



International Peace Academy



The Security – Development Nexus Program



Police Reform through Community-Based Policing Philosophy and Guidelines for Implementation

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SEPTEMBER 2004 ■ NEW YORK

Acknowledgements

This report draws on discussions at a seminar jointly hosted by the International Peace Academy and Saferworld on 22 and 23 March 2004 in New York on *Community-Based Policing: Developing Security – Securing Development?*

The authors would like to thank Mark Baskin, Renata Dwan, Chris Gale, Adrian Horn, Neil Jarman, Otwin Marenin, Graham Mathias, Andy McLean, Rachel Neild and Luc van de Goor for their valuable feedback on an earlier draft of this paper. They would also like to thank Clara Lee, Francesco Mancini and Necla Tschirgi for their editorial comments.

We gratefully acknowledge the financial support received from the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) for the conference and the production of the workshop report. We would also like to thank the Mission of Canada to the United Nations and the Mission of Luxembourg to the United Nations for hosting the meetings.

The International Peace Academy's Program on the Security-Development Nexus is funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and the governments of Australia, Canada (DFAIT and CIDA), Germany, Luxembourg, Norway, and the United Kingdom (DfID). This IPA program also greatly benefits from core support from the governments of Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland as well as from the Ford Foundation and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

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Contents

Executive Summary.....	i
I. Introduction	1
II. Community-Based Policing as a Model for Police Reform.....	2
III. Community-Based Policing: More Than Just Law and Order	3
IV. Lessons Learned about the Difficulty of Police Reform	4
V. Tales from the Field: Community-Based Policing in Practice	6
VI. Community-Based Policing: An Implementation Framework	9
A. Key Principles	9
B. Critical Success Factors	10
C. The Implementation Framework.....	10
VII. Conclusion.....	18
Workshop Agenda	19
Participants List	21

Executive Summary

Police reform is being increasingly recognized as a fundamental element of conflict management. A police service supported by the community and capable of arresting insecurity can have a far-reaching impact in enabling lasting economic, social and political development. Police reform also can complement and embolden other programming in the areas of security sector reform, rule of law and good governance.

Efforts to reform the police and improve their service delivery face daunting political, financial, logistical and historical obstacles. Its very complexity can be intimidating, touching on issues of management, leadership, political will, attitudes, established behaviors and negative public perceptions.

However, its centrality means that it cannot be shied away from. With police reform being undertaken by an ever-widening range of actors, a clearer understanding of what police reform entails and how it should be undertaken is essential.

A community-based approach emphasizes both reforming the police and refurbishing their public image. Going beyond a narrow focus on crime, the philosophy proposes police and communities working together in partnership in order to address community concerns. When successfully executed, it can both develop security and secure development.

Success is contingent upon a well-understood philosophy, clearly thought out plan and a well organized

and managed process to achieve it. Certain factors are also critical to a successful community-based policing engagement. A minimum degree of order is required as is a conducive context and political support from key actors within the country: government, police and civil society. A shared understanding of goals among international actors and co-ordination between them is especially advantageous.

An implementation framework should include four phases: pre-engagement analysis and assessment; design and planning; managing the implementation; and evaluation and drawback. In such a complex undertaking, a managed process of change is critical. A successful implementation entails comprehensive and detailed strategic planning. Goals should be clearly defined, bear relation to context and a road map drawn to prudently achieve them. Plans should be flexible: ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the process will ensure that plans respond to changing circumstances. Care should be taken not to do too much too soon but incrementally build up the organizational capacity of police and communities.

Design, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of the intended engagement should be as wide and consultative as possible to ensure that the police, government, and civil society feel meaningfully involved. The program should establish benchworks for progress. Helpful for ensuring donor funding, it demonstrates what has been achieved and is a measurement for deciding when a reform process can continue without international involvement.

1. Introduction

The police are the most visible institution of the security sector and their reform is vital for lasting human security. Without law enforcement and the sense of workaday safety, security and order that the police can provide, the potential for wider political, social, and economic development dips dramatically. Developing a professional and accountable police service practising a new style of policing that is responsive to the needs of local communities is increasingly recognized as important for sound conflict management. The police are equally important as emblems. A police that is seen to have changed its character, making a break from repressive practices of the past and working in partnership with communities from which it was historically removed, has profound symbolic resonance.

The importance attached to police reform as an instrument of conflict management is evidenced by the rise in organizations attempting to carry it out. Originally the preserve of UN peacekeepers, a large and diverse number of international organizations, development banks, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and, increasingly, private companies have become involved. The circumstances in which would-be reformers intervene have expanded as well. Police reform originally took place in the aftermath of conflict, but it is increasingly part of a broader conflict prevention strategy.

International support for police reform has ranged from assistance to programs initiated from within countries such as South Africa, Malawi and Northern Ireland, to more internationally initiated programs in post-conflict contexts such as Kosovo and East Timor. Around one quarter of field staff in UN peacekeeping operations are now involved in some aspect of police reform and current strategies for addressing the long-term security of countries like Iraq, Sudan and Afghanistan include components of professionalizing

the police and improving their relations with estranged communities.¹

No matter who the implementers are and at what stage of the conflict cycle reform is undertaken, it has proven difficult to effect a demonstrable change in either the police or the public's attitude towards them. The police face major problems building legitimacy in societies where a uniformed officer is more a cause for fear than a source of protection and comfort. Legacies of mistrust are difficult to overcome; a new culture of trust and reliance is difficult to forge.

Moreover, international reform efforts often lack a conceptual framework spelled out with clear strategies and objectives. Unclear on basic precepts, international actors may find it difficult to convincingly explain the merits of reform to the target police force, which may already be apprehensive of – or even resistant to – change. Reform may also be difficult to sell to a reticent public that has an understandably jaundiced view of the police. When a confused conceptualization of the reform effort is compounded further by the absence of a clear operational plan, all too frequently the result is a programmatic mess that bequeaths little.

The International Peace Academy, in partnership with the London-based NGO Saferworld, convened a two-day workshop in New York in March 2004 to discuss and build on a document that seeks to provide such a conceptual framework for police reform. *The Philosophy and Principles of Community-Based Policing* is a document written by Saferworld that set out to explain the basic philosophic tenets of police reform.² Recently published, it has already served as a guide for police reform projects in Albania and Kenya. Bringing together expert practitioners from within the UN system donor governments and independent experts, the workshop aimed to achieve a clearer understanding of what community-based policing entails and how it fits within a wider conflict management strategy.

¹ *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (Brahimi Report)*, 2000, paragraph 181.

² Saferworld and the South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SEESAC), *Philosophy and Principles of Community-Based Policing*, supported by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, 2003. The authors of the report were Hesta Groenewald, David Kendrick, Graham Mathias, and Gordon Peake. The publication was managed by the Bureau for Conflict Prevention and Recovery/UNDP and the UNDP Albanian Country Office. The report is available at: <<http://www.saferworld.org.uk/policing/cbp balkans.htm>>.

The first day's discussions explored the concept of community-based policing as a mechanism for conflict management and evaluated the programming approaches designed to operationalize it. It also considered how a community-based approach to police reform fits in and complements wider conflict management strategies. The second day's deliberations sought to plot out a guide that would be useful to those tasked with implementation. This report summarizes the discussions from the two-day workshop and proposes a guide that will be useful for implementers based on the knowledge and experience of workshop participants.

II. Community-Based Policing as a Model for Police Reform

Community-based policing is both a philosophy (a way of thinking) and an organizational strategy (a means to carry out that philosophy) that allows the police and community to work together in new ways to solve problems of crime, disorder and safety. It rests on two core elements: changing the methods and practice of the police and taking steps to establish a relationship between the police and the public.



David Malone, President, International Peace Academy and H.E. Allan Rock, Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations

Fundamental Principles of Community-Based Policing

1. Policing by consent, not coercion.
2. The police as part of the community, not apart from it.
3. The police and community working together to find out what communities needs are.
4. The police, public and other agencies working together in partnership.
5. Tailoring the business of policing to meet community needs.

The philosophy is built on the belief that the public deserves an input into policing, and indeed, has a right to it. It also rests on the view that in order to find solutions to community problems, the police and the public must move beyond a narrow focus on individual crimes or incidents, and instead consider innovative ways of addressing community concerns.

At the heart of community-based policing is the recognition that the police are much more than mere crime fighters and can be public servants in other ways. The end goal is the creation of a professional, representative, responsive, and accountable institution that works in partnership with the public. These 'peace officers' are a service rather than a force, and an institution that only criminals need rightly fear.

Achieving these goals requires taking action at three levels: individual, institutional, and societal.³ Even as the values of service and competency are imparted at the level of the individual officer, an appropriate management structure, capable of embedding and sustaining these values, must be created as well. Reform to the police alone, however, is insufficient; community support and assistance are also necessary to achieving the basic goals of the police. Community-based policing, therefore, also encompasses strategies to reorient the public who, for frequently good reasons, have been leery and distrustful of the police. Building partnerships between the police and communities is a

³ L. Lindholt, P. De Mesquita Neto, D. Titus, and E. Alemika, *Human Rights and the Police in Transitional Countries*, (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub, 2003), p. 22.

major challenge that confronts aspirant reformers, but thus far, international reform efforts have given little recognition to this challenge – not one of the mandates for UN missions mentions engagement with local communities as a reform priority.

The philosophy of community-based policing asks of both the police and the public a leap of faith and a commitment to effect change. It is a complex process that requires contemporaneous action to be taken at multiple levels meaning that detailed strategic planning necessary to translate philosophy into practice within the police organization and among the public. A detailed plan has often proved lacking in internationally inspired police reform plans however. Beyond a rhetorical commitment to police reform there has been little sense of how to operationalize a reform process to achieve the changes sought.

III. Community-Based Policing: More Than Just Law and Order

Policing is an activity that is not carried out in isolation. All the disparate aspects of policing that individual officers are called upon – from issuing parking tickets to thwarting crimes – impact and involve other institutions and processes. The workshop discussed how a community-based police reform program fits in with, and can contribute significantly to advancing, a variety of security, social, and developmental objectives and agendas.

Community-based policing and security sector reform

External actors pick and choose which parts of security sector reform (SSR) they carry out without necessarily seeing how these elements are linked and interrelated. Although at a policy level, the police are considered an integral element of the security sector, this synergy between the two is rare at the level of implementation. For many donors, SSR remains a primarily military concern, deprioritizing policing. Policing is also sometimes in a different institutional 'silo', which presents an institutional barrier to actual coordination.



Graham Mathias, Senior Policing Advisor, Saferworld

Greater synergy between the reform processes towards the various institutions that make up the security sector would be beneficial.

Community-based policing, the rule of law, good governance, and human rights

To be effective police reform must link other criminal justice institutions. The entry point to the justice system and the part in closest contact with the public, a fair, competent, non-discriminatory, and respectful police is integral to upholding the rule of law. Along with courts and the correctional service, the police are an essential part of the 'triad' of institutions needed to make a justice system run effectively.⁴ Experience suggests that positive impacts to one of this triad of institutions will be nullified without similar concentration on other institutions.

Community-based policing, development, and poverty reduction

Community-based police reform can contribute to a wider poverty reduction strategy. Several donor agencies and governments have recognized the links between security, development, and poverty reduction. High levels of crime stifle development in any community – businesses become the victims of crime, commercial activities (including those of the

⁴ R. Mani, *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War* (London: Polity, 2002), pp.56-68.

informal sector) are interrupted, and outside investment leaves.

The poor and marginalized also suffer disproportionately from the effects of crime and violence. They lack adequate protection from corrupt or dysfunctional security institutions. The poor are also often marginalized when it comes to political or social structures and are likely to have very little influence over the policies and programs that affect their daily lives.

Community-based policing, through its partnership approach, aims to ensure that the safety and security needs of all groups in a particular community are addressed. In this way, the police can facilitate all people's access to justice, regardless of their social or economic status. Addressing local needs while effectively combating crime improves safety and security, and with it, strengthens the conditions for development to take place.

Community-based policing and stemming small-arms proliferation

Controlling the availability and circulation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) is vital in the effort to increase community safety, the aim of community-based policing. However, citizens will only be willing to hand over firearms in their possession if they perceive an improvement in public safety and security and if they have a certain degree of trust in the police and other security agencies. This is where community-based policing can play an important role in strengthening SALW initiatives. Similarly, if there is a good working relationship between the police and the community, it will be easier for the police to obtain information about arms caches or transit routes for arms trafficking.

IV. Lessons Learned about the Difficulty of Police Reform

Police reform is a challenging task. Participants discussed the problems that have often afflicted, and retarded the effectiveness and sustainability of police reform initiatives.



Adrian Horn, Horn Ltd., speaking on Sierra Leone

Variable quality and insufficient quantity of implementers

International police reformers are drawn from a range of contributing countries and in the absence of an agreed international approach, officers tend to import their own particular style of policing. Often there is also a dramatic variance in experience, skills, and training among these international police officers. Quality control remains a problem as many missions have difficulty in finding sufficient numbers of adequately trained personnel.

Poor Coordination

There is still insufficient coordination between the various implementing agencies that undertake police reform. All too often, those involved in programming in one organization are unaware of what counterparts in other organizations are doing. Donors are often very focused on their own programs and methodologies, which can complicate or even aggravate the already insecure environment in which the engagement is taking place. This absence of coordinated planning results in poorly designed programming, programming that does not fit with other initiatives or risks replicating what has been tried already.

Insufficient strategic planning

Many police reform initiatives lack a sequenced approach that maps out objectives and the steps

needed to achieve them. For instance, in Kosovo, five years after the arrival of international civilian police and one year before responsibility is to be transferred to a local police force, there is still no strategic plan outlining how that transition should occur. Given that police reform is a multi-part and multi-faceted process, which some estimate can take as long as a generation, the change process must be sequenced. Setting clear benchmarks serves as a means of demonstrating progress to both police and communities. Identifiable change is also important to ensure continuing support from donors, whose short-term funding cycles are not ideally suited to such a long process.

Poor storage of knowledge and little ‘lessons learning’

The manner in which reform processes are structured – with the limited tenures of personnel and reliance on consultants whose contracts may be as short as a few weeks – militates against exploring and embedding learning. Not enough information is publicly available or easily accessible about the experiences of different actors (both institutions and individuals) in implementing community-based policing and the lessons learned from these experiences.

Too little evaluation

There remains limited knowledge about what works and what does not in community-based policing. Evaluation has yet to be adequately mainstreamed into program design and certain challenges of evaluation remain – for instance, on the most appropriate and realistic benchmarks and indicators for measuring progress. In addition, international organizations remain reluctant to allow detailed evaluations – valuable learning opportunities for both international and host country actors – often out of sensitivity to how negative outcomes will be perceived by fellow organizations. This desire to protect institutional reputations means that valuable learning opportunities for both international and host country actors can be lost.

Inadequate funding

There is a profound disconnect between the goals and



Kiran Bedi, Civilian Police Adviser, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations

values that reformers are trying to promote and the levels of funding provided to effect this change. Police reform does not come cheap and funding is often insufficient to meet the expectations that accompany it. Donor interest tends to wane before sufficient time has passed to produce tangible results. Without a longer-term commitment, the aims of police reform based on a community-based policing approach cannot be achieved, and international support to unstable areas will remain nothing more than short-term fire fighting.

Institutional resistance

The operational culture of a police force must be addressed; police are often characterized as resistant to change and distrustful of outsiders. Because police reform may require officers to do more work or may interfere with comfortable work practices, officers may have a vested interest in resisting change. Changes in philosophy and approach will be difficult to infuse throughout an organization where there is reluctance at the level of the individual. It may be a struggle for police to reorient themselves away from what they know and to embrace new attitudes: while some forces will be amenable to change, others will not. The manner in which international reformers try to confront this resistance was critiqued. For example, reports concerning police reform are too often written in a style that is not likely to be read by street cops.



Human Rights Training in Sierra Leone

V. Tales from the Field: Community-Based Policing in Practice

Three cases, Sierra Leone, Serbia, and Northern Ireland, illustrate the holistic community-based approach to police reform and the different pace, scope, and outcomes of each project. Although still too early to definitively evaluate, Sierra Leone, the least likely place for success, was paradoxically where the most gains appear to have been made.

Sierra Leone

By the late 1990s, Sierra Leone appeared thoroughly un conducive for police reform.⁵ Six years later, independent evaluations record significant progress including improvements in police behavior, standards, and accountability. Securing and harnessing political commitment, having an end goal, and creating and adhering to a strategic plan to achieve this were presented as crucial factors in enabling the success so far.

The British Commonwealth team that arrived to lead the reform effort found the police in an abysmal state and no match for the challenges in their midst. Many

areas of the country were not being policed at all. Like many other national institutions, the Sierra Leonean police (SLP) had atrophied beyond easy repair. Neglect by successive governments had hollowed out the force, many police buildings were destroyed, and officers were without the most basic equipment such as pens and paper. Many had not been trained in years and were unknowledgeable about even the basics of their profession. Moreover, the historic use of the SLP as a repressive arm of the state and their institutionalized corruption had led to public mistrust.

Working to restore this corroded trust was the primary objective of the reformers. The implementation plan emphasized community-based principles and stressed a sequence of changes at the individual, institutional, and societal levels.

At the level of the individual, officers were provided with training that focused on improving their competences in ‘local needs’ issues, including victim support, domestic violence, and crime prevention. Training focused not only on new recruits but also on those existing officers whose skills had grown rusty or who had never been trained at all.

The organization was extensively restructured in order to embed a ‘community-based’ philosophy. Opaque and confused management structures were made more transparent, and promotion and recruitment within the force was based on standardized merit-based procedures rather than cronyism. A new system of financial management was put in place in an effort to stamp out corruption. Officers were also made more accountable as a result of new procedures through which the public could record their complaints.

The force made a concerted effort to reach out to communities that had long been alienated from the police. The process began with raising awareness about people’s rights, the role of the police, and the methods the police can use to support community safety and security. Special concentration was placed on the particularly vulnerable and those who had disproportionately suffered during the civil war such as women and children.

⁵ This section draws from a report prepared for the workshop by Mr. Adrian Horn.

Among the institutions created to involve the public was a civil society forum that gave communities a voice in local policing, a role in crime prevention, and a means of monitoring the police.

National political will was crucial to overcoming institutional resistance to change. No matter how well endowed financially, international interventions would quickly wither without it. The reform process was conditional on continuing government support.

Serbia

The process of embedding a new, holistic, community-based approach to policing in Serbia has faced a number of challenges, not least the need for institutional level reforms.⁶ While the Serbian police of 2004 are distinctly different from the force used as a political tool during the Milosevic administration, it has yet to realize the goals set by the country's Ministry of Interior that of a truly modern, representative, and democratic police service. With the assistance of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), important changes have been made in improving individual capacity and individual integrity through specialized training programs. However, the absence of a concomitant focus on institutional capacity (as was the case in Sierra Leone) has meant that the potential impact of progress made on developing the individual capacity of officers was limited due to the lack of sufficient management and institutional structures, or the absence of a developed legal/procedural framework to support such changes (such as in the areas of strategic planning, resource management, and operational procedures). The result was the de-motivation of officers engaged in the overall reform process and those who were taught new techniques but could not utilize them.

Progress has been made over the past number of years with the introduction of more female police officers and the development of multi-ethnic policing in South Serbia, aimed at enhancing the representative nature and community focus of the service. The introduction of a number of specific community-policing pilot sites

coupled with a program of modern police training courses have contributed in a positive manner towards regaining the trust of the Serbian people.

Significant challenges, however, remain ahead for the police reform process in Serbia. The lack of developed structures for police accountability has obstructed progress towards a truly transparent police service, while a burgeoning administration coupled with the absence of an adequate financial management system continues to undermine the effective use of resources. A highly centralized management structure hampers the implementation of community-based policing on the ground, while outdated management procedures and the lack of transparent promotion procedures stifle the belief that the police service is a viable career option for talent recruits. The absence of a clear division between the political and operational aspects of the police leaves it potentially open for manipulation. Further legislative and procedural changes are required for the implementation of community-based policing. Legislative changes to date have largely focused on upgrading a legislative framework that was based upon an outdated system, rather than overhauling the system entirely.

The international community also has a significant role to play; donor coordination and alignment can and must be done better. The need to have an agreed framework for donor engagement – which in some ways requires donors to cede some sovereignty to a common goal – is essential if the international community is to have a positive effect on the reform process.

Northern Ireland

The example of Northern Ireland underscores the difficulty of reorienting public attitudes towards the police and of getting the public involved to the extent that the community-based policing philosophy expected and its reform architects desired.

Reform to the Royal Ulster Constabulary was a central element of the province's 1998 Good Friday Agreement.

⁶ This section draws from a paper prepared for the workshop by Dr. Mark Downes, "From Securing the Peace to Ensuring Stability Police Reform in a Multi-ethnic, Post-conflict and Transition Environment: The Experience of Serbia."

Following the recommendations of an expert panel set up under the agreement, the force was to be changed into a more neutral Police Service of Northern Ireland, and a target of equal representation of both Catholic and Protestant communities in police ranks was set. The new force was formally inaugurated in April 2002.

Extensive community involvement was envisaged in oversight and decision-making processes, a central demand of Catholic parties who historically have been underrepresented. New forums were created. The Northern Ireland Policing Board, a local board of elected politicians and independents, has extensive oversight powers. At a lower level, twenty-six District Policing Partnerships (DPP), also drawn from politicians and civil society representatives, have local oversight powers and a major role in setting local policing priorities.



Police outreach in Kenya

Saferworld and Community-Based Policing in Kenya

The Kenyan government has embarked on an ambitious program of community-based police reform, in partnership with Saferworld and local civil society organizations including the Security Research and Information Centre and PeaceNet.

The program is developing a national policy on community-based policing that provides common guidelines to the police and local communities. This is complemented by the development of strategic plans for the two police forces in Kenya, the Kenya Police and the Administration Police, to clarify their roles and put the improved delivery of services at the heart of their work.

Also, a new training curriculum in community-based policing has been developed to train senior police officers, new recruits, and community leaders. This work is accompanied by media outreach and public education to raise awareness of the reform program and encourage the population to work with the police.

The government has implemented community-based policing in two selected pilot sites, one urban and one rural. Community policing forums have been established, bringing together police officers and community leaders to develop joint crime prevention and victim support strategies. The police are reporting a significant drop in crime at these sites since the program began and the government is now keen to roll out this approach across the country.

The reform process still faces significant challenges but these encouraging developments provide a good basis for progress. A number of lessons have been learned: 1) Successful reforms need significant ownership and support within government. The advent of a new government committed to reform and the establishment of a high-level body within the government to provide political support and oversight have created an enabling environment for progress. 2) There are clear benefits in developing a comprehensive program that can take forward different initiatives (e.g., training and policy development) simultaneously. 3) It is crucial to establish a partnership between the host government, international, and local civil society organizations to support implementation.

While all the institutions are in place, they have yet to fulfill their potential. In part this is because they lack political support. Policing remains a deeply divisive issue and attitudes reinforced over generations have been slow to break down. It has proven difficult to attain Catholic support; levels of recruitment from that community remain low. Sinn Féin, the largest Catholic party and second largest political party in the province, has still not agreed to support the reform process, thinking that it has not gone far enough and has refused to take seats on any of the accountability and oversight boards. This has meant that its voice has not been part of the day-to-day debate over the implementation of reforms. Involvement is also potentially personally hazardous – members of the DPPs have been physically attacked and intimidated. Another problem still is sheer public disinterest. A core tenet of a community-based approach is public involvement and interest but this seems to have been hard to engage. Although extensively advertised, meetings to involve the community take place in empty rooms. Instead of public support and involvement, apathy and skepticism characterize community-based policing in Northern Ireland.

VI. Community-Based Policing: An Implementation Framework

Given police reform's growing significance as part of a conflict management strategy, and given the diffusion of organizations carrying out reform, the need for a framework around which reform can be structured is crucial. The first day's deliberations suggested that a framework for police reform was still missing; the second day's deliberations aimed to provide guidance on how, when, and with whom to implement a community-based policing program.

Participants developed an implementation framework that emphasizes management, context-applicability, and planning. The planning process needs to recognize the specific characteristics of the context in implementing community-based policing. Context will shape the timing and length of the engagement, the most appropriate entry points (e.g. whether work should start on developing a national policy, implementation of local pilot projects, or both) and

whether certain aspects of policing will need more emphasis (e.g. corruption or human rights abuse). The framework begins by identifying eight key principles that should guide engagement and follows with a series of 'critical success factors', the presence or partial presence of which significantly enhances the chances of success.

The implementation framework is then broken down into four phases: pre-engagement analysis and assessment; planning; managing the implementation; and evaluation and draw back.

A. Key Principles

A number of key principles apply throughout all the stages of the engagement:

1. **The role of international actors is to support and facilitate the reform process but not lead and dominate it.** As many local stakeholders as practicably possible need to be involved throughout the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation processes.
2. **The framework must be tailored to context.** This requires a flexible, transparent and consultative approach throughout the reform process.
3. **Sufficient attention must be paid to both sides of community-based policing, the police and the public.** A process that emphasizes one over the other will be lopsided.
4. **There must be a common understanding between involved international agencies and the host government.** If this is not done explicitly from the start it risks incoherence, overlap and confusion.
5. **The involvement of different levels of police personnel (not only upper management) in all stages of the process is crucial for sustainability.**
6. **Community-based police reform should not take place in isolation but as part of the**

broader criminal justice system reform. This means including key actors from other criminal justice institutions in consultations and assessments as well as seeking synergies with other initiatives.

7. **The program needs to be realistic and feasible with resources to match.**
8. **Capacity-building is central – progress must be sustainable when international support ends.**

B. Critical Success Factors

The more strongly present these factors are, the better the environment for undertaking community-based policing.

1. Minimum degree of order in the country

A minimum degree of order that is likely to hold in the short to medium term is essential to provide some space for undertaking police reform. It is imperative that the international presence be nimble enough to respond to such opportunities by having the necessary equipment and logistics in place for mobilizing quickly and working in these environments.

2. A conducive context and demonstrated political will to change

There needs to be some national political support for a police reform process among leaders within the ranks of both government and police. This can be evidenced by willingness at senior levels within the police initially, but also at middle management and lower levels. This commitment to improve police-community relations can be measured by willingness on the part of government and figures in the police echelon to take action on tough (and symbolically powerful) issues such as corruption, human rights abuses, and excessive use of force within the police force; the allocation of resources in order to back a reform process; and taking

measures to increase police accountability to the public.

Such actions and commitment can be substantiated by other knowledgeable actors in country, including international diplomats, local parliamentarians, and international and local civil society organizations, and reports of national and international human rights organizations.

3. Basic management skills within the police

Basic management capacity is necessary in order to undertake a reform process. If management skills are lacking, this can be emphasized as capacity-building priority.

4. Civil society involvement

Community-based policing can only be effectively implemented if the police can engage with some form of public or civil counterpart. Some form of civil society capacity is required to engage on safety and security issues with the police. They should be ensured political space to be able to do this.

5. Donor support and coordination

Preparedness among donors to coordinate their programs, strategies, and activities in a mutually supportive manner is critical. The commitment of donors to stay the course of the reform process in the medium to long term and to provide sufficient resources is important in order to avoid creating expectations that cannot be met.

C. The Implementation Framework

Phase 1: Pre-engagement analysis and assessment

A thorough contextual analysis and a needs and resources assessment are crucial to inform nuanced design, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of the intended engagement. The assessment process should be as wide and consultative as

possible in order to ensure that the police, government, and civil society feel meaningfully involved. It is vital that the assessment not be rushed and that the team does not arrive with pre-ordained assumptions of what the needs and priorities are.

Going beyond narrow considerations of the police and crime, the analysis should probe the broader social, economic, and political situation within which the police and communities interrelate. Those carrying out the assessment should have a broad range of skills: as well as those with police experience, assessors should have sociological, legal, historical, and anthropological knowledge of the society at hand. Because the eventual program must be financially realistic, it is crucial that those with a finance background be involved as well.

The assessments and analyses should also consider the gender dimensions of policing and issues relating to women's access to safety, security, and justice. This is particularly important as customary law and religious practices often govern certain issues that greatly affect women's lives and status. This includes such matters as property ownership; marriage and divorce matters, including the status of widows and children, child custody, legitimacy, and adoptions; and interstate succession and administration of interstate estates. Women's access to justice should include their own families and traditional structures in the areas in which they live, as well as the police, court personnel, magistrates, and district administration personnel.⁷

The assessment should ideally comprise nine features:

1.1. Risk and conflict analysis

The broader social, economic, and political situation in the country provides the context for understanding the causes of insecurity and crime and offers, in part, an explanation for the methods and practices of the police. As the envisaged engagement will impact on the society as a whole, some thinking needs to be done

to ensure that positive impacts are maximized and negative ones minimized. The assessment should include:

- The social, economic and political issues – both structural and tied to specific events and actors – that could give (in transition societies) or have given (in post-conflict societies) rise to violent conflict;
- The impact conflict had on the structure, make-up, and methods of the police organization itself;
- The ways these broader conflict causes are being addressed.

1.2. Crime trends analysis

The crime problems of the country and their social and economic costs should be established, based on a range of available data. Combined with and verified against other assessments and analyses, this information measures perceptions of crime and insecurity, and can also serve as a baseline indicator by which changes in crime/criminal trends can be measured over the course of the reform period.

Qualitative as well as quantitative indicators should be used because crime statistics may not exist and are likely to be unreliable when they do. Moreover, these statistics are rarely an accurate representation of real levels of crime as they involve reporting crime to the police, which many in deeply divided societies are loath to do. Other tools, therefore, should be used as well, such as public perception surveys, media reports, and incident descriptions, in order to come up with a comprehensive sense of the problems affecting the public. The analysis of crime trends should provide:

- The major problems of crime and their sources;
- A breakdown into regional, rural, and urban specificities;
- An assessment of particular problems relating to specific groups of society (e.g., women or specific religious or ethnic groups);

⁷ "Overview of the Gendered Dynamics in Accessing Justice in WLSA Countries (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe)," paper presented by Sara Mvududu, Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), Research and Educational Trust, to the seminar on "Making Justice Democratic," London, June 26-28, 2001.

- The role of the police and other structures (e.g., traditional justice structures, the judiciary) in addressing safety and security problems;
- The root of these problems, whether they are purely crime-related, purely conflict-related or a mixture;
- An assessment of the economic and social costs of crime.

1.3. Assessment of the police organization

It is important to establish the extant organizational strengths and weaknesses of the police and to assess the police's capacity to absorb change. Part of this assessment can include a survey of the police personnel themselves (at all levels of the organization) and their perceptions of their organization, their management, and their role. The assessment should:

- Map the structures, resources, mandates, and capacity of the existing police service/organization and its relations with political institutions;
- Assess the formal and informal cultures and attitudes within the police organization;
- Evaluate the police's financial resources and how they are managed;
- Consider the level of corruption and reasons for it;
- Appraise the police's internal communication system.

1.4. Baseline survey of perceptions of policing

Both the police and the public should be canvassed to determine what their perceptions are of key safety and security issues, and what the police can and should be doing to address these. The survey of perceptions should measure:

- Problems with the country's policing (e.g., corruption, involvement in organized crime, lack of public trust, undefined division of roles between the police and the military);
- Treatment of all members of society by the police;
- Police's perceived priorities;
- Public perception of police's priorities;
- Public expectations of the police;
- Nature of the relationship between the police and the public.

1.5. Review of legal and constitutional framework

The legal, constitutional, and regulatory framework in which the police operate should be reviewed. An enabling legal and constitutional framework will facilitate the reform process; the review will help assess what ancillary constitutional and legislative reform may be needed to support the undertaking of community-based policing. The review should include:

- Relevant acts, codes, and statutes that legally govern police behavior;
- Regional or international frameworks and conventions (e.g., human rights conventions) that relate to policing, safety, and security;
- Constitutional definition of the role of the police;
- Legislative changes needed to undertake community-based policing.

1.6. Evaluation of relationship between police and the broader criminal justice and security sectors

The police are the most visible institution of the security sector as well as a central element of the criminal justice system. It is therefore important to recognize this role and the linkages between the police and other institutions in this sector by evaluating:

- The state of the broader criminal justice sector – the courts and penal system—and its relationship with the police;
- The relationship between the police and other security sector institutions, e.g., the military and intelligence services;
- The relationship between the police and other sectors within the broader criminal justice system and/or security systems that need to be engaged to complement community-based police reform.

1.7. Review of existing social and governance structures that pertain to safety and security

Strong informal mechanisms exist in many societies for dealing with public safety and security. In such societies, official police structures are largely divorced from the public. Using or revitalizing existing structures is often preferable and more sustainable as a means of nurturing trust between police and community than

setting up brand new structures. It is critical to have an understanding of what these mechanisms are and to determine their levels of legitimacy and their contributions – both positive and negative – to safety and security. The mapping process should include:

- Structures that attempt to deal with public safety and security and conflict resolution (including both legitimate and problematic structures, e.g., traditional structures like village elders; vigilante groups; neighborhood watches; private security companies etc.);
- The degree to which informal mechanisms are incorporated into the legal framework of the country, their legitimacy/support and level of influence/impact;
- The extent of contact/cooperation between informal and formal, state-funded structures for public safety and security (i.e., police, justice system, etc.);
- The opportunities and challenges of incorporating the appropriate existing structures into a broader program of implementing community-based policing.

1.8. Stakeholder and leadership analysis

In order for any reform process to be sustainable, the involvement and constructive support of local stakeholders and leaders is paramount. Reform actors must have a clear sense of who the key figures are within the police, the government, and civil society (on national, regional, district, city, etc., levels), including:

- The key stakeholders in undertaking community-based policing (including the police, community structures, civil society in its broadest form, parliamentarians, the private sector, the government, etc.);
- The key stakeholders who are in favor of reform (change agents);
- The key stakeholders who oppose reform (spoilers) and how they can be brought on board.

1.9. Financial assessment and viability

It serves no one to design a reform program that is

financially unsustainable. An accurate assessment of the financial needs and absorptive capacity of the local government and police organization is therefore crucial to inform realistic decisions on resource allocation and budgeting. The efficient, effective, and economic use of already existing national resources should be encouraged so as not to overwhelm the government and the police with resources that they do not have the capacity to manage or to sustain in the longer term. Key points of the financial assessment include:

- The level of international financial assistance;
- Current absorptive capacity of the host government and police force;
- Priorities in the use of resources;
- Local resources that can be mobilized together with international resources;
- Additional financial resources necessary to undertake community-based policing reform.

Phase 2: Program Design and Planning

The planning and design phase should build on the previous assessments and analysis in order to formulate program strategies and priorities. Phase 2 should also continue the consultative approach with local authorities reflected in the previous phase. Donors/international actors and the government must reach a clear agreement on the exact nature of the program and the roles and responsibilities of each. Equally, all involved need to be clear on the characteristics and principles of community-based policing, while remaining flexible about adapting it to the context as needed. During the planning phase, the middle and lower ranks of police personnel – not only the higher members in the hierarchy – should be included, as they will be chiefly charged with implementing the reform. It is important to be realistic about the achievable degree of interaction between the police and the public, as well as their ability to absorb and implement change.

There should be five features to the planning phase.

2.1. Defining priorities of the engagement

The definition of priorities of the engagement should include:

- Key safety and security challenges that emerged from the assessment and analysis phase;
- Particular areas of focus, such as specific safety and security problems relating to a particular region or social group;
- Policing priorities as defined by the communities/public and the police.

2.2. Setting objectives of the intervention

Once the priorities have been identified, the specific objectives of the intervention need to be formulated. These should be realistic and specific: what can be done, within what timeframe, by whom, and with whose resources.

The objectives should include the following envisaged changes in:

- Policing style and efficiency;
- The role of communities and their capacity to participate in community-based policing;
- The structure of the police organization itself;
- The relationship between the police and the public;
- Police accountability;
- Relationships between the police and the broader criminal justice system.

2.3. Having financially sound action plans

The action plans are intended to translate the priorities and objectives into specific activities, sequencing these activities and assigning responsibilities for the execution of specific tasks to specific actors. The objectives and action plans can only be implemented if sufficient resources are available and are managed efficiently. The action plans and budget need to include:

- Specific activities to be undertaken to fulfill each of the objectives;
- Names of specific people responsible for each activity;
- Costs and human resources needs;
- Timelines;
- Sources of funding (international and local sources);
- Management responsibility and oversight structures for the budget.

2.4. Setting benchmarks and/or indicators for monitoring and evaluation

Benchmarks and/or indicators to monitor the implementation should be developed. They should be realistic, simple, and least expensive, and it is key that they are used by the oversight mechanisms and structures that will be set up. Mid-term reviews and monitoring processes should be built into the overall monitoring and evaluation process to enable revision of the reform as it is implemented. The indicators should comprise:

- A checklist of balanced baskets of qualitative and quantitative indicators to measure progress;
- Indicators sensitive to the changes that one wishes to measure;
- Indicators that accommodate the monitoring of relatively powerless groups' experiences, such as those of people living in poverty.

2.5. Creating conflict resolution mechanisms

A key tenet of community-based policing is that the police should be able to solve disputes or conflicts in partnership with the communities in which they work. In addition, where appropriate, they should collaborate with existing structures that deal with the peaceful resolution of disputes or conflicts within different communities. However, reform actors must be realistic about the level of trust in communities towards the police and the time that it will take to create this trust. The conflict/dispute mechanisms should therefore include:

- Mechanisms or structures that enable the police to conduct collaborative problem-solving and dispute/conflict resolution with the communities where they work;
- Linkages between these mechanisms and other appropriate structures, such as traditional conflict resolution forums;
- Review of the effectiveness of these mechanisms in bringing about change, and their real and perceived impact on peace and security in the community.

Phase 3: Managing the Implementation

During the implementation, it is important to carefully

monitor progress, ensure ongoing oversight, and remain clear on end goals. The implementation should also seek to strengthen and broaden the involvement of all stakeholders in the process. Important features for the implementation phase can include:

3.1. Pilot activities

Pilot activities or programs can be very useful, but they should be realistic and replicable elsewhere. Pilot areas or projects offer the opportunity to test approaches and readjust if necessary, and if successful, can greatly enhance buy-in to the reform process.

3.2. National and local oversight and review structures

National and local oversight structures should be established in order to direct the implementation of the reform and monitor the use of resources. Where existing structures have been identified, these should be reviewed and used as appropriate. These oversight structures should include mechanisms:

- With real and not just symbolic power and the authority to address problems;
- With clear roles and division of responsibilities;
- With civilian participation in conducting oversight activities.

3.3. Accountability structures

One of the key objectives of community-based policing is to foster a trusting relationship between the police and the public. Prioritize accountability: winning the trust of local communities requires not only a professional and effective police service, but also clear police accountability to the public. Accountability structures should include:

- Structures that hold the police accountable to the government, parliament, and the public;
- Direct communication mechanisms with the public (e.g., hotlines, anonymous complaints service);
- Easy public accessibility to complaints procedures and mechanisms;
- Internal review boards;
- Education programs for legislators on their role in exercising accountability (e.g., parliamentary

committee structures, province/district structures).

3.4. Training and enhancement of police and community capacity

In order to make the reform process sustainable, the capacity of local communities and police to undertake (and sustain) community-based policing must be strengthened. To this end, it is vital to develop the capacity of local training institutions for the police and the community, and to identify individuals within both groups who already have useful skills.

Within the police it is crucial to:

- Train in community-based policing, preferably through existing education structures and programs;
- Provide follow-up training after training courses;
- Strengthen police capacity to respect and uphold human rights;
- Enhance police capacity to gather, manage, and use information appropriately and effectively;
- Provide mentoring by using senior national and/or international police officers for field training.

Within civil society/community it is crucial to:

- Raise awareness about community-based policing and the public's roles and responsibilities with regards to safety and security;
- Raise awareness of people's legal and human rights and responsibilities;
- Train, if required, in basic organizational skills.

3.5. Strong local capacity to lead and manage the change program

Capacity-building in community-based policing must be complemented by capacity-building for host country stakeholders (police, government, and civil society) in implementing, leading, and managing the change process. This is an ongoing process throughout the implementation of the reform program and includes:

- Strengthening the skills of host country police and communities to design and implement the change program;

- Supporting relevant stakeholders in redesigning and adapting the change program as necessary;
- Involving key police personnel to accompany external/international consultants in order to share experiences and knowledge;
- Ensuring civil society actors have a central part in this process.

3.6. Adequate resources for the reform process

Sufficient financial resources must be secured to sustain the reform process, and this should translate into the necessary budget allocations within the normal policing budget. The length of the reform process can vary; international actors supporting it should aim to establish funding sustainability for as long as possible. So that the reform process will not be solely dependent on international resources, the use of recipient country resources needs to be maximized. Securing sufficient resources for a sustainable reform process involves:

- Mechanisms for the long-term sustainability of the process after international withdrawal;
- International logistical support, based on an identification of real needs and priorities;
- Decentralizing funding as much as possible in order to ensure that the reform process continues on a variety of levels.

3.7. Appropriate organizational structure

The reform process should ensure that the police organization has the optimal structure for the implementation of the envisaged style of policing. To achieve this aim, an appropriate organizational structure should include:

- Necessary authority to local police personnel to engage with the community;
- Clear role and mandate;
- Rewards and sanctions for encouraging police personnel to undertake community-based policing in their day-to-day work;
- Management skills.

3.8. Quick wins

The concept of quick wins refers to positive changes

early on in the reform process that demonstrates the direction in which reform is going. Quick wins demonstrate success, encourage buy-in, and provide building blocks for further changes and reforms. Quick wins need to lead to real and clearly visible changes to promote further confidence building on all sides of the reform process. These changes can range, for instance, from taking disciplinary measures against senior police officials involved in corruption to commencing work on 'model police stations'. Their establishment can help demonstrate the positive impacts that can be wrought by applying a community-based approach to policing, thus encouraging wider support for the approach as a whole. It is essential that innovations tested in the model stations are diffused to police in other areas.

3.9. Mechanisms and processes for monitoring

The monitoring mechanisms and process should take into account other national priorities that have been identified elsewhere (for instance, in the framework of the World Bank Poverty Reduction Strategies Monitoring). The process should include:

- Benchmarks and indicators defined in the planning phase;
- A review of activities and strategies implemented, identifying good and bad practices;
- Mechanisms to publicize achievements and successes in order to generate more support for the change process;
- Continuous update of the risk and conflict analyses in order to monitor the context, its impact on the engagement, and the impact of the engagement on the context;
- Ownership of local civil society groups in maintaining monitoring, with support from the international community.
- Publicizing achievements and successes in order to generate more support for the change process.

3.10. Programs that build resistance to corruption

A police untainted by corruption is a powerful symbol of change and a major building block in public trust. However, strengthening resistance to corruption is a difficult process that requires a serious commitment

within the government and the police. It is important for reformers to be realistic. Corruption may be a broader social issue of economic survival, and/or may be accepted as the norm in a particular society; either factor would make it extremely difficult to eradicate in the police only. An effective anti-corruption strategy should comprise:

- Good management, supervision, and control;
- A robust anti-corruption policy;
- Fair and transparent disciplinary policies and procedures;
- Support for senior officers who have the necessary ability and personal qualities to lead an anti-corruption unit effectively;
- Complaints mechanisms.

3.11. Internal and external communication

Throughout the implementation process, both internal communication and external communication with the public need to be strengthened in order to make policing more transparent and accountable. Effective external communication can go some way towards fostering trust in the police. In spite of a common reluctance to involve the media, for fear that only failures will be reported, the police should engage actively with the media, which can be used as a strategic partner in the police's external communication strategy. The police should also receive media training, while journalists should be provided with training on policing issues.

Phase 4: Evaluation and Drawback

The end-goal of a community-based policing program is a sustainable reform process that can proceed without the training wheels of international involvement. To achieve this, the implementation plan should be carefully structured so that more and more authority is incrementally handed over to local actors while the international implementation role correspondingly reduces. This would help avoid the tendency that afflicts many police reform initiatives when international actors either leave too quickly or devolve responsibility too slowly.

A detailed evaluation should assess whether the program has achieved its strategic goals and objectives.

If clear qualitative and quantitative indicators and benchmarks identified in the pre-engagement phase have been built into the program design and there has been ongoing monitoring of the short, medium and long term outputs and outcomes, one should have a clear sense of when it is appropriate to draw back. A full involvement and utilization of local perspectives throughout will enable a broader range of perspectives, give more legitimacy to the results of evaluation, and provide a learning opportunity for local stakeholders taking forward the work. It is important that the engagement be financially audited. This should evaluate the allocation of resources within the police and from international support.

The medium- to long-term impact of the change program should be assessed. It should measure the impact of the community-based policing program on safety, security, and development, and the impact of the reform on the pre-existing risks and root causes of conflict in the communities.

The police must be able to maintain processes of monitoring their own performance and learning from their mistakes so that these processes can continue once international support winds down. It is important to strengthen the capacity of the oversight and review structures established during the implementation phase.

The international drawback must not be final, instead scheduling regular periodic reviews to ensure that the process of community-based policing is continuing in an appropriate manner. This would also avoid the perception that international actors have 'forgotten' the reform process that they began. Assessment will also be important as a means of ensuring continuing donor support for the process.

Finally, it is crucial that the lessons learned from the engagement are disseminated to inform the design of future engagements. A thorough review process that involves all stakeholders in reviewing the community-based policing program can yield important lessons about what worked and what hadn't. Furthermore, such lessons or experiences must be fed into follow-up community-based policing work in the country, as well as in the practice of the international actors supporting the process.

VII. Conclusion

Community-based policing can be cement for security and development. A police force supported by the community and capable of arresting insecurity can have a far-reaching impact in enabling lasting economic, social and political development. However, as international efforts so far have indicated, reforming a police organization, re-orienting their shoddy public image, and improving their service delivery means facing daunting political, financial, logistical and historical obstacles. Achieving lasting and effective reform requires addressing issues of management, leadership, political will, set attitudes, established behaviors and negative public perceptions. Its very complexity can be intimidating.

Nonetheless, its centrality means that it is an issue that cannot be shied away from. The workshop underscored how efforts to provide equal focus on reforming both the police as an institution and their relationship with the communities they are meant to serve are contingent upon a well-understood philosophy, clearly thought out plan and a well organized and managed process of implementation.

With police reform being undertaken by an ever-widening range of actors, it is paramount that there should be a clear understanding of what it entails and how it should be undertaken. It is hoped that this guide will be useful in both situating community-based police reform within broader policy debates and guiding those planning its implementation.

Community-Based Policing: Developing Security – Securing Development?

Workshop Agenda

9:00-9:30	Breakfast
9:30-9:45	Welcome Addresses David M. Malone, President, International Peace Academy H.E. Allan Rock, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations
SESSION I	COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING: UNDERLYING CONCEPTS AND CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTATION
9:45-10:45	Introduction and Overview Dr. Gordon Peake, Associate, International Peace Academy Presentation of “Philosophy and Principles of Community-based Policing” Mr. Graham Mathias, Senior Policing Advisor, Saferworld
10:45-11:00	Coffee break
11:00-12:15	Implementing Community-based Policing (I) – Policing and Civil Society Perspectives (Chair: Gordon Peake) Malawi Mr. Undule Mwakasungula, Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation Sierra Leone Mr. Adrian Horn, Horn Ltd. Serbia and Montenegro Dr. Mark Downes, Law Enforcement Department, Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)
12:15-1:15	Lunch
1:15- 2:45	Implementing Community-based Policing (II) – Donor and UN Perspectives (Chair: Andy McLean) Ms. Emy Furuya, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) Dr. Kiran Bedi, Police Advisor, Civilian Police Division, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) Dr. Andrew Morrison, Poverty and Gender Group, World Bank

SESSION II

2:45-3:30 **THE INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE OF COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING
(I) (Chair: Necla Tschirgi)**

**Meetings in Empty Rooms: Strengthening Public Oversight and Participation in
Police Reform: The Case of Northern Ireland**

Dr. Neil Jarman, Institute for Conflict Research, Belfast

**Reports Not Read, Recommendations Resisted: Convincing the Police of the Merits of
Community-based Policing**

Prof. Otwin Marenin, Department of Political Science/Program in Criminal Justice,
Washington State University

3:30-3:45 Coffee break

3:45-5:15 **THE INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE OF COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING
(II) (Chair: Agnes Hurwitz)**

Governance, Police Reform, and Community-based Policing

Dr. Mark Baskin, Senior Associate, State University of New York Center for International
Development, and Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center

Rule of Law and Community-based Policing

Mr. Chris Gale, Consultant, Department for International Development (DFID), UK

Civilian Policing in UN Peace Operations

Dr. Renata Dwan, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

5:15-5:30 **Concluding remarks**

Mr. Andy McLean, Deputy Director, Saferworld

Dr. Necla Tschirgi, Vice President, International Peace Academy

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