



# Economic Development, Crime, and Policing

## Global Perspectives

*Edited by*  
Frederic Lemieux Garth den Heyer  
Dilip K. Das



International Police Executive Symposium Co-Publication

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# **Economic Development, Crime, and Policing**

Global Perspectives



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# Foreword

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Few causes defended by the United Nations have generated more intense and widespread support than the campaign to promote development and rule of law, including that through violent crime prevention and reduction. The United Nations has helped to build a structure of internationally agreed on strategies, standards, programs, and goals to advance the cause of violence prevention and reduction, including the 2001 UN Program of Action to Prevent and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, including an instrument on marking and tracing; Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development (2006); Firearms Protocol; and Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials.

Eleven United Nations entities work on various aspects of the rule of law. Although there is no single entity in charge of the prevention and reduction of violence, various aspects of the challenge are part of the mandates of United Nations entities. For example, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization works on education and culture of peace, Office for Disarmament Affairs on control of firearms and disarmament issues, Department of Peacekeeping Operations on the rule of law in the context of peacekeeping operations, United Nations Development Program in post-conflict situations, and United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund on children-related aspects. The United Nations Women focuses on gender-related aspects.

The cornerstone of this structure is the General Assembly Resolution 63/23 adopted in 2008 on Promoting Development through the Reduction and Prevention of Armed Violence. In this resolution, member states reaffirmed their commitments to creating an environment conducive to development and the elimination of poverty and stressed the need for a coherent and integrated approach to the prevention of armed violence, with a view to achieving sustainable peace and development.

Violence affects all societies to different degrees, whether they are at war, in a postconflict situation, or suffering from everyday forms of criminal or political violence. The human toll of armed violence is severe and now by far exceeds violence in wars and armed conflicts. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that 600,000 deaths due to violent intentional injuries occurred in 2004 versus 184,000 deaths through violent injuries due to war and conflict.

Each human life is precious and each death is a tragedy, but statistically for each death resulting from wars and civil strife there are three deaths resulting from violent crime in nonconflict situations. No region is immune to the damage caused by violent crime, but the highest concentration of homicides is found in Africa, Central America, and South America. The percentage of homicides ranges from 77% in central Africa to 19% in western Europe.

Violent crime has a significant and enduring impact on individuals, families, communities, and societies. Reports of the Geneva Declaration Secretariat and the WHO show that violent crime is among the top five leading reasons of death for adults. According to current research, in the United States one in five intentional gunshot wounds is fatal. Physical injuries require long hospitalization and have long-standing psychological and social consequences. Violent crime destroys families and divides communities. People fear violence in the community so much that they decide to carry their own weapons for protection, increasing the potential that they may become perpetrators of a violent act, but for societies the human costs of violent crime are even higher. Armed violence disrupts access to education, health, and social services and reduces the capacity of social and human resources by disseminating insecurity and fear. It can lead to large-scale displacement; restrict mobility; and contribute to illicit markets, economies of violence, and power structures, which undermine governance and state stability.

Violent crime also has substantial negative impact on national economies and constrains the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. It has a negative impact on the socioeconomic development of all societies but disproportionately severely affects those in low- and middle-income countries. A 2008 study of the Geneva Declaration Secretariat estimated that across 90 countries the cost of lost productivity from nonconflict or criminal violence alone ranges from USD 95 to 163 billion and decreases the annual growth of an average economy by around 2%. This is without counting health costs, which are substantial: for example, in El Salvador only hospitalization of victims of violence is estimated to be in excess of 7% of the country's health budget and in South Africa only abdominal firearm injuries have been assessed at about 4% of the national health budget.

Of course, each country experiences the impact of violence differently. For example, North America experiences the highest loss in productivity, whereas Latin America suffers from the highest impact in terms of gross domestic product. Moreover, it leads to the destruction of property and infrastructure and also undermines the effects of local and foreign investments. These are resources that are diverted away from essential health and social services and poverty eradication.

There is no single cause of violence but rather a wide range of factors that interact at different levels making certain individuals, groups, and communities disproportionately more affected by violence. At the individual level,

such factors include behavioral problems, age, gender, educational level, substance abuse, and a past history of experiencing violence. For example, young males with low educational level are particularly at risk of committing or being victims of violent crime. Even the exposure to violence in the past—whether this has occurred at the national level (political violence) or at the familial level (domestic violence)—is a typical risk factor.

Risk factors related to community and society include social, political, and economic exclusion; unemployment/underemployment; rapid and unregulated urbanization; weak governance structures; an oppressive and ineffective security sector; and demographic youth bulges and resource scarcity (like access to necessities of life or basic goods and services). Additional risk factors are easy and unregulated access to small arms, alcohol, and narcotics because they can often act as a trigger and turn a nonviolent situation into a lethal encounter.

Preventing and reducing violent crime and promoting sustainable development are priorities for governments. Governments have the primary responsibility to ensure public safety, and they have an interest in providing human security and development to their citizens. In particular, reducing access to firearms and preventing them from falling into wrong hands by controlling their sale, purchase, and use is the direct responsibility of governments. Statistically, countries with more restrictive firearms policies and lower firearms ownership tend to experience lower levels of firearms violence.

Concrete work based on United Nations Resolution 63/62 on the Consolidation of Peace through Practical Disarmament Measures continues in particular through the meetings of the so-called Group of Interested States in Practical Disarmament Measures in New York. Governments recognized the seriousness of the escalating levels of armed violence. They agreed to work on practical measures to promote socioeconomic development that aim at reducing violence. Furthermore, they acknowledged the importance of cooperation between governments and subregional, regional, and international organizations to prevent and reduce violence and to promote measures that enhance prospects for sustainable and equitable development. The same resolution encouraged nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to collect and destroy firearms and ammunitions. Although some progress has been made to recognize the problem and sensitize public opinion, we have a long way to go before achieving the goal of an armed violence-free society.

To tackle the problem of criminal violence, comprehensive and coherent approaches are needed at the international, national, and local levels. There are many proven key prevention strategies that address underlying risks of violence in general. They include reducing access to lethal means of violence, reducing the availability and abuse of alcohol, disrupting illegal drug markets, improving life skills and enhancing opportunities for children and youth, promoting gender equality and empowering women, changing

cultural norms that support violence, improving criminal justice systems, improving social welfare systems, reducing social distance between conflicting groups, and reducing economic inequality and concentrated poverty.

Multidimensional and multisectorial approaches across health, security, justice, and education have to be developed and implemented in countries suffering from the negative impacts of criminal violence, aiming at reducing the level of violence within these societies. There is no one-size-fits-all solution, and each local community and country will have to assess their own risks and vulnerability and plan their initiatives to prevent and reduce violence accordingly.

Also, governments by themselves cannot defeat criminal violence. NGOs, the private sector, academia, and local authorities are the frontline actors in finding local answers to these global challenges. The challenges we face in this fight are of such magnitude that no government can overcome them alone. All actors—civil society, the private sector, government, and international organizations—need to join their forces. Indeed, when we see the prevention and reduction of violent crime in action it is often through concrete initiatives on the ground. Sometimes, small as they appear, these programs have three-pronged approaches: they are comprehensive and combine a range of prevention strategies to address risk factors, involve partnerships of law enforcement and criminal justice agencies with NGOs and local authorities to target youth crime and violence, and address the economic and social needs of a community. They are designed and implemented from the bottom up, with long-term needs in mind not stop-gap solutions. Fully embracing these partnerships and collaborative relationships with civil society enables much better results than what governments and United Nations entities can achieve on their own. And they are the way forward.

Finally, I would like to stress the importance of working to understand the root causes of criminal violence and its impact on development and public safety, so that our efforts can go beyond the reactive and focus on the forces that underpin this behavior, as well as on its symptoms and consequences. Our work must be integrated and holistic, rather than disconnected and fragmented. We must assess the impact of existing strategies so that successful interventions and preventive measures can be supported and replicated. We must ensure that measures of accountability are introduced, which emphasize individual, community, and national responsibility for preventing and reducing armed violence. Most importantly, we must work to ensure that sufficient resources are allocated for prevention and intervention with respect to all forms of criminal violence.

**Andrei Abramov**

*Chief of the NGO Branch*

*United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs*

# INTERNATIONAL POLICE EXECUTIVE SYMPOSIUM

## Co-publication Preface

The *International Police Executive Symposium* (IPES) was founded in 1994 to address one major challenge, i.e., the two worlds of research and practice remain disconnected even though cooperation between the two is growing. A major reason is that the two groups speak in different languages. The research is published in hard to access journals and presented in a manner that is difficult for some to comprehend. On the other hand, police practitioners tend not to mix with researchers and remain secretive about their work. Consequently there is little dialogue between the two and almost no attempt to learn from one another. The global dialogue among police researchers and practitioners is limited. True, the literature on the police is growing exponentially. But its impact upon day-to-day policing, however, is negligible.

The aims and objectives of the IPES are to provide a forum to foster closer relationships among police researchers and practitioners on a global scale, to facilitate cross-cultural, international and interdisciplinary exchanges for the enrichment of this law enforcement, to encourage discussion, and to publish research on challenging and contemporary problems facing the policing profession. One of the most important activities of the IPES is the organization of an annual meeting under the auspices of a police agency or an educational institution. Now in its 17th year, the annual meeting, a five-day initiative on specific issues relevant to the policing profession, brings together ministers of interior and justice, police commissioners and chiefs, members of academia representing world-renown institutions, and many more criminal justice elite from over 60 countries. It facilitates interaction and the exchange of ideas and opinions on all aspects of policing. The agenda is structured to encourage dialogue in both formal and informal settings.

Another important aspect of the meeting is the publication of the best papers presented by well known criminal justice scholars and police administrators who attend the meetings. The best papers are selected, thoroughly revised, fully updated, meticulously edited, and published as books based upon the theme of each meeting. This repository of knowledge under the co-publication imprint of IPES and CRC Press-Taylor & Francis Group chronicles the important contributions of the International Police Executive Symposium over the last two decades. As a result, in 2011 the United Nations awarded IPES a Special Consultative Status for the Economic and Social Council (ECSOC) honoring its importance in the global security community.

In addition to this book series, the IPES also has a research journal, *Police Practices and Research: An International Journal* (PPR). The PPR contains research articles on police issues. It is an international journal and is distributed worldwide. For more information on the PPR visit <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/GPPR>

This unique volume, titled, *Strategic Responses to Crime: Thinking Locally, Acting Globally*, includes selected articles that were originally presented by police executives and scholars from several countries who attended the 13th Annual Meeting of the International Police Executive Symposium held in Ayvalik, Turkey, in 2006. However, the articles have been updated and several papers outside of the conference have been added to capture the

theme of the book. The volume is divided into four sections, each of which includes perspectives of police administrators and members of the academia from different countries. These chapters encompass topics in law enforcement from operations to organizations including pervading issues that the police confront both locally and globally. The chapters provide a comprehensive survey of police practices across police jurisdictions. This book is a useful reference for practitioners and researchers.

IPES advocates, promotes, and propagates that POLICING is one of the most basic and essential avenues for improving the quality of life in all nations; rich and poor; modern and traditional; large and small; as well as peaceful and strife-ridden. IPES actively works to drive home to all its office bearers, supporters, and admirers that, in order to reach its full potential as an instrument of service to humanity, POLICING must be fully and enthusiastically open to collaboration between research and practice, global exchange of information between police and academics in every country, universal disseminations and sharing of best practices, generating thinking police leaders and followers, and reflecting and writing on the issues challenging to the profession.

Through its annual meetings, hosts, institutional supporters, and publications, IPES reaffirms that POLICING is a moral profession with unflinching adherence to the rule of law and human rights as the embodiment of humane values.

—Dilip K. Das

Founding President, *International Police Executive Symposium*, [www.ipes.info](http://www.ipes.info)



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Founding Editor-in-Chief, *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, PPR, <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/GPPR>





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# Preface

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This book is the product of the 22nd annual meeting of the International Police Executive Symposium that was held at the United Nations Plaza, New York, from August 5, Sunday, to August 10, Friday, 2012. The theme of the meeting was “Economic Development, Armed Violence and Public Safety,” and the meeting was chaired by Dr. Garth den Heyer, Charles Sturt University, Manly, Australia, and Police Foundation, Washington, DC. The symposium focused on the nexus and linkages between economic development, armed violence, and public safety and, as a result, current practices and challenges of these topics were a feature of the presentations and discussions. The delegates, from 30 nations, believed that policing is one of the most basic and essential avenues for improving the quality of life in all nations, rich and poor, modern and traditional, large and small, as well as peaceful and strife ridden.

The meeting heard presentations from police leaders and police researchers from a number of countries subject to these conditions and other attendees who had worked under these conditions. Although a range of views were presented, there was a shared concern for the need to understand the links between the police, the broader criminal justice systems, and the larger social context in which policing occurs. These views culminated in the drafting of a meeting resolution by Associate Professor Darren Palmer, Deakin University, Australia. The resolution of this conference was that reforms to police and public safety in areas undergoing economic development and/or experiencing criminal violence must

- Be based on sound research, utilizing multimethod approaches with access to key stakeholders and quantitative data.
- Avoid “off-the-shelf” policing models and ensure that any ideas or concepts are adapted to local contexts.
- Be informed by the need to uphold the rule of law and protect and foster respect for human rights.
- Include accountability mechanisms and protection against undesirable conduct.
- Be fully evaluated to ensure that these reforms do not produce unacknowledged or unintended consequences.

The book presents these issues by organizing its chapters according to their regional perspectives: global, modern democracies, emerging democracies, and newly industrialized countries. This categorization provides an opportunity to shed light on the existing regional contrasts related to the interrelations and underlying factors between policing, fluctuations in socioeconomic development, and crime. The first section of this book addresses international trends related to crime, economics, and social challenges that can directly influence the response of police. The second section of this book focuses on strategies deployed by law enforcement and justice systems to improve economic and social development in advanced democracies. The third section addresses strategies deployed by law enforcement and the justice system to improve economic and social development in emerging democracies and newly industrialized countries.

The conclusion chapter offers an overview on the dynamics and effects of police reforms through the lens of the contributions included in this book but will also expand on other related considerations that are critical in understanding the underlying forces that build police reforms. The relation between socioeconomic developments, violent crime, and policing is complex and characterized by a plurality of factors that may impact police reforms. More precisely, the conclusion addresses the sources of police reform, types of reforms, factors influencing the dynamics of police reforms, and impact of such reforms as well as the challenges that emerge in postreform eras.

As a concluding remark, we would like to point out that the book provides strong insights into foundational elements for a research agenda on police reform and on its impact on economic developments and armed violence. First, this field needs a more systematic international comparative analysis on the impact of reform in law enforcement on economic development and violence, for example, measuring the effect of adopting a specific model of policing or implementing a particular technology on reduction of violence, cost of crime, and efficiency of public policing. The field of policing and public safety lacks, in general, international comparative research. Second, it is critical to produce a body of evaluative research that assesses, with methodological rigor and systematic analytical processes, the impact of police reform on economic development and violence. Third, there is a need to adopt a case study approach to scrutinize in more depth change management strategies used in police reforms and implantation of strategic initiatives in law enforcement and the justice system. Finally, as several chapters in this book have pointed out issues with the political leadership in implementing reforms in law enforcement and the justice system in general, it would be essential to support research aiming at understanding better how police leaders and senior public officials manage the politics of reform. Such research would be instrumental in generating knowledge about effective

leadership under pressure and effective policy development in organizations facing crisis.

We hope that you will enjoy reading this book and appreciate the important contributions made by the contributors.

**Frederic Lemieux**  
**Garth den Heyer**  
**Dilip K. Das**



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# Editors

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**Frederic Lemieux** is a professor and director of police science and Security & Safety Leadership Programs at the George Washington University, Washington, DC. He received his PhD in criminology from the University of Montreal, Canada, in 2002. Dr. Lemieux's research has focused on social control and policing. He is currently conducting studies on transnational drug trafficking enforcement and on the function of criminal intelligence as a formal social control tool. Dr. Lemieux has also published three books and various journal articles examining crime control during major disasters, counterterrorism and intelligence agencies, and police cooperation.

**Garth den Heyer** is an inspector with the New Zealand Police. He is also a senior research fellow with the Police Foundation in Washington, DC, and lecturer with the Australian Graduate School of Policing and Security. He received his doctorate in public policy from the Charles Sturt University, Manly, Australia, in 2006. Dr. den Heyer's research has focused on police service delivery effectiveness and police reform in postconflict nations. He is currently conducting research on the cost-reducing strategies adopted by police agencies to maintain effective and efficient delivery of services. Dr. den Heyer has also published three books and various journal articles examining police structures and performance, policing in developing nations, and the police's role in countering terrorism.

**Dilip K. Das** has years of experience in police practice, research, writing, and education. After obtaining his master's degree in English literature, Dr. Das joined the Indian Police Service, an elite national service with a distinguished tradition. After 14 years in the service as a police executive, for example, as a chief of police, he moved to the United States, where he achieved another master's degree in criminal justice and a doctorate degree in the same discipline. Dr. Das is a professor of criminal justice, a former police chief, and a human rights consultant to the United Nations. He is the founding president of the International Police Executive Symposium (IPES), where he manages the affairs of the organization in cooperation with an appointed group of police practitioners, academia members, and individuals from around the world. Dr. Das is also the founding editor-in-chief of *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*. He is author, editor, or coeditor of more than 30 books and numerous articles. Dr. Das has received several faculty excellence awards and was a distinguished faculty lecturer.



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# Contributors

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**James F. Albrecht** is presently working as a professor of criminal justice at the University of New Haven, Connecticut. Jimmy has also held a number of executive practitioner positions, including police chief of criminal investigations in the joint European Union/U.S. police in Kosovo (former Yugoslavia), and he retired as New York Police Department captain and regional commander after serving 22 years. Jimmy served 3 years as graduate professor of criminal justice leadership at St. John's University, New York; continues to serve as a graduate professor of homeland security at the Pace University, New York; and is completing his PhD in criminal justice at the University of New Haven.

**Johanna Berning** is a senior lecturer at the University of South Africa, in the Department of Police Practice. She was a member of the South African Police Service from 1976 to 1990. Berning possesses a national diploma in police administration, national higher diploma (honors) in postschool education (in 1991), national higher diploma (honors) in policing, and masters in forensic investigation. Berning is currently registered for her doctoral degree in police science. Berning's research interests are policing, police management, and forensic investigation.

**Johan Bertilsson** is a firearms and tactics instructor. Since 2005 he has been chief self-defense instructor at the Skåne County Police Department, Swedish National Police Force, and since 2009 he has held a PhD student position at the Department of Clinical Sciences, Lund University, Sweden. His research interests include perceptive, cognitive, and motor skill performance depending on the effects of internal and external pressures like pre-training, psychological, and physical stress.

**Setlhomamaru Dintwe** holds a Bachelor of Criminal Justice (NWU); Bachelor of Technology in Policing (TSA); Master of Technology in Forensic Investigations and Doctor of Literature and Philosophy (UNISA). He was a member of the South African Police Service for 5 years, where he worked at the Boitekong Detective Branch in Rustenburg as an investigator. He was promoted to a position of principal investigator and transferred to the Anti-Corruption Command of the Independent Complaints Directorate. His responsibilities included investigating corrupt activities of the members of the South African Police Service and the Municipal Police Services/Metro Police nationwide. He was promoted to the position of provincial manager: investigations in Nelspruit, Mpumalanga Province, South Africa.

**Per-Anders Fransson** received a PhD in medical science from Lund University, Sweden, in 2005 and the degree of associate professor in 2009. He presently holds a position as senior researcher at the Department of Clinical Sciences, Lund University. His research interests include the human central nervous system; sensory and motor systems; and function decline or adaptation of these systems as an effect of physical and psychological stress, drugs, and new training paradigms.

**Peter Fredriksson** has, professionally, previously worked as both a firefighter and a paramedic before he started working as a police officer. He presently holds a position as a self-defense instructor at the Skåne County Police Department, Sweden, and as a developer of strategies concerning tactics, firearms, self-defense, and training in the Skåne County Police Department. His research interests include performance when under pressure and ways to conceptualize the adaptation needed for different, common, or dangerous situations.

**Jonas Hansson** has been a police officer since 1993. He has mainly been a patrol car police officer and is an instructor at the Basic Training Program for Police Officers at the Umeå University, Sweden. Hansson is also currently a PhD student at the Umea University.

**Peter Johnstone** is a professor of criminal justice at the University of North Texas, Denton, Texas. He holds a BA with honors, an LLM (master of law in international criminal law), and a PhD in comparative law. Peter came to the United States 11 years ago. His last appointments in the United Kingdom were as reader-in-law and jointly research fellow at the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, University of London. Peter has written several books and more than 70 scholarly articles. Recent books include *The History of Criminal Justice* (5th edition) with Mark Jones (2011), *Drugs and Drug Trafficking* (2012), and *Crime and Policing Crime* (2013).

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**Mans Magnusson** received an MD in 1981 and a PhD in 1986 from Lund University, Sweden; became associate professor in otorhinolaryngology in 1988; and received a full professorship in 1999. He presently holds a position as senior consultant and head of the division of Otorhinolaryngology and is head of the section of Senses, Neuroscience and Psychiatry of the Department of Clinical Sciences, Lund University. His research interests involve inner ear and vestibular disorders, postural control, and orientation.



**Kim McLandress** is the executive director of Chilliwack Restorative Justice, British Columbia, Canada. Kim has been with the organization since January 2000. She has a bachelor of arts degree in criminal justice from the University College of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia, Canada, and a master of arts degree in criminal justice with a focus on school-based restorative practices from the University of the Fraser Valley.

**Moses Montesh** was a member of the South African Police Service from 1993 to 2004. He joined the University of South Africa in February 2004. He holds a national diploma in public management, BA in police science, BA honors in police science, masters in public administration, and DLitt et Phil in police science. Professor Montesh has appeared on national television debating policing and criminal justice issues in South Africa. He has also appeared in Parliament presenting papers on matters relating to policing and has published papers on policing, public administration, and the military.

**Stephen B. Perrott** is a professor of psychology at the Mount Saint Vincent University, Nova Scotia, Canada. He obtained his doctorate in clinical psychology from McGill University in 1991 after previously serving as a member of the Halifax Police Force located in Nova Scotia, Canada, for 10 years. His research focuses on the psychology of policing, including police culture, stress, workplace violence, and community policing. Perrott is a frequent media commentator on criminal justice matters and is a lecturer and consultant to the Halifax Regional and Royal Canadian Mounted Police. His international efforts include work with the Philippine National Police in a sex tourism project in that country and a stint teaching psychology in The Gambia.

**Lars-Folke Piledahl** is a district police commissioner. He received the position as chief of staff of Skåne County Police Department, Sweden, in 2005, and since 2011 he has held the position as chief of South Skåne Police District. He is interested in education and strives to expand science and experience-based knowledge aimed at enhancing the safety of police officers by improving their skills through better training methods and equipment.

**Darryl Plecas** is the Royal Canadian Mounted Police university research chair in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia, Canada. He is a recipient of the University of the Fraser Valley's Teaching Excellence Award, and in 2003 he received an Innovative Excellence in Teaching, Learning and Technology Award at the Fourteenth International Conference on College Teaching and Learning. He has served as an associate of the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy at the University of British Columbia and as an expert observer to the 10th United Nations Congress on the Prevention and Treatment of Offenders.

**Keith Robinson** Superintendent Keith Robinson was transferred to the Upper Fraser Valley Regional Detachment, British Columbia, Canada, in

March 2007. In May 2008 he was appointed acting officer in charge of the Upper Fraser Valley Regional Detachment, and in 2009 he was appointed as the officer in charge of the Upper Fraser Valley Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Superintendent Robinson has extensive practical policing experience and has served as a general duty investigator.

**Colette Squires** is an organizational consultant and mediator, advising charities and nonprofit organizations on sustainability through effective program development and evaluation processes, restorative justice practices, and conflict services for individuals and organizations. She is a sessional faculty member at the Justice Institute of British Columbia and a researcher at the University of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia, Canada, where she completed her MA in criminal justice.

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# In Memoriam

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*Jan Wiarda, chief of police in the Netherlands, died on February 6, 2013 at the age of 72. Jan was a member of the board of the International Police Executive Symposium (IPES) from 1996 to 2013. Jan was a striking personality who made efforts throughout his life to improve police performance. His starting point was legitimacy above efficiency. Citizens should be able to trust that the police will always obey the rules applicable to them. An important motivation for him was meeting the wishes and expectations of citizens as much as possible. For Jan, this determined the effectiveness of the police. Close, problem-oriented cooperation with other organizations and especially citizens on the basis of good insight into underlying causes of safety problems was the main method we followed. This inspired his great interest in scientific knowledge in the field of policing. Jan's contributions to the debates on the IPES board were characterized by a great extent of erudition and social involvement and an innovative intellectual capacity. Jan was a policeman at heart and soul. After he retired—and until his death—Jan remained an active promoter of the legitimacy of police, for which he used his extensive network of authoritative experts. We miss Jan sorely.*



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# Introduction

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## **Relations between Policing, Socioeconomic Developments, and Crime: An Introduction**

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This book regroups the work of several academics and police professionals who gathered at the 22nd International Police Executive Symposium in August 2012, which convened at the invitation of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs NGO Branch. The theme of the meeting was “Economic Development, Armed Violence, and Public Safety.” The participants believed that policing is one of the most basic and essential avenues for improving the quality of life in all nations, rich and poor, modern and traditional, large and small, as well as peaceful and strife ridden. The delegates also noted that there are considerable challenges confronting the maintenance of public safety in areas undergoing economic development and/or experiencing armed violence. During the meeting, there was a shared concern for the need to understand the links between the police, the broader criminal justice systems, and the larger social context in which policing occurs. Focusing solely on any one topic or placing too much emphasis on one topic to the exclusion of another is, at best, unlikely to produce any sustainable improvement of public safety and may indeed be counterproductive.

Therefore, the book explores the interrelations between policing, socioeconomic development, and crime. More precisely, the project places an emphasis on these complex interrelations by providing worldwide perspectives and case studies. In relation to these three central topics, authors contributing to this book address specific issues, such as youth violence in society, economic downturn and global crime trends, restorative justice and recidivism, community-based policing, investigation techniques applied to financial crimes, policing gang violence, implementation of the rule of law in postconflict countries, and policing transportation infrastructures. All of these issues are by-products of changes that occurred at socioeconomic, policing, and criminal levels. Also, the book presents these issues by organizing its chapters according to their regional perspectives: global, modern democracies, emerging democracies, and newly industrialized countries. This categorization provides the opportunity to shed light on existing regional contrasts related to the interrelations between and underlying factors of policing, fluctuations in socioeconomic development, and crime.

This introduction chapter explores the theoretical and conceptual frameworks related to the topics of this book by breaking them down into three sections. In the first segment, we explore classic and new literature that is relevant to the relation between socioeconomic development and crime. More precisely, we examine how socioeconomic changes affect deviance and crime, as well as how phenomena such as industrialization, urbanization, socioeconomic policy, business cycles, and political instability might affect crime trends. At first sight, one might consider these elements as being only loosely related to policing; but, in fact, they are critically connected because they have the power to transform the society and consequently require reforms in police mission, strategy, and practice. The second section addresses the relation between socioeconomic developments and policing by focusing on the impact of socioeconomic conditions on the transformation of policing and the evolution of its mission. We pay attention to phenomena such as the professionalization of police, bureaucratization and expansion of police activity, commodification of public security, and globalization of security assemblage. The third segment of this chapter focuses on the relation between policing and crime by describing the evolution of police management models and development of strategies to address crime and public expectations of law enforcement effectiveness. Finally, the last section proposes a brief overview of the organization of the book.

## **Socioeconomic Developments and Crime**

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The relationship between the economy and crime is a complex one, which demands a careful review of individual, cultural, and structural factors that are at play. First, Durkheim (1982/1895) studied the impact of significant change in societies on social pathologies and crime. Macrosociological transformations such as population growth, immigration flux, urbanization, and industrialization—which are often associated with economic development—can influence interactions between groups within the society to provoke a breakdown of common norms and values (anomie). According to Durkheim, these structural changes tend to alienate individuals by putting them into ill-suited situations, such as social isolation and poor working conditions, which incite the individuals to take self-corrective action to cope with unhappiness. At the collective level, such actions can translate into social disorders. At the individual level, these actions can take the form of deviant behaviors, such as suicide or crime. A thought-provoking statement made by Durkheim (1982/1895) about crime is that it is “bound up with the fundamental conditions of all social life” (p. 98). The author further asserts that crime or criminals should not be considered as an evil that must be suppressed but should rather be considered as an inevitable or normal social function to express a need for change or a reaction to change.



Second, thriving or depressed economic conditions in a given country have an impact on individuals' environments by modifying the nature of opportunities available to those who are socially encouraged, such as access to employment and their ability to achieve personal aspirations. According to strain theory, at the individual level criminal or deviant behaviors arise when individuals experience adverse conditions in attempting to achieve valued goals of a society, such as economic success or at least financial sustainability. For example, Merton (1968) argues that in some societies legitimate means to achieve material success are not uniformly distributed among social classes or institutions, a discrepancy that generates strain and pressures disadvantaged individuals to adopt nonlegitimate coping strategies. Agnew (1992), who focuses more on emotions and norms instead of cultural values, contends that an individual's failure to achieve valued goals (financial success), the removal of positive-valued stimuli (salary), and the potential of facing negative stimuli (social rejection) will lead to strain. It is important to note that strain can be related to a unique but overwhelming event (unemployment or handicap) or to small annoyances that can accumulate over time leading to frustration, dissatisfaction, resentment, and anger—critical emotions for the perpetration of some crimes (Akers, 2000). Also, the author suggests that individual characteristics and the nature of strain-related events are central in explaining how economics can influence an individual's motivation to engage in criminal activities.

Third, Messner and Rosenfeld (1994) revisit Merton's theory of anomie to refocus on the criminogenic influence of social institutions in American society (e.g., polity, family, school, and church) and assert that society is failing to achieve its socialization mission because it is promoting individualistic and pecuniary objectives. More precisely, Messner and Rosenfeld (1994) contend that "education is regarded largely as a means to occupational attainment, which in turn is valued primarily insofar as it promises economic rewards" (p. 78). Messner and Rosenfeld's anomie theory implies that cultural pressure to secure monetary rewards, combined with weak controls from non-economic social institutions, fosters inevitable criminal activity.

In an attempt to test this new theoretical framework, studies have examined if a governmental policy of income redistribution might temper the pursuit of private economic interests and also have a negative impact on crime rates in the communities receiving the redistributed resources. Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) and Savolainen (2000) have examined the "welfare-state" index comprising both the relative and the absolute wealth distribution expenditures made by each country. In their analyses, they study several countries, including the country's homicide rates, relative prosperity, and income disparities in homes for both the majority and minority communities. Their results show that economic inequality between individuals has a positive correlation with homicide rate, but this is only in those countries

in which government spending for “social security” is very weak (relative to the wealth of the society as a whole and the country’s level of economic development). Other studies have demonstrated that the per capita rate of juvenile homicides in the 39 most economically developed countries varies inversely to the relative spending that their governments invest in citizens’ social welfare (Fiala & LaFree, 1988). Another study testing the per capita rate of homicide (for both sexes and all age groups) in 18 economically developed countries devoted to wealth distribution also found that the relationship varies inversely (Pampel & Gartner, 1995).

Several studies have scrutinized the impact of economic cycles, which affect economic development (Deaton, 2010), on crime rates throughout the past 40 years. Some researches suggest that although significant economic downturns can result in an increase in crime rates, such an increase is not always the case (Cook & Zarkin, 1985; Chiricos & Delone, 1992; Bushway, Cook, & Phillips, 2010; Smith, Devine, & Sheley, 1992). On the one hand, Cantor and Land (1985) found that an augmentation of unemployment rates might lead to an increase in crime rates in uncertain conditions. On the other hand, the work of LaFree (1998) shows that the cycle of economic expansion in the United States coincides with a significant increase in crime and delinquency rates. Conversely, Blumstein and Wallman (2006) showed that the 1990’s economic growth corresponded with a 30-year low in crime rates. During the same period, two critical economic growth cycles provoked contradicting effects on crime rates. Although several commonly considered indicators of economic adversity do have effects on crime rates, these effects differ depending on the rates of inflation and levels of objective risk (Baumer, Wolff, & Rosenfeld, 2013).

It is true that in several countries stagnation and rising crime rates can be attributed to failing economic reform or programs. However, in other countries—such as those in Africa and South America—the causes are more diverse, although some common features do emerge. Studies conducted by Azam, Berthelemy, and Calipel (1996); Easterly and Levine (1997); and Temple (1998), as well as Collier and Gunning (1999), investigated the influence of economic growth in Africa, and they all found that violence and unrest affect economic growth negatively. Ayres (1998) reports similar results for Latin America and concludes that crime and violence are considered as major obstacles to development in Latin American and Caribbean countries. Kaufman (2004) performed a limited analysis on the Executive Opinion Survey (EOS) concerning the report by firms on costs of terrorism, common crime, and organized crime to business, as well as their reports on the prevalence of money laundering through the banking and nonbanking (informal financial) sectors. The research shows a close association between both organized crime and common crime and the quality of domestic institutions. Kaufman found a strong correlation between the quality of police organizations and the economic harm caused by organized crime in a given country.

Studies conducted by Stewart and Fitzgerald (2001) and Stewart (2001) examine the relationship between economic development and insecurity—broadly conceptualized as political violence and violent crimes—among several undeveloped countries from Africa, Asia, and South America. One of Stewart's main observations is that economic development is almost always negatively affected by armed violence and that specific sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, and exports are often the most adversely affected. Other economic studies point out that armed violence tends to be greater among countries with lower per capita incomes, lower life expectancy, and lower economic growth (Nafziger & Auvinen, 2000; Collier & Hoeffler, 2000). Also, studies have shown that armed violence occurs more frequently when wealth distribution is highly unequal and when this inequality increases among ethnic or religious groups over time (Stewart, 2001).

Finally, some studies found that violence can result from a failure of the state to implement or maintain an established social contract that interrupts the delivery of social services and economic benefits (Addison & Murshed, 2001; Nafziger & Auvinen, 2002). In such a context, an increase in poverty and a diminution of public services can impact the rate of violence, especially if the state's benefits only reach a small number of individuals (e.g., regime supporters). Countries where economic development is nonexistent, such as failing or failed states, also represent a serious challenge for the security of their people and more broadly human security (United Nations Development Program, 1994). Failed states cumulate a series of heavy disadvantages such as limited options and progress in areas such as education, employment, health, and technology. In these cases, most of the missing state infrastructures, services, and benefits distribution have been destroyed. These conditions foster vicious cycles of imbalanced development and generate conditions for armed violence that spurs from organized crime activities or political violence. According to Alkire (2003), economic development and human security share three fundamental components: (1) both are people centered, which means that individuals should be empowered agents in security and economic processes; (2) development and human security should address the individual's dignity and reduce vulnerabilities; and (3) both concepts consider poverty and inequality to be the root causes of an individual's vulnerability to violence and fear.

## **Economic Development and Policing**

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Throughout the centuries, the evolution of policing and police power has been affected not only by the nature of political systems but also by economic forces. For example, an increase in commercial maritime activities on the Thames River at the end of the eighteenth century and a sharp augmentation of stolen cargo on

the London Docks and piracy activities on the Thames River led to the establishment of the Thames River Police (Critchley, 1967; Walsh, 1994). The foundation of this unit paved the way to a more professionalized and structured police force in England by introducing the first full-time salaried police officers. This newly established police force was also a response to the shortcomings of the Bow Street Runners, who were working based on stipends and not necessarily assigned to patrol work. This approach had cost benefits in terms of the economic consequences of criminal activity in the London Pool, and the possibility of effectively preventing these crimes by having a more reliable police force eventually became a source of inspiration to Sir Robert Peel three decades later (Critchley, 1967).

The emergence of modern policing coincides with the industrialization era and the subsequent development of new technologies. Between 1770 and 1880, several Western countries experienced significant demographic and sociopolitical changes as a result of the Industrial Revolution. This unprecedented economic development generated a broad population migration from rural areas toward cities and towns that soon became new economic centers. However, this socioeconomic phenomenon also generated strong waves of disorder, larceny, and various misconducts (such as public drunkenness, fights, prostitution, and theft) that prompted the creation of public police forces (Shelley, 1981). Moreover, criminal activities rapidly spread due to the new transportation sectors of the Industrial Revolution, where criminals were more common on roads, railways, and canals. This crime expansion made police forces diversify their crime prevention strategies and create new specialized divisions. Also, the emergence of social movements such as labor and women's movements (Blumer, 1990) occurred in the industrialization eras. Between 1850 and 1914, urban police forces were confronted with large-scale strikes organized by workers and civil disobedience actions conducted by women. Both movements were able to challenge the relevance of police crowd control tactics and understanding of protesters. The violence emanating from the confrontations between these social groups and the police forces became a highly politicized issue that led to political contentions and police reforms (Walker & Katz, 2012).

During and after World Wars I and II, most Western countries experienced what Johnston (1992) called the "rebirth of private policing." During the two wars, fear of sabotage and espionage encouraged corporations and states to increase security throughout private security firms. After 1960, private security continued to emerge due to the need for more customized and distinctive protection for individuals and their properties: the commodification of security (Loader, 1999; Shearing & Stenning, 1981; Shearing & Wood, 2007). The need was primarily generated by an expansion of the economy, an increase of government regulations in different industry sectors, and a significant augmentation of crime rates over the same three decades. Crime prevention became the core business strategy of the private security sector in