



Law Enforcement: Functions, Organization and Current Issues

Policing in a Democracy
 Functions of Police
 Policing in the Model Countries
 Key Operational Issues for Police around the Globe
 International Police Cooperation
 Summary
 Comparative Criminal Justice at the Movies:
Rendition (2007)
 Critical Thinking Exercise: *Police Policy of
 Pay-for-Sex Services Is Challenged*
 Discussion Questions
 For Further Reading
 Web Pages for Chapter

Key Terms and Concepts

chuzaisho
 civil order control
 community policing
 deviance control
 Gendarmerie Nationale (GN)
kidotai
koban
mutbahiith
mutawa
 National Police Agency (NPA)
 peace operations
 police corruption
 Police Nationale (PN)
 prefectural police
 UNPOL

Chapter 5 Learning Objectives

Explain the two major functions of modern police forces.
 Discuss the key elements of effective community policing programs.
 Describe the unique features of policing in our model countries.
 Understand the key operational issues for police around the world today.
 Identify the major examples of international police cooperation.

In the city of Port Said, Egypt, at least 74 soccer fans were killed following a February 2012 soccer game as fans of the local El Masry soccer club attacked supporters of their rival Al Ahly. The post-game riot led to the filing of criminal charges against 75 people, including nine police officers and one top police official who were said to have done nothing to protect the fans (Fahim and El Sheikh, 2012). The police of Oakland, California, used tear gas and flash grenades in January 2012 to quell a demonstration of 1,000 to 2,000 protestors, some of whom threw rocks and flares at the officers and tore down barricades. Over 100 protestors were arrested. In Norway an independent inquest into the mass killings by an anti-Muslim extremist in 2011 resulted in a rebuke of the country's police and intelligence forces. The police reports and inquest showed that the officials could have averted or at least disrupted the planned attack that killed 77 people in Oslo and Utøya Island. A number of top police officials have resigned over the incident (Lewis, 2012).

As these three scenarios describe, there is little doubt that the police officer's job today is not an easy one. Police are asked to perform a variety of functions: crime prevention, apprehension of lawbreakers, riot control, community service, protection against internal

security threats. Most recently, police have been asked to expand their roles beyond jurisdictional boundaries. While performing these functions, police must be both responsible and responsive. That is, they should be true to the law and at the same time adaptable to the needs of the public they serve.

The term *police* is derived from the Greek word *polis*, which in ancient Greece was used to describe the group responsible for maintaining health, safety, and order in the community. Later, the Romans reconceived the police as an authoritative arm for those in power. Today the terms *police* and *policing* refer to the work of a public, nonmilitary agency that is given the power to enforce the law and secure public order through the use of legitimate force (Mawby, 2011, 2008). In all societies, policing is the most basic function that a government performs to make community life tolerable. At the same time, it can be a problematic function, in that police have both the power and the obligation to respond with force if the occasion requires. This power to use force in the name of the government raises critical questions about police discretion and oversight of police operations by nonpolice institutions. No legitimate government can allow misuse of power by a rogue police organization to continue unchecked.

POLICING IN A DEMOCRACY

The police task is particularly difficult in a democracy, in which the two mandates of responsibility and responsiveness may be contradictory in certain situations. But this task is immeasurably easier in times of prosperity and peace than it is in times of tension, conflict, and civil disorder. In difficult times, the police tend to become the focus of public discontent. The police begin to see themselves as victims, and confrontations with citizens become surrogates for confrontations between government and dissidents.

Recent efforts to implement democratic policing and research about the role of police in democratic

societies have revealed at least four key elements that must be present to promote the democratization of the police. First, the police must be willing and able to serve individual citizens and private groups as well as those in political or economic power. This simply means that all citizens, not only the rich or those who support the police, should have total access to police assistance. Second, police must be accountable to the law rather than to the government. Law must not be applied by an arbitrary regime or its supporters but by those who are governed by law and validated by the courts. Third, the police must practice a level of professionalism that includes respecting human rights. Principles of human rights that are expressed

in all democratic societies (e.g., freedom of speech and association and freedom from unlawful arrest and detention) should be practiced and supported. Finally, the police should be transparent in all their activities. Police behavior must be observable, reportable, and subject to some outside oversight (Bayley, 2001; Marenin, 2003; Bayley, 2005; OSCE, 2008). Attempts to democratize the police in South Africa have led to the development of 150 indicators of democratic policing, classified under 39 measures that can be used to benchmark police reform (Bruce and Neild, 2005).

In nondemocratic societies, police are expected to be responsive chiefly to the ruling elite. The degree to which they are also law-abiding and responsive to the public depends on the nature of those ruling elite. Examples of this kind of policing can be found in our model countries of the People's Republic of China and, in some respects, Saudi Arabia.

However, it is important to clarify that trying to understand the different kinds of police around the world within the democratic and nondemocratic dichotomy is limiting. Even within these two political spheres there is considerable variation. Because of such variation, it is quite difficult to make generalizations about the models or styles, and especially the quality, of policing around the world. However, what we do know about modern policing may be expressed in at least three generalizations.

First, we know that police agencies around the world are formed and operate within a variety of cultural, historical, and economic factors. Because of these factors, police are a "mirror image of their parent society and often vice versa—that is, a change in one often gets reflected in the other" (Dhillon, 2005, p. 25). For example, with the growth of the democratic ideas brought forth by the Age of Reason and the Enlightenment, policing in England evolved during the 19th century following a model that emphasized the provision of services and operating with the consent of the citizenry within the context of a solid democracy (Dammer, 2010).

With an understanding of how social factors influence the formation and functioning of police,

those who study comparative policing have identified a number of models that attempt to explain how policing is conducted around the world. Remember that these models are not clear-cut; in some cases countries may operate in more than one model. But they do provide us with a better understanding of how societal conditions influence the formation of the police. The five models that have been identified are as follows:

- *Democratic Anglo-American*—Police are citizen-focused, and service and welfare of the community are as important as crime control and prevention. (e.g., United States, England)
- *Democratic continental*—Police are concerned with a legalistic approach that is government- and law-based, are less concerned with pleasing the public, and tend to be more militaristic in dealing with citizens. (e.g., France, Germany, Italy)
- *Developing countries*—Police have few financial resources, are paid poorly, and as a result are prone to corruption. The police may not even be run by the government. (e.g., Somalia, Afghanistan)
- *Authoritarian*—Police are largely a government and military force. Citizens are likely to experience repression, brutality, and torture. Policing is based on religious law. (e.g., Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Zimbabwe)
- *Asian*—Police place less emphasis on individual rights and utilize cultural norms to reinforce social order. (e.g., Japan)

Sources: Casey, 2010; Pakes, 2010; Mawby, 2008.

Second, keeping in mind that police agencies in every country are shaped by a variety of factors, we know that police are organizationally structured in one of three ways: centralized, semi-centralized, or decentralized (UNAFEI, 2003; Reichel, 2004). In centralized police systems, there is a national police force that is centrally commanded and controlled and has unlimited jurisdiction in the country. Semi-centralized police systems place the responsibility for policing jointly in the hands of states or pro-

along with some oversight by the central (federal) government. The third type, decentralized policing, places the responsibility of policing solely in the hands of states or provinces. Each country in the world has developed a variation of these three types of systems based on its own particular historical, political, and, in some cases, economic situation. See Table 5.1 for a summary of how these systems fit with our model countries.

Third, we know in general that police perform two major functions or tasks in modern societies: (1) deviance control and (2) civil order control. Both of these functions are necessary to ensure that people feel secure and are able to carry out their everyday business without fear and major disruption. Indeed, failure to perform either one of these functions means that a society is not adhering to the most basic tenet of the social contract that exists between most governments and their citizenry. The lack of such a social contract would surely lead to the vindictive and predatory relations that exist in uncivilized societies or those in a "state of nature."

FUNCTIONS OF POLICE

Deviance Control

Deviance control refers to the police mission and tasks that enforce community values and laws. Police personnel must protect citizens against lawbreakers such as those that steal or assault fellow citizens. In addition, the police seek to discourage alarming or threatening behavior that tends to make people uneasy or insecure. They must also ensure that people can move around freely and exercise their various rights as citizens without fear, harassment, or undue impediments. For example, police are carrying out this mission when they work with troubled juveniles or remove drunks from the streets. This function is profoundly conservative in nature, protecting the community against nonconformists and trying to keep violators of community norms under control. Having direct contact with the community in the form of police-community relations or crime

prevention programs may be a part of this function of reinforcing community values and discouraging criminal or other deviant behavior.

Civil Order Control

Civil order control refers to the duty of police to respond to, supervise, or control two or more citizens in any situation that may disrupt the peace and tranquility of a society. This police function may be performed by agencies other than the police or by specialized units within police forces. Civil order control differs from deviance control in that there often is a strong political component to the activities being controlled—actions that disturb the civil order may be extremely threatening to a government. There is always the possibility that police will overreact to or exacerbate the situation. Police may end up being adversaries of the citizens rather than part of the citizenry, and this can be a very uncomfortable role.

It must be emphasized that, when we discuss civil order control, we are not talking about the kind of police forces that are established as personal armies for authoritarian leaders and that have few qualms about ruthless suppression of dissent in their societies. Such forces, although still too common in the world today, cannot be classified as modern police agencies in the sense that we describe others in this book.

Modern police forces generally organize to accomplish the functions of civil order control and deviance control in one of two ways. By far the most common arrangement is to have these functions performed by different divisions within the larger organization. Among our model countries, this is the arrangement favored by Germany, France, China, Japan, and Saudi Arabia. By contrast, in England and the United States, civil order control is not organizationally separated from deviance control but is performed by regular street police. Military units may also be used in extreme cases on an ad hoc basis. Although no democratic country wants to use its military to maintain order internally, the military remains the last resort in a civil order crisis in any country.

TABLE 5.1 Summary of Police Characteristics in Model Countries

	USA	England	France	Germany	China	Saudi Arabia	Japan
Civil Order Functions	Regular street police or military in extreme situations	Regular street police or military in extreme situations	Specialized police in GN and PN called <i>Republican Security</i> (PN) and <i>Gendarmerie Mobile</i> (GN)	All recruits are trained in civil order policing, called <i>Bepo</i>	Ministry of Public Security may turn to the Chinese People's Armed Police, (PAP), which serves as part of the army	Special Forces (Pilgrims) and Festival Police Force, or National Guard or Saudi Army in extreme situations	Specialized police in each prefect called <i>kidotai</i> , a quasi-militarized National Guard
Deviance Order Functions	Regular street police in different jurisdictions: local, county, and state	Provincial police forces	PN in Paris and urban areas; GN in towns of less than 10,000	<i>Schupo</i> and <i>Kripo</i>	Ministry of Public Security	<i>Mubahith</i> conduct criminal investigations, domestic security, and counterintelligence; <i>mutawa</i> are religious/morals police	Prefectural police
Model	Democratic Anglo-Peelian	Democratic Anglo-Peelian	Democratic continental	Democratic continental	Mixture of Asian and authoritarian	Authoritarian	Asian
Centralized or Decentralized	Decentralized	Decentralized	Centralized	Decentralized	Centralized	Centralized	Centralized
Current Issues of Concern	Drug crimes, violent crimes, gangs	Economic crimes, private crimes, policing	Civil disorder, racial tension, drugs	Growing immigration, racial crimes, private security	Economic crimes, corruption, growing crime rates, civil unrest calling for rights	Humans rights issues, equal rights for women, terrorism	<i>Boryokudan</i> or organized crime, cybercrimes
Community Policing	Regular police	Regular police through "reassurance policing"	Police de Proximité	Older police especially trained for work in specific neighborhoods	Beat policing—patrolling the community	No formal network of community policing	Community policing posts: <i>koban</i> and <i>chuzaisho</i>

Countries such as France and Germany that separate the functions organizationally differ among themselves with respect to these arrangements. These differences reflect particular historical developments. Even countries with separate civil order control divisions have had limited success in creating structures that reconcile disparate organizational needs and at the same time are both responsible and responsive. Table 5.1 provides a summary of the methods for performing deviance order and civil order functions in our model countries.

POLICING IN THE MODEL COUNTRIES

In this section we describe some of the historical developments that have helped to form the police in our model countries and examine how the organizational structures perform deviance order and civil order policing. We conclude with a brief description of the issues of current importance for police in our model countries.

England

The modern English police force dates back to 1829, when the Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel urged Parliament to establish the London Metropolitan Police to deal with the unrest, crime, and disorderliness that accompanied urbanization and industrialization in 19th-century London. Because the genesis of the police in England came from democratic ideals and opposition to the form of policing used by the French, the English police have tried to develop the image of being "civilians in uniform": friendly, helpful, and capable. Another way to explain the police reforms put forth by the English is as an effort to gain support of the public by consent rather than by force. Traditionally, they have not carried firearms and in violent confrontations have had only the truncheon as a means of protecting themselves and asserting their power.

The model of "policing by consent" remained a staple of British policing through the twentieth

century. Whether the model was totally effective has been debated, but we do know that in general the confrontations between the police and the public, as well as the abuse of power by the police, abated during the 20th century, especially after World War II. We also know that the recorded crime rates following World War II were, by any standard, very low.

For almost 185 years the police in England and Wales have traditionally been an organization that has national standards but is highly decentralized, with each city or town making rules and providing funds for its own police operations and controlling the hiring, firing, and compensation of police personnel. However, there has been some discussion in England and Wales that the police appear to become more centralized; for example, they have begun to use strategies such as training and community policing that come from the Government (Jones and van Sluis, 2009). At present, there are 44 total police forces, including 41 provincial police forces in England and Wales. The provincial police, also called territorial police forces, are funded by local districts and regions (50 percent) and by the central government (50 percent). The chief constable is the main administrator for each of the 41 provincial forces. In the local districts, policing is delivered through the formation of basic command units (BCUs). The BCUs make it easier to deliver the various forms of community policing that are so vital to the service role of the British police and the need to solicit citizen cooperation for crime prevention.

In addition to the provincial police, the remaining three forces are the British Transport police and two police forces in greater London: the Metropolitan Police Force (with 31,500 officers) and the London City Police (900 officers). To assist the regular police in the area of London are two other kinds of law enforcement. The first is the Metropolitan Special Constabulary (MSC), created over 175 years ago. The 2,500 members of the MSC operate in Greater London, and although they are not paid, they have the full powers of a police officer (constable). Also, in 2002 the British began to deploy police community support officers

(PCSOs). The force now numbers 13,000 uniformed officers who work along with regular officers in neighborhood policing areas; however, they are not as well trained, receive lower pay, have less equipment, and have less legal power than officers. PCSOs generally “perform routine duties, assisting and supporting Police Officers, gathering intelligence, carrying out security patrols and, through their presence alone, reassuring the public. Where possible, they also attend to matters not requiring police powers” (Metropolitan Police, 2009). The PCSOs cost 25 percent less than regular officers, and they operate throughout London and adjoining suburbs (Muir, 2003). Finally, the British also deploy special police, such as the Ministry of Defence Police and the Port of London Authority Police, that have specific jurisdictional responsibilities. Many have heard the famous English police term *Scotland Yard*. Scotland Yard is actually the location for the Metropolitan Police Force of London; it serves as a national repository for crime statistics, information on criminal activity, missing persons reports, fingerprints, and juvenile delinquent

data. As of March 2010, there were almost 1.5 million police officers in England and Wales, not counting the transit police (c. 3,000) and special police mentioned above (Dhani, 2010).

The training of police in England has revamped since the Criminal Justice and Police Act of 2001, which called for the formation of a new training authority called Centrex, and the subsequent development of the National Police Improvement Agency in 2007 (Terrill, 2009). Trainees start out as constables and must participate in a 14-week course during which recruit theoretical and practical information on a variety of topics, followed by a 10-week field experience under the supervision of an experienced constable. After that 24-week period, the new constable remains on probation for the first two years of service while gaining additional classroom training and supervision. Those who aspire to become police administrators attend the police staff college at Bramshill, the central police leadership training college in Britain. For a comparison summary of police training in our model countries, see Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2 Police Training Standards in Model Countries

Country	Amount of Training	Type of Training	Qualifications
England	24 weeks of initial training; 2-year probation period; administrators attend Bramshill College	Classroom, field, and physical fitness training	Unavailable
China	6 months	Unavailable	High school or college, at least 25 years old
Germany	Varies—generally 2–3 years	Physical fitness, classroom, and field training	Varies—generally midlevel education
Japan	1 year for prefectural police	Classroom, field, and physical fitness training	National qualifying examination
France	For National Police, 1 year	Classroom, field, and physical fitness training	Written and physical tests; at least 19 years old
Saudi Arabia	3 months for lower officers, 3 years at security college for higher officers	For higher officers, extensive academic training	Literacy
United States	2–40 weeks, with an average of 10	Physical fitness and classroom training	High school; in some jurisdictions, some college

SOURCES: UNCJS, 1999, pp. 333–334; Terrill, 2009; Alobied, 1989, pp. 80–84.

The English police, as presently organized, carry out both the deviance and the civil order control functions of police. There is no separate agency or even a well-defined way to deal with civil order control problems in England. On occasion England has used the military to back up its police civil control efforts. The role of the police in riot control was severely tested in early August 2011 when several London boroughs and numerous other English cities and towns experienced a wave of rioting, looting, and arson. Over 3,000 people were arrested, 5 persons died, and dozens were injured; the property damages soared above 120 million U.S. dollars. In London, the Metropolitan Police called on the *Public Order Operational Command Unit* to handle the rioting. In the months following the riots, a study conducted by the London School of Economics that included interviews with over 600 persons found that opportunism, perceived social injustices, and anger and frustration at the way their communities were policed were among the most common reasons cited for the unrest (Lewis and Newburn, 2012).

Issues of Concern for the Police in England. In addition to the fallout associated with the 2011 riots, a major recent challenge for the English police and larger government was the responsibility of providing the security for the Olympics and Paralympics held in London in the summer of 2012. Consider the volume and cost of security needed to handle over two months of sports and events in over a thousand venues. To handle this monumental task, over 12,500 police were assisted by 18,000 military personnel, and over 10,000 private security persons that were hired, trained, and supervised by the private security firm G4S. By some accounts, the largest peacetime security effort in the history of England will cost the equivalent of almost 1 billion U.S. dollars. Despite some concerns about the costs associated with securing the Games, it appears that the efforts of all involved were rewarded with no serious security incidents (Info4 Security, 2012).

Recent social, economic, and technological changes in England have created new crime problems and have called for new and improved methods of

policing, including some calls for reform by both the police and the government (Barton and Barton, 2011). The police in England have tried to adapt to social changes through the adoption of a plethora of community policing strategies. Crimes such as illegal immigration, human trafficking, drug trafficking, and computer fraud, called "mobile crimes," have inspired a call for a police force that is more flexible, technologically savvy, and able to cross jurisdictional borders (Kirby, 2011). Some of the common tools used for law enforcement that have evolved since the 1990s include more sophisticated computer technology to identify and catch criminals, better use of DNA testing, and the extensive use of closed circuit television (Johnson, 1999, p. A8; Joyce, 2011). The British have also moved to address national and international crime issues through the formation of new national police organizations such as the National Crime Squad, the National Criminal Investigation Service, the National Security Service (more commonly known as the MI5), and the Serious Organized Crime Agency. These agencies have played an important role in enhancing the communication between law enforcement agencies in England and other law enforcement agencies of the European Community (e.g., Europol and Interpol) (Dammer, 2010).

France

Policing in France has a long history, dating back to at least the year 580 C.E., when night watch systems were common. In 1306 King Phillip le Bel formed the first criminal investigation unit, and around that time the first mounted military police, called the *maréchaussée*, were formed. Between 1697 and 1699, Louis XIV asserted his authority as king over policing, and the *maréchaussée* became the formal law enforcement arm of the country. In 1789 Napoleon gave them their military flavor and in 1791 they formally became the Gendarmerie. In 1903 they were established as a local military force (Dupont, 2008). The **Gendarmerie Nationale (GN)** forms one leg of the highly centralized national police structure; the second, created in 1966 and previously called the *Sûreté Nationale*, is the **Police Nationale (PN)**.

In contrast to England, where the stated philosophy is policing by consent, many feel that the French police see themselves more as acting on behalf of the state i.e., the country. It therefore appears that the police have little concern for the rights of the average citizen. In the first few years of the 21st century, a conservative political faction moved to address the growing crime issue and increasing civil unrest in France. Whether this conservative trend in dealing with criminals will continue is unknown now that Nicholas Sarkozy has been replaced in the presidency with Socialist Francois Hollande.

The organization of the French police is an unusual one. Even though the police in France are coordinated by the government and thus regarded as centralized, at the same time the country has two separate police organizations. As mentioned, the two French police organizations are the Police Nationale and the Gendarmerie Nationale. The PN operates within the Ministry of the Interior, whereas the GN operates within the Ministry of Defense. The leadership of both is centralized in Paris. Both have conventional deviance control responsibilities, although in different places, with the PN responsible for Paris and other urban areas and the GN responsible for small towns and rural areas with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants.

The GN oversees ten geographical regions with two main administrative divisions. At a total strength of over 105,000 officers, it performs all basic police tasks for nearly half of the French people. Curiously, working for the GN, the police arm of the military, carries greater prestige than working for the PN under the Interior Ministry. GN training is slightly different: the officers live in barracks, and their training places greater emphasis on the military aspects of police work. For this reason, members of the GN see it as a more disciplined law enforcement agency that is superior to the PN (Terrill, 2009). In addition, a number of specialized units within the GN provide assistance in areas such as security of public officials, maritime and overseas support, airport security and transport, and training.

The PN is the larger police force, with over 150,000 personnel divided into nine departments. Recent legislation has allowed local governments to

hire their own police officials and officers. police forces, called the Police Municipale out duties (specified by the mayors and town councils) related to crime prevention, public order, and public safety. The 18,000 officers Police Municipale remain under the supervision and jurisdiction of the minister of the interior.

Recruitment and training for the PN are handled separately by each organization. The PN requires police recruits to take written and physical agility tests. If selected, the recruit undergoes an eight-month training period at one of the regional National Police Schools, followed by a four-month in-the-field training period. The recruit is then assigned to a town, city, or Republican Security Company. Longer periods of training and additional schooling are required for those interested in becoming police inspectors or administrators (Terrill, 2009). When it comes to civil control, the GN and the PN each have specialized forces that perform this task. In the PN, the Republican Security Companies assume responsibility. In the GN, the Gendarmerie Mobile is assigned to civil disorder and other large-scale problems that involve the possibility of violence. These specialized civil order control branches operate independently of the conventional police work of patrol and criminal investigations.

Issues of Concern for French Police. Civil order control is a major problem for the police, probably more so than in any other model countries. The French have a long history of taking to the streets to express their unhappiness about social and political issues. In 1789 the masses stormed the Bastille and sparked the French Revolution. In addition to simple demonstrations, politically motivated acts of violence are a concern for citizens, with many of the problems stemming from labor unions protesting government cutbacks of services and benefits. Several riots have taken place recently, and attacks on police officers and other public officials are uncommon. The most damaging of these occurred in 2005 when three weeks of nightly riots in the suburbs of Paris and several other cities.

officers. These
municipale, carry
town coun-
order, secu-
officers in the
supervision
interior.
PN and GN
ization. The
written and
recruit attends
of the eight
followed by a
period. The
ary, or local
training and
those inter-
administra-
civil order
specialized
PN, the
responsi-
Mobile are
scale pro-
nence. Both
branches
personal police
ans.

ice. Civil
the French
any of our
long history
unhappiness
the French
the French
onstrations.
are a major
the problems
government
eral violent
attacks on
als are not
occurred
campaigns in
cities left

extensive damage including 10,000 burned cars and 300 damaged buildings. Police arrested more than 6,000 people during the riots, which left 220 police injured (Stinson, 2006). More recently, in the northern French city of Amiens, clashes between youths and police in August 2012 resulted in cars and buildings burned and 17 police officers injured by rocks, fireworks, and gunshot. The police were forced to use tear gas and rubber bullets to quell the riot (Erlanger, 2012).

In addition to the major issues of concern related to civil order control, the French police also have to deal with the issues of drugs, terrorism, and immigration. With the collapse of its North African colonial empire, France has experienced a large immigration of Arabs from its former colonies of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. Racial tension and cultural conflict have resulted, with attendant problems for law enforcement and judicial operations. With the largest Jewish population in Western Europe, France has also experienced an increase in the number of verbal and physical attacks on Jews. And with its central location and efficient fine transportation system, France is also a crossroads for terrorist activity and drug activity from both internal and external sources.

Germany

The first organized police force in Germany dates back to the early 19th century, when some of the German kingdoms adopted a force similar to the one developed by Napoleon in France (Feltz, 2004). During the reign of Otto von Bismarck in the 1870s, Germany became a more centralized government, and the culture of a strong civil service system that developed that survives to this day. The police were an important part of that elite system. German police strength grew from 200,000 to 1.5 million between 1933 and 1945, the years when Germany was under the domination of Hitler and the National Socialist party.

Immediately after the war the German police were placed under the supervision of the military regional governments of the Allies. With the new German constitution of 1949 and the formation of

11 *Länder* (states) in West Germany, each state gained the power to establish its own police force. Under the authority of the Soviet government, the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) established a single central police force. The police of the GDR were dissolved after reunification in 1990, and many of the former People's Police (Volkspolizei) of the GDR were subsumed into the police forces of the new states, with the exception of any police member who had close ties to the secret police (*Stasi*) of the GDR.

Today the police of Germany are part of a decentralized executive force. The police laws of the 16 states deal with preventing crime, preserving public security and order, and warding off impending danger. The German constitution (Article 20:3) allows each *Länder* to have its own police law and force. Each *Länder* controls its force from that state's Interior Ministry rather than decentralizing the police to municipalities or other units of local government. Thus, the German system occupies a middle level of decentralization between the highly centralized French system and the highly decentralized and fragmented U.S. system.

Within each state are several kinds of police. The Schutzpolizei (or Schupo) are the equivalent of municipal police; they are the first to arrive at the scene of most crimes and handle all general aspects of law enforcement and simple investigations. The Kriminalpolizei (Kripo) are plainclothes police who handle serious crime investigations and situations that require developing a case against a suspect. The German federal government also has some police agencies at its disposal. The Federal Border Police (Bundesgrenzschutz, or BGS) are organized along military lines but are under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, not the Ministry of Defense. Their major functions include border control, sea patrol, and airport and railroad security; they also may assist in major civil disturbances beyond the scope of the *Länder* police. Included within the BGS is a special task force, called Grenzschutzgruppe 9 (GSG 9), that handles terrorist incidents.

An individual who aspires to a career of policing usually joins the German police at the young age of 16 or 17, straight out of vocational secondary

school. The first two and a half to three years are spent living in barracks and undergoing basic training. A large part of this training focuses on riot control; the rest involves conventional school subjects, the law, and law enforcement (Zimmerman and Schwindt, 2003). After one year in the training schools, the young officers may be used for civil order control work either in their own states or, if the need arises, in other states of the Federal Republic. While in training or being used as police for civil order control, they are called the *Bereitschaftspolizei* (Bepo).

After the years of basic training and civil order control work, the Bepo officers spend about six months in general law enforcement training prior to beginning street patrol work. With few exceptions, recruits must go through the street patrol experience for at least a few years. After that time, some of them will undergo several more years of training to become either criminal investigators or middle-management supervisors.

Candidates for the highest management positions (the top 3 percent of recruits) go through another two years of training, with one year at the German Police University in Münster, where they meet and work with top management candidates from other *Länder*. Since 2008 they have been able to receive a master's degree in public administration and management. Plans are in progress to offer a Ph.D. for police administrators. Since 2007 the German Police University has offered a degree in police science, and since 2003 a second university (in Ruhr-Bochum) has offered a degree in criminology and police science (Feltes, 2009).

Issues of Concern for German Police. The major problem for the German police over the last 20 years has been related to the large numbers of immigrants entering the country. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the number of foreigners who registered in Germany went from 4.2 million in 1987 to 7.4 million in 1997 (Ewald and Feltes, 2003). In 2008 the number declined to 7.2 million; however, these numbers do not reflect the emigrants from Russia, Poland, Romania, and other former Eastern Bloc countries who claimed German ancestry and

are thus counted as German citizens, nor do they include the significant number of Turks with immigrant parents. After an initial rise in crime immediately after the unification, overall crime has stabilized in Germany and has actually declined since 2000.

A related problem that arose during the 1990s was hate crimes. The influx of foreigners in the 1990s caused hostile reactions from some Germans, particularly young, working-class youths, who felt that immigrants from other countries were a threat to their livelihood and future. The German Intelligence Agency (Verfassungsschutz) has reported that a total of 12,000 right-wing extremists are in Germany, including almost 6,000 neo-Nazis. After 1990 the number of violent offenses recorded by police as having racist or phobic or right-wing connections rose. In 2005, police registered nearly 14,000 cases with racist or extremist characteristics, including 735 cases of violence. German human rights advocates estimate that 136 people have been killed by right-wing violence between 1990 and 2005. In 2010, almost 1,000 crimes were classified as right-wing motivated, compared to almost 19,000 in 2009; these crimes included 762 acts of violence in 2010, compared to 891 in 2009 (Feltes, 2009; Fischer, 2009).

China

The history of the police in China is a long one, with records going back to the Shun monarchy in 2000 B.C., when the geographic area now known as China was not a united kingdom but a loose confederation of tribes in which local officials were appointed to handle disputes and maintain order. For the next 2,000 years and during long periods of dynastic rule, policing in China remained a local affair that was handled by local officials or, in emergency situations, by the military of the emperor who was called in to handle civil disorder (Wong, 2009). Beginning the Zhou dynasty in the years 1100–771 B.C., the first Ministry of Justice and professional police institutions were formed to help local officials address law and order (Bayley, 1985). The Qin dynasty (221–207 B.C.) was important because during this time policing became more formalized and centralized, with a central administration and unified

(Wong, 2009). But even with the beginnings of a bureaucratic and governmentally supported formal police force, China has always been a country where social control is first addressed in the family, then in the community, and then by state officials. This societal trait has continued through the overthrow of the dynastic period in China in 1911 by the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) and through the tumultuous times that followed.

After gaining power in 1949, the Communist Party handed over policing to three groups: (1) public security forces, which provided basic police services; (2) militia groups, which monitored the border regions; and (3) the People's Liberation Army (PLA), which was the military wing of the Communist Party (Terrill, 2009). In the 1950s, as the Communist Party became more entrenched, formal mechanisms for law enforcement were developed based on the principles outlined in the first constitution of the People's Republic of China in 1954. Basically, the Chinese government formulated a Soviet-style criminal justice system, with overall control in the hands of the Communist Party. From the mid-1950s until 1966, there was little crime or civil disorder in China. But the Cultural Revolution of 1966 changed all that.

Along with Mao's attempt to reform the Communist Party came attacks on police officials and police stations and seizures of courts by the followers of Mao and the Red Guard. Local police were placed under the control of local Communist Party officials. Eventually, Mao had to call on the PLA to restore some semblance of order. This period of lawlessness and disorder continued until the late 1970s, when Deng Xiaoping reestablished the rule of law and restored the police as the main enforcers of law. This return of law and order to the police was reinforced by the Police Law of 1995, which replaced the previous law of 1957. The new law outlined the organizational structure, authority, and duties of police in China and defined the modern roles of police, including maintaining social order, safeguarding state security, protecting personal safety, protecting personal freedom and property, and guarding against and punishing law violators (Yisheng, 1999).

Some feel that the focus of the police in China has changed in the last decade. Although the local aspect of policing remains important and the neighborhood stations remain strong, police have now begun to concentrate more on crime fighting and order maintenance, and less on dealing with political dissent and the provision of social services. And as the police have become more centralized, professional, and accountable, they have also made an effort to recruit without politics as criteria and to follow the new emphasis on the rule of law that was put forth in the 1995 Law on People's Police of the People's Republic of China (Wong, 2010, 2002).

The Chinese police are centrally monitored by the Ministry of Public Security. The ministry formulates policies and regulations, coordinates police work and operations among the 22 provinces, and provides technological and specialized assistance to local police (Du, 1997). The Chinese police are divided into five main components: public security police, state security police, prison police, judicial procuratorates police, and judicial people's courts police. Although this organization may seem straightforward, what confuses our understanding of the Chinese police is the myriad of levels under which they operate. Although the five police agencies are directly answerable to the Ministry of Public Security, they are also under the authority of the individual provinces, 450 prefects, almost 2,000 county security bureaus, and thousands of local police stations (Guo et al., 1999). Thus, whereas in theory the police fall under the leadership of the Ministry of Public Security, in practice the day-to-day administration is governed by a corresponding agency. In many cases, local levels of government can determine their own policing priorities and appoint and promote their own officers (Xiancui, 1998).

The public security police (*gongan*; literally "public peace") provide not only basic uniformed patrol but also 12 other specialized functions, including supervision of probationers and parolees, criminal investigations, fire control, border patrol, and monitoring of all modes of transportation (Cao and Hou, 2001; Wang, 1996). They make up almost 90 percent of all the police in China. On the local levels, the public security police are represented by neighborhood stations called Paichu Su, which were possibly the forerunner

of the Japanese *koban* system (Wong, 2010). State security police, established in 1983, are responsible for preventing and investigating espionage, sabotage, and conspiracies. Prison police supervise convicted offenders in prisons. The judicial procuratorates police escort suspects in cases investigated by the procurators (similar to prosecutors). Finally, the judicial police in the people's courts maintain security and order in the various courts and may also carry out death sentences.

Most Chinese police graduate from one of the 300-plus police universities, colleges, or police academies located in the individual provinces, all of which are coordinated by the Ministry of Public Security. Recruits with special skills may be hired without this training, but all must be at least 25 years of age and have a strong physique. Training lasts for an average of six months but will vary depending on officers' future positions and specialization. Potential officers are trained directly by the Ministry of Public Security at one of the three major police universities, whereas nonofficers are trained by their respective governmental offices: province, county, prefect, or municipality (Guo et al., 1999; Wong, 2009).

When there is a civil order dispute in China, the Ministry of Public Security generally calls upon the main public security police in that jurisdiction. However, since the Law on the People's Armed Police Force (PAPF) was passed in August 2009, the more than 660,000 troops of the Chinese People's Armed Police (PAP) are now responsible for dealing with riots, fire emergencies, large disruptions, serious violent crimes, border defense, terrorist attacks, and other emergencies (Wines, 2009). Technically, the PAP serves as part of the army, with dual responsibilities to the Central Military Commission and the Ministry of Public Security.

Issues of Concern for Chinese Police. Over the past 30 years, the Chinese have implemented significant reforms in many social and economic areas. With a free-market economy and an increase in individual wealth have come the social ills of crime. More specifically, the increase in drug use and trafficking and economic crimes such as corruption have been a major cause of concern. As a result, police have

been called to crack down on crime through the implementation of various "get tough" (*Yanda*) policies. Citizens have also responded with calls for increased civil rights and democratic participation, often resulting in violence. The most infamous incident occurred in 1989 in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, when over 800 people died in a hail of gunfire from the Red Army as part of a mass demonstration in favor of democracy and freedom. Despite the international furor that followed, Chinese officials defended their actions to this day, stating that they were necessary to maintain public order.

Since the early 1990s, the number of what the Chinese call "mass incidents" has increased dramatically to as many as 127,000 in 2008—348 a day. The government has responded by arresting many individuals for counterrevolutionary crimes (Wedeman, 2009). National surveys in the late 1990s suggested that the public viewed the police in a positive way and had confidence in their abilities (Ma, 1997). However, according to other sources, public attitudes toward the police have shifted since the Cultural Revolution. The Chinese people now seem to view police with more distrust and to see them as bullies or tyrants. The number of complaints against police has increased considerably, and physical confrontations with citizens have become more frequent (Cao, 1995). One example of this distrust is the case of a 28-year-old man who was convicted of killing six police officers in 2008. Yang Jia entered a Shanghai police station and then stabbed and killed the officers, as revenge, he claimed, for having been beaten for stealing a bicycle in October 2007. To the surprise of many, during his two trials a great number of supporters gathered outside the courthouse, wearing t-shirts with his image, and called him a hero because he stood up to the police and government injustice (Barboza, 2008).

Recently, at least in public announcements, the Chinese government has begun to recognize the need for the rule of law over the rule of those in political power. This change is happening too slowly for many Chinese, especially young citizens, who are calling for more individual freedoms. This combination of challenges—economic growth, growing crime, and the call for more citizen rights—will undoubtedly

of great concern for the Chinese government and especially the police in the coming decades.

Japan

Prior to the Meiji Restoration of the late 19th century, Japanese village and community culture monitored the behavior of citizens very closely—not only to keep them from committing crimes but also to keep them from “laziness, neglect of business, quarreling, scandal mongering, etc.” (Clifford, 1976, p. 75). After the Meiji Restoration, and with the gradual development of Japan as a militaristic society in the early decades of the 20th century, formal police forces carried on this tradition. For the past 50 years, the Japanese have tried to adapt the American model of democratic policing to Japanese culture. In the years immediately following World War II, the U.S. occupation forces in Japan tried to institute community-controlled police based on the U.S. model. This effort was unsuccessful, and Japan returned to a centralized police organization.

Today, a six-person civilian National Public Safety Commission oversees the **National Police Agency (NPA)** with respect to most aspects of police organization and administration, including training, equipment, recruitment, communications, and criminal statistics. The NPA consists of seven regional bureaus and a force of approximately 1,900 officers, 900 imperial guards, and 4,900 civilians (NPA, 2011). The NPA handles all matters related to national security. It provides training, research, crime investigation, communications, and public safety, as well as support and supervision of the nation’s **prefectural police** forces. There are 47 prefectural police forces with approximately 284,000 officers. Each force is autonomous in that it is able to develop policies and procedures based on the needs of the prefect. At the same time, however, they are financially assisted by the national treasury, and all senior officers are employed by the NPA. The metropolitan areas of Tokyo and Hokkaido have their own prefecture force of 42,000 police, called the Metropolitan Police Force of Tokyo.

Prefectures are divided into several local police stations (over 1,200), which in turn are further

divided into police substations called **koban** or **chuzaisho**. These tiny police posts, located in all neighborhoods, constitute the heart of the Japanese police operation (Parker, 2001; Reichel, 2013).

The *koban* is a police post located in an urban neighborhood; in large cities, one finds a *koban* every few blocks. There are approximately 6,500 *koban*—many are storefront offices or tiny buildings resembling sentry stations. The officers in the *koban* account for over 20 percent of the total police strength in Japan.

Koban for the most part function as a “community safety center” for the local community. The main duties of *koban* officers include giving directions, securing the scene of accidents, and visiting homes and businesses to learn more about issues of concern to the community (Hirota, 1997). With the changes in family work patterns, increased social mobility, and lessening social cohesion in Japan, it is possible that the *koban* officer may soon find it difficult to achieve the levels of community communication necessary to make the system work effectively. Reforms such as the Koban Liason Councils have been established to enhance community communication, the essential ingredient for the *koban*’s success (Pakes, 2010).

The *chuzaisho* is the rural equivalent of the urban *koban*. There are over 7,500 *chuzaisho*, although their numbers have declined in recent years as Japan has become more urbanized. The rural police officer is known as *chusai-san*. He (almost all are men) lives with his family in a small house provided by the government that also serves as an office for conducting police business. The *chusai-san* spends his time patrolling his district (usually on motorcycle), visiting the residents, or conducting business out of his office in the *chuzaisho*. His duties include visiting each household twice per year, handling emergencies, and attending local functions. All duties are ways to integrate the officer into community life and keep him informed about matters that might aid him in his task of crime prevention and control. In some ways, the *chusai-san* resembles a local sheriff in a rural community in the United States.

To become a police officer in Japan, one must graduate from high school and pass a series of exams

and interviews. After this process, the recruit must attend the NPA Training School. If the recruit is a high school graduate, the training lasts one year; if he or she is a college graduate, it lasts six months. The training combines academic and legal courses with martial arts. After completing school training, the recruit receives one year of field experience and then returns to school for six months for further training. As in other countries, officers who advance to higher ranks within the agency are required to undergo additional training to develop their leadership and administrative abilities. The training program for officers is regulated by the NPA.

Civil order control in Japan is handled through a separate division in each prefecture. The division is militarized in the sense that officers live in barracks, receive training in crowd control, and use military formations during civil order crises. There are around 10,000 of these officers, called *kidotai*. Young officers are used for this division and generally serve for three years before returning to conventional street police work.

Issues of Concern for Japanese Police. Since World War II, the Japanese have generally grown to be proud of their police. They believe that the peculiar Japanese police culture is one of the main contributing factors to the low crime rate in Japan. In addition, they believe that the close relationship between the police and the public contributes to social harmony and good neighborhood relations. Among the duties of Japanese police are to act as counselors to troubled individuals in the neighborhood, provide marriage and divorce counseling, offer money management tips, give advice to parents with rebellious children, and help with problems of alcohol addiction. These activities all are part of the police officer's routine (Ueno, 1986).

However, in the 1990s there was been some controversy about the treatment of citizens by the Japanese police. More specifically, the debate is whether the police in Japan are in fact honest guardians respected by the community or if they spend an inordinate amount of time intimidating suspects and being involved in corruption (Mawby, 2008). Since that time, efforts have been made by the

Japanese government to provide reforms and such abuses, and it appears that confidence in Japanese police has been restored (Kanayama, 2008).

As mentioned in Chapter 4, in addition to handling of the March 2011 earthquake in Japan, the police in Japan are often occupied with the activity of organized crime (*boryokudai*). A recent concern, in addition to their traditional racketeering and violence, is their infiltration into construction, finance, and industrial waste industries and engagement in securities trading, concealing their organizations. The government and the police have responded by passing the Prevention of Unjust Conducts by Organized Crime Group Members, which calls for development of methods to mitigate the influence of the *dan*. Another issue of concern remains the increase in white collar and cybercrimes. In 2010 the Police Agency reported almost 7,000 cybercrimes, a new high for the country (NPA, 2011). To address the issue, the National Police Agency has developed a special center for cybercrime and cyberterrorism that will provide assistance to the prefectural police and various international and national agencies to combat technological crimes (Terrill, 2009). In this regard, Japanese police will remain among the most technologically trained police in the world.

Saudi Arabia

The Saudi Arabian police, a highly centralized force, are responsible for the maintenance of peace and order throughout the country. In the late 1920s, policing in Saudi Arabia was largely a tribal affair. A sheik, appointed to govern a certain region, would have the authority to maintain matters related to public safety. He would financially support the local police as well as provide himself with additional security. The sheik was granted the region between invasions and occupations by the Ottoman Empire (Damir, 2008). The sheiks even had the power to punish offenders under the civil law. In 1927, however, upon the founding of the modern Saudi Arabia, Abdul

country was consolidated and the first recognized police force was established.

The minister of the interior, who is appointed by the king, is responsible for the administration of all police matters. A director is appointed the head of the Saudi police and is then a high-ranked official in the Ministry of the Interior. The director hires most of the managers and officers of the 14 provinces (emirates) and local police forces. The police department is divided into three kinds of police: the regular police, the *mubahith*, and the *mutawa*. The regular police force is actually called the Department of Public Safety, and it handles most of the daily (deviance order control) functions in the country. The *mubahith*, or secret police, conduct criminal investigations and handle matters pertaining to domestic security and counterintelligence.

The "morals force" or "religious police" are known as the *mutawa* (or *mutaween*). This police force ensures that Saudi citizens live up to the rules of behavior derived from the Qur'an. Also called Saudi Arabia's Commission for Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, it has a membership of around 20,000 men, usually bearded men who wear traditional Arabic white robes (*kamees*). They are not armed and not trained as law enforcement personnel. Their roles are many, including maintaining strict separation of the sexes in Saudi public life, pressuring women to wear the traditional long black robes and face coverings, and stopping women from driving cars in certain locations. The *mutawa* also ensure that businesses are closed during prayer hours, cover up advertising that depicts attractive women, and regulate alcohol use. Because the *mutawa* are sometimes left to their own interpretation of right and wrong, there are numerous reports of the mistreatment and harassment of Saudi citizens, especially women, and foreign workers. Information about the impact of the *mutawa* is difficult to obtain but *Human Rights Watch* has reported that in 2005 the *mutawa* arrested over 400,000 persons for "religious violations" (Setrakian and Abu Khatwa, 2008).

When it comes to training, the Saudi police make a strong distinction between commissioned officers and rank-and-file police. The commissioned

officers receive three years of training at King Fahd Security College and are promoted through the ranks from second lieutenant to general. The director of public safety, who heads the Saudi police, usually is a relative of the king (as are many heads of executive agencies in Saudi Arabia). Rank-and-file police personnel must be literate and spend three months in training. They are not eligible to become commissioned officers, however (Alobied, 1989).

Saudi Arabia has a separate "special forces" division to handle civil order control functions. One use of these special forces, called the Pilgrims and Festivals Police Force, is used to control the large throngs that gather during the annual pilgrimage (*hajj*) to the cities of Mecca and Medina. As the guardian of the holy cities, Saudi Arabia must maintain order, sanitary conditions, and food distribution channels among the approximately 2 million Muslims from around the world who go on the pilgrimage each year. In past years, the pilgrimage has been marred by high crowd concentrations and riots, resulting in many deaths and serious foreign relations problems among Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Pakistan. When civil order situations go beyond the control of the special police, the National Guard and Saudi Army are called in (Ross, 1996).

Issues of Concern for Saudi Police. A major challenge for Saudi Arabian police is how to balance the need for maintaining civil order within an Islamic system of justice while staying within the bounds of international human rights standards. Many international organizations (e.g., Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch) have publicly excoriated the Saudis for numerous incidents in which it was believed that the police crossed the line towards more abusive methods of policing. On one level this can be viewed as merely a public relations problem that has little or no impact on the daily practices of the police. However, the issue can become increasingly problematic if Saudi citizens begin to call for more rights and protections, or if the international community exerts pressure on the police—through political and economic sanctions—to bring human rights policies and practices more in line with other countries.

Another significant concern for the Saudi police is the constant threat of terrorism. This is an internal problem for the Saudis: They are highly susceptible to terrorist activity because of the numerous oil fields and the concomitant infrastructure changes they have made from oil production wealth. In addition, current and former citizens of Saudi Arabia associated with terrorism, including Osama bin Laden, have created complications for the Saudi government as other countries have questioned the safety of their interests in the region. Saudi Arabia has taken a number of steps to improve its internal security and support the fight against terrorism.

KEY OPERATIONAL ISSUES FOR POLICE AROUND THE GLOBE

Within the various models and structures we have mentioned, police in different countries go about their business in different ways. This is understandable because countries, or at least those within the different legal traditions, possess unique characteristics that help them form police operations and culture. At the same time, there appear to be some key issues that are of concern to a majority of police agencies everywhere in the world. In the rest of this chapter, we will examine some of the key operational issues that many police around the world are being called on to address. These issues are community policing, diversity, privatization, and police corruption.

Community Policing

A examination of policing from around the globe reveals that community policing is among the most commonly adopted police operational strategies in the world today (Wisler and Onwudiwe, 2009). Representatives from countries around the world have indicated that community policing is a core operational strategy. Interestingly, we even see evidence of community policing in the authoritarian and developing countries (Casey, 2010).

Community policing—in the United States also called community-based, community-oriented, problem-oriented policing—is an umbrella term describing programs that represent collaborative efforts between the police and the public to identify crime problems and then find solutions.

Numerous factors have contributed to the growth of community policing (Segrave and Ratchford, 2004; Murray, 2005). At least two are important to mention here. The first is the ever-present hostility between police and many segments of the public, evidenced in violent civil order clashes between police and citizens throughout the globe. The second is the fact that the ever-increasing world crime rates, such as those that characterized the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, seem to be impervious to conventional deviance and civil order control activities. Although the implementation of community policing varies greatly across the globe, we can find in the literature four key elements of community policing:

- *Community-based crime prevention*—Police and the public work together to solve the root causes of crime and thereby prevent its long-term spread.
- *Reorientation of patrol activities to emphasize non-emergency servicing*—Police are called daily to reorient their activities to improve the daily quality of life and solve problems for citizens in the community.
- *Accountability to the public*—Police are asked to be available and to listen to the needs of citizens and address those needs when necessary.
- *Decentralization of command*—Decentralization calls for having the police working in the neighborhoods and communities where crime may occur, not only in the station house or anonymously driving around town (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988; Skogan, 2006).

There are literally thousands of ways that community policing actually happens in the world today. In short, there is no consensual model of community policing (Wisler and Onwudiwe, 2009). For instance, just type the phrase *community policing* into a search engine on the Internet and you will find how many kinds of programs have been articulated.

In the United States, various forms of community policing began during the 1970s, although they flourished as an operational strategy in the 1990s. And as in other countries, most community policing programs in the United States occur at the local (town or city) level. Over the last 15 years, a number of community policing-related programs in the United States have gained national and international notoriety. Among them are order-maintenance policing, or more dramatically named, zero-tolerance policing. In short, zero-tolerance policing is the strict enforcement of laws against minor offenses as a means of preventing more serious crimes (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Another is the various forms of information-based strategies called proactive (or intelligence-based) policing. In this strategy the goal is to learn more about crime and criminals so as to prevent or intercept crimes in progress. Police use different methods to collect intelligence, including interviews, observation or surveillance, informants, and computer technology. Proactive policing strategies have been adopted by many state and federal criminal justice agencies, especially in fighting organized crime, cybercrime, and terrorism.

Probably the most famous example of the use of computer technology to analyze crime data and assess the extent of crime was the use of CompStat in the New York City Police Department during the 1990s. Compstat (computer comparison statistics) enables police to identify trouble spots and target the appropriate resources to fight crime strategically. It is an extension of the previous uses of geographic information systems (GIS) crime mapping, a technique that involves the charting of crime patterns within a geographic area.

Community policing strategies such as those mentioned here are not without their critics. One objection is that, for a variety of reasons, programs such as community policing may work in one country or jurisdiction but not in another (Bayley, 1996). Another is that, despite its wide acceptance as a policy strategy throughout the world, the true impact and effectiveness of community policing is difficult to determine (Skogan, 2006). Finally, it has been argued that certain forms of community policing, more specifically proactive policing, can be intrusive on citizens because law enforcement

officials are actively seeking information about crime and criminals rather than waiting until crime has been committed (Pakes, 2010). Nevertheless, it is quite certain that community policing will remain a key operational strategy for the police for years to come. Here we briefly explain the application of community policing in our model countries.

- *England*—Arguably the first to implement community policing (in the early 1800s), the British community policing system has undergone many changes in recent years. The new emphasis is reassurance policing, which calls for a focus on addressing “signal crimes and disorders” that increase fear of crime and eventually have an “adverse effect on people’s sense of security and cause them to alter their beliefs or behavior” (Joyce, 2006, p. 136; Kalunta-Crumpton, 2010).
- *France*—In 1997 the French adopted the policy of *police de proximité* as an official slogan of the National Police. This policy, the French equivalent of community policing, emphasizes improved relations between the police, the public, and governmental agencies. It is hoped this policy will reduce crime and fear of crime among citizens (Zauberman and Levy, 2003). These policies have become the springboard for community policing-type programs in areas such as senior citizen assistance, victim support, community services for offenders, drug prevention efforts, and juvenile delinquency programs. At the same time, the French police have begun patrolling high-crime areas on foot or on motorcycles (Terrill, 2009).
- *Germany*—Throughout Germany the *Kontaktbereichsbeamter* (KoB) or contact officer police are older, specially trained officers who have been assigned to a beat or patrol area. They perform what are traditionally the major functions of community police officers. However, there is not just one type of a community policing program in Germany. Each of the 16 German *Länder* has its own police organization, so the kinds of programs can vary considerably depending on the region (Feltes, 2004).

- *China*—Although some question whether community policing can be accomplished in a totalitarian state (Jiao, 1995, p. 69), a more optimistic view is that unique forms of community policing are practiced in China. Clearly, community policing in China has evolved greatly over just the 30 thirty years, from the “mass line” strategies of 1949–1980, to the “strike hard” (*Yanda*) campaigns (1980–2000), to the most recent (since 2002) strategy, called “Building Little Safe and Civilized Communities” (BLSCC). Under BLSCC the Chinese adopt many of the traditional community policing strategies from around the world, including crime prevention through environmental design, developing positive relationships with local communities, holding police accountable for crime increases, and increasing police presence in high crime areas (Zhong, 2009; Wong, 2010).
- *Japan*—With its decreasing crime rates over most of the last 50 years, Japan has provided a model for effective community policing. The model proposed by the Japanese, in the form of the *koban* and *chuzaisho*, was discussed earlier in this chapter. The idea of the *koban* as a small local police station—one that provides direct access to the police for community members and calls for police to address local crime issues—has grown and been adopted in some form in many countries.
- *Saudi Arabia*—The Saudi Arabian police, because of their strong affiliation with Islamic traditions, do not engage in the traditional forms of community policing. Instead, community policing is said to take place in a variety of ways, such as religious education in mosques that teaches about the destructive impact of crime and the harshness of punishment (Jiang et al. 2011). Also, informal committees led by the mayor, or *Umda*, work to solve small problems and prevent crime by having police or average citizens approach anyone suspected of criminal activity and by frequently reporting crime and criminals to local authorities (Humaidan and Sheraya, 2009).

Diversity

In any legitimate society, especially one that espouses democratic values, the police are asked to deal with people with respect and in a fair and professional manner. In fact, community policing programs have surfaced because the police have historically had conflict with different groups of citizens, notably ethnic minorities. With the changing of the latter half of the 20th century, such as the end of the Soviet Union, opening of borders, globalization of the economy, regional conflicts, and political unrest, there has been a widespread migration of large numbers of persons from one place to another. They are asked to deal with the concomitant problems associated with these population shifts. When police are called in to maintain public order and ensure safety, they often encounter ethnic and cultural groups acting contrary to the norms of their society. In this way, they are in a difficult situation because they are being asked to enforce the law but at the same time they are asked to question, arrest, or even incarcerate those who most often feel they are being discriminated against. How they handle these situations reflects their competence and their commitment to law enforcement, justice, and can even determine the future peace and tranquility within a society (Erez, Finckenauer, and Ibarra, 2003).

When it comes to addressing the issue of diversity in and diverse populations, two issues generally arise. The first is improving how the police interact with diverse populations. This can be accomplished in many ways, but three are paramount. First, police must be more culturally sensitive to those they serve. This may include a variety of training techniques, such as instruction about cultural differences, communication issues, and important laws. At the same time, training must be relevant to the day-to-day concerns of the police. Second, countries with such problems must develop and enforce legislation that protects minority groups and addresses discrimination. Some countries have embraced such measures while others lag behind. Finally, sincere efforts must be made to develop strategies to improve police relations with ethnic minorities. Examples include community advisory

joint citizen-police task forces, and frequent personal contact among all parties involved.

The second main issue, and maybe a key solution, is the diversification of the police force itself. It has often been stated that the police should reflect the diversity of the population that it polices. Making this happen and determining whether such endeavors are successful are not quite so easily achieved (van Ewijk, 2011). Education levels, legal barriers such as citizenship, and even the level of interest on the part of minority groups may often serve as hindrances (Casey, 2010).

A number of our model countries have begun to address the issue of police and diversity. For example, in England chief constables must now develop their own programs for recruiting, monitoring, and retaining minority officers (Holdaway, 1990), and Muslim police officers in London are allowed to wear turbans instead of "bobby" helmets in the hope that it will encourage all minority groups to believe that the Metropolitan Police is an equal opportunity employer (Associated Press, 2003). As of March 2010, there were 6,660 minority ethnic police officers in England and Wales, accounting for 4.6 percent of all officers, compared with 4.4 percent in March 2009 and up from 2.2 in 2000 (Home Office, 2010). Many of the European nations, including Germany, which has experienced an influx of Turkish immigrants, have also begun to realize that it is imperative that they address diversity within the ranks of the police (van Ewijk, 2011). Japan has recently made it a goal to increase the number of female police officers to make up at least 10 percent of the force, up from the current 6.8 percent (Westlake, 2012).

Privatization

Private police can be defined as any independent or proprietary commercial organization that provides protective services to employers on a contractual basis (Schmallager, 2007). There are many forms of private policing. The most common are uniformed guards hired to protect businesses and residences, to deliver money, or to protect private citizens. Less obvious are security firms that patrol government agencies, to prevent and detect white collar and Internet

crimes, and sell security equipment to private citizens and public entities. There is also a recent increase in the number of international security firms such as Blackwater, DynCorp, and Wackenhut that even engage in quasi-military and peacekeeping roles around the world (Casey, 2010).

Whatever the form private police take, it is clear that they are one of the fastest-growing components of policing. Just within the European Union there are over 1 million people working in the security industry in comparison to the 1.5 million regular police officers (Button, 2007). There are many reasons for the increase in private policing in recent years, including citizens who are more fearful of crime than they used to be, the decrease in governmental budgets for public policing while the number of places and opportunities for crime grows, and the growth and improved marketing strategies of security-related businesses (Casey, 2010, p. 121). There are many concerns about the influx of private police into the law enforcement arena. The most pressing problem is the lack of regulation in almost every country (Van Steden and Sarre, 2007). Other problems include quality issues, a lack of the same legal accountability as public law enforcement, and an inability to coordinate with public security agencies (Casey, 2010, p. 123). In at least three of our model countries, the explosion of private police is a major issue. Private security companies are used extensively in England, and it is estimated that there are now more private security officers than sworn police officers—around 300,000 (Jones and Newburn, 2002; Southgate, 1995). The British government has passed legislation to improve the quality and accountability of private security forces (Joyce, 2006). As we mentioned earlier, over 10,000 private security personnel were hired to handle security at the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

In Germany some 3,000 security agencies employ more than 150,000 people. Their main tasks are securing private buildings and property, transporting money, and providing security services at mass events such as soccer games or concerts. Most private security guards are not armed, but neither are they trained very well. The German law demands only a few weeks of training. More

and more, the public police are cooperating with private police, for instance in train stations or during mass events. The results of the World Football Championship in 2006, in which 20,000 private security personnel were involved, showed that the cooperation can be successful. More and more cities outsource security tasks to private companies, mainly in connection with the protection of buildings (Dammer, 2010). In China, with the growth in the number of private businesses and with a large number of public companies becoming privatized, the number of security agencies has increased significantly (Zhong and Grabosky, 2009).

Police Corruption

Later in this book, in Chapter 11, we will discuss the issue of corruption more broadly as it relates to international organized crime. But for the purposes of this chapter, we would be remiss if we did not mention that police corruption as a major issue of concern for citizens and police authorities all over the world (Bracey, 1995; Ivkovic, 2005). Transparency International has reported that police in 86 countries were judged the fourth most corrupt public institution after political parties, public officials generally, and parliaments and legislature (Transparency International, 2010).

No geographical region in the world is untouched by this monumental problem. Consider the African country of Nigeria, where police corruption is said to be deeply ingrained in the culture of the police (Aremu et al., 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2010). Corruption is also significant in Kenya, where the average citizen is said to be forced to bribe police 4.5 times per month (Baker and Scheye, 2007). In India, a major government study reported that 87 percent of the citizens who interact with the police believe they are corrupt (CMS, 2005). In September 2011 in Mexico, a state police officer was arrested in connection with the drug cartel casino fire that killed 52 people in the northern industrial town of Monterrey. Police corruption in Mexico is a major issue because it remains one of the biggest obstacles the country faces in its fight against the drug cartels (CNN World, 2011a). In Russia, problems associated with police misconduct have remained despite the birth of

democratic processes in that country following the implosion of the Soviet Union (*The Economist*).

However, police corruption is not only a problem in developing countries or those in transition. In England during the summer of 2011, a number of public officials, including the London police commissioner and an editor of a major newspaper, resigned. Dozens of persons were arrested, including a police officer after a phone-hacking scandal led to a major corruption probe. The story created months of controversy and was exacerbated by the sudden death of a police officer who originally broke the story (CNN World Lawless, 2012). By no means is the U.S. free from this worldwide problem. Since the formation of the first public police agencies in the U.S., there have been numerous examples of police corruption. In the last decade or so, the large urban police departments in New Orleans, Los Angeles, and New York have experienced major corruption scandals.

There have been numerous attempts to understand and clearly define **police corruption** with its own emphasis and inclusivity. For the purposes of this chapter, we turn to the definition provided by Kleinig (1996), who states that police are corrupt when, "in exercising or failing to exercise their authority, they act with the primary intent of furthering private or departmental/divisional interests" (pg. 166). In recent decades we have learned much about the various forms of police corruption from a number of international scholars and government reports (see Goldstein, 1975; Mollen Commission, 1994; Newburn, 2009; Punch, 2009).

In Table 5.3, we list from a variety of sources some of the more common forms of police corruption. This list is by no means an exhaustive one. In fact, one recent report on the subject has identified 35 different examples of police corruption around the world. This report, written by international police scholars David Bayley and Robert Reppel, was based on the analysis of 32 different countries that have studied police behavior in 58 different speaking countries since the late 19th century. We suggest the reader take the time to access this informative report because in addition to providing a review of past commissions, it clearly explains how police corruption is formed, cultivated, and how it can be mitigated (Bayley and Perito, 2011).

TABLE 5.3 Common Forms of Police Corruption

Name of Corruption	Description	Common Examples
Corruption of authority	Police officers receiving free goods or services	Free drinks, meals, and other gratuities
Kickbacks	Receiving payment from referring people to other businesses	Cash or gratuities from contractors, automobile service stations, bar owners
Opportunistic theft	Theft from arrestees and crime victims	Keeping alcohol from underage drinkers, taking jewelry/money from corpses
Bakedowns	Accepting bribes for not pursuing a criminal violation	Not giving tickets to speeders
Protection of illegal activity: being "on the take"	Accepting payment from the operators of illegal establishments to protect them from law enforcement and keep them in operation	Obtaining cash or gratuities from brothels, casinos, or drug dealers
Fixing	Undermining criminal prosecutions for bribe or personal favor	Withholding evidence or failing to appear at judicial hearings
Direct criminal activity	Criminal acts committed by law enforcement officers themselves	Burglary, physical abuse of partner, driving while intoxicated
Internal payoffs	Providing prerogatives and perquisites of law enforcement organizations	Hourly shifts and holidays, being bought and sold, overtime abuse
Ticket fixing	Cancelling traffic tickets as a favor	Helping friends, family and other officers "beat tickets" from other police officers
Hazing	Police hazing within law enforcement	Hazing new police recruits

SOURCES: Newburn, 1999; Carter, 1990; Sayed and Bruce, 1998; Punch, 1985; Roebuck and Barker, 1974.

INTERNATIONAL POLICE COOPERATION

The movement of criminals across national borders to commit crime and avoid detection or arrest is certainly not a new phenomenon. However, with the growth in transnational crime of all types, including the increasing threat of terrorism, there has been no time in history when law enforcement cooperation between nations has been so necessary. Fortunately, it appears that the global law enforcement community has heeded the recent call for such international collaboration. As time has passed since the earliest collaborative efforts in the mid-1800s, at least two factors, in addition to the growth of international crime, have helped foster the overall growth of international police cooperation. First, the police have been able to gain a significant level of autonomy from the political areas in which they operate. Second, the longevity of certain international police

organizations (such as Interpol) has provided credibility to the endeavor and served to motivate police from around the world to join in the cooperative effort (Deflem and McDonough, 2010).

The goals of international police cooperation vary, of course, depending on the jurisdictions involved and their individual needs. However, we can say in general that the goals of such efforts are at least the following activities:

- Share intelligence on criminal activities that assists with the investigation and apprehension of criminal suspects in one or more jurisdictions.
- Create new training and education opportunities, including bilateral exchange of personnel and ideas.
- Provide technical assistance that will help under-resourced police agencies.
- Allow for officers to work in other countries to address crime issues of mutual concern.

- Build professional relationships for future collaboration. (Casey, 2010, p. 105)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the International Police Association (Interpol), in operation since 1946, has worked with local and national police agencies to share information among its members regarding a range of international policing and crime issues, including names, fingerprints, DNA profiles on international criminals, and information concerning stolen property such as passports and works of art. Lately the organization prioritizes crimes involving terrorism, drugs, organized crime, financial crimes, and human trafficking (Barberet, 2009). Because of the success of Interpol, other kinds of cooperative efforts by police have begun to surface.

In 1997 the United Nations formed what is now called the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). The 21 field offices and 500 employees of the UNODC serve in three areas: providing technical support to countries that wish to fight illegal drugs, crime, and terrorism; conducting and disseminating research about these issues; and assisting countries that wish to develop and ratify legislation and treaties regarding drugs, crime, and terrorism (UNODC, 2012).

However, the region of the world that seems to have fully embraced the idea of international police cooperation is Europe. In 1992 the EU created Europol—the European Law Enforcement Organization. Like Interpol, Europol acts as an information clearinghouse, and it also lacks the executive powers of search and seizure and arrest. Europol's mission is to make a significant contribution to the law enforcement agencies within the EU so as to better deal with the problems of organized crime, terrorism, unlawful trafficking, immigrant smuggling, environmental crimes, money laundering, and counterfeiting of the euro (Occhipinti, 2003; Casey, 2010; Europol, 2012). Unlike Interpol, Europol is a deliberate legal construction of the European Union and has legislative, executive, and judicial authority. Unlike Interpol, Europol has a mandate for deploying civilian police in peacekeeping situations under the aegis of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). There have been a total of 25 interventions promulgated by the ESDP since its formation in 1999. Currently the policy

provides peacekeepers in 14 geographic throughout Europe, Africa, and Asia. In addition, EU has recently formed the European Gen Force (EGF) for deployment in territories worldwide. The EGF, developed in 2006, now has six states of the European Union. EGF forced after the French, Spanish and Italian police provide military police presence and crisis management when called upon in the European region.

Two recent developments that have advanced international law enforcement cooperation in Europe are the Lisbon Treaty of 2009 and the Stockholm Programme of 2010. The Lisbon Treaty was created to provide a new legal framework for cooperation between European member states in the prevention, detection, and prosecution of crime. More specifically, the treaty will provide a streamlined process for law enforcement making relative to when and to what extent law enforcement can intervene in the affairs of a state. The Stockholm Programme urges member agencies, authorities, and EU institutions to coordinate activities to ensure the security of European citizens by successfully suppressing organized crime, drug trafficking, corruption, human trafficking, smuggling, sexual exploitation of children, illegal trafficking of arms, computer crime, cross-border and other transnational threats to the security of the EU (The Stockholm Programme, 2010).

Other regional law enforcement collaborations outside the European continent have also emerged in recent years. Organizations that are linked to Interpol are Africa's police chiefs' organization (PCCOs) and the Southeastern Asian Nations of Police (ASEANAPOL); each was formed to promote cooperation between member countries to develop agreements to fight drug crimes and to promote extradition (McDonald, 2000). More broadly, the World Customs Organization, created in 1950 and renamed in 1994 and has since focused on combat transnational crime issues such as drug trafficking, money laundering, and theft of art and cultural objects. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF), an international body of 36 countries established in 1989, has the goal of promoting effective implementation of legal, regulatory, and operational measures to combat money laundering, terrorist financing,

other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system (Reichel, 2013).

In addition to the police collaborations that primarily share information and assist in the apprehension of suspects, a number of police agencies have been asked to extend beyond boundaries and assist in military operations in conflict zones around the globe. The term used to describe the range of military, police, and civilian interventions that seek to restore order and create a sustainable society after a period of war is **peace operations** (Casey, 2010, p. 177). Although some of these police operations, such as the EU's European Gendarmerie Force, are regionally supported, the most visible and long-standing are the international police collaborations created and sustained by the United Nations.

Peace operations have been in existence at least since the formation of the United Nations. Since 1948 there have been some 67 UN-sponsored peace operations involving collaboration among the military, civilians, and the police (Haberfeld et al., 2008; United Nations Peacekeeping, 2012). The main organization that currently carries out these operations is the United Nations Police (UNPOL, formerly CIVPOL), which was first implemented as a civilian police initiative in 1960 to assist in peacekeeping efforts in the Congo (Terrill, 2000). The organization has since become an integral component of what has traditionally been the function of military peacekeeping operations. As of August 2012, more than 97,000 police from over 120 countries are deployed in 17 different jurisdictions on 4 continents. UNPOL supports the reformation, restructuring, and rebuilding of domestic police and other law enforcement agencies through training and advising. It also provides financial assistance to law enforcement, and in some instances is directly responsible for all law enforcement functions, including the maintenance of law and order. UNPOL officers are, among other things, entrusted with powers to arrest, detain, and search (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2012).

The United States has also been very active in promoting and supporting international police cooperation. One agency that works to share information with international agencies is the U.S. National Central Bureau (USNCB). The USNCB, operating within the

guidelines prescribed by the Department of Justice and in conjunction with the Department of Homeland Security, serves to facilitate international law enforcement cooperation as the United States representative with Interpol, on behalf of the Attorney General. In addition to the sharing of information through USNCB, there are more than 1,600 American law enforcement personnel working overseas. Among the agencies represented are the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), the U.S. Immigration Service, Customs Service, Coast Guard, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Internal Revenue Service, Secret Service, and Bureau of Alcohol and Tobacco (Albanese, 2005).

International police cooperation faces many challenges. The most obvious are language barriers, the disparity in resources (e.g., money, data, and technology), the lack of knowledge about the culture or system of another country, and the behavior of peacekeepers who while in the course of duty may see themselves as being "above the law." In addition, the international pacts, agreements, and treaties that are meant to support cooperation can sometimes limit the ability of law enforcement to conduct investigations and extradite criminals (Kearney et al., 2011; McDonald, 2011). But even more detrimental, and maybe more common, is corruption of police and public officials. As stated by Ebbie (1999), "when those who make the laws and those who enforce the law are shamelessly corrupt, then the entire society is corrupted" Pg. 2. When corruption is present in police agencies, it serves as a breeding ground for organized crime and a host of other international crimes such as drug and human trafficking, environmental crime, and human rights violations. And when this occurs, the willingness of citizens and other police agencies to cooperate falters. We will discuss corruption and organized crime in more depth later in this book, but for now we can surely say that it is a major hindrance to effective international police cooperation.

Nevertheless, despite the limitations of and challenges for cooperation across the globe, police have quickly learned that by working together and sharing information and ideas, they can better solve the problems related to crime and justice. Because of the success of cooperative efforts in law enforcement, other aspects of criminal justice system have developed similar efforts.

SUMMARY

The ideal police force is one that prevents crime, keeps order, respects the rights and dignity of citizens, is friendly and courteous, respects the laws, and does not abuse its power through corruption. Throughout the world there have been increasing efforts to improve police practice through the implementation of democratic policing. The peculiarities of police work, however, including the need to keep public order in times of civil tension and the large amount of discretion exercised by individual officers on the street, sometimes may interfere with police operations. Furthermore, the organizational climate and structure are strongly influenced by historical developments and political realities in particular systems.

In the descriptions in this chapter, we manifestations of this historical and political time and time again. In England, with its decentralization and resistance to power, the police culture has emphasized control and the idea of "police as citizens." with its tradition of centralization and bureaucracy, the entire police organization is divided into two ministries in Paris. Germany's police are highly influenced by twin fears: fear of public disorder that signaled the end of the Weimar Republic and fear of the excesses characterized police in the Nazi years. In the People's Republic of China, police have a

Comparative Criminal Justice at the Movies

Movies seek to entertain and inform the audience about a story, incident, or person. Many good movies also hit upon important substantive themes relevant to understanding crime and justice in comparative perspective. Read the movie summary below (and watch the movie if you haven't already) and answer the questions below to make the subject matter connections to comparative criminal justice.

Rendition (2007)

Gavin Hood, Director

A terrorist bombing kills an American envoy in a foreign country, and the investigation leads to, Anwar (Omar Metwally), an Egyptian chemical engineer who has been living in the United States for a long time and is married to an American. He is apprehended when he is on his way home. The United States transports him to the country where the bombing took place for interrogation involving torture. The practice is known as "extraordinary rendition." An American CIA operative observes the interrogation and is undecided about stopping it. In the meantime, the man's wife Isabella (Reese Witherspoon) tries desperately to find him despite being pregnant, but she is able to obtain no information.

CIA analyst Douglas Freeman (Jake Gyllenhaal) is briefing his chief in a square in North Africa when a suicide attack kills his boss and 18 other people. The target was an interrogator and torturer, Abasi, but

he is unharmed. For lack of more experience, Freeman is assigned the task of observing the interrogation of the Egyptian Anwar. After Freeman asks questions and tortures Anwar himself, he is convinced of his innocence. However, his boss insists that the detention continue, justifying such treatment as necessary to save thousands from becoming victims of terrorism. Eventually Anwar confesses to having on how to make more powerful bombs, and has been promised \$40,000 in return.

Freeman believes it is a false confession, confirmed when he does an Internet search for the names Anwar gives and finds out they are the names of the Egyptian football team from the year 1990. He also expresses doubt as to whether Anwar would be willing to put his life, family, and job for \$40,000 when he earns \$200,000 in his job. Without the consent of his superiors, Freeman orders Anwar's release and lets him escape through a clandestine ship to Spain. Anwar returns to the United States and is reunited with his family. Freeman then leaks the story of Anwar's detention to the press.

Questions

1. What is the objection to the practice of extraordinary rendition?
2. Should the interrogation rules and procedures for terrorism suspects be any different than those for traditional crime suspects? Why or why not?