



Kooperative
Sicherheitspolitik
in der **Stadt**

Working Paper

Nr. 11

Andreas Kohl (Ed.)

Recent Trends in Policing in Europe

*Reports from Denmark, The Netherlands and
the UK*

GEFÖRDERT VOM



Bundesministerium
für Bildung
und Forschung

Kooperative Sicherheitspolitik in der Stadt (KoSiPol)

ein Verbundforschungsprojekt der



und dem



in Zusammenarbeit mit:



Ernst Moritz Arndt
Universität Greifswald



Hessische Hochschule
für Polizei und Verwaltung

Impressum

Reihenherausgeber

Prof. Dr. Bernhard Frevel, Projektkoordinator KoSiPol
c/o Institut für Politikwissenschaft
Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster
Scharnhorststraße 100, 48151 Münster
<http://www.uni-muenster.de/IfPol/forschen/regieren/kosipol.html>

Herausgeber

Andreas Kohl

Autoren

Maria Bislev, Lex Cachet, Peter Kruize, Peter Marks, Ruth Prins, Colin Rogers and
Arie van Sluis

Münster, September 2012

Contents

Introduction <i>(Andreas Kohl)</i>	3
Recent Historical Trends in Policing and Crime Prevention in the UK <i>(Colin Rogers)</i>	7
Recent Trends in Policing and Managing Urban Security in Denmark <i>(Peter Kruize and Maria Bislev)</i>	24
Living Apart Together. The Dutch Community Officer and his Laborious Relation with Local Government <i>(Arie van Sluis, Lex Cachet, Ruth Prins and Peter Marks)</i>	37

Introduction

Andreas Kohl

This paper is part of the research project “Cooperative security policy in the city” (KoSiPol) financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) in Germany, which has been carried out from 2010 to 2012. Within this project the different partners have – from a social sciences perspective - looked at multi-agency policing concepts in selected fields of local security and tried to identify the conditions under which cooperative work is successful. Another aim was to improve the cooperation between the main public actors in this policy field – the local police forces, the local administration, social services, local business and other societal groups.

There have been numerous policing concepts since the 1970s which not only aimed at a more effective policing but also tried to focus on the police working more closely together with the citizens. The concepts also contained a focus on general preventive action rather than on repressive police work. Community policing, broken windows/zero tolerance, problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing and other concepts have been studied and some of them have been implemented in different national police forces - more or less successfully. Nevertheless the trend reached the Western European countries (and not only them) and crime prevention became an important part of the local safety infrastructure.

This - positive - development is especially important because of recent problems which evolved in community crime prevention in Germany within the last years. Since the 1990s the contents, processes and structures of creating local security have been undergoing enormous changes. During what can be called a prevention “boom”, the number of prevention councils, organizations and institutions in Germany has enormously increased within the last 15 years. Although it is impossible to count all these activities, a rough estimate shows about 1000 to 2000 different prevention projects spread all over the country. Thus, organizations working in cooperation (crime prevention boards, law-enforcement or other public-private-partnerships in various forms) in crime prevention are becoming increasingly significant to the creating of local security. But there is also a downside – this rather unprepared and uncontrolled growth has led not only to numerous different and sometimes failing institutional forms, but also has

created some problems which often slow down or even stop the local actors and their activities.

One of these problems is to identify suitable aims which the local prevention activities should be targeted at. A good topic to work on should meet a set of criteria: it should meet the requirements of the participating parties, it must be clearly defined, all participators should be able to handle it, and it must be politically accepted. If there is no realistic target (or no target or problem at all, because the cooperation was built only because of political pressure), the cooperation is likely to end in frustration.

The absence of an analytical basis can also create problems for preventive co-operations, because it is crucial to analyze the local situation before taking action and to learn about the local situation and the specific problems. These can be crime hot-spots, citizens fear of crime, groups of people or problems with specific offences. All this has to be thoroughly looked at before any activities are developed. If not, all preventive work is based only on perceived knowledge, which likely leads to failure. In Germany a lot of preventive projects lack also regular and proper evaluation. This is not only a problem for the projects but also leads to the fact that good or bad examples are not documented and cannot be used by other crime prevention actors or criminologists.

Although a lot of actors and groups cooperate in crime prevention in Germany, the so-called ordinary citizen without any attachment to the before mentioned groups is still underrepresented. Police, community or social services are dominating the co-operation, the participation of citizens is not yet achieved. More incentives are necessary to integrate citizens into local crime prevention to broaden the basis on which the work is done and to enhance legitimation of the preventive process.

The authors of the following articles all deal with their national policing strategies, based on the abovementioned policing concepts, and they demonstrate the difficulties of adapting these concepts to national realities. Especially the police forces had to react to these developments, which is exemplarily shown here for the UK, Denmark and the Netherlands.

Colin Rogers describes the „paradigmatic change“ of policing in England and Wales in the past 15 to 20 years. The traditional way of repressive and reactive policing was considered unfit to solve the problems of modern communities. Starting with the community policing concept, the partnership approach more and more became the standard model of policing. Supported by the government, especially through the Crime and Disorder Act

in 1998, responsibility for the community safety was given to the local level and the organizations working on that level, e.g. the local police and fire authorities, but also to non-governmental organizations and private businesses. Rogers also describes the rise of other ideas and models in crime prevention, such as situational crime prevention, which led to the widespread use of CCTV in the UK. Recently the UK government promotes a “Big Society” concept: Citizens, community and local government should work in close partnerships to solve local problems and enhance the social cohesion. Finally Rogers discusses the evolution of policing concepts in the UK such as community policing, problem-oriented policing or the neighborhood policing teams and their performance. Actual trends within the police, for example a new focus on enforcement, or the partnership approach are recently discussed, and it is not clear which concept will dominate the future of policing in the UK.

Peter Kruize and Maria Bislev deal with the Danish police system, which is part of the Scandinavian police culture. After explaining the police organization from state to local level, they show that recently the figures for violent and property crime went up in Denmark. Burglary and gang crime are shown in detail as examples for recent crime trends.

Unlike other European countries, crime prevention has a long tradition in Denmark and is fully integrated in police and communal activities. Local and district councils implement the preventive action, and partnerships are encouraged which contain police, municipality, schools, social services, local business and others. Some examples for formalized partnerships are shown, as the SSP-cooperation, which since 1977 is actively engaged in primary prevention to help children and youngsters.

The authors discuss recently intertwined trends in policing in Denmark: The shifting of police work towards more intelligence-based activity and the withdrawal from the streets. The former trend has led to an intensified cooperation with non-police professionals and the rise of the private security sector in Denmark. Finally Kruize and Bislev state a trend towards responsabilization not only in crime prevention, but in general society.

Arie van Sluis, Lex Cachet, Ruth Prins and Peter Marks describe the development of the Dutch community officer. Since 30 years this institution represents the community-oriented policing (COP) model in the Netherlands, it is a link between the police and the citizens, but it has to be adjusted constantly to the new challenges in society.

Beginning in the late 1970s, the Dutch police started to adopt the COP model to regain legitimacy, which was lost because of the traditional policing style and the reaction to student protests in the 1960s. But since the 1990s new crime trends have led to a stricter and more centralized policing

which also affected the role of the community officer. A recent project on “Police in Evolution” tries to combine the ideas of COP and repressive local police action.

The authors further describe the specific Dutch approach to maintain safety at the local level. Next to the police, the mayors possess multiple powers in the communities, and also other non-police actors, creating an “extended policing family”, can be found on the local level. All these actors try to create an integral approach to carry out repressive and preventive tasks, which are written down in local safety plans that exceed the mere policing functions.

Next the community officer’s performance is discussed. Although the institution has a long history, there is criticism regarding the diverse repressive and preventive tasks they have to carry out day by day and their role towards the citizens. Being situated between mayor, police force and citizens, community officers have yet to define their professional role in Dutch policing. Also the future of the COP model is discussed by the authors.

All articles prove that it is crucial not only to learn about policing concepts and to implement them at national or local level, but also to adapt to the specific situation. That can be legal, geographical, social or any other distinctiveness. Policing therefore is an evolving process of learning from theory and practice and transforming this knowledge into new tailor-made concepts for the specific local situation. Therefore, all participating groups should continue to learn about crime, crime prevention and its theoretical and organizational foundation.

The author:

Andreas Kohl M.A. is Managing Director of the European Centre for Crime Prevention in Münster/Germany.

Recent Historical Trends in Policing and Crime Prevention in the UK

Colin Rogers

Introduction

Policing in England and Wales has undergone significant changes in the past 15 to 20 years. So profound is the reshaping of the delivery of policing services that, it could be argued, these changes amount to a paradigmatic revolution. Kuhn (1996), for example, suggests that this type of dramatic change occurs when a new way of working attracts an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of activity. In this instance, the new way of working for the police was that of partnerships involving the community, outside agencies and local authorities, in an effort to reduce crime and disorder and the fear associated with both. The last decade or so has increasingly seen the development of the partnership approach to policing in general and to crime and disorder prevention and reduction in particular. This is in contrast to the previous reactive style of policing where the police were seen as the only available experts who could tackle crime and control criminals.

For much of the 20th century, the criminal justice system in Britain was largely insulated from overt criticism and public scrutiny being celebrated for its difference, being above political party politics, unique in its character and best left to the experts (Hughes and Edwards in Tilley 2005).

All governments over time trod warily and very much left the police to their own devices.

However the last decades of the 20th century saw a growing strain on the criminal justice system and the police in particular. This was as a consequence of broader tendencies seen throughout most capitalist societies. These included:

- Increasing rates of recorded crime
- Increased numbers of people passing through the penal system
- Overload plus a crisis of efficiency, such as declining clear up rates of the police
- A growing awareness of the cost, both social and economic of crime
- An increased understanding that the formal Criminal justice system (CJS) processes have only a limited effect on controlling crime

It is difficult to identify precisely when the debate on policing and crime prevention first used the concept of partnerships. Partnership in this sense

refers to a purposeful relationship between the police and the public or between the police and other agencies in this field. The debate on policing does not appear to have mentioned the concept until the rise of community policing in the early 1980s and since then the idea that the police could no longer tackle crime alone became something more than a slogan. It was during this time that the Home Office promoted a number of initiatives including the formation of the Home Office Crime Prevention Unit, whilst various Home Office circulars including Circular 8/84 encouraged all agencies to become involved in crime prevention (Home Office 1984).

‘Every individual citizen and all those agencies whose policies and practices can influence the extent of crime should make their contribution. Preventing crime is a task for the whole community’. (Home Office 1984:1)

The then Conservative government supported the launch of ‘Crime Concern’ in 1988 and from that time onwards oversaw the development of the ‘Safer Cities’ initiative, which was the catalyst for many crime prevention partnerships in the United Kingdom. This was especially so in the case of cities where there was a need for economic and social regeneration and likely to be subject to social unrest. A common factor in these schemes was the involvement of police, local government and other bodies in a form of partnership, which, it was argued, showed that this was a sound approach for effective community safety and crime prevention work.

The Morgan report

Perhaps one of the most influential documents to be published during this period, however, was the report of the *Standing Conference on Crime Prevention* chaired by James Morgan, which had the responsibility for reviewing the development of crime prevention. This report became known as The Morgan Report (Home Office 1991) and contained many proposals for the structure and coordination of crime prevention strategies, and in particular highlighted the need for the partnership approach, with an increased emphasis on the role of Local Authorities. It was claimed that these approaches were more effective than less traditional ‘enforcement’ approaches.

The publication of the Morgan Report also saw the term ‘crime prevention’ replaced by the concept of ‘community safety’ in order to broaden the base of support for such partnerships:

‘The term crime prevention is often narrowly interpreted and this reinforces the view that it is solely the responsibility of the po-

lice. On the other hand, the term community safety is open to wider interpretation and could encourage greater participation from all sections of the community.’ (Home Office 1991:1)

By using the term community in ‘community safety’, it was hoped that this approach would be more acceptable to the public at large for, as Cohen (1985) rightly points out, the word ‘community’ appeals to the individual perceptions of positive feelings. When the imagery portrayed is positive, the term is associated with concepts of ‘natural’, ‘openness’, ‘integrative’ or simply ‘in the community’. Therefore, such concepts as community centres, community prisons and community policing are generally viewed as positive and non-threatening.

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998

The election of a Labour government in 1997 meant a new impetus for the Morgan Report. Many of its recommendations formed the basis for *The Crime and Disorder Act 1998* (Home Office 1999) which for the first time placed the coordination of community safety and crime prevention as a statutory duty. This meant that local authorities and chief police officers became the responsible authorities for setting and implementing strategies aimed at achieving a reduction in crime. This was to be achieved with the help of the local health and probation services. The major theme of the Act took forward government’s stated commitment to protect communities from anti-social behaviour and to harness efforts to tackle crime and disorder. The Act also attempted to take advantage of the pivotal position of local authorities to bring together statutory and non-statutory agencies, businesses and the local community to prevent and reduce crime. To focus and enhance local efforts, the Act also places a joint responsibility on local authorities and the police to develop and implement local strategies to address the reduction of crime and disorder (Scanlon 1998). The implication for police primacy in dealing with crime and crime prevention is significant. Loveday (2000) puts it this way:

‘By its introduction, the legislation ends the traditional police monopoly of responsibility for crime control within the local authority area. Under provisions within this Act this is now a responsibility shared with the local authority.’ Loveday (2000:224)

The partnership style of policing has also become a political issue. Government ministers constantly confirm their belief in the multi-agency partnership approach as the answer to solving not only crime but also the causes of crime. Under the partnership approach, the answer to the crime problem appears to lie at the local and voluntary level and in a sense moves cen-

tral governments' responsibility for tackling crime and disorder issues firmly away from central accountability. For Garland (1996), this is a new way of governing crime problems, namely the 'responsibilisation' strategy, with the recurring message that the state alone is not, and cannot, effectively be responsible for preventing or controlling crime. Others must be made aware that they too have a responsibility in this regard, and have to be persuaded to change their practices in order to reduce criminal opportunities and increase formal controls. In the context of crime prevention, this strategy is clearly associated with notions of partnership, multi-agency and, of course, self-help.

In addition the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 as amended by the Police Reform Act 2002 (Home Office 2002) set out statutory requirements for responsible authorities to work with other local agencies and organisations to develop and implement strategies to tackle crime and disorder and misuse of drugs in their area. These statutory partnerships were known as Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) but now called Community Safety Partnerships. The responsible authorities are:

- the police
- local authorities
- fire authorities
- police authorities
- local health boards in Wales, and
- primary care trusts in England (became responsible authorities in April 2004)

Working together these responsible authorities are required to carry out an audit to identify crime and disorder and misuse of drugs problems in their area and develop strategies that deal effectively with them. Partner organisations are required to work in co-operation with local education and probation authorities and invite co-operation of a range of local private, businesses, voluntary and other public and community groups including the community itself.

Responding to communities

Central to the concept of partnerships is the need for a wide consultation process involving the public agencies involved, private businesses and the community. For partnerships trying to provide this service, the aims of this consultation process can be listed as follows:

1. The drive to reach as broad a cross-section of the population as possible. All parties, it is argued, have an interest in consulting as widely and deeply as possible, as failure to do so could mean that prominent crime and disorder problems are not brought to their attention.

2. The identification of public priorities to influence the annual policing plan, to assist in targeting valuable police resources to particular community concerns.
3. The identification of public priorities for local action, so that local partnerships can be focused on individual community problems, such as the perception of youth annoyance.
4. To provide the public with information on policing and community safety matters, feeding back information to the public and improving the quality of consultation.

Partnerships are concerned with the management of providing a service to the community and therefore, organisational attainments are quite high on their list of consultation priorities. For the public, according to Elliot and Nicholls (1996), the main reason for engaging in the consultation process with policing partnerships seems to revolve around two main areas of concern, namely:

1. To obtain rapid police action on public concerns, so that it is likely that the public do not merely wish to be consulted on their views as their priority will be to get the police to address their problems;
2. Obtaining information from the police, such as what the police are doing, how they are performing and the impact the police are having on crime. They may well see consultation as a way to achieve this.

However, the consultation process itself, whilst a positive idea, is far from infallible. Public meetings, where the community is asked to attend to air their views, are not necessarily representative of the community as a whole. Marginalised groups such as gay and lesbian groups, youth elements and those regarded as outsiders because of minority ethnic background are often not represented at such consultation processes. Consequently, the concerns addressed are those that are normally aired, it could be argued, by locally elected representatives and other community leaders who may not be acting on behalf of the whole community.

The Impact of Situational Crime Prevention

During the 1980s and 1990s, in conjunction with the rise of partnerships, two broad preventative ideas came to the fore, namely situational crime prevention and social crime prevention. Whilst situational crime prevention concerns itself with designing out crime, opportunity reduction, and managing crime in a geographical or environmental way in both public and private, social crime prevention concerns itself with targeting the social environment and the motivations of individual offenders and 'community' developments such as youth clubs, and activity based projects. Both of these approaches have been utilised by community safety partnerships.

However, the use of situational crime prevention techniques has probably been more prominent for a number of reasons. Clarke and Mayhew, (1980) define situational crime prevention measures as:

- Being directed at specific crimes;
- Managing, designing or manipulating the immediate environment in which such crime occurs;
- Ensuring that these measures are systematic and permanent;
- Reducing overall opportunities for crime.

Despite criticisms of the approach being too simplistic and atheoretical, it is in fact based in the sophisticated rational choice perspective, supplemented by routine activity theory (Felson 2002) and crime pattern theory. These approaches seek to explain the occurrences of crime rather than the development of criminality and are sometimes called opportunity theories. Garland (2001) has referred to these approaches as the 'criminologies of everyday life'.

Situational crime prevention approaches appeal to partnership working for several reasons. These include:

- They are usually visible;
- They are easily put into place;
- They are far more cost effective than most social crime prevention initiatives;
- The effects of their implementation are easily measured;
- They can therefore be used to easily support applications for funding partnerships.

Consequently, there has been a large rise in the use of situational crime prevention techniques within the UK including a very large number of CCTV cameras, exit and entrance devices, and access control such as alley gates to prevent domestic burglaries, and the introduction of such items as plastic beer glasses to address the problems of violence in bars etc.

Further, the prominence of the situational crime prevention approach has introduced new positions within the police, local authorities and other partnership members, that of the crime prevention specialist. For example, most police forces now employ police officers trained in architectural design and layout who consult with building companies for new constructions to implement situational crime prevention techniques from the beginning in order to design out crime. Given the economic situation throughout the UK and Europe currently, the application of more economically attractive situational crime prevention initiatives seem more than probable.

More recent changes affecting policing

The Police Reform Act 2002 (Home Office 2002) introduced the first wave of reforms within the partnership framework for the police including the introduction of the Community Support Officers. These individuals do not have the full powers or training of sworn police officers but were utilised to provide public reassurance by being dedicated to foot patrols issuing fixed penalty notices for certain offences. The Act also included provision to establish and maintain accredited and suitably trained individuals who were non police employees to undertake specific support functions and issue fixed penalty notices for disorder. Accredited Community Safety Officers may be local authority, housing association or private security employees (Crawford et al 2005). Subsequent legislation has allowed for Community Support Officers to have increased powers and the provision for them to be able to detain suspected offenders is available but not yet invoked across all areas of England and Wales.

Community engagement

The recent change in government in the UK has seen the introduction of the concept of the 'Big Society'. In essence, the 'Big Society' refers to a tripartite partnership between the citizen, community and local government (Eaton 2010). This vision requires families, networks and neighbourhoods in a post modern society to formalise a working partnership that is effective and sustainable in its approach to solving problems, building social cohesion and setting priorities for Britain (BBC 2010). In doing so, the government along with involvement of communities is set on building a 'big society' that is bigger, stronger and accountable to all. How this equates to the practicalities of living in the UK is worthy of examination. The Prime Minister refers to the ideology of 'big society' as liberalism, empowerment, freedom and responsibly where the top down approach to government is abandoned and replaced by local innovation and civic action. Interestingly, critics of the government, including the general secretary of Unison refer to the 'big society' as the 'big cop-out' only concerned with cutting investment and saving money. This *laissez faire* approach to government could spell the end for new public management and centralised performance indicators as it will be for society and communities to assess performance. However, government insists that for the 'big society' to work, it will require significant involvement, encouragement and support from communities.

Policing styles and partnerships

The introduction of the partnership approach has seen the police adopt, with varying degrees of success, a range of approaches over time in an effort to become more effective within the partnership framework. This sec-

tion will briefly discuss the major approaches. The first approach discussed is that referred to as community policing.

Community policing

Community oriented policing, or community policing as it is more commonly referred to in the UK, appeared in the mid-1970s as a topic of discussion among police administrators and academics. Since then it has spread world-wide as the summit of enlightened thinking. Fielding (1995) described the 1970s attempts as short term tactics to repair police/public relations, a cosmetic exercise which masked the reluctance to make major changes when entrenched patrol and investigation methods failed. More recently, the police have embraced the concepts of problem solving within communities, attempted to reduce fear of crime and targeted foot patrols. The idea of community oriented policing can be traced to the philosophy introduced by Sir Robert Peel in his famous 'Principles of Policing' which underpinned the introduction of the Metropolitan Police Act 1829, in particular Principle Number 7 which can be seen in the information box below:

'The police shall at all times maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police.' (Peak & Glessor 1996:8)

Community safety partnerships often involve the use of community policing ideas. Therefore, the enormous influence of the community policing approach raises the question of what it is and also why it is claimed to be successful.

Policing in this style tends to assume a more pro-active stance, with greater emphasis on quality of life issues, with greater understanding of human rights and civil liberties, which are essential to successful democratic policing. Different and diverse tactics used by the police are seen as a way of improving quality of life and increased community satisfaction.

In summing up this view of community policing, Friedman (1992) attempts to provide a working definition which can be seen in the box below:

Community policing is a policy and a strategy aimed at achieving more effective and efficient crime control, reduced fear of crime, improved quality of life, improved police services and police legitimacy, through a proactive reliance on community resources that seeks to change crime causing conditions. (Friedman 1992:4)

It can be seen that community policing is not a single idea that can be explained easily, and it is different to rapid response and enforcement-oriented policing (Reiner 2000). Police staff are closer to the community and can represent its members, a process by which crime and disorder problems are shared with the public or as a means of developing links with the community and interest groups. The term community policing conjures up images of police and community relations in a stable and agreeable community where crime is an annoyance and disorder largely consisting of minor vandalism. In reality, of course, this is seldom the case.

It has been suggested that there are three main reasons that explain why community policing schemes fail in the UK. Firstly, the level of emergency demands from the public, through 999 calls, mobile phones etc, prevents a more proactive style of policing. Secondly, sometimes the opposition of middle management, struggling to cope with the demands and who face additional burdens and responsibilities that go hand-in-hand with consultation style policing, and thirdly, there may be an organisational culture that is often resistant to a community policing orientation. A slightly different explanation for failure is put forward by Sadd and Grinc (1994). They found patrol officers unwilling to implement and unenthusiastic about what they perceived as 'top down', 'flavour of the month' initiatives. Also the need for more effective inter-agency collaboration is not always forthcoming. Finally, a major problem to improved police community relationships can be the history of fear and suspicion by residents. This may especially be the case in minority ethnic community groups. Clearly police practitioners have to be committed to the ideals of community policing, with the understanding that crime reduction partnerships are now a permanent feature in this country. This approach also involves recognising the differences between traditional policing methods and new approaches to policing a community.

In contrast to the community policing type approach, a separate style of policing that has been used in tackling crime and anti social behaviour has become known as the zero tolerance approach.

Zero Tolerance Type Policing

That there was substantial political support for a zero tolerance style of policing cannot be in doubt. Politicians of all persuasions appear to have climbed on board a political bandwagon in support of what appeared to be a revolutionary approach to tackling crime. However, the precise origins of the term zero tolerance policing appears to be obscure. It became most famously associated with New York City and other parts of North America although it has not been universally adopted there. It has also been used to describe certain policing initiatives in the UK, in particular in the Kings

Cross area of London, Hartlepool, Middlesbrough and Strathclyde. The particular policing style is said to be rooted in the 'Broken Windows' theory developed by Wilson and Kelling (1982), based on a study of police foot patrols and community interaction in Newark, New Jersey, USA. The idea states that even the most minor misdemeanours must be pursued with the same vigour as more serious crimes to create a deterrent effect. As Palmer (1997) points out, it appears that incivilities such as these undermine the bonds of community, lead to further disorder and a downward spiral into lawlessness occurs, creating communities of 'no-go' areas of criminality.

The enforcement-led approach was nowhere more visible than in the Cleveland example. Here Superintendent Mallon declared that if crime did not fall by 20% within 18 months he and his two detective inspectors would ask to be relieved of their duties. Within 3 months of the strategy being adopted in Middlesbrough it was claimed that rates of recorded crime had fallen by 22% in anti-social behaviour by young people, house burglary and 'quality of life' crimes. In Mallon's view the commission of minor offences predisposes offending at a young age, not by burgling but by being present in public places and associated with others.

As a result, the Cleveland Constabulary approach to zero tolerance involved a blanket approach to such issues as stop and search, coupled with so-called intelligence-led policing. Because the focus was on burglary, anti social behaviour and quality of life offences the broader objectives of the programme were to reduce all recorded crime, reduce fear of crime, increase police performance and increase public confidence in, and support for, the police. Intelligence-led policing, involving the use of informants, analysing intelligence and targeting criminals has much to commend it when it is controlled and supervised strictly (Wilson and Kelling 2001). It certainly involves a high degree of ethical behaviour, what Alderson (1998) would call principled policing.

However, this type of approach can lead the police open to a number of allegations, including corruption. Allegations of police corruption, however, is just one major concern of zero tolerance type policing. Enforcement-led policing in Britain has shown that this approach can be the spark for large-scale public disorder as witnessed in several inner cities during the early 1980s (Benyon 1984). Lack of consultation, heavy-handedness and the poor relationships between the police and many minority ethnic communities can lead to rioting, as seen in Brixton, Toxteth Bristol and the Broadwater farm housing estate in London during the 1980s and may be responsible in part for the 'summer riots' witnessed in England during August 2011.

Problem Oriented Policing (POP)

Problem Oriented Policing (POP) is an important development for the police especially when engaged in partnership work and its root lie in the work carried out in the USA by Goldstein (1990). In the past the police were considered the experts in policing and needed very little, if any, assistance. They were regarded as the professionals and should be left alone to get on with their job. The reality is the police cannot get the job done by themselves. They need all of the resources of various agencies that contribute to crime reduction and control of anti social behaviour. The Police need the help of the community and other agencies if problem solving initiatives are to be successful. Tilley (1997) attempts to explain the philosophy behind Goldstein's work by using the following story taken from Goldstein (1990):

Complaints from passengers wishing to use the Bagnall to Green Fields bus service that drivers were speeding past bus queues of up to 30 people with a smile and a wave of the hand, have been met by a statement pointing out that it is impossible for the drivers to keep to their timetable if they have to stop for passengers. (Tilley 1997:1)

This is a simple example of a problem with modern-day policing. Pre-occupation with the smooth running of the organisation for its own ends can come to take priority over the fulfilment of the purpose for which the organisation is there in the first place. Goldstein's (1990) work on problem-oriented policing is concerned with ensuring the police keep their 'eye on the ball' and that the ball encompasses the concerns that the public brings to them. These concerns in general tend to be problems that affect their quality of life. Therefore for the police, all business the public brings to the police is police business not just crime. POP is about taking seriously all the problems the police are there to deal with. This involves;

- Looking out for problems systematically from police data, other agency data and contact with the communities served;
- Trying to analyse the problems to find their underlying causes;
- Attempting imaginatively to intervene to address underlying causes that are realistically open to change;
- Setting up systems to learn about what works, how, for whom and in what circumstances in dealing with problems;
- Feeding lessons back into growing problem-oriented wisdom within the police service;
- Use in designing crime reduction techniques and approaches.

POP, like community oriented policing, is another step away from the traditional reactive, and stand alone approach to policing.

Neighbourhood Policing Teams

An approach that appears to have been designed to be intrinsically linked to the partnership system is that of neighbourhood policing teams. The concept of neighbourhood policing teams appears quite straightforward. It is about dealing with crime and disorder more intelligently and building new relationships between the police and the public. This relationship should be one built on cooperation rather than mere consent and relies upon local people being part of the solution to local problems of crime and disorder. In part this approach is also about reassurance policing, being designed to improve visible police presence in communities and assist in reducing fear of crime, particularly in response to signal crimes as highlighted by Innes (2004)

Neighbourhood policing has been described as delivering control in response to public priorities. This means that an organised approach to tackling public concerns is required within the mainstream of police activity, while maintaining the high standards of response and quality of service. Neighbourhood policing is therefore dependent upon evidence based deployment of resources and tactics.

This approach is much more than just high visibility reassurance policing. It uses local knowledge and intelligence from local people to target crime hotspots and disorder issues causing most concern to local communities. The latest technology supports the initiative including the issue of mobile telephone numbers to individuals within neighbourhoods so that they can contact the local beat manager directly.

Neighbourhood policing aims to achieve getting the right people at the right locations in the right numbers in order to create neighbourhoods that are safe and feel safe. In order for this to be achieved it is dependent upon three main themes, namely:

- A dedicated and accountable team and resources with specific geographical ownership
- Intelligence led targeting of the concerns that matter most to the public
- A partnership approach to taking action by the police, partner agencies and the public
- The use of the POP approach to resolving community problems, utilising partnership resources

Despite the different policing styles implemented at various times since the implementation of partnerships, it is in the area of prevention that the most

momentum and consistency appears, particularly within the idea of situational crime prevention.

Concluding thoughts

Clearly the change in political philosophy of central government, the international and national economic framework within which all public services now have to operate, and a drive for local accountability will impact upon the way policing and the way partnerships will develop in the near future throughout England and Wales. There appears to be a new police and governmental focus for more enforcement led tactics to police/public interactions, fuelled in part by the summer riots of 2011 in English cities and demonstrations and riots by people who disagree with government policy regarding the economic austerity measures being introduced. Use of plastic bullets and water cannon, never really considered on mainland Britain in the past, is now a realistic proposition. The rhetoric from present government suggests their view of policing revolves around the so called fight against crime and dealing with crime, no more or no less. Coupled with the introduction of a new 'border' force created under a new 'national' style police force to tighten up on immigration issues, the continued fear of terrorist attack and the introduction of legislation to support investigations into that form of activity, means the impetus of community and partnership work within communities appears to have lost some momentum. Indeed, policing rhetoric and discourse seems firmly fixed in enforcement rather than prevention with the introduction of new terminology such as 'total policing', with shades of zero tolerance therein.

Paradoxically, the use of and support for situational crime prevention techniques, introduced as a main plank of community safety partnership work to deal with disorder and prevent criminal acts taking place in a more 'defensive' approach, has received greater support. In particular, their use in a more 'offensive' manner is increasing, illustrating perhaps the greater amount of control and focus on 'crime fighting' than hitherto.

This in turn impacts upon the work of partnerships. Partnership working in the 'big society' will unquestionably have implications for the delivery of partnership services. Partnerships may need to engage with an ever empowered community as they work together in setting short, medium and long term objectives for partnership working within their local community (Independent 2010). Becoming more focused at a local level while operating in smaller geographical areas will possibly be of greater importance to the partnerships if they are to facilitate the needs of the community rather than simply prescribe narrative, often enforcement led solutions. The transfer of power to the local level is likely to be difficult for both the partnerships and communities. However, to create value, mobilise wealth in terms

of reciprocity and social capital and to operate efficiently, it will be for both the partnerships and community to agree and operate under a co-operative productive mutual partnership. As local communities are likely to be part of the setting of objectives, there will be a need for greater involvement from partner agencies, particularly local authorities, businesses, charities and local co-operatives in order to address issues which the public needs to be tackled. An improved relationship as well as the developed sense of ownership and inclusion may result in targets on community safety being met. As a direct consequence, this may lead to a reduction in overall crime and fear of crime leading to a reduction in the reassurance gap (McLaughlin et al 2006). Private contractors and a move to a more European approach to partnership working where a significant amount of partnership working tasks are contracted out to private companies and industries may also be a visible change following the implantation of the 'big society'. Losing overall dominance in the market, it is likely partnerships may need to become smaller, more focused and specialised in their approach to partnership working. As they lose the position of dominance in an ever dynamic market, there is likely to be expansion of partner agencies through the creation of more charities, groups and enterprise are likely to be seen following the societal shifts. This will increase the importance of better partnership working between the partnerships and other agencies as the need to share knowledge and intelligence becomes even more important (Rogers 2006; Williamson 2008).

The police have limited and reducing resources to be able to engage in their broad mandate of community safety partnership work and whilst their commitment may still remain, their actual allocation of resources to these types of activities will undoubtedly reduce, particularly if current central governments belief is that they should just engage with enforcement activities. In turn, this may be the opportunity for more partners to become involved in the prevention of crime, and there is a hope that the concept of the 'big society', espoused by the current government may provide some resilience for these functions.

References

- Alderson, J., (1998), *Principled Policing: Protecting the Public with Integrity*, Winchester, Waterside Press.
- BBC, (2010) *David Cameron launches Tories' 'big society' Plan*, Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-10680062>, [Accessed 11/01/12]
- Benyon, J., (1984), *Scarman and After*, Oxford, Pergamon Press.
- Cabinet Office, (2010) *Building the Big Society*, London, Cabinet Office
- Clarke, R. V. and Mayhew, P., (eds.), (1980), *Designing Out Crime*, London, HMSO.
- Cohen, S. (1985), *Visions of Social Control*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Crawford, A., Lister, S., Blackburn, S., and Burnett, J., (2005), *Plural Policing: the Mixed Economy of Visible Patrols in England and Wales*, Bristol, the Policy Press.
- Eaton, G., (2010) *The "big society": New Doubts Emerge*, London, New Statesman
- Elliot, R. and Nicholls, J. (1996) *It's Good to Talk: Lessons in Public Consultation and Feedback*, Police Research Group Paper 22, London: Home Office.
- Felson, M., (2002), *Crime and Everyday life*, (3rd ed.), Thousand Oaks, Pine forge Press.
- Fielding, N.G. (1995) *Community Policing*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Friedman, R. R. (1992) *Community Policing, Comparative Perspectives and Prospects*, New York: St. Martins Press.
- Garland, D. (1996) 'The Limits of the Sovereign State', *British Journal of Criminology*, 36, 4, 445-471.
- Garland, D., (2001), *The Culture of Control*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Goldstein, H., (1990), *Problem Oriented Policing*, New York, McGraw-Hill.
- Home Office, (1984), *Crime Prevention Circular 8/1984*, London, HMSO.

Home Office, (1991) *Safer Communities: The Local Delivery of Crime Prevention through the Partnership Approach. (The Morgan Report)*, London: HMSO.

Home Office, (1999), *Crime and Disorder Act 1998*, London: HMSO.

Home Office, (2002), *The Police Reform Act*, London, HMSO.

Home Office, (2010) *Radical reforms for Police Announced*, Available: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/press-releases/radical-reforms-police>, [Accessed 11/01/12]

Hughes, G. and Edwards, E., (2005), *Crime Prevention in Context*, in *Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety*, Tilley, N (ed.), Cullompton, Willan publishers.

Independent, (2010) *The Big Society: a Genuine Vision for Britain's Future – or Just Empty Rhetoric?* Available: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/the-big-society-a-genuine-vision-for-britains-future-ndash-or-just-empty-rhetoric-2030330.html>, [Accessed 11/01/12]

Innes, M., (2004), *Signal Crimes and Signal Disorders: Notes on Deviance as Communicative Action*, *British Journal of Sociology*, 55: 335-55.

Jones, T., Newburn, T., (2006) *Plural Policing: a Comparative Perspective*, Abingdon, Routledge

Kuhn, T. S. (1996), *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, (3rd ed.), Chicago, University of Chicago Press,

Loveday, B. (2000), 'New Directions in Accountability', in Leishman, F. Loveday, B. and Savage, S. (eds.), *Core Issues in Policing*, (2nd ed.), London: Pearson Education.

McLaughlin, E., Muncie, J., (2006) *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*. London: Sage.

Palmer, D. (1997) 'When Tolerance is Zero', *Alternative Law Review*, 22, 5: 232-6.

Peak, K. J. and Glensor, R. W. (1996) *Community Policing and Problem Solving: Strategies and Practices*, London: Prentice Hall.

Reiner, R. (2000) *The Politics of the Police*, (3rd ed.), London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Rogers, C., (2006) *Crime Reduction Partnerships*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Sadd, S. and Grinc, R. (1994) 'Innovative Neighbourhood Oriented Policing: An Evaluation of Community Policing Programmes in Eight Cities', in Rosenbaum, D. P. (ed.), *The Challenge of Community Policing: Testing the Promises*, California: Sage, pp. 27-52.

Scanlon D. E., (1999), *The Crime and Disorder Act 1998, A Guide for Practitioners*, London, Callow.

Tilley, N., (1997), *Problem Oriented Policing*, IEA Seminar Papers, London, IEA.

Williamson, T., (2008), *The Handbook of Knowledge Based Policing*, Wiley, Chichester.

Wilson, J. Q. and Kelling, G. L. (1982) 'Broken Windows: The Police and Neighbourhood Safety', *Atlantic Monthly*, 29 March, p.38.

The author:

Dr. Colin Rogers, Professor of Police Sciences, Centre for Police Sciences, University of Glamorgan, Pontypridd, South Wales, UK.

Recent Trends in Policing and Managing Urban Security in Denmark

Peter Kruize and Maria Bislev

1. Police system of Denmark

There are good reasons to call the Danish police system Scandinavian. First, there is one national police unit, which, like the other actors in the field of justice, includes the competence of the Ministry of Justice. Secondly, Denmark has a national police force, but is organisationally divided into twelve geographic districts. Thirdly, the police are the only agency with investigative powers and Denmark has no special investigation services.

The most striking part of the Danish police system is the fact that a decisive part of the Danish Public Prosecutor Service is part of the police organisation. This means that the first – operational – layer of the public prosecutors belongs to the competency of the police. This intertwining of prosecution with investigation makes the Danish system, together with the Norwegian system, unique in the Western world.

Since August 1, 2004, the powers and duties of the police are settled by law (Police Law). This law is the first specified law with regard to the police. Before 2004, Denmark has had no law on the police and the tasks and duties of the police were settled in a general law on justice. The tasks of the Danish police are wide. Border surveillance, for instance, is a police task in Denmark. Above all, in Denmark the police are the only body with detective and investigative powers.

The current system differs on three essential points to the situation prior to the Police Reform of 2007. These three amendments relate to:

- Scale: from 54 to 12 districts;
- Authority and management responsibilities: direct line of authority from state to police management and budget decentralization from the national level to the districts;
- One police column instead of two columns: uniform and detective services.

The police in Denmark have 14,254 employees (as of January 1, 2011); this number includes the national departments, but excludes the forces of Greenland, the Faroe Islands and the Intelligence Agency.

Table 1 Police strength in Denmark (1-1-2011)

	Districts (12)	National Departments	Total
Police officers	9,200	879	10,079
Police attorneys	446	55	501
Other personnel	2,463	1,211	3,674
Total	12,109	2,145	14,254

Source: National Police

If executive police officers are taken as a basis for the police in Denmark, the police-density in Denmark is one officer per 511 inhabitants. The size of police force has changed little since the nineties of the last century. In 1990 there were 10,075 police officers, which corresponded to 510 inhabitants per police officer. The premise of the current system is approximately 900 FTEs in each police district on the basis of a minimum population of 400,000 inhabitants, spread over several municipalities. Exceptions are made for the Copenhagen Police with about 3,000 FTEs and the police of Bornholm with about 85 FTEs.

National Departments

The National Commissioner has national (management) tasks that are assigned to various departments. The national level also consists of an executive secretariat, and administration departments of the national police. The executive secretary supports the national police chief, coordinates relations with politics (Parliament) and with the Ministry of Justice, and is responsible for internal and external communication. The administration department is responsible for strategic policy, financial policies and management information, payroll, HRM and personnel, civil law issues such as contracting and paying compensation, police education (police school, competence and knowledge), jobs in IT, telecommunications, and radio equipment, purchasing, and development paths, including ICT projects (information and communication technologies). Some tasks, such as personnel matters are the competence of the regional districts, but there is always a form of national supervision.

Of course most attention is given to police matters. Such as: police affairs, legal case treatment, coordination with regard to international police, National Police Strategy, policy, specialist support for police districts, traffic controls, coordination of police dog training, crisis coordination (both within the police and in relation to other government agencies), crime prevention, coordination of international investigations, monitoring and operational analysis in relation to transnational crime and organised crime, forensic investigation (such as fingerprints, DNA, fire investigation and se-

cure IT track), and immigration (including asylum, residence and border control). Finally, there are operational tasks that a country or inter-regional coordination or assistance requires.

Police Districts

A police district has a four-member board, consisting of a Police Director, Deputy Police Director (head of Administration), Chief Prosecutor (head of the District Public Prosecutors) and Chief Police Inspector (head of Police).

The organization of the Danish police in the districts is mainly process driven. Five main processes are designated: administration, detection / investigation, emergency, local police and prosecution.

The police pillar of the organization is divided into three sections: emergency patrol, detection and investigation, and local policing. Within these main processes the following tasks are identified. The emergency department consists of Public Service, Dispatch Room, Traffic Division, Dog Section, and Patrol. The emergency department has its own strength, but is supplemented by personnel of the detection and local police sections. The detection and investigation department is engaged in serious and organised (high impact) crime: serious violent crimes, economic crimes, and organised crime. The department of the local police is often organised on the level of one or several municipalities. As a consequence they are in 'community policing' with the following tasks as basis: enforcement special laws and local police regulations, detection and investigation of high volume (property and violent crime) or common crime, contacts with local community and local politics, record of reports, lost and found, and various permits (such as firearms certificates).

Besides the three police departments (emergency, detection / investigation and local police) a district consists of prosecutors and administrative personnel. The prosecutors are divided into a number of advocacies / departments with a particular crime type as a distinctive element, a secretariat, and a section on special laws. The administration includes personnel and finances, an executive secretariat, and logistics and planning.

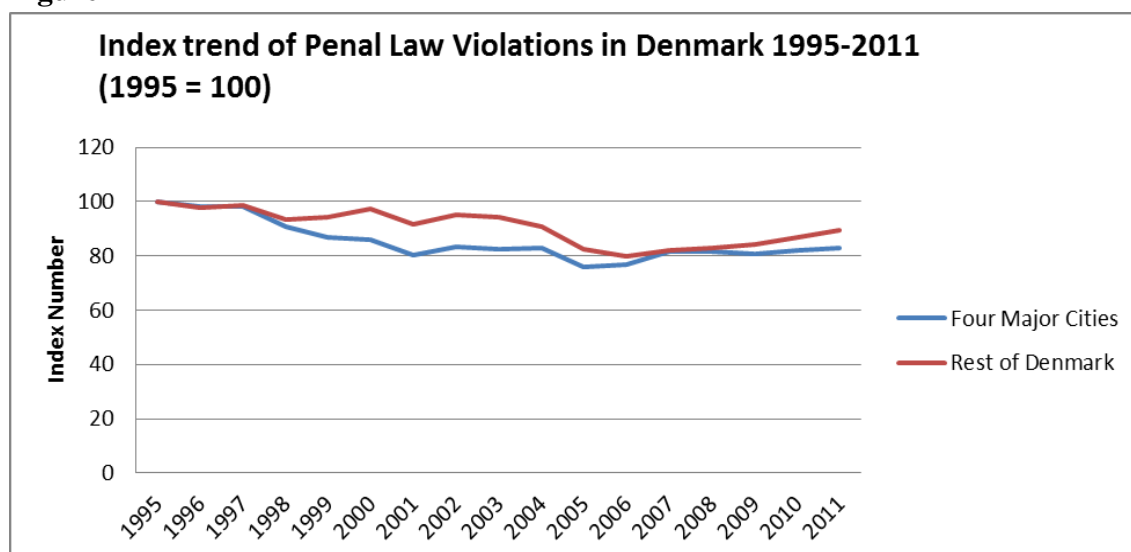
There is no hierarchical relationship between the police and the local authorities (municipalities), but there are many (formal) contacts between police and the local community. There is a District Council consisting of the police director and the mayors of the municipalities. This council meets at least four times a year and is chaired by the Police Director. The Police Director is required to have a local partnership plan after consultation with relevant stakeholders within the communities. The partnership plan is made yearly and will be discussed in the district. The cooperation plan includes

some required components, such as meeting schedules, local crime prevention efforts (including SSP and SSP + cooperation). Agreements on dealing with young people who are not criminally prosecuted (in Denmark the limit is fifteen years), working with Women Centers regarding the reduction of domestic violence, working with municipalities and regions on special risk groups such as mentally ill and addicts, cooperation with other government (the tax, environmental and other services that monitor the area of special laws), cooperation in terms of traffic and road safety and cooperation with citizens, for example in the form of a direct dialogue with citizens or the creation of dialogue with the local shop owners, school boards and local associations.

2. Police response to recent trends in urban crime

In this section we first of all present recent trends in crime in Denmark in general and in the four major cities of Denmark: Copenhagen, Aarhus, Odense and Aalborg. In Denmark nearly 540 thousand penal law violations were recorded in 1995. In the same year the four major cities were responsible for around 180 thousand penal law violations. A comparison of the trend for the last seventeen years (1995-2011) shows a decrease until 2007 – with in total 20 percent compared to 1995 – and an increase since 2007; the year of the Police Reform. Compared to 1995 the level of registered penal crimes in the four cities is still 17 percent lower than in 1995 (and 10 percent for the rest of the country). This means that the large cities’ share of the national crime incidents has decreased slightly over the past 15-20 years. Figure 1 visualises the penal crime trend.

Figure 1

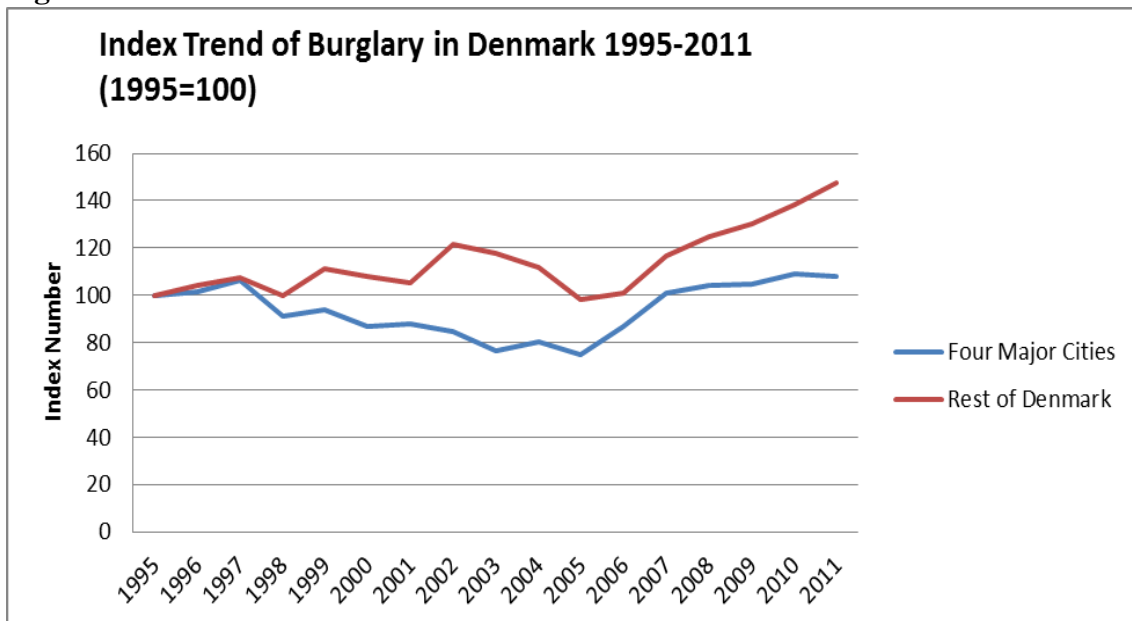


Source: Statistics Denmark

Burglary

One of the overall crime trends in Denmark is a decrease of violent crime. This goes for recorded crimes and is confirmed by victim surveys (Balvig & Kyvsgaard, 2011). The decrease of violent crime is in the four cities more significant than in the less urban areas. The other side of the coin is an increase of property crime. A more careful look at property crimes shows especially an increase of property in citizens' private surroundings (homes). This is most visible in the development of burglary in private dwellings (see figure 2).

Figure 2



Source: Statistics Denmark

The number of burglaries was about 32 thousand in 1995, while this number is around 44 thousand in 2011; an increase of 38 percent. Figure 2 shows that especially areas outside the four major cities account for this increase. In 2010 the government has launched an anti-burglary initiative (Justitsministeriet, 2010) with several authorities involved:

- Technical prevention by the Ministry of Economy in cooperation with the National Council for Crime Prevention
- Crime Prevention tips for citizens available on a website (National Council for Crime Prevention)
- More focus on Neighborhood Watch (National Council for Crime Prevention)
- Prevention of repeat victimization (Insurance companies)
- Prevention through design (Ministry of Environment)
- Focused police response

The focused police response includes national coordination and locale operative plans based on analysis (intelligence). Known burglars (Top-20) are stressed and – if possible – incarcerated in periods where burglary normally peaks, like Christmas Holidays (in line with the ideas about selective incapacitation).

But the attention is not only prevention and repression of burglary; the plan also aims at combating the fencing of stolen goods. The idea is obvious. Buying stolen goods supports burglars and consequently without easy ways to sell stolen property, burglary would be less attractive. The burglary package points at three paths to fight fencing: more tough legislation (more severe punishment for fencers), campaigns aimed at citizens (don't buy stolen property) and information by the police to market site owners on the internet to recognize stolen property.

The initiatives have not broken the burglary trend (yet) and in 2012 the police will establish two national Task Forces (one in the western part of the country and one in the eastern part) to coordinate police responses to burglary interregional.

Gang Crime

Another recent trend in – more or less exclusively – urban crime is gang crime. Denmark has suffered crime problems with Outlaw Motor Cycle Gangs in many years (since the 1970ies; Bay, 1998), but since 2008 Copenhagen has seen the re-emergence of gang-related conflicts. This time it is not Outlaw Motor Cycle Gangs fighting each other (like in the Great Nordic Biker War of the 1990ies), but now the feud is between the Hells Angels and its support group AK81 at the one side and several, mainly ethnic, gangs at the other side.

There is some disagreement about the reasons behind the recent gang war. In a report from 2009 the police point at several reasons behind the feud (Rigspolitiet, 2009, p. 4). First of all – and in our mind the triggering reason – competition on illegal markets in general and the drug market in particular. The police had disturbed the balance of power on the drug market by a massive attack on the drug sales in Christiania (a squatted area in the heart of Copenhagen) in 2004 (see also Kruize, 2012). Furthermore the police are pointing at territorial questions and aspects of honour and revenge to understand the escalation of the gang war.

Strategies to cope with gangs in general and their fight in public space in particular – many drive by and shooting incidents have cost several lives and a substantial number of wounded persons – are divers. Gangs, especial-

ly Outlaw Motor Cycle Gangs, have been subject to monitoring and intelligence gathering by the police for many years. The police try not only to investigate gang crime by traditional and untraditional methods, but also to confiscate criminal proceeds in cooperation with the Tax Authorities; the so-called Al Capone or administrative approach.

At the other side the police and local authorities try to prevent youngsters from joining gangs. The National Council for Crime Prevention has published a report with descriptions of several initiatives, like the use of role models and the involvement of the family (Mannov & Sjølling, 2012). The authorities also focus on ways to support gang members who wish to exit the gangs and break with their gang friends.

3. Crime prevention in Denmark

Crime prevention in Denmark has a long tradition of cross-sector collaboration between, primarily, police, schools and social services. In recent years the collaborative element in crime prevention has grown stronger and has become more pronounced, to some extent as a result of the Police Reform of 2007, as described in the previous sections. In this section key players in the field of crime prevention in Denmark will be presented. Many of those key players are member of the National Council for Crime Prevention (DKR). The National Council is an independent body with a wide range of members from all parts of society, like the private sector (insurance companies), urban planning municipalities, unions (health care, social work) and relevant ministries. The Council facilitates network and knowledge exchange, it provides advice and guidance on crime preventive measures, it is a knowledge base on crime and crime prevention and finally it initiates and supports research on different areas of crime prevention as well as local crime preventive projects.

Municipalities

Municipalities are responsible for a very large part of the crime preventive work in Denmark. The municipalities plan, allot resources and execute a large part of the crime preventive work such as broad, primary initiatives in schools, organizing Night Life activities in a sensible way and so on.

Police

The police play a key role as well. The Police Reform of 2007 have brought more focus on crime prevention, along with intelligence led policing (Balvig, Holmberg & Nielsen, 2011). In all twelve Police Districts crime preventive units are established along with crime preventive secretariats in some districts. These units and/or secretariats are intended to manage preventive efforts in districts along with representatives from the mu-

municipalities. This work is undertaken to a large extent in the context of the local councils, established along with the District Councils as a result of the 2007 Police Reform (as described in earlier sections).

The Local and Districts Councils facilitate cooperation on crime prevention in a local context. The District Councils operate on a strategic level and it consists – as mentioned before – of the mayors of the municipalities in the district and is chaired by the chief of the Police District. The Local Councils operate on a more tactical level; discussing and initiating programs and actions to prevent crime locally. In the Local Council the local police-manager chairs the meetings and representatives from the municipality, for instance social services and schools, participate along with representatives of local trade. Ideally, also engaged citizens from local citizen groups join the meetings of the Local Council. The understanding of crime prevention guiding the work in the councils encompasses many aspects of citizens' life and includes efforts to ensure that all children have stable upbringings, do not suffer economical distress, have a good and positive experience in school and friendships and finally are in a good physical shape (general health care). It also entails the attempt to reduce alcohol consumption among children and to promote non-smoking because these are two well-known risk factors for criminal behavior (Christensen et al, 2011).

Examples of formalized cooperation

In 1977 cooperation between police, social services and schools is formalized in the so-called SSP-cooperation. The purpose of this cooperation is primary prevention – in the sense of spotting and helping youngsters and children (minors) who are or might become at risk of deviant behavior. In recent years the SSP-concept is – in some regions, like Copenhagen – extended to young adults, in recognition of the fact that the local knowledge and expertise in approaching and handling youth at risk were too valuable skills to not utilize at young adults as well (SSP-plus).

A cooperation of more recent date is PSP. This stands for cross-sector cooperation between the police, the social services and the psychiatric system. Growing concerns about citizens with multiple problems and a prominent risk of falling between the cracks in the system, has led in 2004 to the establishment of the PSP-cooperation in the Municipality of Frederiksberg in the centre of Copenhagen. The PSP-cooperation improves the coordination between law enforcement and social and psychiatric services regarding citizens perceived as troublesome or “ticking bombs” or otherwise in need for comprehensive help. Moreover, the cooperation in general improves understanding and communication between professionals in the psychiatric, social and law enforcement sectors. Based on the positive experiences from

Frederiksberg, the PSP-model is implemented nationwide in 2009 (Vitus, 2011).

In 2009 the so-called governmental ‘gang initiative’ mandated the establishment of Gang Councils in affected local areas and cities. The initiative and the councils saw the light of day after a couple of years with a series of gang related incidents (as described in the previous section) where it became clear that Denmark was facing a new category of challenges regarding group related violence. Approximately 34 cities have chosen to establish councils to prevent youth gang involvement. The councils are intended to be a forum where relevant actors discuss concrete issues and preventive measures. It is intended to supplement the existing work in primarily the Local Councils, which means targeting the younger members of the troublesome youth groups who are not really in a gang yet (Mannov & Sølling, 2012).

4. Is police work always done by the police?

As the above examples document, the tradition for crime preventive cooperation between a wide range of partners is long and well-established in Denmark. There are, however, two new trends which deserve attention in this section – namely privatization of former police tasks and new actors in the field of urban security.

Christensen (2012: p. 213) argues that the Police Reform manifests a shift in the underlying principles and ideals guiding the work of the Danish police. Focus shifted from classical – patrolling by locally based constables – to symbolic intelligence led policing of complicated international crime. A substantial part of this new police focus is being directed toward project based police work, handling complicated issues of cross-border crime, rather than classical police work. This shift in focus is also manifest in changes of the police education, which is at the moment in the process of being accredited as a bachelor’s degree. As a result of upgrading the police education to a bachelor level, more research based lectures and a more knowledge oriented education is offered than before.

While this new focus of the police aiming at more efficient police work and reduction in crime than classical police work, citizens experience a loss of police presence because of less patrolling in their neighborhoods. An evaluation of the Police Reform points to the fact that the citizens continue to be less satisfied with the local knowledge and local roots of the police than they were before the reform (Holmberg 2012). The police have tried, and seem to succeed, to value their local roots and have promised more attention to high volume crime (Rigspolitiet, 2008).

These developments have, to a certain degree, split the police in two parts – one concentrating on traditional, (local) tasks and one focusing on prestigious, intelligence, project based assignments (Christensen 2012: 218). This increasing focus on intelligence led policing also entailed a focus on cooperation with other types of professionals. Both in the sense of allying with other types of professionals in order to carry out high quality intelligence and in the sense of outsourcing traditional police tasks.

As mentioned one of the purposes of the reform was an increased focus on intelligence led policing (organized and transnational crime) and as a consequence it was necessary to free resources from traditional police work. At the same time the number of police tasks was reduced. These two developments meant that certain police tasks were undertaken by other public as well as of private contractors. The range of tasks taken over by other public or by private contractors goes from the issuing of passports and driver's licenses to private security services in regard to National Police buildings.

Garland describes in 'The Culture of Control' (2001) among other things the commercialization of crime control. He states: "We have seen the remarkable expansion of a private security industry that originally grew up in the shadow of the state but which is increasingly recognized by government as a partner in the production of security and crime control." (2001: 17-18). Garland's analysis is based on the situation in Britain and the US, and cannot without restrictions be used to describe the situation in Denmark, but in Denmark the private security sector is also a booming business. Only the political support is less clear; for instance the concept of public private partnership is not on the agenda yet (Kruize, 2005).

Three firms dominate the private security market: Falck Securitas, Dansikring and Siemens. These three international firms collectively employ about 3,000 persons in Denmark. While a number of medium-sized firms are also active in this market, most of the hundreds of authorized firms are small, with no or only few employees. These small firms typically work as sub-contractors for larger firms.

The private security market acts as a supplement to state control. In a few cases, the state has outsourced security tasks. Private firms offer both security equipment and patrol. Private security firms also offer guards for use in stores, shopping malls, and at receptions. This service is closely related to that provided by bouncers, since the security officer is also bound to a specific location. In comparison, guarded transportation of valuable goods is more closely related to a specialized task like VIP protection.

The primary aim of private security firms is crime prevention. The mere presence of guards is assumed to increase security, and confrontations are generally avoided. A guard's priority is not to make civilian arrests, but to secure the guarded location. As a result of this work philosophy, guards neither have nor seek special authority to make arrests or carry arms.

Private investigation is rare in Denmark. Some companies have their own investigators, like the insurance branch with approximately 40 to 50 investigators. Investigations conducted for companies generally focus upon their core businesses. Thus, investigators hired by the insurance branch are generally involved in the investigation of insurance fraud.

There are only a few private detectives operating in Denmark. While they advertise a broad range of services, their work activities are rather limited in practice. They work for private customers, often in cases involving adultery or missing persons. Danish companies rarely use private detectives. When they do, it is often for the purpose of investigating fraud.

5. The near future

We expect a continuation of the described trends in policing and managing urban security. Police work will probably be characterized by an increased focus on intelligence led policing, where the analysis of crime, its circumstances and similarities will be at the center of the police's efforts to prevent and combat crime. The private security industry has probably not seen its peak yet and we expect a continuous growth in the coming years. Probably the private sector will more and more take over guarding of public space.

Another trend we recognize is responsabilization of the welfare state; individuals have to contribute to society and take their responsibility. Whether it is the financial crisis or a shift in ideology that has brought about this changed mentality is a question of causality that is hard to answer, but there is little doubt that in almost all areas of society we see the focus on citizen lifting their weight and paying their due. We are discussing whether sick people brought disease on themselves by unhealthy lifestyle, whether unemployed people were just not motivated enough to secure employment. It seems that the focal point of this new era of responsabilization is that everyone should contribute. Not just those with the most resources but also those with few.

In the area of crime prevention this tendency will be visible in more emphasis on individual responsibility for securing homes, for instance by target hardening and/or neighborhood watch. It is not only a task of society to ensure crime prevention, but also a personal one. Also the trend in Danish

schools towards a network of parents to prevent crime (a project of the National Council of Crime Prevention) is an example of how citizens – parents in this case – are being held responsible. What these trends seem to indicate is that the individual citizen in the near future will be an important partner in crime prevention.

References

Balvig, Flemming; Holmberg, Lars & Maria Pi Højlund Nielsen (2011) *Verdens bedste politi: politireformen i Danmark 2007-2011*. [World's best police: police reform in Denmark 2007-2011] København: Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag.

Balvig, Flemming & Britta Kyvsgaard (2011) *Udsathed for vold og andre former for kriminalitet: offerundersøgelser 2005-2010* [Victimization of violence and other forms of crime: victim surveys 2005-2010] Justisministeriet and Københavns Universitet.

Bay, Joi (1998) Hvorfor Danmark? – 1970'erne som forudsætning for 'Den Store Nordiske Røckerkrig'. [Why Denmark: the 1970ies as katalysator of the Great Nordic Biker War] In: Kruize, Peter & Lene Ravn (red) *Kriminalistisk Årbog 1997*. Københavns universitet, p. 53-79.

Christensen, Mikkel Jarle (2012) *Det evige politi: redefinition og ideologi*. [The eternal police: redefinition and ideology] Københavns universitet: Det Juridiske Fakultet.

Christensen, Mikkel Jarle (2012) Klassiske politiopgaver på private hænder [Classical police tasks in private hands]. In: *Information*, januar 11, 2012.

Christoffersen, Mogens Nygaard; Olsen, Peter Skov; Vammen, Katrine Skjødt; Nielsen, Sarah Sander & Mette Lausten (2011) *Tidlig identifikation af kriminalitetstruede børn og unge: risiko- og beskyttelsesfaktorer* [Early identification of potential criminal children and youngsters: risk and protection factors] København: Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd (SFI 11:34).

Det Kriminalpræventive Råd (2012) *SSP: en guide til samarbejdet* [SSP: a guide to cooperation].

Garland, D. (2001) *The Culture of Control*, Oxford University Press.

Holmberg, Lars (2012) Det lokale politi er svækket [The local police is weakened] In: *Information*, januar 31, 2012.

Justitsministeriet (2010) *Indbrud I private hjem: kurven skal knækkes* [Burglary in private homes: the trend must be down].

Kruize, Peter (2005) *Det private sikkerhedsmarked: en undersøgelse af privat vagtvirksomhed og privat efterforskning* [The private security market: a research of private security and private investigation]. København: Det Juridiske Fakultet.

Kruize, Peter (2012) På vej til en ny magtbalance: kan man forstå bandekrigen i den organiserede kriminalitets terminologi? [Towards a new balance of power: is the gang war understandable in terms of organized crime?] In: Jacobsen, Michael Hviid (ed.) *Skyggelandet*. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, p. 63-80.

Mannov, Jonas & Marie Sølling (2012) Kommunale udfordringer: en undersøgelse af danske kommuners erfaring med bandeforebyggelse [Municipal challances: a research of experiences of Danish municipalities with gang prevention] In: Jacobsen, Michael Hviid (ed.) *Skyggelandet*. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, p. 247-261.

Rigspolitiet (2008) *Redegørelse om et politi I forandring: et borgernært politi* [Status of police in change: a police close to the citizens].

Rigspolitiet (2009) *Statusrapport for 2008 om kriminalitet forøvet af rockere og bander* [State of the art about crime committed by outlaw motor cycle gangs and other gangs].

Vitus, Katrine & Agnete Aslaug Kjær (2011) *PSP-samarbejdet: en kortlægning af PSP-Frederiksberg, Odense, Amager og Esbjerg*. [PSP-cooperation]. København: Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd (SFI 11:10)

The Authors:

Peter Kruize (PhD in Criminology): Lecturer at the Law Faculty of the University of Copenhagen and senior researcher at CASA (Center for Alternative Social Analysis) and Maria Bislev (MA in Sociology): Analyst at the Danish National Council for Crime Prevention.

Living Apart Together. The Dutch Community Officer and his Laborious Relation with Local Government

Arie van Sluis, Lex Cachet, Ruth Prins and Peter Marks

Introduction

The Dutch community officer is a well-known first point of contact for citizens with the police in their area. He has been the face of Dutch community oriented policing (COP) for more than thirty years now, notwithstanding significant changes in his job responsibilities and his public image. Started as a remedy to get over the isolated position the police had gotten into after the 1960's, COP has evolved towards the dominant model of policing and a framework that integrates other policing models. Nowadays, COP is the guiding principle used in the day-to-day police work of all the 25 Dutch regional police forces.

However, in recent years the community officer is no longer the sole uniformed officer who delivers local policing services to the public. Blue has many colours nowadays. More and more policing functions are performed by private organizations and other public policing agencies like public guards executing particular laws or regulating traffic. Many of them are established by local governments, often out of dissatisfaction with their limited say over the regular police. As a consequence, the police have become but one of the many players in local security networks. Nowadays, the police are supposed to contribute to public safety in a broad sense, whilst traditionally their core function was to materially maintain the civil order.

In the Netherlands the rise of COP and the pluralisation of policing have been accompanied by an intensified commitment of local government to prevent crime and to deal with local safety. However, the coordination and the direction of local safety have become complicated because of the governance-like structures that have evolved that deal with crime and safety on the local level (compare Crawford and Lister, 2004).

In this chapter we focus on how Dutch COP and the community officer, have been moulded and remoulded over the years in relation to other police activities, adapting to the changed playing field of local safety and to the

changed role of local government in directing local safety. An analysis of the complicated interplay between these processes will help us to better understand the evolution of local crime prevention arrangements in the Netherlands, the role of the police in crime prevention and the dilemmas and challenges that have to be met.

In this chapter we proceed as follows. In section 1 we describe relevant changes in the Dutch system of policing and the role community officers as an exponent of COP played in it during the past decades. The second section sketches the evolution of local safety as a rather autonomous policy field. In the third section we focus on the consequences the emergence of local safety policies and local safety networks have had for the position and role of the community officer. In a final section we look towards the future and ask ourselves whether COP and the community officer are there to stay.

1. Policing in the Netherlands and the tribulations of the Dutch community officer

From the end of 1945 until 1993, the Dutch police was composed of the *gemeentepolitie* (148 municipal police forces) and the *rijkspolitie* (state police, subdivided in 17 rather autonomous districts). In 1993, a new Police Act was introduced and accepted by the Dutch Parliament. From then on Dutch police was organised in 25 regional forces and one national force (*Korps Landelijke Politiediensten*) that supports the regional forces and also has some important tasks at the national level. The regional police system is a decentralized system, like its predecessor, but less so than in the past.

Traditionally, Dutch police are oriented primarily towards delivering services to the public and to a lesser degree serve as the strong arm of central government. This is reflected in the structure of a regional police force which is subdivided in a number of districts (territorial) and divisions (functional). A large part of the police officers work in basic units, i.e. neighborhood teams, because they have to act in very close vicinity of the general public. A basic unit operates from one or more police stations and its duties consist of many territorially bound activities, like daily patrols, mediating in disputes, and keeping in touch with the public and with businesses and institutions, neighborhood associations and other interest groups. Functional units are specialized in different aspects of policing, like emergency services, arrest teams, police infiltration teams, and criminal investigation support teams (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations 2004: 16).

In most forces, community officers are part of the basic units. However, in others, they operate as rather isolated individuals or as part of a neighbourhood team. In some forces, community officers only perform specific community policing tasks, whilst in others their job includes criminal investigations and emergency assistance (Terpstra, 2008).

Till the 1970's, the traditional, professional model of policing prevailed in the Netherlands. A Dutch police officer was supposed to enforce the law and to make arrests. Police tasks were simplified and standardized by the use of standard operation procedures. Discretion was neither acknowledged nor accepted. Specialised units were created to handle more complicated problems. But this traditional ('professional') model of policing had proven incapable of dealing with the more complex and dynamic problems faced by Dutch society. The 1960s had left the Dutch police with a loss in their legitimacy, because of their rigid and repressive policing style towards student protests in that period. COP was seen as a way towards (re)integrating police into the society and regaining the trust of their citizens (van Sluis et al., 2010).

Dutch COP finds much of its inspiration in 'A Changing Police', a document that was published in 1977 (Projectgroep Organisatie Structuren, 1977). This document is a milestone in the development of Dutch policing and the actual starting point for Dutch COP (see Cachet et al. 1998). Before 1977 only a few municipal police force in big cities like The Hague and Amsterdam had started experimenting with beat officers. The document stipulated that police work should be done by well-educated policemen oriented toward the good of the community. All members of a community policing team should cover the whole spectrum of police work.

In the 1980s, COP had become the standard way of delivering basic policing and the new orthodoxy of policing (Punch et al., 2008). However, in the 1990s new developments took place in the field of public order. The squatter movement grew significantly and presented a new challenge to the police, as did football hooliganism and a vast increase in the number of petty crimes. The Netherlands also experienced the emergence of more professionally organized and more international forms of crime, all of which served to undermine the predominance of COP.

From the 1990s on, the repertoire of the Dutch police has been built out further with elements from 'zero tolerance', 'broken-windows policing' and 'hotspot-policing' that have been mixed with Dutch COP. There was a move towards hard-line policing. These shifts in focus occurred also

against the backdrop of a growing sense that the Dutch tradition of tolerance had gone too far (Das et al., 2002; Punch, 2006).

The police reform of 1993 favored a model of policing which is based on larger, centralized police forces and greater distance between the police and the public (Beumer, 1997).

However, not long after the police reform in 1993 COP was revived in an effort to close the gap that threatened between the (now) regional police forces and local communities. New community officers were introduced who were made responsible for organizing security in their area in a much wider and more permanent sense (Punch et al., 2008). They were called area managers or neighborhood directors and they were supported by their colleagues in specialized departments.

In the early 21st century a new vision of COP was articulated in the strategy document called the 'Police in Evolution' (PIE) that was published by the Dutch board of chiefs of police. PIE stayed true to the values of COP by once again focusing on the local community and stressing community policing (Projectgroep Visie op de Politiefunctie, 2005).

However, PIE also expresses a tendency towards to a stronger involvement of community officers in crime fighting and in 'hard policing' and towards a more assertive and firm enforcement. The community officer is clearly a visible force in the street. He is a generalist who performs all policing tasks, except the ones that require specialist expertise. Community officers perform not only soft policing tasks, but they take more repressive actions as well. They frequently deal with social disorder caused by youth, road safety issues and petty crime. Rule enforcement has become an important part of the work of community officers. They do not spend much time on social service (Stol et al., 2004; Stol, 2009; Terpstra, 2008).

Looking back, in the last decades the Dutch beat officer has never completely disappeared from Dutch policing, even when his position seemed to be threatened and other policing models became prevalent.

2. The long-term development of local safety policy in the Netherlands

Traditionally, crime and disorder were no issues of importance in Dutch politics and policy. 'The authorities' – the local mayor, public prosecutor and the police - could easily cope with the total amount of crime and disorder. Full enforcement was the rule. However, from the mid-1960s onwards Dutch society started to change and authorities had to prioritize which pub-

lic safety problems were to be addressed and which not. Furthermore, the traditional keepers of peace, law and order were not able to adequately meet these new challenges on their own. Many other actors from the public and private sector needed to be involved in addressing public safety problems as well.

From the 1960s onwards, the Netherlands saw the emergence of a substantial policy domain regarding local public safety governance, first in the juridical sphere, where the ‘positive opportunity principle’ was introduced (‘t Hart, 1994). According to this principle, authorities would only enforce and prosecute if a public interest is involved and if there is a reasonable chance of success. Later on during the late 1980s, the choices that needed to be made regarding problems to be addressed and by whom became part of public safety policies (Adviescommissie Beleidsplanning Politie, 1987). National government promoted a so called ‘integral approach’ to public safety to be carried out on the most local administrative level of municipalities (Commissie Kleine Criminaliteit, 1984; Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom relations, 1993). This approach combines strategies of prevention and repression to a wide variety of public safety problems. The integral approach emphasized the multifaceted characteristics of public safety problems and the necessity of the involvement of a wide variety of actors to effectively deal with these problems.

During the past twenty years, this integral policy approach has become the dominant approach to local safety and order. The biggest cities were the first ones to adopt an integral safety policy, later on smaller ones followed (Cachet and Ringeling, 2004). The integral policy approach has led to the emergence of various local public safety networks in which the police have been accompanied by many actors from both the public and the private sector. Examples of new providers of local public safety are citizens (van Caem 2008), schools, housing corporations, private security companies (van Steden, 2007) and many others. Van Steden et al. (2011) estimated that in the capital Amsterdam alone about 100 security related citizens project were operational.

National government designated local government, more specifically the mayor, as the coordinator of the of these local safety networks. In the Netherlands, mayors hold the formal task of ensuring public local order and safety. For fulfilling this task, Dutch mayors have multiple individual powers, such as control and command of the police for maintaining public order and supreme command in case of emergency. Moreover, during the past 15 years, many powers have been created for mayors to address new public safety problems such as domestic violence and hooliganism (Sackers,

2010; Mein, 2010; Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2009; Nederlands Genootschap van Burgemeesters, 2009. Nevertheless, local governments face major challenges with coordinating the design, implementation and evaluation local of integral safety policy (Terpstra and Mein, 2010). The lack of formal powers to ensure cooperation and contribution of many actors outside local government seems to be most difficult (Prins and Cachet, 2011). As a potential solution, a law which formally grants the mayor the power of directing/coordinating integral safety policy is under scrutiny by the parliament). However, this seems to merely formalize what already took place in practice (Terpstra and Mein, 2010; Prins and Cachet 2011).

Besides cooperation with various actors from outside local government, local governments themselves created new public policing functions. These so called politie-surveillanten, BOA's, straatcoaches and stadswachten deal with the 'softer' public safety problems, such as litter on the streets and violation of parking regulations. They are non-police personnel with limited responsibilities and tasks who are controlled exclusively by the local government. This trend was furthered by a tremendous growth in the use of local administrative sanctions for nuisances and minor offences (Sackers, 2010). The 'extended policing family' has really found its place in Dutch municipalities.

The introduction of these local administrative sanctions, together with active involvement of actors from the judicial sphere, has brought along a mixture of strategies in the overall approach to local public safety and order. More and more elements of sanction and repression have been added to traditional order maintenance and prevention of public safety problems by local governments and the police (Sackers / Rogier). This mixture is clearly visible in the social called 'Safety Houses' (Veiligheidshuizen). Various public safety actors, such as judicial actors, the police, local governments, probation officer and after care organizations and child care hold office in the same building. Together, they try to coordinate their activities into an integral approach towards individual cases. Their common aim is to prevent potential problems, as well as to sanction in case they took place and to provide after care for those who caused the problems or suffered from them.

Adding to the complexity of local safety is the regionalization of police forces, fire departments and ambulance transport. In the 1990s Dutch police, was reorganized on regional basis in 25 forces. Recently, 25 Safety Regions (Veiligheidsregio's) were established on the same scale to provide effective protection against physical hazards. Both Police Regions and

Safety Regions are based on the presumption that the scale of an average Dutch town or city is too small to provide effective protection against modern large scale threats, both of a social and of a physical kind. Nowadays a large amount of local safety is provided by this kind of regional organizations and often within boundaries set by national government. Room for local steering, by mayor or city council, and room for locally customized safety provision seems to become smaller and smaller. At the same time the complexity of these local safety networks with a multilevel character is still increasing (Prins and Cachet, 2010).

From 1990 onwards, national government has been trying to encourage local governments to develop local safety policy plans (Prins and Cachet div.). Neither local governments nor their civil servants did have much experience with the development of local safety policies. So they often leaned strongly on police expertise and police data to develop policies of their own. In many cases even the civil servant who became local safety manager till then had been a police officer. Altogether almost all Dutch communities now have safety plans that are broader, often much broader, than police policies only. Most local governments also do have some civil servant expertise on safety, independent from the police. Nevertheless, even though most towns and cities now have local safety plans this has been a long and arduous road.

National government also stimulated and facilitated local governments to develop local safety policies of their own. Instruments to further local safety policies often were developed on the national level and put at the disposal of local governments to help them developing and implementing local safety policies. Thus local safety also became national government's concern.

During the past two decades, the approach to local safety and order has transformed from solely full enforcement by the local mayor, public prosecutor and the police to integral safety networks coordinated by the local mayor (Tops et al., 2010). This development has been accompanied by a trend towards further regionalization and a firmer grip of national government on local safety policies. In fact, local safety networks are layered networks, with a multi-level character.

3. The community officer and local safety

The current community officer is a 'Jack of all trades'. He works on prevention and problem solving by participating actively in citizen networks

and cooperates with professional agencies such as schools and municipalities as well. ‘Knowing and being known’ are considered crucial by all community officers. Proximity and visibility are necessary to get information from citizens and to restore citizen’s trust in the police. Community officers use strategies like weekly open consultation hours in community centers, regular features in local newspapers, visiting certain places where groups of youths hang out, participating in activities at local schools and in citizen panels, or sometimes just chats with people on the street (Terpstra, 2008, 2009).

In addition, community officers contribute to law and crime investigation by taking on criminal investigations, enforcement, and emergency services. Besides, the community officer also has an important ‘signal and advice’ function in that they are responsible for providing administrative authorities with information and early warnings about significant societal trends, emerging problems, signs of terrorism and radicalization (van Os, 2010).

Meeting the high expectations?

Inevitably, Dutch community officers have difficulties to meet all the expectations placed upon them. Community officers spend much time in their neighbourhood, but still not enough. Officers themselves report that they often feel overruled by their managers in setting their priorities and executing their roles. This prevents them from spending more time on tasks they see as critical to the security of their neighborhoods (Bron et al., 2010).

Van der Torre (2011) observes a lack of crime investigation skills. Despite all initiatives that are undertaken, only 12 percent of the community officer’s time is spent on criminal investigations. This is far less than would be expected given the current “crisis” in crime investigations (van Os and Gooren, 2010).

Often community officers experience role conflicts. Their new role in intelligence-led-policing sometimes comes into conflict with their mandate to solve problems by cooperating with representatives of the community (Bervoets et al., 2009). Community officers often report that this dual role harms the relations they have developed in their neighbourhoods as it muddies trust (Kool, 2007). Sometimes community officers also experience difficulties with the new repressive demands that are made upon them, for example, writing tickets in order to meet arbitrary performance targets (van Sluis et al., 2008).

In general, community officers have greater difficulties supporting or even participating in initiatives that are undertaken by citizens (van Os and Tops,

2010). Community officers are still rather ‘police centred’ in their orientation (van Os, 2010). The role of citizens appears to be limited in their view to that of providers of information, as ‘the eyes and ears of the police’ (Terpstra, 2008). The police is inclined to erect ‘professional barriers’ in safety programs and keep their distance from citizens, who run up against a ‘bureaucratic ceiling’ (van Steden et al., 2011, 14).

Blue and light blue

The proliferation of different blue colors coincided with the police withdrawing from tasks they considered improper police tasks. On the local level police in many ways tried to detach themselves from ‘small’ day-to-day chores, like parking violations, breaches of local statutes like the Local Ordinance (APV), shoplifting, disturbing the peace or fighting nuisance, or they were forced to do so by the authorities. Police-withdrawal from tasks considered as improper for the police, like caring for mentally disturbed people in the streets, compels other organizations to broaden or intensify their efforts at helping. The introduction of a variety of local supervisors gave the police an opportunity to dispose of certain policing tasks that they considered improper as well. Tasks considered improper police tasks are now being redistributed over many different organizations police and local government have to cooperate with, thereby increasing the already impressive complexity of the local safety network. Dutch police for their part have tried to bring more ‘blue’ back by increasing area bound policing, despite the fact that many cities have installed enforcers of their own. The overall aim to have one community officer per 5000 inhabitants has been accomplished.

However, the presence of such a variety of uniforms in the streets has led to increasing debate in the Netherlands about reinstating a kind of local police. A recent survey among members of local councils showed that a majority (55%) were in favor of the return of a local police force, despite their overall satisfaction with the work of the regional police forces (van der Torre et al. 2009). Part of the reason for this is that councilors are pessimistic about their influence on police policies under the current structure. They fear that an increase in central or national steering of the police will be detrimental for the local determination of police work. In their view, a local police force could both strengthen the local influence on policing as well as put a stop to the chaotic proliferation of non-police enforcement and surveillance.

The community officer and the directing role of local government

The police’s retreat to their core tasks is part of the new strategic vision of the police on COP as outlined in ‘Police in Evolution’. The police no long-

er want to be the leading actor in local safety, but one of the players in the chain of collaboration with limited tasks and responsibilities in a programmatic approach of local safety under the directorship of local government (De Kimpe and Cachet, 2008). The community policeman or woman is also a professional whose knowledge and expertise has to be taken seriously by local administrative authorities. When such expertise is called in or new initiatives are introduced by the local government, the community officer provides valuable information and supports them.

However, despite the ambition of the police to play a more modest role in local safety policy and programs and to accept the primacy of local government for directing and coordinating local public, it is often the community officer who takes over this task. Many of the local networks are initiated by the community officers themselves and they do well with other agencies. Coordination by the local government is often inadequate due to a lack of resources, a shortage of expertise and a culture that is often more focused on policy processes than the practical work done in these networks (Terpstra, 2011). Besides, local government does not have authority over all the parties involved. As Terpstra (2011, 99) states: “Governance is not a matter of command but, even in case of formal agreements, a question of negotiation, persuasion and consultation—processes which often take time”. The surplus of information community officers have and their action oriented mindset places them in a natural position to fill the gap.

Providing adequate and reliable information to police administrators is often a bridge too far for community officers. Terpstra (2008, 2009) found that the analyses of local problems of crime and disorder made by community officers are often rather unsystematic and lack explicitness. They prefer to rely on information they receive from personal contacts with citizens (‘street knowledge’), more than on information gained by research and science (‘system knowledge’). This tendency is furthered by the fact that community officers tend to distrust standardized instruments that are developed by their colleagues in the police force. Problem-solving capacities are still underdeveloped. Problem oriented policing is not a common practice, even though it is said to be an indispensable tool for community policing (van Sluis, 2002).

An obstacle in the relations with mayors that community officers experience is the rise of conflicts between the priorities of the mayor and those of his own, internal police superior (Terpstra, 2011). Community officers sometimes find no other solution than to avoid strict accountability to the mayor. In medium-sized municipalities, mayors sometimes bypass the local

police chief and directly seek contact with ‘their’ community police officers in order to get more information on an informal basis.

Accumulation of control

The community officer is confronted with an accumulation of influences and forms of control that can come into conflict with each other. On the one hand he has to account to his own manager; on the other hand he has to account to the local networks he is participating in. Besides, he has to follow instructions from other police managers for his non-area bound activities. In addition; he has to take into account – indirectly – the national policing priorities.

Because of their key role, community officers should call upon other officers for emergency responses as well as for support and backup during criminal investigations. However, in practice community officers lack the necessary power and authority to play such a role well (van der Torre, 2007). What’s more, police managers tend to see emergency responses as being more critical for gaining the trust of the public than community policing, and so tend to prioritize it accordingly (van Os and Gooren, 2010).

The community officer has to face the increased influence of managerialism and increased top-down steering in particular with regard to the result-based agreements that were concluded between police and government (van Sluis et al., 2008). There exists an increased influence from mandatory programs or policies and agreements about police activity, for example, in public transport, or in the fight against drugs or domestic violence. This has undoubtedly led to less professional autonomy for community officers (Van Os 2010, 267) and to more uniformity in policing styles. The increased influence of top-down steering poses a threat for the professional practice of community policing that needs room to manoeuvre in order to engage in tailor-made solutions for specific local security problems, in close cooperation with other agencies.

In particular, prevention and networking which are rather time-consuming with no direct measurable results are under threat from managerialism within the police. In addition, there is public pressure from outside; the public urges the police for quick results. Citizens are demanding and impatient. Besides, their trust can disappear quickly when the police do not fulfil their expectations (Terpstra, 2010). The media play an important role in this respect. Nowadays, incidents and police actions are put under a microscope. The struggle to create a good image has become of great importance for legitimacy and authority of community policing.

The Dutch police have been subject to more and more direct political control by the Minister responsible for the police since long. Recently, the trend toward an even more centrally and nationally organized police force has become unmistakable. The Rutte cabinet that came into power in the Netherlands in October 2010 is establishing a single, unified national police force that is spread across a consolidated number of regions (10 versus the existing 25), to be realized in 2012. The national chief of police is accountable to the Minister of Security and Justice. Local authorities, like the mayor, keep their powers over police work but they have no say any longer in organizational or managerial matters.

4. Conclusions and discussions

Community officers come and go while many of the challenges remain the same. Persistent challenges regard reconciling the many claims that are made upon community officers, contributing to realistic expectations from citizens and stakeholders, balancing with emergency response and crime control priorities, improving the community officers' professional skills in problem oriented policing and in crime investigation, and involving citizens more actively into COP.

COP will remain the cornerstone of Dutch policing at the local level. The community officer will become a member of a so-called robust team i.e. a geographically organized team that consists of about 200 police officers in which all policing disciplines are represented that carries out all the policing tasks in an area under the auspices of local government. However, in a more centralized system of policing, the balance between central national and regional tasks may be much harder to maintain.

A question arises whether Dutch COP will be resilient enough to counter the centralization tendencies and if the so-called robust teams will be strong enough to safeguard the provision of tailor-made local policing. This is also dependent on local government. The more local government will act as the real director of local security, the more room community beat officers will have for tackling specific local security problems together with others in an integrated approach, instead of acting as mere implementers of national policing policies. Then, the robust teams will successfully fulfil local needs and wants, thereby decreasing the demand for - non-regular - local police. The regular police will then become the legitimate heir of COP.

It can also be questioned what will happen if the on-going process of pluralisation continues. This may be leading to a sharp bifurcation with on the

one hand the national police force enforcing criminal law and answering to serious crime and large scale disturbances and on the other hand many local police organisations acting primarily on the basis of (local) administrative and civil law (Sackers, 2010). A new kind of local police may emerge putting an end to the unclear demarcations between the blues and the light blues, but it may also lead to a sharper demarcation between local policing staying close to the wishes and problems of the citizens and a distant national police cooperating with national government and international organizations like Europol and Interpol. The local policing will still keep close relations with local government, societal organizations and citizens and will be guided by local political steering. The new local police will then be the one and only heir to the community policing idea.

References

Adviescommissie Beleidsplanning Politie (1987) *Politiebeleid volgens plan? Eindrapport*. SDU, Den Haag.

Bervoets, E. et al. (2009) *Bij de tijd: wijkagenten in Hollands Midden. Beschrijving en analyse van dagelijkse praktijken*. COT, Boom Juridische Uitgevers, den Haag.

Beumer, R.J. (1997) *Gebiedsgebonden politiewerk: een verkenning*, Den Haag: Ministerie van BZK.

Cachet, A., E.J. van der Torre and W. van Natijne (1998) *De blijvende betekenis van Politie in Verandering*, Den Haag: Elsevier.

Cachet, A. en A. Ringeling (2004) `Integraal Veiligheidsbeleid. Goede bedoelingen en wat er van terecht kwam`. In E.R. Muller (red.), *Veiligheid. Studies over inhoud, organisatie en maatregelen*. Alphen: Kluwer, 635-663.

Caem, B. Van (2008) *Verborgene kracht. Burgerparticipatie op het vlak van veiligheid*. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Dynamics of governance, Veiligheid & Burgerschap.

Commissie Kleine Criminaliteit (1984) *Interim rapport*.

Crawford, A. and S. Lister (2004) *The Extended Policing Family*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Das, Dilip, Leo Huberts and Ronald van Steden (2002) 'The changing "soul" of Dutch Policing. Responses to new security demands and the relationship with Dutch tradition'. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, Vol. 30 No. 3, 2007, pp. 518-532.

De Kimpe, Sofie and Lex Cachet (2008) 'Police and local safety policy'. In: Lex Cachet et. al (eds.) *Governance of Security in The Netherlands and Belgium*, pp.209-234. Boom Legal Publishers, The Hague.

Kool, Wouter de (2007) 'Mission Impossible?: Het signaleren van islamitisch radicalisme en terrorisme door Nederlandse wijkagenten'. In: *Het Tijdschrift voor de Politie*, 2007, jrg. 69, nr. 3, p. 4-8.

Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (1993) *Integrale veiligheidsrapportage*, Den Haag.

Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (2004) *Policing in the Netherlands*, The Hague.

Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (2009). *Burgemeester en veiligheid*.

Mein, A. (2010) 'Uitbreiding bevoegdheden ter handhaving van de openbare orde en veiligheid'. *Tijdschrift voor Veiligheid*. 9(3), 34-44.

Nederlands Genootschap van Burgemeesters (2009) *Tussen trends en toekomst. Verkenning naar de ontwikkeling van de burgemeestersfunctie*. Den Haag: p. 16 – 97.

Prins, R.S. & Cachet, A. (2011). 'Integrale veiligheidszorg en de burgemeester'. In *Vol. 10. Tijdschrift voor veiligheid* (pp. 43-58).

Projectgroep Organisatie Structuren (1977) *Politie in Verandering: een voorlopig theoretisch model*. Staatsuitgeverij, Den Haag.

Projectgroep Visie op de Politiefunctie (2005): *Politie in ontwikkeling; visie op de politiefunctie*. Den Haag: NPI.

Punch, M. et al. (2002) 'Dutch "COP". Developing community policing in the Netherlands'. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, Vol. 25, No. 1 pp. 66-79.

Punch, M. (2006). *Van 'alles mag' naar 'zero tolerance': policy transfer en de Nederlandse politie*. Apeldoorn: P&W Verkenningen.

Punch, M. et al. (2008). *Community Policing in the Netherlands: Four generations of Redefinition*. T. Williamson (ed.) *The Handbook of Knowledge Based Policing: Current Conceptions and Future Directions*.

Punch, M. (2010) 'COP's vulnerability to paradigm swing'. In: *Cahiers Politiestudies*, Jaargang 10-3, nr. 16, p. 199-214.

Sackers, H.J.B. (2010) *Herder, hoeder, en handhaver: de burgemeester en het bestuurlijk sanctierecht*. Inaugural speech, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen.

Stol, W.Ph., et al. (2004) *Politiestraatwerk in Nederland. Noodhulp en gebiedswerk: inhoud, samenhang, verandering en sturing*. *Politie en Wetenschap* nr. 14.

Stol, W.Ph. (2009) 'Veranderingen in politiestraatwerk in Nederland: 1991-2005'. *Cahiers Politiestudies*, Jaargang 2009-4, nr. 13, p. 199-227.

Terpstra, J. (2008) *Wijkagenten en hun dagelijks werk*. *Politie en Wetenschap*, nr. 46.

Terpstra, J. (2010) 'Community Policing in the Netherlands and the use of other related police models: problem-oriented, disorder and reassuring policing'. *Cahiers Politiestudies*, Jaargang 10-3, nr. 16, p. 215-232.

Terpstra, J. and A. Mein (2010) 'De positie van de gemeente in de veiligheidszorg. Een inleiding'. *Tijdschrift voor Veiligheid*, 9, 3, pp. 3-8.

Terpstra, J. (2011) 'Governance and accountability in community policing'. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 55: 87-104.

't Hart, A.C. (1994) *Openbaar Ministerie en rechtshandhaving*. Arnhem, Gouda Quint.

Tops, P., van Duin, M., van Os, P. Zourides, S., *Sleuren of Sturen, Gemeenten en de sturing van veiligheid en politie* (2010).

Torre, E.J. van der (2011) *Politiewerk aan de basis: stevig en nuchter*. Lectoral speech, Police Academy, Apeldoorn.

van Os, P. (2010) 'Community-oriented Policing in the Netherlands: a process with many obstacles'. In: *Cahiers Politiestudies*, Jaargang 10-3, nr. 16, p. 261-268.

van Os, P. and W. Gooren(2010) *Operationalisering referentiekader gebiedsgebonden politie; de tweede oogst*. (to be published).

van Os, P. and P. Tops (2010) 'Actief burgerschap en veiligheid. In: I. Helsloot et al., (eds.) *Zelfredzaamheid. Concepten, thema's en voorbeelden ander beschouwd*. Boom Juridische Uitgevers, Den Haag.

van Sluis, A. (2002) *Van 'planning and control' naar strategische beleidsvorming. Een onderzoek naar beleidsvorming bij de politie*. Doctoral Thesis, Erasmus University Rotterdam.

van Sluis, A. et al. (2008) 'Results-based agreements for the police in The Netherlands'. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, Vol. 31, No. 3 pp. 415-439.

van Sluis, A., A. Cachet, P. van Os, M. Prins and P. Marks (2010) 'Community policing in the Netherlands: A continuously changing constant' Paper delivered at the IPES-conference meeting in Kochio, India.

van Steden, R. (2007) *Privatizing policing: describing and explaining the growth of private security*, The Hague: BJu Legal Publishers.

van Steden, R., B. van Caem en H. Boutellier (2011) 'The hidden strength' of active citizenship: The involvement of local residents in public safety projects', *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 1–18.

Vlek, F. and E.J. van der Torre (2010) 'De Nederlandse politie sinds 1993: een wereld van verschil. Beelden over en uit de praktijk'. *Cahiers Politiestudies*, Jaargang 2009-4, no. 13, p. 229-286.

The authors

Dr. A. van Sluis and Dr. P.K. Marks are assistant professor, Dr. A. Cachet is associate professor and R. Prins Msc is PhD student at the Faculty of Social Sciences, department of Public Administration, of the Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands.