option not to engage can be even more harmful to the client country.⁵ Crime prevention activities, especially as part of broader sector work in urban planning and social development, have gained traction in the Bank's lending portfolio. The piece that is most often missing, however, is support for reform of policing efforts in crime-ridden neighborhoods.

1.1 LAW ENFORCEMENT: A CRITICAL PIECE

As outlined in detail in part 1, using a community or problem-oriented policing approach coupled with restorative justice practices has been shown to be more effective in achieving sustainable changes in neighborhoods and police agencies than employing less holistic approaches or maintaining traditional police reform activities. Developing these alternative methods based on solid problem assessments and building the needed community and other agency support also allows for the effective sequencing of engagement options and offers risk management frameworks that are a natural part of the design of how citizens and police engage. Assessment, data collection and stakeholder consultations are already required parts of the Bank's project design and implementation process.

⁵ The opinion is summarized in the Bank's "Staff Guidance Note," which provides further guidance to staff on assessing related risks and on fostering a meaningful and feasible risk management approach to development. It also led to the creation of the Bank-wide CJRG.

Time and resource limitations (and data scarcity) during design often limit the depth of these necessary elements. Especially for effective police reform they are, however, more than bureaucratic World Bank (and other donor) requirements but part of the needed building blocks for community, problem oriented and restorative justice approaches. Solid problem assessment, data development and engagement of other agencies and the community often also inform the development of a practical risk management framework that is built into the operations of the police agency instead of a process that still viewed by clients and task teams as a cumbersome add-on to comply with Bank requirements. For example, creating citizen review boards as part of the police agency's governance structure provides for one important risk management tool, a range of other examples can be found in the above mentioned Staff Guidance Note.

A design that links community and problem-oriented policing with restorative justice processes has the strong potential to improve the quality of justice in community settings, most particularly communities that have historically been marginalized and isolated. The changes needed in these communities, as well as in the police and other government agencies that should be providing vital public services, require close consideration of the philosophical, structural, and functional capacities of each law enforcement and government entity, especially the police and local justice decision makers. Reforms sought through the introduction of community and problem-oriented policing as well as restorative justice processes flow from lessons learned, especially from other efforts to successfully implement community policing (Greene 2000), and also from scientific reviews of community leadership and engagement in other government reforms as well as evaluations of neighborhood-level restorative justice programs. The combined evidence shows that changes have to occur at, and need to be designed for, a variety of levels, including the community, organization, work group (i.e., neighborhood police station, unit, or division), and individual levels, within each entity, particularly the police.

Police are often the one agency that poor and marginalized communities equate most with inefficient, corrupt, and abusive government operations. Police are also often the only agency actually visible in these neighborhoods—if any government entity is ever present at all. This is a challenge but also an opportunity, because if the police are better able to respond to community needs, communities can develop greater trust in their services and connect with them to develop community and government service networks that together can turn a neighborhood around and provide an environment for lasting change, both at the community and government agency levels.

1.2 REFORMING POLICE SERVICES: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

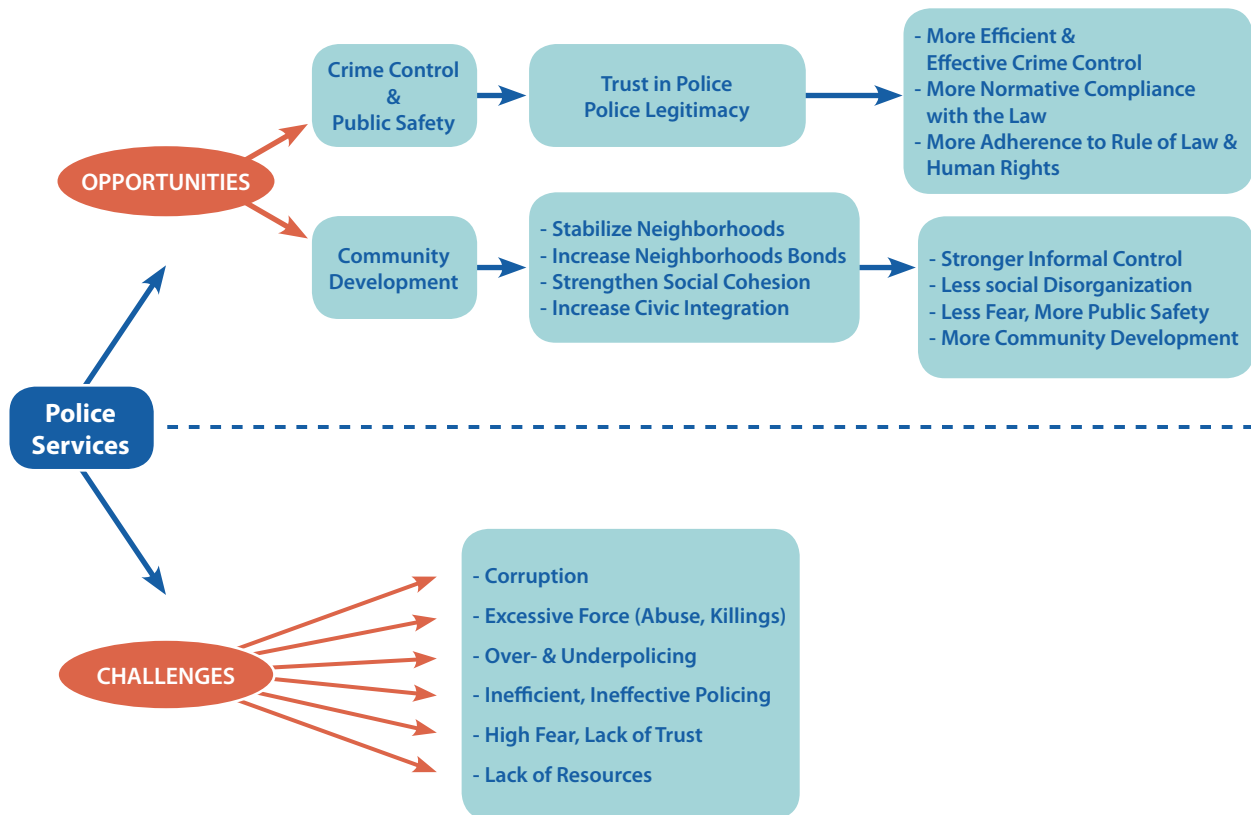
Figure 1 traces the opportunities and challenges in improving local police services in marginalized urban communities. These opportunities and challenges were discussed in part 1 of this publication, and reviewing each is helpful in deciding on and planning for engagement options.

Opportunities include police improvements in crime control, public safety, and community social development through the use of community and problem-oriented policing and police involvement in restorative justice practices. Such improvements strengthen community-police relations and public trust in the police, while at the same time help to stabilize neighborhoods, increase neighborhood

bonds, and strengthen social cohesion and civic integration, leading to more effective and lawful policing while also strengthening neighborhood informal social control.

Challenges include corruption (in all its variants, such as bribery, abuse of office, political influence, crime), the routine use of excessive force, over- and under-policing, police inefficiencies and indifference, the lack of trust in and fear of the police, and a shortage of resources for the police service to professionalize. All of these factors inhibit the capacity of police systems to make the kinds of changes envisioned here. Addressing these challenges within the context of a different community, problem-oriented, and restorative justice philosophy is as important as embracing the opportunities.

FIGURE 1. Opportunities and Challenges for Improving Local Police Services in Marginalized Communities in Developing Countries



As surprising as it may sound, the police have been the conduit of change not just for greater community safety but for better government service delivery in many places. The most heavily documented examples come from the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom, but there are examples from Brazil, Mongolia, and South Africa also. At the same time, strict and seemingly heavy-handed law enforcement may sometimes be the needed first step toward creating space for other government agencies to work in community settings and also for communities to come together and work with service providers to develop delivery structures that address community needs. Practically speaking, in very desolate, crime-ridden communities, aggressive police action is often the only realistic step that can be taken to contain and take charge of an out-of-control environment in which local community members have become the pawns of gangs, organized crime, and corrupt government agents.

Taken together, the changes need to redress the relationship between the police and the public; open police organizations to civic input, transparency, and accountability; ensure adherence to the rule of law; restructure the internal workings of police organizations to facilitate a new external focus; broaden the role and function of the police, particularly in community settings; and create assessment systems that include community support dimensions. These measures offer framework and sequencing options for Bank programming against crime and violence that include a solid police component. Without a doubt, law enforcement is essential to reducing crime in any country or neighborhood, but this is especially so in poor communities that do not have the resources to buy private security and have limited—and often questionable—means to organize or “hire” their own militia to keep the peace and allow neighborhoods to function.

If crime and insecurity are a problem in cities or other parts of a client country, confronting the issue of law enforcement is unavoidable. The question, then, is how the Bank can better engage in these dynamics. For the Bank, this “how” question begins first with a consideration of more effective frameworks for reforming the police as elaborated in this publication, which is grounded in an understanding of what would be the most meaningful, politically acceptable, and portfolio-relevant approach for the Bank within a particular country. This paper does not exhaustively address this issue, but it does outline options to consider within a context that emphasizes that non-engagement in communities that are plagued by crime and violence threatens all other development investments.

2. Developing the Foundation for Effective Changes

Depending on the country context and building on Bank and other donor and international financial institution (IFI) activities, engagement options for improving police capacities will vary and should be coordinated with the Bank's overall portfolio and assessment process.

Step 1: Understand the impact of crime and violence on country development and the Bank's portfolio and assess crime trends in country context, along with government responses and capacities, as well as other donor engagement activities.

Having sufficient information to gauge the impact of crime and violence on development in general, and on the poor specifically, is the first step. Country Management Units (CMUs) have a range of options for building the needed evidence base over time, even when resources are limited. Some data and information can be collected as part of other regular Bank activities, and other organizations and donors often have already compiled a range of reports that can be utilized.

CPIA. As mentioned above, for IDA countries, CPIA Section 12 requires an assessment of crime and corruption trends, the capacities of the government to respond, and impacts on development overall, and also information on gender issues and particular sectors, if it is readily available. Not all CPIAs address this outside the corruption piece, and this is an area on which CMUs can insist on getting more detailed information. The CMU in Mongolia has paid particular attention to this information for several years, and its CPIA provides a good example that others can build on.

Systematic Country Diagnoses (SCDs) and Country Partnership Frameworks (CPFs). The SCDs and CPFs of some of the most crime-impacted countries, especially in Central America, already review the crime and development connection to the extent possible. In other countries, even those that have long been plagued by these ills such as Haiti, understanding and documenting crime and its impact on overall and sector development, the government's response capacity, and other donor engagement have received less attention. This may be because other actors are already active in this regard, creating the impression that there is little need to reflect on related work in the Bank's portfolio. Nonetheless, it would still be valuable to have a better understanding of the impact of crime and violence on development and on the Bank's work in a particular country to better comprehend where the Bank could improve in either linking to other donor work or building crime prevention and law enforcement components into Bank programs, thereby addressing enforcement gaps.

Crime trends. It is important to track crime trends and government responses to inform ongoing and evolving Bank programs. Even if there is no request from the client to address crime and work with police, CMUs in countries where the CPIA or SCD indicates that crime is a problem should ensure that appropriate

police responses track the impact of crime on development and programming to better understand any impediments to program development objectives and to inform future investments. Most often, the CMU does not have sufficient funds to compile or support a good assessment of crime trends, government response capacities, and development impact beyond what is done as part of regular Bank activities. CMUs in high-crime countries interested in having a better understanding of crime's effect on development and of police and other justice sector agency performance can often draw on data collected by other development partners operating in the country. Their own activities may also provide for a range of alternative programming options, including early collaboration on Trust Fund applications for more solid data collection and assessment schemes, as well as DPL and Program for Results (PforR) options that also reflect other donor programs.

Step 2: Develop programming to build crime and performance data collection capacities and policy dialogue support in the client country.

If there is a request from the client for help in addressing serious crime and insecurity issues in the country, a good initial entry point is to support the development of local *crime data collection and analysis capacities* and to begin developing an evidence-based *scheme to define and track enforcement agency performance*. Such data are vital for the government in its effort to develop a clear and valid response to crime and violence and in informing potential Bank investments in a range of sectors that are impacted by crime as well as any potential investments in broader crime prevention and enforcement programs. The Bank has a good track record in supporting the development and strengthening of Crime Observatories in Latin American countries; it also has a particular competitive edge when it comes to conducting sector-wide *expenditure reviews* (see Gramckow and Fernandez-Monge 2014) and *community and agency diagnostics* to assess community crime and violence issues, as well as the capacities and readiness of both communities and the police for sequenced changes.

Even when other donors are already providing assistance to law enforcement, areas such as expenditure reviews, data collection capacity building and political economy analysis, are frequently not at the center of their work yet can provide a helpful contribution to a country's efforts to counter crime and violence. Such activities, possibly as part of an ASA, also tend to carry a relatively low political and reputational risk and are important precursors to development policy support and results-oriented programming.

Political economy analysis, a particular Bank forte, represents another early engagement and preparation option. Reform of police systems in some countries has become more rhetorical than substantive in the absence of a clear and visible commitment from policy makers and justice officials (Brodgen 1999). Moreover, there are a number of factors that appear to weaken reform efforts in police services across the world, including the broader cultural acceptance of police use of violence, such as in Brazil (Chevigny 1996, 23–36) and even recently in the United States. Consequently, such factors highlight the difficulties of restructuring policing efforts toward the rule of law, particularly in post-conflict countries such as in El Salvador (Stanley 1996, 37–78), and the complexity in reforming the police in countries where such reform may challenge the repressive capacity of the government and the police (Bayley 2006).

The police also possess or are part of strong political power structures in many developing countries, the result of colonization through para-military policing with the objective of pacification (Cole 1999). Police agencies in the Western world too have had considerable capacity to blunt reform efforts. Simply put, police organizations across the world exercise considerable power. They were often created as a domestic version of the military and as a consequence, a militarized police in parts of Asia and Latin America, Russia, South Africa, and elsewhere have ruled civil populations with an iron fist, leading to widespread and excessive use of force by the police (Mars 2002). Much of this resulted from the tensions between the legacy of colonialism and post-colonial conditions (for a review, see Pino and Wiatrowski 2006, 11– 42), and in many client countries, police structures have not significantly changed in decades.

Reforming police and other justice system agencies and practices is a complex and time-consuming administrative and operational process. It involves first and foremost the dedication of senior police agency officials to support, implement, nurture, and monitor the changes, often over many years. This kind of reform has been likened to turning a large cargo ship in the ocean; it must be incremental and well thought out to ensure that the actual objective is achieved. Justice agencies are like these large seagoing vessels. They have long-standing structures and routines that will resist change if it comes too quickly, yet they will need to be reformed if community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice practices are to be implemented. This does not differ much from attempts to reform other government agencies, but the scope is often much larger. The national police agencies found in many of the Bank's client countries can include thousands of officers dispersed across a country, larger groups concentrated in cities and operating within various municipal power structures, and others located in sometimes very remote places, often operating alone and with little support, few resources, and weak management and supervision structures. Change requirements will need to be well understood, well sequenced, and given the time needed to mature. The more encompassing and fundamental the change, the longer it will take to become institutionalized.

In Mongolia, World Bank investments over two decades, together with several other donor programs in justice reform, illustrate the complexity of these reform efforts (Gramckow and Allen 2011). Many attempts have been made to assist in the country's movement toward judicial independence and accountability. Courts in Mongolia have witnessed significant changes in the number of judges, the number, type and complexity of cases they receive and adjudicate, and the internal capacity and infrastructure of the judicial system over this period. At the same time, surveys since 2001 suggest that the public is less supportive of the courts than previously, viewing them as bureaucratic, corrupt, answerable to the wealthy, and unequal in the application of the law (Gramckow and Allen 2011, 14–16). Such findings suggest that implementing reform in major legal and justice institutions is difficult, requiring considerable time and commitment. This is especially the case in countries or regions where the justice apparatus, especially the police, has been seen to make community problems worse, not better. As the 2011 WDR suggests, 40 years is not an unrealistic time frame for significant governance changes to take hold, but when citizens, governments, and donors are eager to see changes materialize, such cautious and lengthy time frames may not be well received. That is why smaller, targeted pilot activities in neighborhoods ready to embrace a different police approach, with local police leaders ready to commit to changes, are good places to begin reform efforts. First amending

the mentalities, attitudes, and behaviors of a few key players and strategically communicating the results are sound, realistic first steps toward longer-term changes.

The implementation of community, problem-oriented, and restorative philosophies and practices in local justice system agencies, especially the police, requires commitment to the rule of law and open and transparent government procedures. Absent such commitments, these changes can be seen as the “velvet glove” encircling the “iron fist,” that is, the concealment of state power and coercion in the wrappings of a more open and justice legal system (see Bayley 2006). Building an understanding of and commitment to the rule of law is essential, as is building confidence and competence in the judiciary and prosecution services.

The Bank’s unique position and convening power open opportunities for policy dialogue support by using data-driven evidence for early stakeholder consultations and citizen engagement activities. An increased interest in and focus on agency social accountability mechanisms for governments in many countries provides another option for early knowledge exchanges.

Step 3: Build crime prevention and enforcement components into sector work.

Considering that serious crime and violence impact all aspects of development, the options for building crime prevention programs and even selecting police capacity strengthening components into other Bank projects are broad. Urban planning programs have included crime prevention and community policing activities in Latin America, social and community development programs offer a range of interventions to monitor crime and strengthen community cohesion and capacities to counter crime, and environmental and wildlife management programs increasingly consider community capacities to protect these resources, to mention a few options.

Naturally, when a community-oriented policing component is to be included, sufficient diagnostic work has to be conducted to inform the design and engagement. This should include a good risk assessment and management component, just as would be done for engagement with any government agency. In some contexts, another donor may be better positioned to support this diagnostic work, while in other instances, a program component, particularly one focusing on a target neighborhood, would be a good pilot for broader engagement with police in the future.

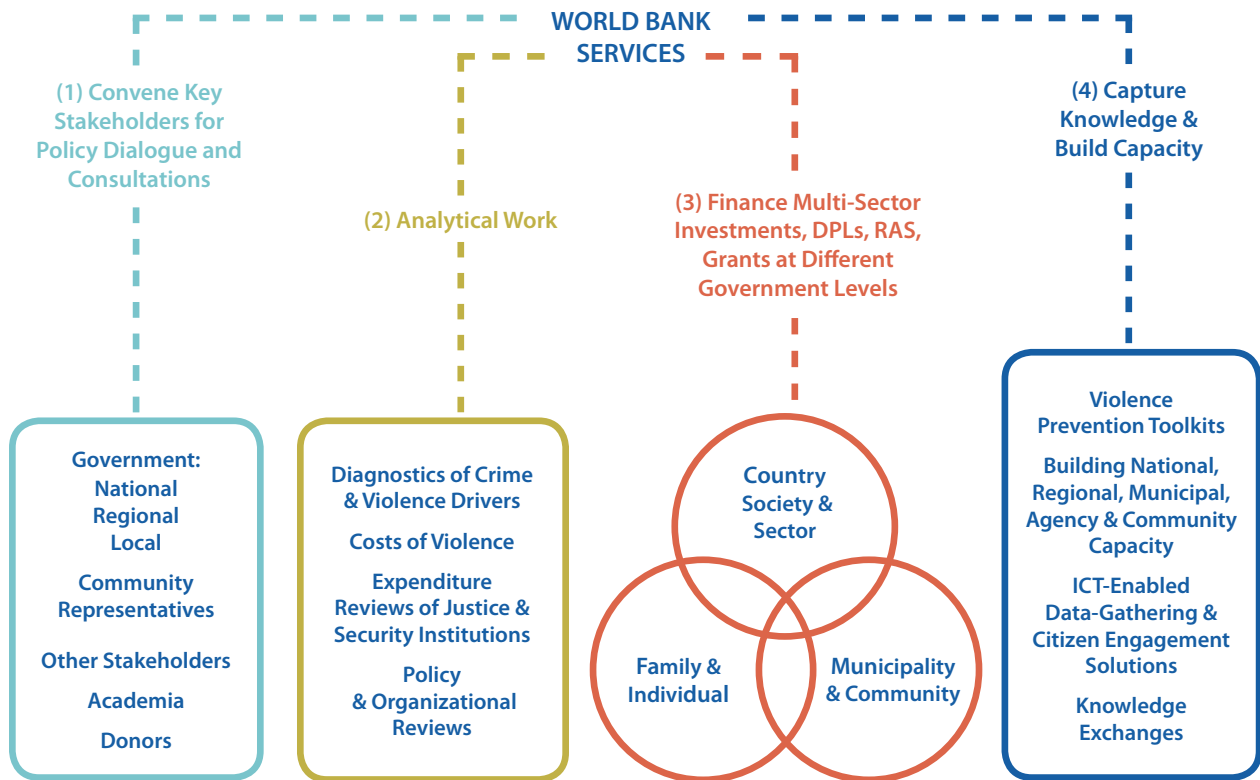
Step 4: Improve comprehensive crime prevention and enforcement programming.

Serious crime and violence problems require serious investment to address them. As outlined in detail in part 1, ample scientific evidence has shown that building more cohesive communities that have the capacity to resist crime requires long-term investments in many sectors, including in trusted, professional police services. A programmatic approach that builds on existing activities in other sectors and other donor activities and focuses on improved governance and service delivery systems is often what is ultimately needed to help a country turn its cities and communities around. If this is not a financially or politically viable option, having locally targeted crime prevention and enforcement components in

other Bank projects, ideally with a strong governance program that includes a police reform component or project, may be a more realistic choice.

Figure 2 below provides a snapshot of the range of engagement options the Bank can offer its client countries to address crime and violence in a comprehensive manner.

FIGURE 2. Engagement Options for Crime Prevention and Enforcement



Source: Harborne and Bisca 2013.

3. Practical Elements of Police Reform

Whether community or problem-oriented policing will increase police efficiency, effectiveness, and lawfulness depends on many factors. The philosophies, strategies, programs, and tactics that have emerged in modern-day policing over the past 25 years and that are tied to the community policing movement suggest some common dimensions.

The core elements of community policing programs include:

- a redefinition of the police role;
- greater reciprocity in police and community relations;
- area decentralization of police services and command; and
- some form of civilianization⁶ (Skolnick and Bayley 1986).

Each of these changes is viewed as a necessary condition to realizing greater police accountability and adherence to the rule of law. At the same time, these efforts suggest that if adopted, the police can become more effective in addressing persistent crime and social disorder problems that continue to destabilize communities.

Problem-solving and restorative justice practices align with community policing well. Both seek to resolve community tensions and problems analytically, with targeted interventions and community reparation and reconciliation as central features. In both problem-oriented and restorative justice practices, reducing community harm and restoring community social cohesion are important goals.

3.1 LEVELS OF INTERVENTION AND OUTCOME MEASURES

To better understand how these new approaches are improving policing in communities, it is important to see them as a series of interventions occurring on several levels. They are expected to have an impact on communities and on the police role and structure, including police officer attachment to community and crime prevention values and to a broader set of community service ideals. The levels of intervention and change should be clear and explicit, including the anticipated outcomes. In this way, the outlines of a program evolve that include agency development, community engagement, and a monitoring and evaluation system to assess the implementation and results. Community and problem-oriented policing as well as restorative justice practices seek to change the

⁶ Civilianization” of the police refers to the process of carving out any number of roles and functions within police services that can be accomplished by civilians who are trained for these positions but who do not carry the legal authorities of the police. In introducing civilians into police organizations it is anticipated that 1) costs for police services may be reduced in non-field-based activities, and 2) a sufficient number of civilians in police services helps to mediate strong police cultures.

“technology of policing”—that is, how the police do business, with the specific intent of improving community safety and security as well as public respect for the law and the officers who are supposed to enforce it.

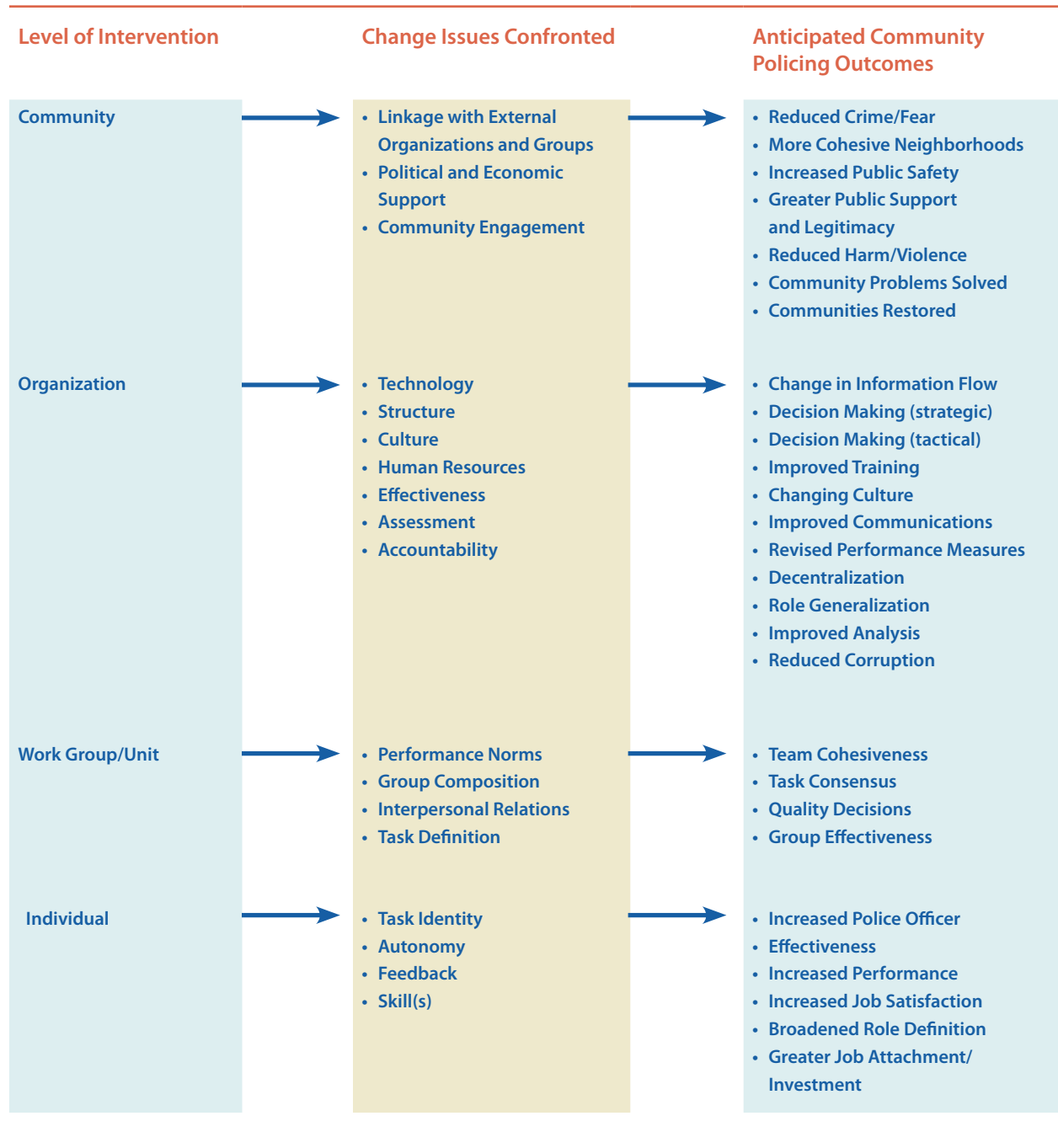
If these new models of policing are to be embraced and become a sustained strategic intervention, they will need to confront several organizational change issues in order to replace or modify the structure and culture of traditional policing. Figure 3 examines the necessary changes involved. Four major levels of change are anticipated: community, organizational, work group (i.e., police unit, division), and individual police officer. Through these overlapping levels, the anticipated changes impact differing aspects of the community and the police organization, as well as how groups and individual officers go about their work.

At the community level, the interventions seek to engage the community with the police in a public safety co-production relationship. Such programs aim at stabilizing neighborhoods, increasing neighborhood bonds and communication, increasing the capacity of the neighborhood to mediate in conflict situations, and ultimately strengthening neighborhood social cohesion and collective efficacy. The development of these activities is supported by scientific evidence indicating that cohesive neighborhoods are more crime resistant. If properly implemented, the measures should reduce fear of crime, increase community use of public spaces, reduce neighborhood disorder, and ultimately decrease crime and victimization. At the same time, they are expected to improve police and community interactions and increase the legitimacy of the law and the police in the community’s eyes.

At the police organizational level, the interventions must address several issues. First, they must confront the police agency’s philosophy, structure, policies, and processes, as well as how the police conduct themselves, what is valued, commitment to the rule of law, and a service identity with processes that support communities, all of which contribute to increasing community social cohesion. This includes how (or if) the department defines its constituents, how it defines and solves problems, and how it values, measures, and rewards what it produces. The interventions must also consider the department’s structure, or the way the organization divides labor and differentiates its parts, and how (or if) that structure supports community-based initiatives.

These interventions must additionally address the organization’s culture, or the values, beliefs, symbols, and assumptions that undergird organizational life, as well as the department’s mechanisms for selecting, training and rewarding personnel and socializing them toward community, problem-solving, and restorative justice objectives. This is an important and substantial undertaking that requires strategic planning and a thoughtful consideration of the “business as usual” practices of the police agency, how work is defined, how orders are given and reviewed, and the ways in which the internal police culture either supports or subverts community connections. Finally, these interventions must also address the police agency’s effectiveness assessment processes, referring to the systems internal to the police that gather, evaluate, and disseminate information about what and how the organization is doing.

FIGURE 3. *Change Requirements for Community Policing, Problem Solving, and Restorative Justice Practices (adapted from Greene 2000)*



At the work group/unit level, the interventions must confront several issues within the police system, including the establishment, definition, and communication of group performance norms consistent with new and revised outcomes that must include programs to reduce corruption and strengthen police commitment to the rule of law. In addition, the police agency must specify the parameters of the knowledge, skills, and functions of police groups operating within community settings. The agency will especially need to improve interpersonal communications and information-sharing capacities and systems, especially across work groups. Finally, if these changes are to become fully realized, role and task definitions, including those of investigators, other specialists, and managers, will need to be redefined and clarified. It is not just the officer on the street who has to operate differently but the entire organization.

At the individual level, changes in police officer attitudes, behaviors, and effectiveness are required, primarily through the mechanism of problem solving. Police officer performance, job satisfaction, and job attachment are anticipated to increase as officers have greater community connections and are valued for their work. Police officer role definitions are expected to broaden under these approaches as well as individual officer task identity (and consensus) among officers; there is also expected to be greater officer autonomy in decision making, job enrichment, and job enlargement; more positive feedback to officers regarding their community, problem-focused, and restorative activities; and increases in the depth and range of skills officers are trained for and employ as part of their community policing methodology. Among the resources necessary to professionalize the police are appropriate salaries and equipment, which are particularly significant, as in many places, poor police salaries and support result in high police turnover and/or rampant corruption.

Figure 3 also provides generalized ideas about the outcomes associated with these changes.

At the community level, measurements are taken for communities, organizations, and aggregates of “customers,” such as businesses, schools, youth, and so on. For communities, the focus is on such issues as cohesion, neighborliness, stability, and the mediation of conflict, as well as traditional measures of outcomes, including reduced disorder, crime, and fear. For community organizations, issues surrounding the creation and sustenance of inter-organizational networks focused on public safety, joint programming, and information sharing come to the forefront of evaluation concerns. For customers, measuring patterns in the use of public space, satisfaction with services received, and the extent of problems ameliorated is a reasonable starting point for assessment.

At the police organizational level, outcome measures across a wide array of internal police agency dynamics include the quality, flow, and use of information within the organization and by organizational members; the level of decision making and available resources to support that decision making; the structure of the organization, including concerns about hierarchy and specialization; the values of the organization that compete with or support community-based interventions; human resource development procedures that support or detract from these objectives (including formal and informal sanctioning systems, formal and informal socialization, and the modeling of appropriate behavior); and the range of services and activities produced and valued by the organization. The units of analysis in these assessments include the structure, operations, culture, human

resources, and outputs of the agency in question. These factors all have an impact on the police organization; change here is change in the police system, not the wider environment. In some ways, they are associated with process assessment, for example, whether or not the program was implemented.

At the group level, changes require different measures to capture the dynamics, interactions, decisions, and outputs of work groups. Here, the concern is with team cohesion, information sharing, group problem solving, and group values, among other issues. Much of traditional policing has focused on the behavior of individual officers; in contrast, community and problem-solving policing as well as restorative justice practices tend to stress the importance of groups. As a result, measures of group, not just individual, performance will need to be used in the assessment of these newer approaches to policing.

At the individual level, implementation assessments need to concentrate on job knowledge and performance, as well as the attitudes and sentiments of police officers. It is thus critically important that community-oriented job behaviors are made explicit, measurable, and regularly assessed. In terms of attitudes and sentiments, building a better understanding of the rule of law and of government interactions with communities is an important starting point for implementation and ongoing assessment efforts, including the impact of anti-corruption policies.

The World Bank can take a role in these efforts to (re)build closer ties between the police and the public in its client countries. To do so, several foci will be needed, including 1) longer-term organizational change, 2) capacity-building and short-term interventions to pilot new approaches in targeted neighborhoods, 3) sustainable long-term investments in training and education, and 4) investments to develop metrics for understanding progress.

3.2 PREPARING FOR INVESTMENTS

A range of gradual engagement options that build on the Bank's strength and other ongoing work were outlined above. It is also important to understand the political economy within and around police operations before investment decisions are made. Although it should perhaps go without saying, political and administrative commitment to the broad contours of community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice processes are essential for any substantive changes in policing to occur and be sustained. Given that commitment, there are a number of practices that can shape some early police interventions in distressed and marginalized communities and a number of building blocks that may advance these ideas in selected police services, particularly in the developing world (see box below). Investments in these building blocks can go a long way in testing the promise of community and problem-oriented policing as well as restorative justice. Along with the above-outlined preparatory data collection and assessment activities, initial support can include a range of activities as part of Economic and Sector Work (ESW) and other Advisory Services and Analytics (ASA) activities or as part of project preparation work.

- 1. Support internal dialogues within the police agency, including in-depth briefing and experience exchanges with peer agencies, about the cornerstones and building blocks of community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice.** This should initially focus on policy and justice system decision makers to outline and discuss the rationale for

adopting the new approaches, programs, and practices within the context of the target agency. This is an important cornerstone for planning the reforms and identifying the requirements needed. It cannot be overstated, however, that without strong and visible political and administrative support for such efforts, the impact of community and problem-oriented policing as well as restorative justice will be superficial, consisting largely of rhetoric and with little in the way of action on the ground to move police toward improving a community through violence and crime reduction and building community support.

- 2. Begin restorative justice discussions.** Dialogue is needed with the local judiciary and prosecution services as well as with social service, health care, and other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that assist victims of crime to help create a restorative justice emphasis locally. These discussions should also include police and civic leadership.

Of course the approaches briefly described above should be incorporated into the larger set of ideas about modeling community and problem-oriented policing as well as restorative justice practices. Often the police will have to take a followership role. Each step will require clear agreement at the highest levels in the police service; it will also require considerable organizational training initially and then structural change to sustain these efforts over time. The discussions are offered as potential first steps in making these interventions part of the new police service in countries where they are needed.

3.3 INITIAL ENGAGEMENT OPTIONS TO PREPARE FOR LONGER-TERM ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

As noted above, improvements to law enforcement through community and problem-oriented policing as well as restorative justice practices require considerable attention to philosophies, strategies, structures, tactics, and cultures within police agencies. They also require more of the police and their institutional apparatus than the traditional law and order approach. Opening police agencies to public input and review and increased transparency requires very different administrative and political commitments, since many of these changes challenge prevailing police cultures.

These are not insurmountable obstacles, however. Any police organization's values, goals, strategies, and so forth are not fixed in stone; they can be amended over time to become more inclusive and less distrustful of outside influence, though in doing so, the police can open themselves to criticisms of favoritism and possible corruption of a different type. Moving the police closer to their constituents while assuring that they are procedurally fair and committed to the rule of law is a delicate balance. If they exist, citizen-led anti-corruption movements can be critical to potentially improving police services as well as trust in government, and they are therefore an important risk-mitigation element for programming (Landell-Mills 2013).

Engagement Option # 1: Connecting programs for police improvement with ongoing efforts in other sectors to strengthen governance, adopt the rule of law, and address government corruption.

This could include measures in public finance, procurement and civil service reform, support for building external complaint procedures in ombudsman offices

The Building Blocks of Community and Problem-Oriented Policing

- **Develop consistent beat assignment.** Officers can be assigned to geographic beats for extended periods of time instead of being rotated. This increases police-public interaction while providing officers with “ownership” of the communities they police. Such practices also create a “known” police presence in the community.
- **Localize area commanders.** Supervisors and middle-level managers can also be given responsibility for geographic areas consisting of several beats, thereby increasing accountability and supervision in the selected communities.
- **Create community mini-stations.** Each beat or combination of beats can have its own facility, substation, or storefront located in the community to increase police identification with the community and community access to the police.
- **Increase positive police community interaction.** Police must make decisions that may be seen as negative by the community—arrests, citations, stops for suspicion, and so forth—yet balancing these with positive police-community interactions can happen on a number of levels.
- **Focus on crime and fear reduction.** Attempt to reduce fear of crime through public education, high interaction patrol, and problem solving.
- **Address important community crime concerns, such as domestic violence.** Domestic violence and violence against women and girls are major issues in many communities, and assisting victims and communities to take a stand helps many.
- **Build partnerships.** Community policing stresses the importance of active partnerships between the police, other agencies, and citizens, in which all parties really work together to identify and solve problems.
- **Model and introduce problem solving.** Although emergency calls must still be quickly addressed, where time permits, officers should search for the underlying conditions of crime and disturbances. When the conditions are identified, officers should try to address them together with the community and other agencies in an effort to not just control but to prevent them in the future.
- **Start to build a SARA* process for problem solving.** The SARA model is useful as a guide to the problem-solving process for all kinds of crime and non-crime problems.
- **Conduct regular beat meetings with neighborhood residents.** These meetings should also be conducted with beat officers to identify problems, analyze them, and offer areas.
- **Identify hot spots.** Analyze and identify locations that have disproportionate numbers of calls and then use problem solving to try to address the problems in those locations.
- **Develop multi-agency teams.** Begin to create problem-solving teams that include police and representatives of other agencies (health, education, public works, sanitation, and so on) so that an array of information from different sources can come together.

Source: Adopted from Cordner 1996.

*SARA refers to scanning, analysis, response, and assessment as described in part 1.

or administrative courts, and improved public review and feedback processes, such as citizen score cards and similar activities. Applying these efforts also to police institutions can assist the police in understanding what and how certain parts of their organization can be restructured in a manner that does not single them out and allows them to develop and learn along with other government entities.

Engagement Option #2: Supporting knowledge products for capacity development for relevant (municipal) government and police leadership and managers.

A helpful early intervention is the development of a briefing package and accompanying program for socializing senior-level political and police administrative leaders on the overarching goals of the newer law enforcement approaches. Most of this material is already available from various resources but has to be adjusted to the local context. It has to be culturally sensitive as well as sensitive to the nature of the local police system, the history of police-public interaction, and the status of the adoption of rule of law practices in the target location as well as the within the police agency.

Engagement Option # 3: Supporting community engagement and joint planning.

Announcing a community, problem-oriented, or restorative justice program absent the participation of government, community, or private leadership is shortsighted and likely counterproductive. If the goal is to build trust and capacity among stakeholders in the community, taking time to effectively build the coalition through meetings to air past grievances and envision future needs is essential. Once a coalition for these justice improvements has been created, a joint announcement with all participants fully visible is important to assure those who might be skeptical that comprehensive involvement has been integral to the reform effort.

At the same time, communities in distress and/or marginalized over time are often without the capacity to work with the police on improving community safety, reducing violence and crime, and improving community social cohesion. Developing linkages with NGOs in these communities and taking steps to engage the community and its leadership will be a complex process for the community as well as for the police.

An important consideration here is the need to assess a community's capacity to work with the police, if these new policing methods (i.e. community and problem oriented and restorative justice) are to become part of the fabric of local law enforcement efforts. Community capacity has been defined as "the extent to which members of a community can work together effectively, including their abilities to develop and sustain strong relationships, solve problems and make group decisions, and collaborate effectively to identify goals and get work done" (Mattessich and Monsey 1997, 61). Conducting this assessment provides an understanding of community capacity, and where appropriate, can identify ways that the police and other government, NGO, and private sector agencies can help to improve this capacity to work with the police and others. At the same time, creating a baseline for community capacity to receive the interventions suggested here provides a way of measuring the community-building effects of police engagement once implemented (Duffee et al. 2006).

Where there is deep, longstanding distrust toward law enforcement and citizens are more reluctant to cooperate, community partnerships can assist local residents in learning to develop confidence in the police. Even when minority groups are abused or treated unfairly by the police, it is sometimes found that they are willing and eager to work together with law enforcement to implement reforms throughout the justice and security sector (Ben-Porat, Yuval, and Mizrahi 2012). When reliable local leaders and business owners work together with the police, citizens are more likely to trust in the justice process, as their local leaders are likely to provide a check on official police abuse.

Engagement Option #4: Promoting community capacity building.

Capacity building for the police is largely a matter of organizational change. Capacity building for the community is fundamentally about the ability of the community and its leaders to work with the police toward the goal of reduced crime, violence, and disorder, provided under the umbrella of community respect and adherence to the rule of law. Both are delicate matters, as both require changing the nature of the relationship between the police and the public, which in many places has been frayed and distrustful.

One caveat is offered here. To reiterate from our earlier discussion on adopting a community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice strategy, the police cannot abandon their role in making communities safe and secure, nor do communities expect less of them. So although the police and the community develop their respective and joint capacities for addressing community development issues, crime (as indicated previously) must remain a core function of the police, and in exercising that function, the police must first protect and secure communities. This will require that throughout the reform process, the police must maintain a clear focus on controlling and responding to crime and violence, and in doing so adhere to the rule of law and community expectations regarding procedural justice (Haugen and Boutros 2014).

Short-term interventions are also necessary in the capacity-building process. They create some degree of competence and confidence that shifting toward new law enforcement and justice practices can actually help the police deal with violence and crime and improve community perceptions about the law and its enforcement. Most police on the ground are pragmatic in the ways they approach matters of crime and violence. Oftentimes, having no “model” to test in a field leaves line-level police officers uncertain and insecure about what actions to take under these new policing methods. At the same time, those who would continue to violate their commitment to just enforcement of the law can generally ignore these interventions, as they are not well specified and/or implemented. Ramping up some pilot programs to begin to field test community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice practices can help to overcome organizational resistance to such efforts stemming from uncertainty or antipathy.

Engagement Option #5: Designing strategic planning processes for understanding community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice practices.

Community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice practices often represent a strategic challenge for many police agencies. Frequently grounded in militaristic approaches to crime control, these new emphases challenge police

agencies and their leaders to rethink aspects of the institutional mission. New and specific policing approaches must be developed with the local context and traditional models of justice in mind. These efforts are worthwhile, as the incorporation of the core tenets of the new models does result in positive outcomes when they are applied strategically. For example, in a review of evidence-based crime prevention approaches in developing countries, researchers found that community-based programs were generally found to be successful in reducing rates of criminal activity (Bowles, Akpokodje, and Tigere 2005). Difficulties with implementing these types of police interventions have often been rooted in inadequate strategic planning and management. If properly implemented, when the new models have emerged, political, administrative, civic, and private leadership will have supported them first at the strategic level and then operationally.

3.4 THE VALUE OF A PILOT PROGRAM

It is perhaps a truism that police agencies do not come to the ideas of community and problem oriented policing and restorative justice practices easily or directly. History demonstrates that the structure and function of the police in most parts of the world have their roots in military practices, a crime fighting emphasis, and centralized command and control. Consequently, the internal capacity of police systems will likely be challenged in the implementation of some of these innovations. The ability to incorporate these changes must therefore become a primary focus, and it will be important to conduct a thorough assessment of the policies, practices, administrative structure, and service delivery system of the police agencies to determine their current capacities.

Engagement Option #6: Supporting the piloting of a community, problem-oriented, and restorative justice approach in a target neighborhood.

The old adage that application is the best test of a theory applies to the implementation of new policing and restorative justice practices by the police. Oftentimes, modeling aspects of these programs in selected police agencies can go a long way in demonstrating “proof of concept” to police officials and community members who may be skeptical of such efforts. Modeling is important for several reasons: 1) it assures the police service in question that others (particularly other police) are attempting similar changes, 2) it provides insight into how those efforts were implemented and with what success, 3) it builds confidence and capacity for change within the selected police service, and 4) it helps to create comparative metrics by which to assess the changes sought in the selected police service. Sensitivity toward individual community experiences is crucial to successfully carrying out the new policing strategies.

Reform efforts in Brazil, for example, have focused more heavily on both community and problem-oriented policing strategies in order to address severe distrust toward a previously corrupt police force, as well as widespread drug trade crimes and drug-related violence. Political leaders implemented a carefully developed combination of targeted programs in select neighborhoods to increase police accountability and reduce the excessive use of force, increase officer deployment to drive drug dealing out of communities, and build relationships between officers and community members. The implementation of these programs is seen to have increased public confidence and trust in the police. Without seeking to understand the experiences and problems faced by *favela* residents and without a comprehensive police reform strategy, police reform efforts likely would have been unsuccessful (Da Silva and Cano 2007).

Engagement Option #7: Investing in projects that work with host police agency(ies) in conducting internal audits of policies, procedures, internal structures, communications, specializations, and other organizational capacities to assess the readiness for change.

“Readiness for change” is an organizational change management concept that emphasizes the current capacity or readiness of organizations to undertake significant change. Readiness for change is influenced by many factors, including beliefs among organizational members that 1) they are capable of implementing the proposed change, 2) the proposed change is appropriate for the organization, 3) the leaders are committed to the proposed change, 4) the proposed change will benefit the organization and its members, 5) the organization has the structures and processes in place that can support the change (or the capacity to develop them), and 6) there is agreement that changing the organization is warranted (Cinute, Duxbury, and Higgins 2008; Holt et al. 2007). The introduction of community policing in several countries has revealed concerns with regard to police institutional readiness for change (for example, see Nalla and Newman 2013).

For example, although Cambodia has experienced success in its post-conflict police reform, this success has been limited by the police agency’s lack of resources. Without sufficient equipment and personnel, law enforcement officials are unable to consistently provide high-quality police services that can build public confidence (Broadhurst and Bouhours 2009). Thus, financial and other resources are just as important a factor in an organization’s “readiness for change” as are attitudes of officers and leaders.

An examination of police forces in Trinidad and Tobago revealed that officers there were not ready for reform, as they did not fully support community policing strategies and held many negative attitudes toward civilians as well as their own internal leadership. Without internal cooperation, team solidarity, and a willingness to work together with citizens, community policing measures are unlikely to succeed (Deosaran 2002). Reform efforts in the favelas of Brazil would likely have been unsuccessful were it not for the dedicated leadership of the Grupamento Policial em Areas Especiais (*Special Area Policing Group*). A high-ranking Brazilian police official spent time visiting community members and offering assistance to demonstrate to citizens and his officers that he was committed to making a change and was willing to take any steps necessary to achieve success (Da Silva and Cano 2007).

3.5 INVESTMENTS IN SUSTAINABLE POLICE TRAINING AND EDUCATION FOR THE LONG TERM

Providing support for personnel at all levels of decision making within police agencies is a fundamental process in building community and problem-oriented policing and for increasing police involvement in restorative justice practices. Although police are often trained in field tactics related to crime and violence, they sometimes lack preparation for the expanded role that will be needed for the new policing methods. Training curricula should pay attention to local community contexts, tailoring community and problem-oriented policing strategies to local customs and problems. In Germany, for example, police training efforts that did not consider the needs of disadvantaged and marginalized communities did not alleviate the distrust between these neighborhoods and the police, as the training provided had failed to foster officer investment in and understanding of

the communities they served (Feldes 2002). Similarly, efforts to professionalize the Amazonas military police in Brazil through university training are considered a failure because they do not prepare officers for the realities, customs, values, and specific problems of the communities they will police (Riccio, de Miranda, and Muller 2013).

Training at all levels of the police organizational hierarchy is necessary to better unify policy and street-level decisions and actions taken. This training and education is likely a gradual process, beginning with orientations and overviews and then integrating the philosophies and practices of community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice practices for each rank in the police service. This will require a review and assessment of existing training regimes and the tailoring of the new practices to ongoing routines.

Engagement Option #8: Although police training and capacity building are frequently part of reform efforts, the development of sustainable training capacities, including affordable mobile facilities to reach different communities and remote areas, receives less attention. It is important to invest in country or regional assessments of all police training, not just with the goal of incorporating community and problem-oriented police training and restorative justice practices in all modalities of training and education where appropriate, but also to assess capacities to provide and continuously adjust training over time. This is one of the potential gap areas the Bank can focus on in countries where other donors are already heavily invested in most of the basic police reform activities.

Engagement Option # 9: Investing in country or regional reviews of current police training for its adherence to open governance, rule of law, and anti-corruption activities as currently undertaken in several World Bank initiatives, and seeking to revise such training where appropriate, is another natural area for the Bank to support.

Engagement Option # 10: Training regimes provide the foundation for updating information and role expectations for the police. Their effective application, however, requires field supervision that observes and ensures that the police are complying with the training and expectations announced by the police service. To accomplish this, supervisory practices also have to be adjusted and regularly assessed. Developing regular supervisor training and reliable assessment systems is thus another important investment element.

Engagement Option #11: Performance management and review systems have to be updated for all levels of policing. Reflecting the tenants of the new policing models, such systems need to especially integrate group, agency, and individual officer performance into these contexts. Community feedback is one element of this process. Using examples from other countries and building on Bank experience with community feedback mechanisms, especially electronic feedback, different options can be tested in select communities and then systems developed and rolled out through the specified country.

Training, occupational socialization, supervision, and reward are the major mechanisms by which organizations, including the police, ensure some consistency in the services they provide, which are typically delivered in decentralized field settings. Linking these processes to formalized training will be a major aspect of repositioning the police toward new policing methods.

3.6 INVESTMENTS FOR DEVELOPING POLICE PERFORMANCE METRICS AND MEASURING PROGRESS AND SUSTAINABLE SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT FOR THE LONG TERM

It is critical that the police measure what really matters to a functioning law enforcement agency if they are to move away from a purely crime attack policing model to one emphasizing community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice goals. Consistent with the new intervention models, Langworthy (1999, 3) identified at least four broad police measurement domains that matter for policing, including:

- the impact domain, or measures of what the police are to affect (e.g., crime, fear of crime, and disorder);
- the organizational health domain, focused on the volume of police business, levels of community support, and officer job knowledge and satisfaction;
- the process domain, dealing with fairness, civility, equitable service, and ethical service; and
- the community assessment domain, dealing with police abilities and ethical behavior.

While these domains are rather broad, they include most of what the police traditionally do (e.g., reduce violence, crime, and disorder) and also incorporate many of the underlying aspects of community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice practice (e.g., community support, civility, fairness, equitable and ethical service) that need to be reflected in any new performance system.

Engagement Option # 12: Meetings between police, other government agencies, and civic and private sector leaders in the selected community/city should be held regularly to discuss how police activities should be assessed, how should police work in the future, and how they and others can contribute to reducing violence, crime and disorder while also improving community social cohesion and respect for the law. Since policing in general, but especially community and problem-oriented policing, does not happen in a vacuum and has to rely on cooperation from others, including the community, regular meetings are essential not only to address concerns, issues, and improvement options but also to develop performance systems that are interconnected. This is a long-term intervention that requires the maturity of a collaborative community crime prevention and enforcement approach.

These kinds of discussions can lead to a template for assessing the police in their repositioned institutional arrangement. At the same time, a meeting can create a coalition to support police reform within the selected community, which has proven to be particularly important in places where the police are seen negatively.

4. Conclusion: Promoting Organizational Change

Having laid the foundation for refocusing local law enforcement and justice system philosophies, policies, and practices toward new methods of policing, the levels of intervention presented, including community, organization, work group, and individual, become targets for implementation. The change must be both planned as well as organic, meaning that implementing new methods of law enforcement cannot be solely a top-down process. Imposing these changes on an existing system more often than not engenders resistance. Creating an internal planning process and coupling that process with organic changes coming from field operations are essential steps and are more likely to be a successful route to actually implementing and sustaining the types of reform envisioned here. The primary difficulty in implementing community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice practice is in ensuring that the on-the-ground behaviors of the police actually change and that the new policing models actually are adopted across the police organization.

There is also the all-important element of “community,” which itself changes over time as does crime and violence, underscoring the need for police organizations to be flexible and adaptable to changing conditions in changing places. To that end, the reforms suggested in the above recommendations will require continual review and consistent attention.

Police organizations steeped in traditional and/or inappropriate ways of conducting their affairs are most likely to be resistant to change. Despite such resistance, modern policing systems have changed over time, and generally for the better. It is important to note that over the long arch of police history in the developed world, the policing systems required considerable reform over the years (see Haugen and Boutros 2014, particularly chapter 10). In some ways, policing as an institution is a relatively new phenomenon, actually created in the 19th century and existing in a state of continuous reform since then. At the same time, the police are imbedded in larger government and political systems that themselves must undergo reform in order for police to be successful.

In many of the Bank’s client countries, police systems are even newer and bear a colonial legacy, or serve as the civilian version of the military. Nevertheless, police reform is still possible, though it is likely to be gradual with sporadic bursts of change. In the West, changes in police systems were invariably accompanied by improvements in professional standards for the police, including selection, training, education, salary, and organizational support, as well as the creation of oversight commissions and a cadre of professional police leaders. Similar changes will need to undergird police institutional change in the developed world as well.

Moreover, in the developing world, policing and creation of public order occur at the intersection of state-level and local-level actors (Albrecht and Kyed 2015), where local order is often negotiated between the formal state policing institution and a variety of local policing groups. Building coalitions between the police and others who interact in the policing world locally will be essential. Although there

is considerable variation in how state police function with local security-minded groups, a series of anthropological studies from the Philippines, Indonesia, Ghana, South Africa, Mexico, Bolivia, and Sierra Leone (Albrecht and Kyed 2015) suggest that the local policing and security leadership has been incorporated into many policing systems in developing nations, sometimes at the behest of the police and at other times begrudgingly so and with mixed results. Nonetheless, it is clear that policing in these countries is certainly a plural exercise, and reforms to the institution will have to take these other non-state actors into consideration.

The anticipated outcomes of community and problem-oriented policing as well as restorative justice practices include reduced crime and fear of crime, increased neighborhood cohesion and public safety, and reduced hazard and harm. In addition, there will be clear evidence that community problems are being addressed, mitigated, or solved and community harms from violence, crime, and disorder repaired. But these outcomes will require changes to police philosophies and strategies, including how the police conduct their work; the structure, culture, and human resources of the organization; and how the organization measures effectiveness and assesses its operations and their impact. Although this may seem like a daunting task, some of the needed changes are well within the grasp of the police and their constituencies, including in many developing countries, and can be accomplished with modifications to existing training regimes. It will be important to develop a consistent message throughout the training and incremental change process to ensure that officers are supported in their new or expanded roles under these programs. Basic, roll-call, and promotional training should be examined to also ensure that they are consistent with the values and philosophies of these new policing styles.

Importantly, officers must receive training in areas where they are least likely to have historically done so. These include conflict resolution, community engagement, and communication with the public, for example. There are any number of model curricula for community and problem-oriented policing, and several international programs, including handbooks, concerning restorative justice practice (Nalla and Newman 2013; Weitekamp and Kerner 2003).

In addition to the initial and subsequent training of police officers and police leaders, police organizations will need to examine existing structural assignments and current operating procedures to assess the extent to which they support or detract from these efforts. As these structures, policies, and procedures were likely created under a different model of policing, it will be essential to remove any structural and policy barriers to the adoption of the new regimes (Sparrow 1988).

A recognized deficiency in many police services in the developed world is poor working conditions, meager pay, and inadequate equipment. Improving these conditions in and of themselves will not lead to the adoption of new policing methods, but in the absence of a sufficient resource foundation, it will be difficult to overcome issues of corruption, neglect of duty, and oft-expressed hostility toward marginalized communities. Striking a balance between promoting a change in direction in policing in these countries with providing appropriate support and human development will be a necessary condition of realizing police services capable of protecting and serving their communities.

Longer-term issues, such as assessing the backgrounds and qualities of new police recruits as well as changes to police cultures, will require a systematic review of the existing recruitment and selection criteria and the cultural attributes of the police agency. The latter also includes a consideration of how the police review and oversee police officer integrity. These are likely to be slow moving changes. Moreover, how people self-select for police work differs across the world, and understanding how this selection interacts with cultural definitions of the role and function of the police is important in determining what messages the police organization sends to prospective police officers. If the message is “business as usual,” reforming the police institutionally will be further delayed.

Lastly, what a police organization values is likely measured by internal assessment systems. Shifting from a crime attack to a more community, problem-oriented, and restorative approach will require realigning internal measurement and assessment systems to capture a wider array of information on what officers are doing and to what effect. Police agencies moving toward more modern systems must clearly announce and then consistently measure the behaviors expected of the police. Without this practice, the accountability of officers and the entire police service will be diminished.

Ultimately, for community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice practices to be realized, criminal justice personnel, and especially the police, must incorporate these ideas and practices into their daily work. This will require that police work groups and individual officers see the value of these practices in their work and in the resolution of community conflict, crime, violence, and disorder. It is encouraging to note that policing practices in the developed world have largely been refocused over the years from exclusively fighting violence and crime to reducing harm more broadly. A similar renaissance in thinking about the police in the developing world, coupled with the determined and consistent implementation of community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice practices, is clearly warranted. Such efforts will help improve the environment for social and economic development in developing countries consistent with the mission of the World Bank, especially in its efforts to improve open governance, increase inclusiveness, reduce corruption, and enhance local justice through adherence to the rule of law. Reforming police services is therefore an essential ingredient in improving the implementation and effect of development efforts in developing countries, and hence is a significant and worthwhile focus for World Bank and other donor engagement.

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