



School for Police Leadership

Pearls in Policing: an outline for discussion

Inspiration from The Hague: City of Peace and Justice

(Version 24 August 2006)

1 Introduction

In a rapidly changing and turbulent world, executive leaders in policing and law enforcement are confronted with increasingly more substantial challenges. The recently established Curatorium International Police Leadership in the Netherlands experienced the growing need for executive 'reflective practitioners' throughout the world to search for new ideas, realities, experiences, threats and opportunities ('the pearls' in policing). This search should have a central focus on the gathering of these pearls and a professional debate on expected global social, societal and criminological developments and appropriate police strategies and leadership. By evaluating these pearls in their context, without making value judgements, both individual and collective development will be challenged. These new experiences can be an impetus for the national and international police discourse.

In order to facilitate the discussion this outline was drafted as a broad contextual document. It is based on academic literature, the experiences of the members of the Curatorium, a special reflection group consisting of senior Dutch and Belgian police officers ("Pearl fishers") and the input of the future participants to the global conference 'Pearls in Policing' to be held in The Hague (10-13 June 2007). For this reason some of the invited participants will be interviewed beforehand in order to identify focal points for the debate during the conference.

All these experiences and thoughts are reflected in this paper, which will be adapted and improved upon along the way. In this respect, this outline of discussion should be seen as a living document, resulting in a publication at the end of 2007. It is realised that this paper, as it stands, has a western European perspective and therefore all readers are challenged and invited to view and contribute from and to a more global perspective.

2 Content of this discussion paper

After this introduction we first define security and look at some major developments in the world in general. The challenges regarding threats facing populations and territories and their relation with individual and collective security are put down schematically. Do changes in response result in a paradigm shift of looking at the concept of a state? This will be followed by an analysis of the effects on public trust in the police. Globalisation has an enormous impact on the relationship of cross border crime and terrorism. We explore its meaning especially for the police organisation and its' functioning. The need is identified for more focus on international police cooperation and we look at recent developments, new needs, the various actors and the future. Standing at the dawn of a fundamental shift of the way the police is organised and functioning in the various continents, we will explore new developments, trends and best practices. This paper concludes with the challenging question: What works and what doesn't?

3 Major developments of influence on policing

- **Everyone has a different picture of the meaning of (in)security. In order to have a joint perspective the definition “the condition of being protected from or not exposed to danger, a feeling of safety or freedom from or absence of danger” is chosen**
- **Globalisation, network society, the increasing gap between poor & rich, migration flows, increasing influence of the media and innovation in IT are changing the world**
- **At the same time the concept of the sovereign nation-state is changing with enormous effects on safety and security**
- **This has a considerable impact on policing and the public trust in the police.**
- **Conclusion is that the police needs to acknowledge and analyse the current situation and to prospect and anticipate future developments**

3.1 Security defined

Security itself is interpreted differently on different continents. For some countries insecurity is seen as terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. For other countries insecurity is assimilated with civil wars. Yet in other parts of the world it is seen as poverty and organised crime group activities. Security is “the condition of being protected from or not exposed to danger, a feeling of safety or freedom from or absence of danger”. Security is seen as indivisible and is described as a comprehensive approach underlying the concept of security and cooperative mechanisms. In a common concept of security the importance of the maintenance of international peace and order and the widest possible observance of generally recognised norms of conduct between states and of democratic institutions, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law should be highlighted under all circumstances.

3.2 What is happening in the world?

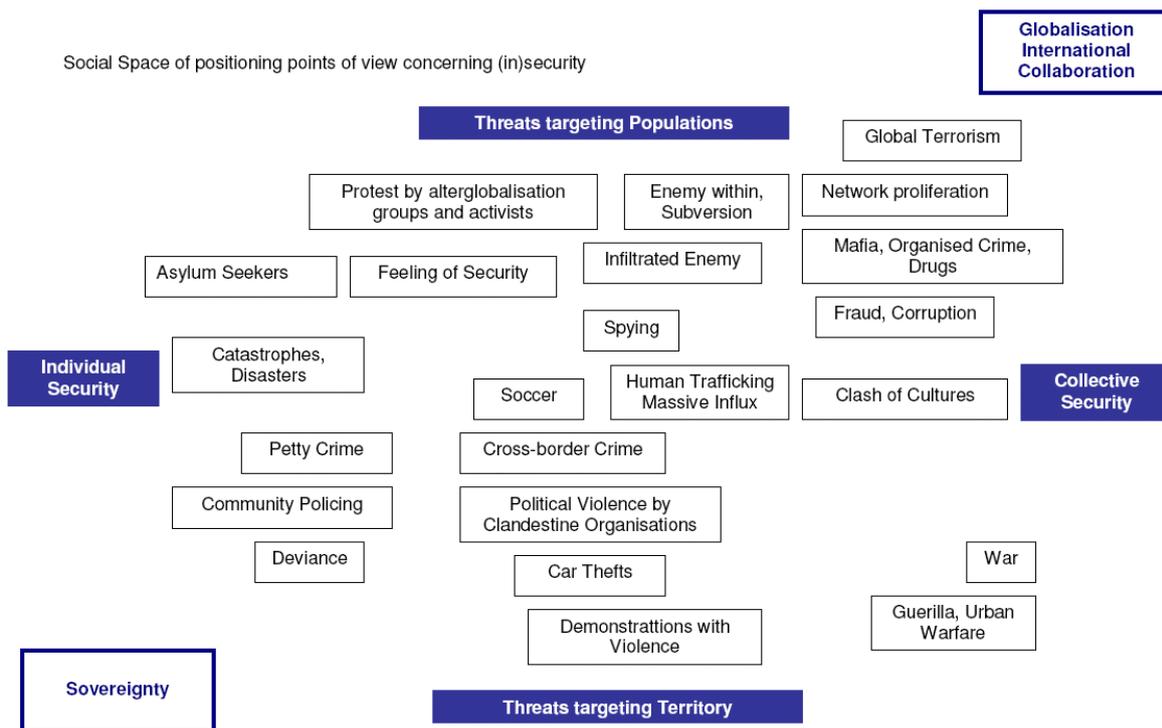
Globalisation, an increasing gap between the rich and the poor, increasing influence of the media, the effects of migration flows, religious radicalisation and extremism, and major developments in information technology have changed the traditional structure of the world, countries and societies dramatically over the past few decades. Many of those changes have been for the good, leading to greater prosperity, better health, a higher quality of life and a removal of barriers to opportunities. Modernity, however, also includes new problems of crime and insecurity. Every nation, strong and weak alike, is today beset by problems that defy local, national, inside- and cross-border solutions like amongst others: civil wars, climate change, terrorism, nuclear proliferation, food and water insecurity, discrimination, management of the global economy, the internationalisation of drugs and crime, the spread of diseases such as HIV, the increasing gap between rich and poor¹ and avian flu and ethnic and religious conflicts.

The schematic overview below, based upon the theories developed by Professor Didier Bigo², provides an overview of many challenges of transnational security the world faces today. From left to right the overview shows threats with an increasingly collective perspective, from a threat on the persona to a threat on a population.

From top to bottom the overview shows the threats differing from a threat on persons to a threat on territory. Diagonally the threats are shown from a sovereign to a global view.

¹ L. Sievers: Richard Sennet, John Skorupski, Robert Devigne, Ervin Laszlo

² Didier Bigo, Professor of International Relations at Sciences-Po, the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris and researcher at CERI/FNSP. He is also the director of the French Centre of Study of Conflict.



3.3 Changing state paradigm

One particular topic demands extra attention because without any doubt the state, and in particular some weak states, have lost a great deal of decision-making power. It is a fact that the financial globalisation, free trade, ever faster communications and production re-(de)location have changed the concept of the sovereign nation-state. Multilateral treaties concerning human rights, environmental issues, the fight against poverty and global trade are under attack or increasingly difficult to adhere to.

Recent times have demonstrated the limits of the sovereign state to provide security for its citizens and deliver adequate levels of social control and crime control in, especially within eroded or weak states³. The old fashioned sovereign states can deliver punishment but not security, and this has become apparent to economic actors who have a real stake in the process. Countries have repeatedly chosen to respond to widespread political concerns about crime and insecurity by formulating policies that punish and exclude, deploying their monopoly of force to compose order and to punish offenders.

3.4 Effects on policing

Agents from all sectors of the field of law enforcement have become significant actors in their own right. A danger of the contemporary period is that policing might become de-coupled from an overarching sense of the public good and degenerate into a selective police that serves particular interests of specific power groups. At the heart of all forms of regulation and governance is the problem of control. The history of crime control policy is replete with examples of weak application, implementation failure, perverse effects and unintended consequences⁴. Crime control development has also adapted and responded to the modern world and to the political and cultural values.

Public services including the police must therefore adapt to working within an increasingly diverse, complex and mobile society. Major aspects of influence on policing are:

- "It's not only about money, it's increasingly about power";

³ Saskia Sassen, Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology at the Chicago University and Centennial Professor at the London School of Economics

⁴ Adam Crawford, Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice and Director of Research in the Law Department at the University of Leeds (editor), Stuart Lister, Sarah Blackburn and J. Burnett

- Globalisation⁵ and network society⁶. "We will not be spared from any development somewhere else on the globe";
- From "medialisation" to mobilisation;
- More freedom and mobility, following from an increased individualisation of society;
- "Anything is possible, everything is allowed, there are no more obligations";
- External conflicts becoming internal conflicts and vice versa. The border between internal (police) and external (defence) becomes more and more unclear;
- Diverse societies, intolerance and discrimination⁷;
- The ever increasing gap between the "have's" and "have nots" (poor and rich)⁸;
- Privatisation of the control function. This movement entails the transfer of police functions to non-governmental, private national, transnational and international actors;
- In some parts of the world the labour force is growing older and there is a growing competition on the labour market for young competent staff. This places a huge demand on police organisations to become an attractive employer for high quality young professionals⁹.
- Administrative enforcement becoming complementary and/or subsidiary to police and justice strategies and activities;
- Technical developments and digitalisation result in other and new forms of (organised) crime and terrorism and the need for the police to develop accordingly¹⁰ (e.g. introduction and use of biometrics);
- The paradigm of low policing for all and high policing for a few is moving to high policing for all (due to technical developments and eroding public space as a result of the use of new investigation techniques within the concept of nodal policing);
- Changing public satisfaction with and expectations of the police;
- Shifting the scope of interventions to a more proactive approach, based on risk analysis, leading to new strategies such as prevention and pre-emptive strategy¹¹ and nodal policing;
- Conflicts about the balance between police effectiveness versus respect and the protection of human rights. The focus on human rights and standards should be seen as a starting point and not as a goal.

3.5 Public trust in police

It is clear that fears and concerns about local safety are increasingly influenced by wider, global insecurities and generic risks. Police services feel more and more that they lack the powers and the manpower to help them and they feel the need to develop new policing strategies which contribute to a 'trust society'¹². The worst case scenario is when state-based police services no longer enter certain "no-go areas", are faced with corruption within the own organisation or are no longer putting energy in knowledge development & learning. Businesses, organisations and the public have increasingly lost confidence in the capacity of the police to deliver community-based and locally tied patrol officers as part of routine police provision and have begun to experiment with diverse forms of additional security¹³, although this differs in individual countries.

Old and new democracies are very much concerned with respect of human rights by police services. Traditionally human rights organisations concerned with policing, crime control and associated activities, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, have tended to focus almost exclusively on instances of police wrongdoing. The need for monitoring of this type of wrongdoing has not disappeared, indeed, globally, the abuse of police coercive powers (extra-judicial killings, disappearances, torture) and their misuse (bribery and corruption) seems to be growing.

⁵ S. Sassen

⁶ Manuel Castells, Emeritus Professor of Sociology and Professor of City and Regional Planning at the University of California, Berkeley

⁷ L. Sievers: K. Abdolah, T. Blair

⁸ L. Sievers: R. Sennet, J. Skorupski, R. Devigne, E. Laslo

⁹ J. Beekman and D. van Putten

¹⁰ G. Van den Burg: Prof. J. Fountain

¹¹ The definition of pre-emptive strategy is: Influencing behaviour and circumstances in such a way that crime and other violations of the safety and probity of society are avoided.

¹² A. Sanders

¹³ A. Crawford

3.6 Conclusion

It has become very clear that in this complex, differentiated world, effective and legitimate governance must devolve power and share the work of social control with local official and private organisations and communities. In the last ten years, both countries who see enormous advantages in globalism's economic interactions and those who are opposed to it, have reached the conclusion that we are moving towards a world in which the state will have less power than other actors (e.g. transnationals, a diverse range of multilateral organisations and civil society) and it is these actors who will define national and international policy. Active engagement by citizens and communities is and will remain essential in changing social behaviour. In order to act and react in an informed way, police services need to acknowledge and analyse the current situation and to prospect future developments.

4 A closer look to global developments in crime and terrorism

- **The effect of globalisation is that more and other forms of cross-border crime, such as computer crime, illegal arms trade, trafficking human beings, counterfeiting of money and goods and corruption are flourishing**
- **Earnings from criminal enterprises form an important source for terrorist financing too and many links between cross border crime and terrorism can be identified**
- **This enables us to identify a whole new trend in crime and leads to the conclusion that we live in a high and increasingly sophisticated crime culture**

4.1 Cross-border crime

Globalisation has not only expanded illegal markets and boosted the size and the resources of criminal networks; it has imposed more burdens upon governments. Never fettered by the niceties of sovereignty, the organised criminal and terrorist networks are now increasingly free of geographic constraints. In general the illegal trade in drugs, arms, intellectual property, people and money is booming and international crime is becoming more sophisticated, with the trafficking of human beings¹⁴ and drugs generating billions of dollars for criminal enterprises. International crime, corruption, abuse of power, weak institutions and lack of accountability corrode states from within and contribute to international insecurity. The increasing share of the world economy attributable to illicit activity provides the financial resources for transnational crime groups to operate and hire expertise. Counterfeiting of goods, currencies, CD's and other electronic equipment contributes major financial support to organised crime. The resources or the profits are combined with legitimate funds making it hard to detect where the criminal funds end and the legitimate funds begin.

4.2 Terrorism

The threat posed by international terrorism is as old as humanity itself and the question arises to which extent the emphasis on terrorism and religious fanaticism in the Islamic world has been worsened by the war on terrorism. Recent terrorist attacks illustrate the privatisation of violence and globalisation of insecurity more than ever. Some may argue the world is a less secure place, especially since 11 September 2001. Terrorist organisations typically maintain a presence worldwide in order to raise and transfer funds, to create false identities for operatives, to procure weaponry and material, to set up operational sanctuaries and to support infiltrations across the borders and overseas.

4.3 Links between organised crime and terrorism

The problem of organised crime and terrorism were often considered separate phenomena prior to '9/11'. Illustrations of links are now becoming more and more obvious:

- terrorists engage in organised crime activity to support themselves financially;
- organised crime groups and terrorists often operate in (intersecting) network structures;

¹⁴ P. Zanders

- both organised crime groups and terrorists operate in areas with little governmental controls, weak enforcement of laws and open borders and in conflict areas;
- both use corrupt local officials to achieve their objectives;
- both use similar means to communicate, exploiting modern technology;
- both launder money, often using the same methods and even the same operators to move their funds.

The new criminal and terrorist groups and networks resemble modern legitimate business structures. The massive international illegitimate economy allows the illicit to operate with ease amongst the licit. The enormous discrepancies in regulation in a globalised world allow criminals and terrorists to exploit the lack of consistency to their advantage. Symbiosis between the so called "upper world" and "under world" is becoming more frequently predominant¹⁵.

4.4 Conclusion

The growing number of new types of crime and of recorded crime reflects the increased workload facing the police services. We live in a time of high and increasingly sophisticated crime culture¹⁶. To summarise the most preoccupying emerging forms of crime:

- Increasing cross-border criminal networks, organised crime, organisational crime, criminal organisations, specialised crime and cybercrime;
- Crimes in which the cultural values of certain (religious) groups play a pivotal role (e.g. honour killings, terrorism with the basic aim to kill as many as possible people);
- Development of alternative modi operandi, circumvention of the law and other initiatives to encourage and realise impunity are becoming increasingly popular, not only amongst professional criminals, but also in general (e.g. insurance fraud).

The risk of the "upper and the under world" is that it will be hard for a local citizen in a ordinary neighbourhood to understand why his or her police is, visibly, spending much time on these often less visible forms of crime, while at the same time youth is vandalising their living areas and effecting their daily well-being.

5 International police cooperation

- **Today's international and national security challenges basically snub their noses at old notions of national sovereignty. Security has 'gone global', and no country can afford to neglect the global institutions needed to manage it**
- **The development of effective transnational and global justice enforcement has not been able to keep up with the rapid expansion of transnational terrorism, organised crime and global insecurity**
- **Global, regional and local institutions are established. An overview of actors involved is provided. At the same time the questions of global governance are evident: who is doing what, is the overall system coherent, how can you render such power democratically accountable, is there room for increased efficiency and effectiveness?**
- **Many developments in international police cooperation are identified in this chapter and the question arises if all police services will be ready to cooperate with their foreign counterparts to cope with the changing world order?**

¹⁵ Petrus C. van Duyne, Professor Faculty of Law, Department of Criminal Law, University of Tilburg, The Netherlands, N. Passos

¹⁶ David W. Garland, Arthur T. Vanderbilt Professor of Law and Sociology at the New York University, United States. The culture of control, Oxford, University Press, 2001

5.1 A look at the overall context

One outcome of the above mentioned global developments is the significance of the international dimension of police work which has increased strongly in recent years. International crimes are emblematic of global governance.

In the meantime modern transnational policing in this changing world continues to be confronted with many challenges, a new set of standards and joint notions¹⁷. Vehicles for change in the governance of policing create new and complex difficulties for the distribution of power and competencies. These days security has 'gone global', and no country can afford to neglect the global institutions needed to manage it.

The very existence of an international society is, as is the case with a nation state, dependent upon the existence of shared (international) norms and laws. It obligates international fora and States, among other things, to:

- Criminalize the provision or collection of funds designated to support criminal phenomena and bringing all perpetrators to justice, be it at national or at the international level;
- Freeze funds and other financial assets or economic resources of criminals or of the persons that attempt, participate or facilitate illegal acts, including funds generated from property owned or controlled by them;
- Refrain from supporting these criminals in any way (e.g. recruitment, providing safe haven, use of territory, permitting them to cross borders, forge documents, etc.);
- Pre-empt criminal acts;
- Cooperate in criminal investigations and proceedings.

Today's international and national security challenges basically snub their noses at old notions of national sovereignty. The political circumstances established in the transnational political regime present one set of difficulties, but there are obvious points of tension between policing and human rights discourses. Policing requires the judicious applications of coercive force aimed at the maintenance of social peace, but the use of police powers is not always judicious. Human rights watchdogs are long practised at picking up moments of police injudiciousness and thus an adversarial relationship has been established from the very start. They are frequently at odds with the police and there are increasingly more occurrences at which to point the finger of blame.

In reality, increased public awareness and major incidents, the development of effective transnational and global justice enforcement has not been able to keep up with the rapid expansion of transnational terrorism, organised crime and global insecurity. Due to the enormous social impact of these phenomena it is not easy to develop a coherent, lawful, legitimate and effective policy. International criminal law has been seen to be more effective in addressing relatively minor threats of local or regional group criminality or, at the extreme opposite, to provide the possibility of an international criminal law capacity limited to diminishing the greater threats facing countries.

In the aftermath of the recent attacks it has become clear that the existing legal framework for bringing the attackers to justice is inadequate. No less serious is the law's difficulty in reaching States who refuses to join multilateral agreements, precisely because they want to engage in the activities that the agreement prohibits. Some countries have placed themselves outside the boundaries of international new developments.

5.2 Transnational police cooperation

Transnational police cooperation is demanding and receiving more attention. New forms of cooperation are introduced such as Peace Support Operations (PSO) or International Joint Investigation Teams (JIT). Police services have to invest in the search for and participation in improved concepts of deployment for police in crisis management operations. The role of border policing and border guard organisations is becoming more and more important too¹⁸.

¹⁷ Governance, node, pluralism and the governance of security, just to mention a few, which are becoming an increasingly more important part of the international law enforcement discourse

¹⁸ In June 2005 the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union was established (www.frontex.europa.eu).

Since the end of the Cold War, the US has been on the forefront regarding the trend towards unilateralism, which has an impact upon international police cooperation. After '9/11' the EU embarked upon a series of measures which it could never have dared introduce during the Cold War era, some of which have not even been proposed in the USA^{19 20}. Since the fall of the Berlin wall, which in turn led to the collapse of communism, the scope and gravity of international conflict has shifted from the perspective of two superpowers, to regional -mostly ethnic- conflicts in which the UN took a leading role as peacekeeper, and finally to the perhaps unavoidable unilateralism of the US in response to the terrorist attacks of '9/11'. This leads to expanding global control²¹.

The European Union for example has adopted a panoply of enforcement measures to tackle organised crime and terrorism. Not only the increasing terrorist threat, but also 'The Hague Program' issued by the EU further stimulated this development. All these developments have led to an internationalisation boom in policing and criminal justice, encouraging the growth of the global policing market and allowing police professionals from all over the world to participate in the challenge of expert practices²².

Several global organisations (United Nations, NATO and Interpol) and other initiatives (G8, International Criminal Court) have been initiated and nowadays there is an increasing interest in building regional initiatives. Different regional pacts²³ circumscribe, in addition to the mentioned global organisations, the global system resulting in networks of policing or a nodal conception. Nodal governance implies that power flows from a nexus of connected- but not necessarily coordinated- agents. Therefore it is interesting to map and analyse the transnational activities of private security agencies, security and secret services, public police agencies, the military, mercenaries and other institutions in order to describe the broad field of policing²⁴.

In trying to understand international practices and catalogue them we are also confronted with the question of global governance: how can you render such power democratically accountable? The answer differs for specific international activities, the involvement of international organisations such as Interpol, Europol and Eurojust and for the countries involved (cooperation between police services in so called 'failed' or 'weak' states and 'strong' democracies and in the case of policing in divided societies)²⁵.

The contribution to peacekeeping and peace building operations by international police units (UN, NATO and EU) has changed significantly since the beginning and will continue to do so. In this respect, not only a growing number and importance of police missions can be observed; the variety of tasks and roles for international police missions has also grown over the past decades. Police reform, complemented by other programmes in the area of security reform, rule of law and good governance, has been increasingly recognised as a fundamental element in post-conflict transition.

¹⁹ Surveillance of communications, surveillance of movement, Visa-information system, biometrics and surveillance, the principle of availability.

²⁰ Mr. Tony Bunyan, Director Statewatch (www.statewatch.org)

²¹ Thomas Mathiesen, Professor of sociology of law at the University of Oslo

²² Monica den Boer, Professor in Comparative Public Administration, Police Academy Chair, at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands.

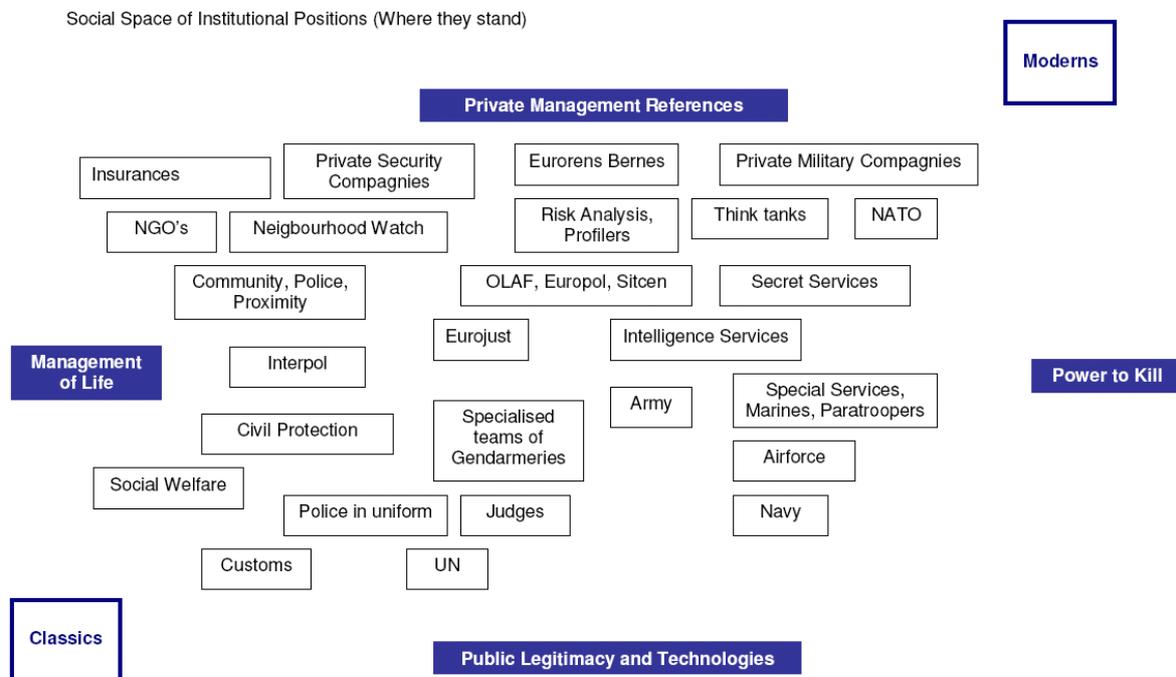
²³ Like the Arab Interior Minister's Council (AIMC), Association of Caribbean Commissioners of Police (ACCP), Chiefs of the National Police of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEANAPOL), The Baltic Sea Task Force (www.balticseatactaskforce.fi), Central African Police Chiefs Committee (CAPCC), Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (EAPCCO), Eurojust (www.eurojust.eu.int), Europol (www.europol.eu.int), European Chiefs of Police Task Force (EPCTF), Association of European and Mediterranean Police Forces and Gendarmeries with Military Status (FIEP) (www.fiep-asso.org), Pacific Islands Chiefs of Police Conference (PICP) (www.picp.org), Central American Chiefs of Police Committee, Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (SARPCCO), South-East European Cooperation Initiative (SECI) and the West African Police Chiefs Committee (WAPCCO)

²⁴ Didier Bigo, Professor of International Relations at Sciences-Po, the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris and researcher at CERI/FNSP. He is also the director of the French Centre of Study of Conflict.

²⁵ James Sheptycki, Lecturer in Sociology, University of Durham, United Kingdom.

5.3 Actors

In order to have a total overview of all the law enforcement organisations involved the scheme below, based upon the theories developed by Professor Didier Bigo²⁶, provides an overview. In combination with the overview mentioned earlier, this schematic overview gives an impression of the social positioning of different national and international institutions.²⁷



Annex 1: Topology of the transnational field of the professionals of unease management: Social space of institutional positions/ Social space of positional points of view concerning (in)security: structural homology and graphs.

5.4 Developments in International Policing

International, cross-border and transnational policing practices are a crucial instance of polycentric social power in the contemporary age, since they impact aspects of social order in fundamental ways²⁸. As we have seen in the scheme above transnational policing is undertaken by a fragmented array of institutions. Historically this social power has been organised in many different ways and the hegemony of the state form is not ensured for all times and places. Non-governmental organisations and a whole range of other non-state actors are capable of acting and organising internationally. As a result, a lot has changed over the last years concerning international cooperation of police and justice. To summarise, the following trends in international policing can be distinguished:

- The transformation of policing governance should be read as a process of continuous, gradual readjustment rather than being merely triggered by a comprehensive change within the organisational system;
- Big efforts are undertaken to promote the (cross-border) cooperation, partly on the basis of bilateral agreements, but increasingly based on international treaties. This results in e.g. several UN-Treaties, the US and Canada-Europol cooperation agreement and the European Union gradually reinforcing the principle of availability of information;

²⁶ D. Bigo

²⁷ Not all law enforcement institutions are mentioned for the sake of brevity and clarity, yet others may be missing due to oversight. All suggestions are welcome.

²⁸ R.W. Rhodes, Paul Frissen, Professor Faculty of Law Tilburg School of Politics & Public Administration, the Netherlands

- The police have had a head start on international judicial cooperation, but over the last few years the judicial cooperation has proceeded with great strides (e.g. the 2000 UN Convention against Cross-border Organised Crime and European treaties concerning judicial cooperation);
- Justice is increasingly more able to innovatively co-operate internationally through the transfer of proceedings in criminal matters, the transfer of sentences, and recently, in Europe, as pinnacle of cooperation the introduction of for example the European arrest warrant and the European evidence warrant;
- The effectiveness of preventing and fighting cross-border crime depends more and more upon efficient anti-crime databases and sharing of information and intelligence;
- Police cooperation has developed from the exchange of data and concrete, but limited, cooperation subject to rogatory letters to cross-border actions (Schengen) and in Europe recently Joint Investigative Teams (JIT). This means that police officers of one country are able to operate and execute their policing powers in another country;
- In different parts of the world regional international police and judicial organisations and formal and informal networks have been established. These do not only guarantee information exchange and analysis - in line with the activities of Interpol since its creation in 1923 - but are able to play a co-ordinating role, and can, in certain instances, even request to begin or expand an investigation; NB footnote 19.
- Police training and exchange between training institutes at international level has been more and more facilitated (FBI, ILEA, CEPOL and MoU between countries). International training courses are important²⁹, creating the possibility for exchange of best practices and interesting modules on criminal investigations and curricula on police leadership to become models and be introduced into the organisational bloodstream of international and regional police systems;
- Almost all possibilities concerning intergovernmental cooperation are now conventionally within the reach of police and justice. The so-called "approximation of criminal law"³⁰ is a step forwards too;
- The transformation of police governance is orchestrated by a range of vehicles. These are: training, knowledge exchange, networks³¹, technology³², privatisation and internationalisation. Special attention is required for the optimum participation in the development of the growing number of international law enforcement databases and the increasing number of knowledge support systems³³.
- There is a continuous range of new initiatives adding new capabilities and instruments to the existing instruments and vehicles for international cooperation. There is however a risk for overlapping roles of several of the new institutions and the constantly increasing bureaucracy.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that policing is no longer solely carried out by governments at the national level. International and national police services have to participate in relevant multilateral initiatives, but this has to match with standard good governance requirements such as: transparency, legitimacy, accountability and equitable justice. In addition to this police services and organisations have to constantly strive for higher effectiveness and feasibility. This includes a rationalisation of international initiatives and a more active involvement in the remaining or new significant cooperation mechanisms.

Would it be possible that, in the long term, a great reorganisation will take place, leading the UN, or any other body of global scope, to a reform process in which existing variety and heterogeneity will

²⁹ FBI National Academy (www.fbi.gov/hq/td/academy/academy.htm), International Law Enforcement Academy (www.ilea.hu), CEPOL (www.cepolf.net).

³⁰ There is the framework decision on terrorism (*PB. L. 2002, 164*), the framework decision euro falsification (*PB. L. 2002, 164*), payment card fraud (*PB. L. 2001, 149*), child pornography (*PB. L. 2001, 206*) and the fight against racism and xenophobia (*PB. C. 2001, 075*)

³¹ Cop community, Association of International Chief of Police (www.theiacp.org), International Association of Women Police (www.iawp.org), European Network of Police women (www.enp.nl)

³² International communication networks, international databases, jointly or commonly created technical facilities

³³ E.g. the Dutch Police knowledge net (PKN), the related European police learning network (www.epln.net) and the International Police Expertise Platform (www.ipep.info)

facilitate the transition toward (a) new structure(s)³⁴, a new world order?
UN Secretary General Annan has proposed a restructuring of the UN response to new global challenges with three tiers: development, security and human rights.

6 The police organisation and its functioning

- **We stand at the dawn of a fundamental shift in the way in which the public domain is policed**
- **Research and knowledge development is vital for identifying new strategies and their implementation**
- **Significant changes are underway in the nature of the police organisation (more focus on innovation and centralisation). Cleverer, better and with less bureaucracy**
- **Much greater emphasis should be placed upon partnership or multi-agency cooperation**
- **Changes in the police function as well as changes in the increasing involvement of private market forces dealing with safety and security in the public domain are visible**
- **New policing strategies need to have congruence, a certain 'fit' with the structures and processes of modern society. Examples are mentioned**
- **All these changes create the need to explore and determine the best governance mechanisms to ensure that policing is delivered in accordance with the democratic values of justice, equity, accountability and effectiveness**
- **This demands renewed scrutiny of police leadership and effective management**

6.1 *Standing at a threshold of fundamental change*

It has become very clear from the above mentioned that we stand at the dawn of a fundamental shift in the way in which public and quasi-public places are policed, with significant implications for styles of policing, community engagement, civic renewal, social inclusion and citizenship. 'Tackling insecurity', 'crime control' and 'criminal justice' are shorthand terms that describe a complex set of practices and institutions, ranging from the conduct of house owners locking their doors to the actions of authorities enacting (criminal) laws, from community policing to sanctions in prison and all the processes in between. Each of these aspects is subject of new developments. In this chapter we take a closer look at them.

6.2 *Research & Knowledge Development*

Research on police organisation and functioning indicates a plethora of policing systems. Much of the early research on policing focused on the nature of the police role and of police culture. A recent development is the emergence of a forum of policy-oriented criminology focussing on the main police activities, operations and performances. This sub-discipline of police studies and police science is now well established, mostly beyond criminology.

Nowadays most police services have some form of internal research capacity and most of them focus upon encouraging research and knowledge development in order to support search for better analyses, future strategies and their implementation. It also becomes more natural to build upon experiences from the for-profit world and to have an active exchange with other (academic) partners in society.

6.3 *Police (re-)organisation*

Successful police have, probably based upon the growing need to be an anticipatory organisation, built two features into the police organisation: revitalisation and innovation. In many (especially European) countries some significant changes have been made to the nature of the police organisation including both the development of more central organised policing structures and

³⁴ Three scenarios are possible (J. Tokathia): a) a hybrid order world exists with clear elements of a unipolar model as well as characteristics of multi-polarity, b) the emergence of an imperial order, led by the US and c) the creation of a "heteropolarity" or an order of multiple polarities, at both the state and non-state level.

increasing emphasis on a local orientation with basic command units³⁵. There have been times when politicians assumed that increased expenditure would lead, almost automatically, to greater effectiveness in crime control but this is no longer the case. The focus is now: better police instead of more police. In several countries local policing teams are now working with local residents through the introduction of community support officers.

6.4 The police function

The police function includes both basic and specific tasks, the latter being conceived differently in respective countries and organisations. In a world where security and safety are increasingly defined as fundamental values in peoples' lives, law enforcement organisations become entrusted with a greater span of responsibility and control. At its core, policing consists of the judicious application of coercive force in the maintenance of social order. It is peace-keeping, peace-making and, if need be, peace-enforcement. Police officers are charged with responsibility for maintaining a general or specific social order and they do so with the ultimate recourse of coercion.

Policing has adapted and responded to the late modern world and to its political and cultural values. Policing also appears to become increasingly fragmented and complex. Today it does more than just supply solutions to manage problems of crime and anti-social behaviour; it also institutionalises a set of responses to these problems, themselves consequent in their social impact. The development and implementation of any policy will always raise difficult dilemmas and stir complicated controversies, not only when it comes to policing measures, but also in relation to long-term internal and foreign policies, aiming at the so-called causes of terrorism and crime. This results in a shift in the balance of power between the state and the rights and liberties of the individual. The creation of a police service ethic within a transnational civil society predicated on human rights norms is an issue of global importance.

New practices typically emerge as local solutions arise to the immediate problems encountered by individuals and organisations as they go about their daily routines. What they add up to is a process of institutional adaptation in which the whole field of crime control gradually adjusts its orientations and functioning. Over time (police) practise of controlling crime and doing justice has had to adapt to:

- An increasingly insecure economy that marginalises substantial sections of the population;
- A hedonistic consumer culture that combines extensive personal freedoms with relaxed social controls;
- A pluralistic moral order that struggles to create trust relations between strangers who have little in common;
- A 'sovereign' state that is increasingly incapable of regulating a society of individual citizens and different social groups, and
- Chronically high crime rates are able to exist when low levels of family cohesion and community solidarity occur.

Against this background sometimes obsessive attempts to monitor more frequently risky individuals, to isolate dangerous populations and to impose situational control on otherwise open and fluid settings takes place³⁶. The limitations of traditional systems of justice have led to a greater willingness to experiment with new developments (or modernised forms of traditional techniques) such as restorative justice and administrative sanctioning. The police service is one of the few organisations that operates 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. This makes them the eyes and ears of society. How can this unique role be used in signalling and advising partners and decision-makers?

6.5 Privatisation of the police function

The upsurge of private security fits within a wider pattern of multi-lateralisation. Both trends (privatisation and civilisation) are part of an active "responsabilisation" strategy, by means of which state agencies encourage actions by non-state organisations and actors. Because of high crime

³⁵ In Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway and the United Kingdom the police services have been or are in a process of re-organisation. Centralisation is a focus point in all countries. See also 'Closing the gap', a British paper describing the fact that a police service should at least consist of 4000 members of staff in order to be able to provide both local and (inter)national police care. In other countries like France and the South of Europe questions are raised about the merging of the different police organisations within a country (e.g. Gendarmerie en Municipal police).

³⁶ D. Garland

cultures, the problem of personal security, crime prevention and penalty provisions has created commercial opportunities that have been rigorously explored by the private market forces. Ensuring lasting and sustainable change is only possible by empowering people to take greater responsibility for the strength and well-being of their own lives and communities in a way that establishes a different relationship between governments and the governed. The different social, constitutional and cultural characteristics have influence on how problems are perceived, who is held responsible for what, and which political and professional responses are preferred. Much greater emphasis should be placed upon partnership or multi-agency cooperation and broader alliances should be regarded as supplementary to state action. Close cooperative relations between plural policing providers can encourage innovative styles of delivering security and order; a 'cross fertilisation' of good practice and greater awareness and responsibility for crime on the part of businesses, groups and individuals.

Five models of policing are identified by A. Crawford³⁷ in describing the relationship and interaction between public and private police organisations:

1. *Monopolistic model* whereby forms of policing are integrated within hierarchical state police organisations (the favoured model of the current Metropolitan Police commissioner Sir I. Blair, 2003);
2. *Steering model*, whereby the police seek "to govern at a distance" the policing activities of others; what we might call "third party policing" in which state agencies seek to further public order objectives through mobilising non-state resources. A key element in this strategy is the accreditation of policing activities by others;
3. *Networked or nodal modal* whereby plural policing providers connect in horizontal partnerships in the co-production of security;
4. *Market model* whereby competition (and conflict) structures relations between divergent providers;
5. *Private government model* where state policing is shut out or has relinquished authority - only to enter where invited or called upon to do so.

Nowadays the aim is to regulate "self-regulation", compelling people and organisations to behave in the desired manner. In reality, in the field of policing, recourse to command and control remains (too) often not only a resource of last resort, when all else fails, but also one that is symbolically and culturally distinct. What seems to become a significant trait of contemporary regulatory developments is an increasing distrust of both hierarchical forms of "command regulation" and of traditional forms of business or professional self-regulation.

6.6 Police strategies

Today's police strategies need to have congruence, a certain 'fit' with the structures and processes of modern society. They represent a particular kind of response, a particular adaptation to the specific problem of social order produced by modern social organisation, but such strategies are not created without a conscious effort. The public demands that something be done about crime and security, that property and persons should be protected, that offenders should be adequately punished and controlled and that the system should operate reliably and efficiently. The recurring concerns can be met in a variety of ways³⁸. Efforts to share responsibility for crime control, nodal orientation, to embed social control into the fabric of every day life, to reduce the criminal effects of economic transitions, to protect against repeated victimisation, to focus upon repeating offenders, to support young people and to prevent crime in communities, are adopted by most law enforcement agencies. However, there are still possibilities and opportunities that already exist which could be given a greater prominence in law enforcement policy. To mention a few:

- a) Community policing is still the most prominent strategy but should be adapted to the modern world in all its aspects. The empowerment of citizens is an important part of this. The relationship between citizens and all partners in the community is a key condition for local, regional and (inter)national security.³⁹ There are increasingly more regional examples of successful initiatives of involvement of civil organisations in the relationship between private

³⁷ A. Crawford

³⁸ For example, the US, where concerns are growing about the possibility of being locked into new "iron cage" (e.g. mass incarceration)

³⁹ M. Roerink, B. van den Ploeg

- and civil society.^{40 41} It should be linked to 21st century technology to make the biggest impact on crime and on the public's fear of crime.
- b) It is of utmost importance to involve the younger generations and to understand that they are developing their own culture, with their own language, their own behavioural codes. Potential crime scenes become virtual, abuse becomes digital. Are traditional law enforcement instruments still equipped to respond adequately? Who knows the answer?⁴²
 - c) Promising for the police is the introduction of anti-social behaviour orders and other administrative sanctioning systems such as administrative sanctions, local dispersal orders, house closure powers for example, creating the possibility for a more extensive follow up of police actions.
 - d) More recent is the introduction of intelligence-led policing. Today some countries are striving to integrate strategies, combining community policing and intelligence-led policing with organisational development towards a global strategy. This opens up the opportunity for tailor-made policing⁴³. Strategies should not only apply for volume crime or organised crime in a separate way, but be more generalised and integrated in order to cover all forms of crime.
 - e) The increasing automatisisation and technology creates high visibility and traceability of persons and (criminal) activities. This means that especially crime will further develop outside of view. Criminals will go to great lengths to ensure digital invisibility and to make sure that they leave no electronic traces. This demands a fitting counter-strategy from Police.⁴⁴
 - f) Media is of great influence on modern day society. It has a major impact on the way police is perceived by citizens. This usually has a negative impact on perception of police, but is it a realistic perception, does it agree with reality? Communication strategies can also be used for positive ends such as crime prevention and have a major impact on criminal behaviour when used in an inventive and effective manner. For example, when the real chance to be caught for a crime is just 20%, but the perceived chance to be caught is over 80%, criminals will be deterred to commit these crimes. How can we incorporate this strategy in police communication as an effective tool of preventing crime?⁴⁵

6.7 New tactics and techniques

One of the major criticisms on traditional crime assessments is that they are no more than a description of previous law enforcement activity, even when they initiate trend analyses and crime prognoses. More accurate is the measurement of the number of times that the police is called upon, showing similar tendencies.

To support all these new developments, and to stay ahead of criminality, the police will have to harness new tactics and technology. Spatial controls, situational controls, managerial controls, system controls, social controls and self-control give rise to the imposition of more intensive and changing regimes of regulation, inspection and control. It is not very hard to imagine that within the next ten years there will be moves to integrate the (EU) passports, ID card, driving license and health card into one single biometric chipped card⁴⁶.

Considerable work is also being done on several fronts in order to search for the best methods to initiate and further develop trend analysis and prognoses, "forecasting"⁴⁷ techniques, threat assessments, risk analysis and scenario thinking. These should include not only traditional, but also non-traditional elements such as analyses of counter measures developed by criminal organisations and scans of legal and illegal markets. New methodologies such as the Organised Crime Threat Assessment⁴⁸, the Pest and Swot analyses and the development of an 'organised crime outlook'⁴⁹ have been introduced. On other continents, such as Australia, the establishment of the Office of Strategic Crime Assessments (OSCA) underlines the need for coordination between law enforcement

⁴⁰ M. Roerink: www.urban-europe.net

⁴¹ M. Roerink: Curt Taylor Griffiths, Ph.D., School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University, Canada

⁴² G. van den Burg, M. Roerink

⁴³ P. Slort

⁴⁴ J. Beekman and D. van Putten

⁴⁵ A. Sanders

⁴⁶ T. Bunyan

⁴⁷ P. Slort

⁴⁸ A relative new instrument used by the European Police Office (www.europol.eu.int)

⁴⁹ Tom Vander Beken, Professor of Criminal Law and Director of the Institute for International Research on Criminal Policy, Ghent University, Belgium

agencies at different levels and a development of a joint future strategy⁵⁰. Industrial and commercial networks are well versed in risk-analyses and risk-control initiatives as well, and it is advisable to promote more intensive interaction between official/governmental and non-governmental organisations.

Scenarios which portray the future as a multi-faceted but essentially unpredictable reality are considered to be a good tool for use in (organised) crime assessments. Scenarios do not claim to predict the (inevitable) developments of certain criminal phenomena but provide a tool to think about future possible threats. As such, scenarios allow policy makers to anticipate a variety of plausible challenges and assess the preparation for each of them.

6.8 Police governance and accountability

Changing political circumstances have led to debate on governance and accountability, leading to more emphasis on performance management on the one hand and to a consideration of ethics and human rights on the other. There is a need to explore and determine the best governance mechanisms to ensure that policing is delivered in accordance with the democratic values of justice, equity, accountability and effectiveness⁵¹.

Many police organisations are (too) frequently confronted by far-reaching implications of waves of normative and instrumental interventions. These include the emphasis on integrated chain management, the introduction of a (national) quality policing model, the formation of safety regions where emerging services are interlinked through common emergency plans, integrated call centres and privileged cooperation with commercial or private organisations. Many public services, including the police services, are now subject to an increasingly bureaucratic system of performance management. The drift towards centralisation⁵² and formation of national police services has become irreversible.

6.9 Police leadership and effective management

High profile examples of apparent "failure" have led to renewed scrutiny of police leadership and effective management. There is an almost inevitable tension between quantitative performance management and a focus on the quality of service being delivered.

Recruitment, training and career development within the police service have changed with greater emphasis being placed on formal educational qualification, life long learning and the skills of the individual leader, perhaps the most obvious illustration of increasing police professionalism. Training for all ranks is being reorganised and new training bodies have been created (nationally and internationally). Diversity (gender and ethnicity) within the police is a basic requirement not only for being accepted in the communities but also as a business issue. But excellent police governance, outstanding leadership and management of diversity often remain of a problematic nature⁵³.

6.10 Conclusion

Professionalism seems to be the key word in future policing. Recruitment, training and career development within the police service has changed with greater emphasis being placed on formal educational qualification, life long learning and the skills of the individual leader. Most police services have some form of internal research capacity and encourage research and knowledge development to ensure better analyses and improved future strategies. The police have realised the necessity to harness new tactics and technology and search for the best methods to further develop trend analysis and prognoses, "forecasting" techniques, threat assessments, risk analysis and scenario thinking. These should include not only traditional, but also non-traditional elements.

Policing has adapted and responded to the late modern world and appears to have become increasingly fragmented and complex. Diversity has become part of every day life. In many countries significant changes have been made to the nature of the police organisation centralising policing structures. A greater emphasis should be placed upon accountability, police partnerships and multi-agency cooperation; broader alliances should be regarded as supplementary to state action.

⁵⁰ G. Van den Burg: Australian office of strategic crime assessments (OSCA)

⁵¹ A. Crawford

⁵² The Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) in the UK; Homeland Security in the USA

⁵³ P. Slort: L. Human

7. What works, what doesn't?

- **To answer this question, it is imperative to continue to develop and to keep asking questions**
- **In order to facilitate this debate 4 questions are posed to challenge the reader who is invited to contribute to the professional discourse**
- **The imperative of putting the law-abiding citizen first is and should remain the cornerstone of any police strategy and activity**

7.1 Searching for pearls

The basic question is: what works and what doesn't? In searching for "pearls in policing" it is essential to identify, locate and share these pearls. Putting things right, building trust and strong ties with the community, tackling crime and the fear of crime, these are things that will never be achieved overnight. A golden principle and basis for good governance is not to fear a strong police force, but to fear a weak democracy⁵⁴.

One of the most promising⁵⁵ approaches is the combination of a framework of rigorous (inter)national standards for law enforcement services with great flexibility and freedom to respond to the priorities and needs of the local areas they serve. At the same time it is necessary to continue the investment in the tools needed to do the job, whether it is preventing crime through support for families, working with young people, through recording numbers of police officers and community support officers on the frontline or through specialised techniques and tactics.

7.2 Suggestions for more successful policing

While searching for Pearls in Policing our journey of discovery offered ideas, inspiration and concrete best practices and specific examples of leaders excelling at the highest professional standards. Mentioned below are many of the thoughts and ideas which have arisen.

Measures described so far to improve the performance of the police and modern policing include:

*Leadership*⁵⁶

- Thinking globally, acting locally;
- Setting priorities, distinct internal choices versus steering relations with external partners, which means that occasionally you have to be tough, sometimes you have to be lenient and flexible; some times you need to undertake concrete measures yourself, at other times you need to direct and connect people⁵⁷;
- Thinking 'out of the box';⁵⁸
- Building trust with communities e.g. by regular dissemination of information on the performance of police services;
- "Pluralisation and diversity" of policing has to be stimulated;
- Allowing and supporting opportunity management;
- Creation of an independent police complaint commission;
- Facilitating room for creativity and out of the box (bottom up approach)⁵⁹; developments, tailored approaches to different types of crime and incidents and different offenders;
- No way back: we have to further develop and invest more in knowledge, research and exchange but there is an obvious need for: realism, rationalisation, simplification, deepening instead of broadening and reducing bureaucracy;
- Promote mutual evaluation and share best practices.

⁵⁴ Paul Ponsaers, Professor and Head of the Department of Criminology at the University of Gent, Belgium

⁵⁵ UK: Home Office strategic plan, Confident communities in a secure Britain.

⁵⁶ L. Sievers: R. van Loon, W. Van Dinten

⁵⁷ P. Slort

⁵⁸ G. van den Burg

⁵⁹ G. van den Burg

International

- More clarity and consensus about extraterritorial policing and police action in order to bridge security and enforcement gaps with room for diversity in international policing (à la carte systems);
- Improving cooperation notwithstanding differences in the institutional framework and differences in opinion (e.g. between US and the EU);
- Creation of international centres of knowledge and of excellence with links to national initiatives. Mutual evaluation of best practices base on commonly agreed indicators;
- Building horizontal (national/international) operational relationships⁶⁰;
- Improving the quality of policing borders;
- Maintaining balance between security and safety in conflict with human rights, especially when introducing nodal policing;
- Contributing to the creation of a trust-society.⁶¹

National Policing Strategies & Tactics

- Strengthening the mutual trust⁶², relationship and interaction between the police and (confident) local communities^{63 64}. Participating actively in building the chain of social, administrative and justice processes;
- Address both crime and the causes of crime through cooperation with partner organisations to keep measures to prevent and deter offence, and to catch, convict, rehabilitate and resettle offenders;
- Communication strategy⁶⁵;
- Beware of and reduce race and religious hate crime;
- Identifying and concentrating on the core tasks and main responsibilities of the police;
- Build improved analytical capacity and facilitate interaction with scientific world;
- Making maximum use of new technical developments and increasing technical sophistication, increasing better analytic capabilities & capacity and scientific input;
- Integrating strategic concepts⁶⁶ (community policing⁶⁷, problem solving strategies, intelligence-led policing, organisational development);
- Addressing (the causes of) terrorism⁶⁸;
- Proportionally improving the risk to be intercepted by police for offenders⁶⁹;
- Promoting the focus on prolific offenders;
- Participating in youth programs⁷⁰ and making use of new opportunities⁷¹;
- Improving and promoting tailor-made policing⁷²;
- Ensure that recovering criminal assets becomes routine;
- Creating and implementing a national intelligence model;
- Defining and implementing minimum standards of service for victims and witnesses;
- Recovering criminal assets becoming routine and contributing to restorative justice.

Organisation and structures

- Flexible working conditions;
- Improving human resources management and especially diversity management⁷³;
- More focus on content and creativity, less on structure, organisation and accounting;

⁶⁰ M. Roerink: C. Fijnaut (cooperation in Euregio's, bilateral cooperation)

⁶¹ A. Sanders: J. Kuiper

⁶² A. Sanders

⁶³ M. Roerink: H. Elffers (Urban, ASC)

⁶⁴ M. Roerink: C. Taylor Griffiths (Canada)

⁶⁵ A. Sanders

⁶⁶ Belgium is developing such a model.

⁶⁷ M. Roerink

⁶⁸ Addressing the causes of terrorism at home and abroad, disrupting terrorist organisations, protecting the public and key sites, response and preparedness.

⁶⁹ A. Sanders

⁷⁰ M. Roerink: B. Hoogenboom; G. van den Burg

⁷¹ G. van den Burg

⁷² P. Slort

⁷³ Linda Human, Ph.D., University of Stellenbosch, South Africa

7.4 Questions

The imperative of putting the law-abiding citizen first, whether it is in modern neighbourhood policing for today's world, the way the police targets offenders, not just the offence, the way the police secures our borders, treats drug and alcohol addicts, cares for victims, deals with violence against women, organises our law enforcement and criminal systems, supports voluntary organisations or combats discrimination, it is and should remain the cornerstone of any police strategy and activity.

In order to achieve this and to continue to develop, it is of pivotal importance to continue to ask questions. Four questions are therefore included to stimulate the professional discourse.

1. What will society expect from their police service in the year 2030?
2. Are there any specific topics which contribute to the professional debate that you would like to add to this discussion paper?
3. On which points do you believe that you can contribute with inspirational best practices, experiences, anecdotes and lessons learned?
4. How would you qualify an executive police leader for the future? Which competencies will be essential?

8 Contact information

Commissioner Anita Hazenberg, MA MCM, International Director of Police Leadership at the Police Academy of The Netherlands and Professor Willy Bruggeman, Benelux University and Chairperson of the Federal Belgian Police Board are responsible for the continuation of the professional debate on Pearls in Policing.

Contributions to this discussion paper are greatly appreciated.

Please send your contributions and comments to Ms. Madelien Bierema (policy advisor):
Madelien.Bierema@politieacademie.nl

Office:
Nassauplein 33
2585 ED The Hague
The Netherlands
+31 (0) 6 106 526 36

9 Literature

- A. Crawford, *Networked governance and the post-regulatory State, steering, roaring and anchoring the Provision of Policing and Security*, paper presented for the Regulatory Networking Conference, 5-6 December 2005
- A. Crawford (Editor), S. Lister, S. Blackburn, Jonathan Burnett, *The Mixed Economy of Visible Patrols in England and Wales*, University of Bristol, 2005
- C.T. Griffiths, *Building Sustainable Police-Community Partnerships in Limburg Zuid: Research Findings and Strategies*, April 2006
- S. Sassen, *The return of the city*. Article in 'Socialisme & Democratie'. 2000, 57:5.
- School for Police Leadership of the Police Academy of the Netherlands, *Able and Willing, Police Leaders Question International Cooperation*, Warnsveld, July 2004
- J. Sheptycki, *Issues in transnational policing*, paperback edition, 2000