



Asian Association of Police Studies

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The 2011 AAPS Annual Conference Proceedings

“Asian Policing Strategies: Comparative Perspectives”

Edited by David Schroeder, Ph.D.



June 13 – 15, 2011



Asian Association of Police Studies



Korea National Police University



**The Henry C. Lee Institute
of Forensic Science**



The University of New Haven

300 Boston Post Road, West Haven, CT 06516 USA



AAPS 2011 United States
13 – 15 June, 2011
University of New Haven



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AAPS Conference Agenda
University of New Haven
June 13th – 15th, 2011

Sunday, June 12th, 2011

7:00 pm to
9:00 pm

Registration and Welcome Reception: *Alumni Lounge Bartels Hall*

Monday, June 13th, 2011

8:30 am to
10:00 am

Breakfast: *Jazzman's Bartels Hall*

10:00 am to
10:30 am

Opening Remarks: **Dr. David Dauwalder, Provost and Vice President of Academic Affairs, University of New Haven**

10:30am to
11:30 am

Keynote Address: **Weysan Dun, Special Agent In Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Omaha Division**

11:30 am to
12:00 pm

Special Presentation: **Wang Shiquan, President, China Criminal Police University, *Practice of Community Policing in China***

12:00 pm to
1:30 pm

Lunch: *Alumni Lounge Bartels Hall*



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1:30 pm to
3:00 pm

Session A: Issues on Human Rights

Moderator: Dr. David Schroeder (University of New Haven, USA)

1. Fasihuddin (Pakistan Society of Criminology) *Human Rights-Friendly Policing-A Paradigm Shift in Pakistan.*
2. Sandy Yu-Lan Yeh (Central Police University, Taiwan) *Policies and Practices Against Human Trafficking in Taiwan.*

3:00 pm to
3:30 pm

Coffee Break

3:30 pm to
5:30 pm

Session B: Community Policing

Moderator: Dr. Mario Gaboury (University of New Haven, USA)

3. Chun Hsuing Wang (Central Police University, Taiwan) *A Comparison of Police Intern Education.*
4. Tom Ellis (Portsmouth University, UK) *Contrary Crimmigration: Limitations to the Hypothesis for Policing Dubai.*
5. James Albrecht (New York City Police Department) *The Evolution and Demise of Community Policing in the NYPD: 1980-2011.*
6. Liu Yangfei, Yu Yinkai (Public Security; Heng Shui City) *Promoting the Construction of Community Policing and Building a Harmonious Police-Public Relationship.*

6:00 pm

Conference Dinner



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Tuesday, June 14th, 2011

8:30 am to
10:00 am

Breakfast: *Jazzman's Bartels Hall*

Session C: Crime Prevention

Moderator: Dr. David Schroeder (University of New Haven, USA)

10:00 am to
12:00 pm

7. Alex S. Vitale (Brooklyn College, USA) *Strategy and Tactics in Protest Policing: The Limits of Negotiation Management in South Korea.*
8. Fei-Lin Chin (Central Police University, Taiwan) *A Three-Dimensional Analysis of Drug Enforcement Policy in Taiwan.*
9. Kunio Suzuki (National Police Agency, Japan) *Comprehensive Countermeasures against the Changing Nature of Furikome Fraud.*
10. Andrzej Trela (Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Polish National Police) *The Process of Evolution of Cost Management in Police with Use of Benchmarking Techniques.*

12:30 pm to
1:30 pm

Lunch: *Alumni Lounge Bartels Hall*



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Session D: Future Directions

Moderator: Dr. Mario Gaboury (University of New Haven, USA)

1:30 pm to
3:00 pm

11. Dan Mabrey (University of New Haven, USA), Shawn Welch (West Haven Police Department, USA) *Smart Policing in Action: Initial Findings from a UNH-West Haven Police Department Collaboration.*
12. Charles Chang (Central Police University, Taiwan) *Bullying Among Male Prisoners.*
13. Justin J. Choi (Daejeon University, Korea) *An Exploratory Study on the Risks of Online Game-Item Trading: From the Korean Police Perspective.*

3:00 pm to
3:30 pm

Coffee Break

Session D: Future Directions Continued

Moderator: Dr. David Schroeder (University of New Haven, USA)

3:30 pm to
4:30 pm

14. Xiong YiXin (Fujian Police Academy, China) *On the Characteristics of Social Security Crime Prevention and its Role in the Crime Prevention System as a Whole.*
15. Changrong Zhang (Fujian Police Association) *On the Prevention of Juvenile Deviant Behaviors in Adolescence.*



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5:00 pm

Bus to Casino

5:30 pm

Transportation to Downtown New Haven

Wednesday, June 15th, 2011

8:30 am to
10:00 am

Breakfast: *Jazzman's Bartels Hall*

10:00 am to
12:00 pm

Session E: Dr. Henry C. Lee

**Chief Emeritus, Department of Public Safety, Division of Scientific
Services, State of Connecticut**

**Professor and Founder of the Forensic Science Program,
University of New Haven**

Past, Present, and Future of Forensic Education

12:30 pm to
2:30 pm

Banquet and Closing Ceremony (with appointment of new AAPS President)

The 2011 AAPS Annual Conference Proceeding



Wang Shiquan, President, China Criminal Police University, *Practice of Community Policing in China.*

Practice of Community Policing in China

Wang Shiquan,

President, China Criminal Police University,

Wang Shiquan
President of China Criminal Police University

Abstract

Community policing strategy, as a concept or a policing model, has a long history in China. We have already gathered substantial experience. But we still adjust our policing strategy to the current situation. Combination of traditional policing, such as ‘public-based security’, ‘police-and-public based security’, ‘neighbors-associated security’, etc, and current policing strategy, such as ‘Golden Shield Project’, ‘Geography Information Platform’, etc, can be considered active elements in modern community policing .

Key words: Community policing, Public-based security, public-based security guarding, Golden Shield Project, Information Platform

1. The same origin of international community policing with Chinese ‘public-based security guarding’

1) Ancient ‘public-based security guarding’ theories in china.

According to the historic literature, there are countless precious ‘public-based security guarding’ theories.

For example, ‘security duty system in the countryside’ carried out in the Xizhou dynasty; ‘crime prevention by manner educating’ theory proposed by Guan Zhong in Chunqiu dynasty which indicates that good manner must be based on enough food and sense of humiliation must be based on material satisfaction; ‘mutual security guarding among the prescriptive unit’ proposed and exercised by Shang Yang before the Warring States Period; ‘agencies established in important areas (the origin of sub-station) in Qin dynasty to secure the society from the

basic level; citizen educating theory proposed by Jia Yi in Xihan dynasty which encourages the education of gentle manners and legal thought; the citizen's living regulation in Tang dynasty that indicates stores should be set up beside the street.

2) 'Depending on public' route in current China

We continue to take 'depending on public' as the basic route of policing nowadays. We associate policing with public by street committee in cities and village committee in country sides. The security guarding committee established to confront the complicated situation in the last century can be considered the typical original community policing. It has created a magnificent scene of good order that is quite famous in the history: no locking at night and no losing in the street.

Just as the American expert F.L. Masala said, American law enforcement agencies can learn a lot from China about community policing. Community policing in china has always been active. 'Devoting ourselves to serving people' is the ultimate goal of the policing. It protects the people's democracy, security and other legal right. Administrative management in public security depending on the people is the Chinese tradition that has a long history.

The British policing theory expert John Andson said, 'When I arrived at China for the first time in 1980, I found the concept and principle about community policing has already existed there .According to the document released by Public Security Ministry in 1952, everyone has the duty to assist the government to guard the security in every area. Chinese consult me on the community policing, but they have already had people's committee which is a type of community. There are Chinese elements in community policing. Modern policing in China mustn't imitate the American model which pursues the high personnel intensity and sophisticated

technique. There are Farmers and Workers' Committee, Block Committee, and Elderly Women committee in China. American community policing is learned from China.'

2. Recent practice of community policing in China

1) Community policing demanded by the transforming period of the society

a. Integration of the resources demanded by new community

Transformation of the society demand the community policing returning the society. The community policing was carried out in America in the 1980's and became more and more mature. In the mean time an open reform project was carried out in China. A lot of material resources and mental resources surged into China from foreign countries. The political system, economic system, education system and sanitary system began to get reformed. In this transforming period full of conflicts, there appeared a lot of 'pain effect': the crime became more serious in a lot of areas. The traditional community as the basis of the society was transformed. All the generations in a family live in the same area in the traditional community model, while community members come from different areas of China in the new community model. The traditional community composed by acquaintances (colleagues, familiar neighbors) was placed by the new community in which the neighbors do not know each another. This kind of neighborhood demands the initialization of community policing strategy to socialize the community members and integrate resources.

b. Social security based on prevention

Crime prevention and crime fighting are the two basic ways to maintain the social security. The benefits of traditional policing can not be denied, but the benefits are limited. It is passive and not permissive, because it is achieved by the external force of the police, not by the public, the internal force of the society. But the community policing demand preventing crime and

transforming combat into prevention by involving the public and funding the police to ensure the effectiveness of the policing. Community policing can minimize the negative effect caused by Severe Crime Fight campaign, and avoid the high cost, so as to make the crime control reasonable and to make the society harmonious. So community policing was initialized by the police departments in China in 2002. The decision on carrying out community policing and rural policing was made in 2006. By then a new community policing strategy that suits the socialist market economic system was formed. No wonder community policing is a reasonable choice as a countermeasure to crime in China.

2) Community Policing in China as positive elements in the fourth policing revolution

a. An information platform built by Golden Shield Project

Information era creates the intelligence-led policing. In the Golden Shield Project, the national information policing project initialized in September, 2003, the 3rd level web in basic construction and the application of the information system were established. There are eight data bases gathering the individual policing all together onto one technique platform, which does not only collect substantial resources for the information policing , but also creates a way to regulate community policing, reduce the policing cost and increase the effect of administration . The police can acquire and collect the national information in the office. (The eight data bases are: population data, in-port and out-of-port person data base, vehicle driver data base, police officer data base, escaping prisoner data base, criminal data base, stolen vehicle data base, important departments data base.)

b. An attempt to probe policing model according to the varying situation

China is a country with a large population and a large territory, so situation varies among different areas. Every police department should try to find out its own model that suits their own situation.

For example, Ningbo police department integrate the information technique, space technique and community resource. This advances the traditional policing model, and also provides precious experience for the social administration.

Jiangsu police department carries out unit policing strategy. They establish the centralized control office in the substation, Police chief of the substation, registration officers and internal affairs officers are members of the office. All the other police officers work in the community unit. They react to the crime happening in their own area. They analyze the data, patrol the street, interview the community members, collect the original information and administer some special business when there is no crime.

There is a policeman in the city of Fuzhou in Fujian Province, who invented the Geography Information Platform. It realizes the visualization of the community information and digitization of the community information, which enabled the information to serve a function in community policing.

3. Prospect of community policing in China.**1) Community policing navigated by advanced concept**

Any behavior is led by concept. It is also true for the localization of the community policing strategy

a. Concept highlighting the community members' involvement

Community members are the main force to control crime, so the government should try its best to explore the human resources in the community so as to create a security network. The evaluation of the community policing should emphasize not only crime rate or case closing rate, but also the safety-consciousness and satisfaction of community members. Community police should establish the concept 'I control the security for the public', instead of 'I control the public for the security'.

b. Concept based on brave exploration

American policing expert Hill argued community policing demands policemen with multi-talents, and the policemen must be able to deal with comprehensive social problems. Due to the diversity of the community environment, there are different cultural and economic backgrounds in different communities. So there is not a policing model that suits the whole community. Different strategies should be taken in the different situations. The objective of different policing strategies can be the same, but the ways to practice them are quite different. Simple imitation can only get an abstract effect. Montesquieu said once 'Laws made for one country will suit this country only. If it suits another country, it is quite coincidental.'

c. Concept highlighting social resources integration

Community policing is not an isolated system. It cannot only be considered as the job of the police, but also the job of all the departments of the society. Especially in the area lacking funds and policemen, the modern concepts should be established, for example, 'Police force is limited and the public force is unlimited', 'Public security should be guarded by the public.' Harmonious and good order of the society can be created through Community Member Representative Meeting, Community Negotiating Committee, Community Member Committee, cooperation

with the community serving company and the application of public information of the community.

2) The development of community policing contributed by the fifth policing revolution

a. Improving the effectiveness of community policing by the core of the fifth policing revolution

As the society came to the industry and information era, great changes happened in every area. The fifth policing revolution, intelligence-led policing came into being at that time. While the core of the community policing is preventing crime, building relationship between the police and citizen and shifting the role of the police from soldier fighting crime to the watchman serving the public, the core of intelligence-led policing is collecting intelligence, improving the policing effectiveness and maximizing the production with the least cost.

b. Realizing the goal of community policing by the elements of the fifth policing revolution

According to Philly, an Italian criminology expert, there's criminal condition in every social area. He argued that criminal condition exists forever and the difference exists only in the degree of saturation. In the community policing model, criminal condition cannot change according to the police will. Hence information, as the element of the fifth policing revolution, appears quite important. Evaluation of the criminal condition should be conducted by collection, identification and analysis of the information. The correct decision should be made with the help of correct information. So we see that the criminal condition can be changed by the proper decision.

c. Ensuring the fairness and promptness of evaluation of the police officers in community policing by the information transferring system of the fifth policing revolution

Due to the decentralization of the police force in the community policing, it is difficult for the superior departments to supervise the inferior departments. The police officer's behavior can be evaluated only by subsequent examination and feedback, while the evaluation and the varying information can be acquired easily by web in the intelligence-led policing. The evaluation acquired in the intelligence-led policing is more fair and prompt.

3) Establishing dynamic policing model based on community policing

a. Combination of intelligence-led policing and community policing

Intelligence-led policing and community policing have their respective advantages and disadvantages. Community policing emphasizes on establishing harmonious relationship between the police and the citizen to maximize the integration of the social resource, while intelligence-led policing emphasizes scientific collection and analysis of information to ensure the right instruction, prevention, and control of crime.

There is a proverb in China 'an excellent housewife cannot cook without rice'. The real intelligence-led policing cannot be conducted without data from the community. But if we place too much emphasis on the community, the specialized policing will be ignored relatively and community police may even become social worker. This will reduce the policing effectiveness.

b. Integration of alien experience and Chinese traditional policing according to specific situation

Every country should have the policing model that suits their own situation. We should learn from the precious experience of the foreign countries on the principle of pursuing the fact. We can neither simply imitate nor totally deny the alien model. We should analyze carefully and probe actively to combine different policing model, in other words, localize the foreign policing

model. We should absorb the advantages and avoid the disadvantages. Policing theory and policing model with Chinese characteristic should be formed immediately.

c. Classifying community policing into comprehensive system of social security

Community, as the basic unit of the society, will become more important and more functional. Community will have more functions of the government. Community policing is not isolated. Instead it depends on communities and serves for communities. It is important to the development of the community. So community policing, as an important means to guard the social security, should be included by the comprehensive social management project. It should be planned, carried out and developed together with the comprehensive social management project. Community policing can improve the community's environment, strengthen the community members' involvement and cooperation to realize the ultimate goal of the community's development.

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The 2011 AAPS Annual Conference Proceeding



1. Fasihuddin (Pakistan Society of Criminology) *Human Rights-Friendly Policing-A Paradigm Shift in Pakistan.*
2. Sandy Yu-Lan Yeh (Central Police University, Taiwan) *Policies and Practices Against Human Trafficking in Taiwan.*

Human Rights-Friendly Policing-A Paradigm Shift in Pakistan, A Case of KPK Police¹

Fasihuddin

Pakistan Society of Criminology (President)

¹ This paper is written for the Annual Meeting of the Asian Association of Police Studies (AAPS), being held at the New Haven University, Connecticut, USA on June 13-15, 2010.

ABSTRACT

Policing and human rights is a relatively new subject of interest for sociologists, criminologists, criminal justice practitioners and human rights activists. To many, human rights and policing seem to be completely different fields of interest, with the former being a hindrance in administering the later. However, to writers, like Crawshaw² (2010) and others, these two are related and regulate each other in many ways. Even though the debate over human rights and policing started since the last few decades, the idea has grown in Pakistan within the second half of the first decade of 21st century. The term ‘human rights—friendly policing’ is being used for the first time in this paper in order to describe this newly emerging trend in Pakistan. The traditional function of the police like arrest and detention of the bad guys is gradually shifting or tilting to that of protection of human rights in Pakistan. In this paper, I have described the prospects of a paradigm shift from traditional policing towards human rights—friendly policing in Pakistan.

Key Words: Human Rights, Policing, Human Rights-Friendly Policing, Paradigm Shift, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)

1. INTRODUCTION

Pakistan, the front line state in the war on terror, has been a source, transit, and destination of many a serious and organized crime. The crime rate is on a steady rise since the

² Ralph CRAWSHAW. (2010). Human Rights and Policing. In *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*. Retrieved 21 Jan 2011 from <http://www.turkishweekly.net/article/82/human-rights-and-policing.html>

new police reforms were introduced in 2002, replacing the old colonial Police Act of 1861. Despite the deplorable law and order situation, and the unhappy, precarious and un-predictable security environment, the police have not yet devised any commendable effective strategy for crime prevention, which works and which is based on indigenous research. In addition to this functional weakness and performance constraints, the Pakistani police have been facing serious allegations on account of human rights violations, especially police torture, illegal detention, non-registration of cases, tampering of investigations and an utter disregard for the rights of children, women, elderly and minority in particular. Human rights issue is getting alarming for all law-enforcement and security agencies, especially in wake of the military operations in terrorism-ridden areas like Swat and D. I. Khan, including international concern and criticism.³

To address the issue of human rights, the police in Pakistan needs a radical change in its approach and practices, i.e. a paradigm shift—a shift from old/traditional policing practices towards human rights-friendly policing (hereinafter HRFP). The word paradigm used in this text, connotes the meaning of a fundamental model or scheme that organizes a researcher's view of something. Although it doesn't necessarily answer the important questions, it can indicate where to look for the answers (Rubin & Babbie, 2005).⁴ The term 'paradigm shift' used here means the radical change towards the basic policing practices by the police.

2. WHAT IS 'HUMAN RIGHTS-FRIENDLY' POLICING?

The concept of human rights-friendly policing is still in its infancy stage of evolution. It is used interchangeably with human-friendly and public-friendly policing (Fasihuddin, 2009).

³ For a detailed account on the human rights violations in Pakistan, see reports of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan on the website <http://www.hrcp-web.org/Publications/AR2010.pdf>

⁴ Rubin A., & Babbie R. E. (2005). *Research Methods for Social Work*. 5th Ed. New York: Thompson Learning Inc. P. 38.

The meaning of this concept holds to the author, which is a form of policing that is responsive, protective and preserver of human rights. HRFP is such a policing practice which is delivered by well-resourced police agencies by deploying well trained personnel who behave lawfully and humanely with all those who come in contact with the law. The police will be protectors of human rights of all citizens in general and of children, women, elderly, minority and deprived of liberty in particular. This definitional framework is further explained in this paper.

3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLICE

“Protection of the life, liberty and security of the person” are the fundamental human rights as given by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)⁵ and reaffirmed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966). The fundamental police functions include prevention of crime, investigation of crime, and preservation of public order (Police Order, 2002). It follows that maintaining public order, or more appropriately social order, is a fundamental police function. Similarly, the principal function of human rights is also “to protect, promote [and maintain] certain essential human interests [public order]”. The fact that maintaining social order is fundamental to both police and human rights, implies that protection of human rights itself is a police function. The state ensures human rights to its citizens through the police force. If the police fail to protect the life, liberty and security of the persons, the entire social system itself will be considered a failure.⁶

On the other hand, the police function and service are also regulated by the human rights. For example, the power to use force is regulated by the right to security of a person (as expressed

⁵ Article (3) of UDHR, 1948

⁶ Ibid

in Article 9 of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973); the power to deprive people of their liberty is regulated by the right of safeguard to arrest and detention (Article 10 of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973); and the power to carry out search and surveillance activities is regulated by the rights to inviolability of man, etc (Article 14 (1) of the Constitution of Pakistan). Furthermore, the protection against double treatment and retrospection (Article 12 of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973) is intended to protect people from brutality at the hands of police officials whatever powers they may be exercising or whatever functions they may be performing. This mutual interaction, interdependence and co-relation of human rights protection and police activities is the essence of human-rights friendly policing as envisioned in this paper (Yasin and Imran, 2011).⁷

4. IDENTIFYING THE PARADIGM SHIFT AND THE HRFP MODEL

There are many policing models and right from the strict military policing model to the modern models of intelligence-led policing and community policing, we have seen plenty of them. All have certain characteristics and are applied at various places with a variety of experiences and results. Till this time, like a universal theory of criminality, we don't have a unanimous and 'one-size fits all' type of policing model. Research evidence has failed to approve one single model in the claims it makes and the results it gives after a reasonable implementation and cautious utilization. Bowling and Foster (2002) have discussed these models in detail and have emphasized the need to minimize the distance between the police and the

⁷AsimYasin. (Jan 28, 2011). Govt set to establish National Commission on Human Rights. In *Daily The News International*, <http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=28145&Cat=2&dt=1/28/2011>
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<http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=40338&Cat=6&dt=4/7/2011>

policed.⁸ Though the research has not shown any universal model and almost all of these models have limited effects and results in different situation. A comparison of these models is a subject of general interest in the common literature of criminology and policing.

The traditional police image is that of crime fighter. This image is too often presented and promoted in the movies. However, to writers, such as Birzer and Roberson (2007), it is one of the many myths associated with police. The researches have shown that only about twenty percent (20%) of a police officer’s day is devoted to crime fighting (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986).⁹ It implies that the rest of the time a police officer is engaged in other forms of public dealing. Acknowledging this fact, the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials states that or law-enforcement is a social service of great importance to a society.¹⁰ This change from effective law implementation and procedural obligations to service-orientation and valuation ventures is often a question of debate and research, but the modern tilt in favor of the latter speaks of the importance of this new approach.

Table I: Traditional vs. HRFP Model of Policing

Traditional Model	HRFP Model
A criminal is a criminal whether a child, a women or an adult. He/she seems to cease his/her rights.	A criminal is a human being with certain inalienable rights as a citizen of a country and as a member of international community.
The individual himself/herself is solely responsible for his/her acts.	An individual’s liberty is limited by social and environmental factors. Something other than his/her free will can compel him/her to act.
Juveniles, adults and women are put in the same detention facility.	Juveniles and women are kept in protection centers, or separate

⁸ Ben Bowling & Janet Foster. (2002). Policing and the Police. In Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan, & Robert Reiner. (Edt). *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. 3rd Ed. New York: Oxford University Press. P.983.

⁹ Jerome H. Skolniock and David H. Bayley. (1986). *The New Blue Line: Police Innovation in Six American Cities*. New York: The Free Press. P. 4. C.f. Michael L. Birzer and Cliff Roberson. (2007). *Policing Today and Tomorro/*. Ne Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall. Pp.22-23.

¹⁰UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials

	sections of prison/police station.
Police are there to arrest and detain the offenders.	Police are there to protect the rights of the people.
Pessimistic view of human nature	Optimistic view of human nature
Use of inhumane and brutal methods is normal for extracting evidence from the perpetrator.	No such practice is allowed and is seen as a crime in itself.
Complaint mechanism and public oversight is generally ignored.	Community satisfaction, open, fair and accountable.
Police training and education is mostly focused on law-enforcement.	Police training and education mostly focused on scientific methods and human rights.
Punishment, Retribution and Revenge.	Rehabilitation, Reformation and Reintegration.

One of the most visible indicators of a paradigm shift in policing in Pakistan is the replacement of the old Police Act of 1860 by a new Police Order 2002. The Police Act of 1860 provided only a single ground for the establishment of police. It started with a preamble, which states that it is expedient to re-organize the police and to make it a more efficient instrument for the prevention and detection of crime (Preamble of Police Act, 1860). However, the Preamble of the Police Order 2002 justifies the existence of the police force by providing three (3) key grounds, i.e;

- An obligation and duty of the police to function according to the Constitution, law, and democratic aspiration of the people;
- Professional, service-oriented, and accountable policing to the people;
- Reconstruction of the police for efficient prevention and detection of crime and maintenance of public order.

This difference in role of the police in the society shows a radical shift in policing approach, at least in laws. Further, various initiatives taken by the provincial police forces in Pakistan, which

will be discussed in detail later, reflect this radical change in policing concept, if not truly in practice.¹¹

Table I describes some basic concepts of HRFP that put it in sharp distinction to the colonial and traditional policing style. The HRFP is mostly focused on community satisfaction, preservation of human dignity, and restoring the respect of all human beings, that is their inherent right, to be dealt respectfully, humanly, sympathetically, and legally. An offender is not dealt strictly in legal terms and procedural rigidity is not made excuses for his/her treatment below dignity. The society as a whole is made a partner to the overall processes of detention, investigation, and prosecution, through any locally and legally approved mechanisms. An offender is not left at the sole mercy of law-enforcement officials. Third degree methods of police torture for extraction of evidence and confession are absolutely abhorred, forbidden, and have no place in HRFP. This model has special and separate arrangements for the weak and depressed segments of the society like juveniles, women, and elderly in particular. HRFP emphasizes on reforming the offender instead of only retribution. Instruments of complaints and special services are provided to all those who have grievances, complaints of discrimination, and difficulty in expression and communications. The police are well-versed in the subject of human rights and act as proficient knowledge-workers.

¹¹ For more detail on Police reforms and Policing in Pakistan, see

- Paul Petzchmann. (2010). Police Reforms in Pakistan: A Victim of Foreign Security Aid?. In *Pakistan Journal of Criminology*. Vol.2 No.1. Jan 2010.
- Hassan Abbas Report. (2011). *Reforming Pakistan's Police and Law Enforcement Infrastructure Is It Too Flawed to Fix?*. United States Institute Of Peace Available at <http://www.pakistansocietyofcriminology.com/Admin/articles/Reformingpakistanandlaw.pdf>
- Kamran Adil. (2010). *Is the Police Order 2002 Dead?* Available at <http://www.pakistansocietyofcriminology.com/Admin/articles/ISTHEPOLICEORDER2002DEAD.doc>
- Special general issues of Pakistan Journal of Criminology, now available on its website, publication section, www.pakistansocietyofcriminology.com/publication

5. DUALITY OF POLICE ROLES IN PAKISTAN

5.1. Traditional Role—Loyalty to Duty

Pakistan still has the colors and practices of the traditional policing, which we have inherited from the Colonial British India. The overriding consideration before the makers of the Police Organization in 1861 was to create an instrument in the hands of the Colonial Government for keeping the natives on a tight leash, not a politically neutral outfit for fair and just enforcement of law. Instead of public-friendly, it was designed to be a public-frightening organization. Service of protection of life and limbs of the people was not an objective. Maintenance of law and order and riot control was the only objective before them (Suddle, 2002).¹²

Though some may not agree with this generalized version in totality, yet the outcome and apparent reality remained the same. The training courses in traditional policing were (and are) designed to infuse the sense of duty (*farz-shanasi*) and loyalty to the authorities in a new officer during the training.

The public in this perspective was and is seen as hostile towards the authorities, and if given the chance, are ready to create law and order situation at any time. It was all about “protectors” and “breakers” of law and order situation. The police image is marked by mindless brutality, torture and thuggish behavior. The protection of human rights was not a concern of the police. Rather, violation of the rights was (and is) an everyday practice of police. The image of

¹²Shoib Suddle (2002). Reforming Pakistan Police: An Overview.120th International Senior Seminar Visiting experts' papers. Resource Material Series No. 60.UNAFEI. Retrieved Dec 22, 2010 from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.126.8111&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

the police is often very compromised (Fasihuddin, 2008).¹³ About the duty of a police officer, Article 23 of the Police Act, 1861 states as following:

“23. Duties of Police Officers: It shall be the duty of every police-officer promptly to : obey and execute all order[s] and warrants lawfully issued to him by any competent authority , to collect and communicate intelligence affecting the public peace; to prevent the commission of offences and public nuisances; to detect and bring offenders to justice and to apprehend all persons who he is legally authorized to apprehend, and for whose apprehension sufficient ground exists: and it shall be lawful for every police-officer, for any of the purposes mentioned in this section, without a warrant, to enter and inspect any drinking-shop, gaming-house or other place of resort of loose and disorderly characters.”¹⁴

Inheriting such objectives, purpose, training, and attitude from the British Colonial period, the police role was expected very little to change and serve the community. Therefore, the Pakistani police have been facing serious allegations, from national and international stakeholders, on count of human rights violations, especially police torture, illegal detention, non-registration of cases, tampering of investigations and an utter disregard for the rights of children, women, elderly and minority in particular.¹⁵ The police in this way grew harder and harsher and thus acquired certain unbending attitudes which became inherent and institutional, hence a police culture of un-friendliness, torture, indifference, insensitivity and irresponsiveness.

5.2. The Emerging Role –Protectors of Human Rights

¹³ Fasihuddin (2008). Criminology and Policing in the Context of India and Pakistan. In *Expanding Criminology to Pakistan*. Available online at www.pakistansocietyofcriminology.com

¹⁴ Article 23 of the Police Act, 1861

¹⁵ See BBC Story. (2005). *Pakistan police brutality claim*. Retrieved March 5, 2011 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/4548885.stm

Since the emergence of the concept of human rights and enacting of Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948), the scholars have been engaging in a great deal of theoretical debate about the purpose and function of these rights. The researchers in the this field agree that the basic function of human rights is to guarantee the enjoyment of a minimally good life (Fagan, 2005)¹⁶ to every human being, thereby, maintaining social order. Guarantee to the minimal good life to the people is granted for the preservation of social order.

Since independence, 1947, the police role in Pakistan is now gradually changing from that of “controller” to “protector”. For example, enactment of Juvenile Justice System Ordinance, 2000 (JJSO) and the subsequent JJSO Rules in almost all of the provinces, Police Order, 2002, Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act, 2009, and Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act, 2006 are a few examples. Here, we shouldn’t ignore that Pakistan is a signatory to so many international and bilateral conventions and laws. Some examples are the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Woman (CEDAW). The effects and implications of all these efforts are somewhat reflected in the new Police Order of 2002, which states in Chapter II, Article 4.c, that one of the roles and responsibilities of the police is to “ensure that the rights and privileges, under the law, of a person taken in custody, are protected.” Therefore, it can be said that protection and promotion of human rights, today, is the fundamental responsibility of the police. It is this role of the police which I term as “human rights-friendly policing” (*Insan-Dost*). The framers of the Police Order 2002 have rightly identified some vulnerable groups whose rights are to be jealously guarded by the police. Relevant sections (called Articles) are hereby reproduced:

¹⁶ Andrew Fagan (2005). Human Rights. In *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Retrieved on Feb 12, 2011 from <http://www.iep.utm.edu/hum-rts/>

“Article 3: Attitude and responsibilities of police towards the public. - It shall be the duty of every police officer to – (a) behave with the members of the public with due decorum and courtesy; (b) promote amity; (c) guide and assist members of the public particularly the poor, disabled or physically weak and children who are either lost or find themselves helpless on the streets or other public places; and (d) aid individuals who are in danger of physical harm particularly women and children.

Article 4: Duties of police.(2) Police officer shall make every effort to -(a) afford relief to people in distress situations, particularly in respect of women and children; (b) provide assistance to victims of road accidents; (c) assist accident victims or their heirs or their dependents, where applicable, with such information and documents as would facilitate their compensation claims; and (d) cause awareness among the victims of road accidents of their rights and privileges.”¹⁷

The law has shifted the duties of the police officers from controlling and apprehension to guiding, protecting, and affording. This surely is the crystal clear indicator of the paradigm shift in policing in Pakistan, at least in laws, if not fully materialized and visibly functional. This new concept and idea is rightly agitated in the newly proposed Bill of National Commission of Human Rights. The Bill for the establishment of a National Commission for Human Rights will be a land-mark achievement in Pakistan as soon as it is properly legislated. The Bill was presented by the Chairman National Assembly Standing Committee on Human Rights, Riaz Fatiana, on Thursday, January 27th, 2011. Among other functions of the Commission includes the authority to visit any jail or place of detention where persons are lodged for purpose of treatment, reformation, protection or investigation to examine the living conditions of inmates (Imran, 2011).¹⁸ Subsection c, d, l, and m of Article 11 and Article 23 of draft Bill National Commission for Human Rights (NCHR) 2008 are somewhat linked to regulate police functions

¹⁷Chapter II, Responsibilities and Duties of the Police. *Police Order, 2002*

¹⁸ Mayra Imran (April 07, 2011). Plan to table Bill in NA on National Commission for Human Rights. In *Daily The News International*. <http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=40338&Cat=6&dt=4/7/2011>

with regard to human rights. *The News* reported on April 7th, 2011 that the bill will spread human rights literacy among various sections of society and will also provide training to the members of the law enforcement agencies regarding protection of human rights. The NCHR is also an indicator of this paradigm shift in policing in Pakistan.

The critics of the bill have, however, highlighted various issues including selection and appointment of chairman and members, independence of operation, non-representation of all stakeholders, and financial autonomy. However, there has been no criticism on the functions of the commission (Asia Pacific Forum, 2010). The composition of the Commission is also not based on proportional or equal representation from each province except for women and minority. To take practical measures for human rights-friendly policing, the police in one province of Pakistan, namely Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (hereinafter KPK), initiated various steps. The description below is dedicated to highlight those practical measures, which we will take as a case study for this paper.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS-FRIENDLY POLICING: INITIATIVES IN KPK PROVINCE

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the smallest in size of all the four provinces of Pakistan, is land of Pakhtuns, also spelled as Pukhtoons or Pashtoons. It has twenty four (24) police districts. At the west end, KPK is bordered with Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) which is a buffer zone between Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is a poor province with an estimated population of 23.313 million and a literacy rate of 53% (Government of NWFP, 2008).¹⁹ Its per capita income is 30% lower from other parts of the country (World Bank, 2007).²⁰ The province is divided into

¹⁹ Govt of NWFP (2008). *Directory of the Industrial Establishments in NWFP*, 8th Ed: Peshawar. Directorate of Industries, Commerce, Labour, Mineral Dev. P-iii.

²⁰ World Bank. (2007). *Pakistan North West Frontier Province Public Financial Management and Accountability Assessment*. Govt. of NWFP & Development Partners. World Bank Report No. 39759-PK. Cht.2. P. 5. Retrieved September 18, 2008 from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SOUTHASIAEXT/Resources/223546->

seven (7) police ranges namely Peshawar, Mardan, Swat, Hazara, D.I. Khan, Bannu, and Kohat. Within the last five years, the number of police force in KPK increased from 47,000 to more than 70,000 people. Owing to the terrorist incidents in the province, a new police branch/squad was established within the existing structure, namely Anti-Terrorist Squad.

This Province is seriously affected by militancy in most of its districts, especially Swat, Dir, Buner, Peshawar, Bannu, Hangu, Kohat, Tank and D.I. Khan. The security situation, military operations, and strict police preventive methods often create public dissatisfaction and human rights violations. Serious criticism is seen on the harsh attitude of police in these districts. It was therefore imperative to train, educate, normalize and humanize the street police. A strategic and systematic program was thus initiated in KPK in 2008-11.

6.1. Establishment of the Directorate of Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Making by KPK Police

The Directorate of Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Making in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police was established in 2009 by the Provincial Police Officer's Standing Order No. 13/2009. The purpose of the Directorate was to ensure that the rights of the persons in contact with law, particularly women and children, are protected from violation. As mentioned in the Standing Order, the purpose of the Directorate was to help the local police in: promoting human rights; raising police image; developing good working relationship with the civil society, NGOs, international organizations and media; and bringing peace and harmony in the society through a number of measurable, visible and effective interventions.²¹ Due importance was given to the Directorate, which is evident from the head of the Directorate who was at least to be the officer not below the rank of the Senior Superintendent of Police (SSP), preferably a Deputy

1192413140459/4281804-1209417227555/4945415-1209417263990/NWFP

²¹ Standing Order No. 13/2009.

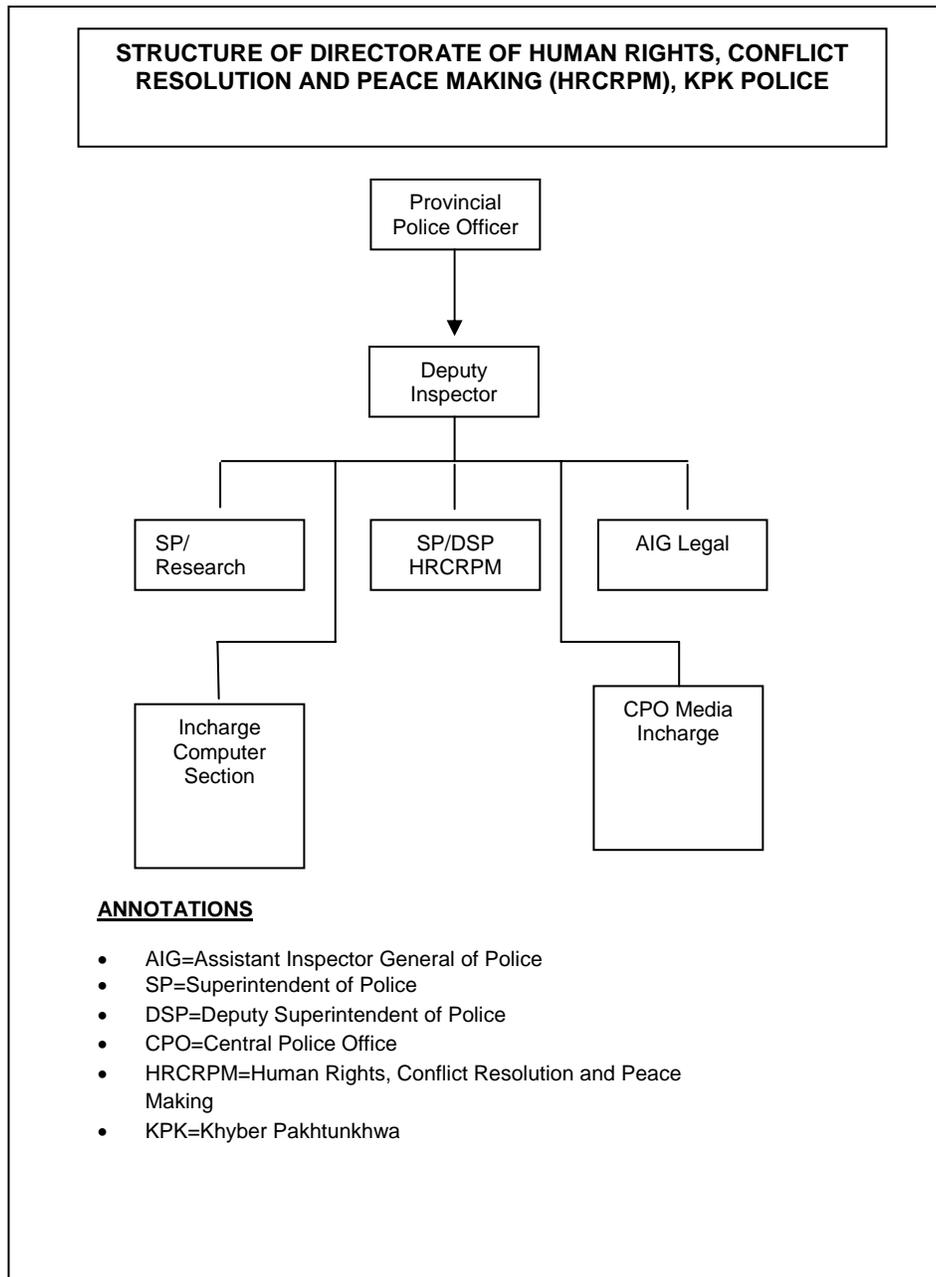
Inspector General of Police (DIG). The proposed Directorate envisioned a structure and organization of its own, which is summarized in Figure-I.

This structure was initially envisioned at the Central Police Office (CPO) at the provincial headquarters, but due to non-commitment of some senior officers and resistance of a few to change for the best hampered its real manifestation. Resultantly, its downward trickling and replication at divisional and district levels didn't see the dawn of the day. Allocation of resources and support from international community, which was promised in so many meetings, never happened. Despite these hindrances, some good work was done and the idea in itself was highly appreciated by the general public, media, and civil society and NGOs, as will be discussed shortly.

There is a list of functions of the Directorate. Some of the most important are;

- a) promoting and working for protecting and securing the human rights, especially of children, women, minority, elderly and people in need of help (No. ii);
- b) bring peace, tranquility and harmony in the society through various restorative justice practices like mediation, conciliation, arbitration etc (No. iii);
- c) imparting training and skills to the local police and members of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Committee on all such matters related to human rights protection, peace-building, social cohesion, communication skills, media handling and social reconstruction (No. iv); and
- d) developing database of human rights abuses, crimes against children and cases of violence against women and minorities (No. v).

Fig I.



It is a tradition in Pakistan that majority of the legal bodies come into existence with much praised list of functions. However, those functions remained just on papers. The case of the Directorate of HRCRPM was somewhat non-traditional in Pakistan. For the first two years, under the command of the author himself, not only these functions were carried out with visible expression, but also those practical measures were highly praised by various stakeholders.

Realizing the human rights initiative, of KPK police, it was appreciated at the national level. Resultantly, it was decided in a meeting of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Human Rights (NASCHR)²² held on May 5th, 2010 to establish a Human Rights Cell in each of the Provincial Police Offices (Central Police Offices). The Committee decided that the Human Rights Cell may be comprised of the following:

- a. at Provincial level:-
 - i. Additional Inspector General/Deputy Inspector General level officer,
 - ii. Regional Director of Human Rights, under the Ministry of Human rights of Pakistan,
 - iii. Representative of Civil Society Organizations.
- b. at District level:-
 - i. Superintendent of Police (SP) level officer,
 - ii. Representative of Ministry of Human Rights,
 - iii. Two Civil Society Representatives.

Unfortunately, this apparently “good” idea never materialized, as it was vague in its legality structure and functions. Before the establishment of the Directorate of HRCRPM, the “Police Child and Women Protection Committee” had already been established in the KPK Police, under the command of the author, which will be discussed in the coming paragraphs. These directives and good ideas remained short of their desired goals due to same reasons as explained earlier.

6.2. Establishment of Police Child and Women Protection Committee

²² Minutes of Meeting of the Standing Committee on Human Rights held on 5th May 2010 in Committee Room No. 07 of National Assembly, Islamabad

When we speak of human rights, the rights of child and woman abruptly come into our mind. Children and women are the most vulnerable sections of the society whose rights are violated at a vast scale in all the societies. Giving due consideration to the rights of children and women, the KPK Police established a Police Child and Women Protection Committee (PCWPC) in 2009. The Committee was basically an up-gradation of the existing Police Child Protection Committee (PCPC) of 2008, consisting of only seven members of KPK Police. The PCWPC now consists of twelve members including the Chairman, Secretary and the Coordinator. The purpose of the committee was mentioned as to streamline, focus and continuously contribute to the cause of child and women protection, promotion of children and women rights, and to fight against violence and abuse of children and women. Similarly, providing all kinds of legal and social help to the children and women in conflict with law and their rehabilitation and reintegration in the society was the aimed purpose of the Committee.

As far as the cause of children rights is concerned, the Committee remained much successful. The Committee established a Police Child Protection Center, chaired the Juvenile Justice Working Group of KPK, and established a computerized database for the collection and analysis of data regarding child abuse and juvenile offenders. However, due focus to the women rights remained un-noticed due to the lack of resources and indifference of the international and local stakeholders.

6.3. Establishment of the Police Child Protection Centre

Since the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by Pakistan, and the enactment of Juvenile Justice System Ordinance, 2000 Pakistan has always been criticized at national and international forums for not taking measures for the protection of the rights of the child in contact with law, particularly children in detention. Section 10, Sub-Section (3) of JJSO

2000 states that, “A child accused of a bail-able offence ... shall not under any circumstances be kept in a police station or jail.” However, there was no such facility available with the police in the entire KPK.

Taking a lead for the protection of the rights of the child in conflict with law, KPK Police, in collaboration with the Ministry of Human Rights, and Save the Children Sweden, established a Police Child Protection Centre (PCPC) at Peshawar, which is a unique establishment in entire Pakistan. At PCPC, the financial support is provided by Save the Children Sweden, the security is provided by the KPK Police, while the human resources, including psychologist, lawyer, and other staff, are provided by the Ministry of Human Rights. Pakistan Society of Criminology (PSC) provided technical support in collection and compilation of data on juvenile justice indicators.²³

The PCPC offers psychological counseling to the children in conflict with law along with legal support and an alternative shelter with a child friendly environment. After its establishment, all the police stations in Peshawar district were directed to contact PCPC immediately in case a child comes in contact with the police. The PCPC has its own police mobile van which carries children from the police station to the Centre. The efforts of the PCPC were also recognized by the judiciary during various juvenile cases.

6.4. Designing the New Data Collection System on Juvenile Justice Indicators

The first problem a researcher experiences in Pakistan is the lack of proper data on the subject. Proper and valid data on juvenile offenses and child abuse is no exception. Keeping in view the need for a comprehensive data collection system on juvenile justice indicators, the KPK

²³ The link to the official website of Pakistan Society of Criminology is www.pakistansocietyofcriminology.com/publications

Police undertook to introduce a new data collection system based on the juvenile justice indicators as proposed by UNICEF, UNODC and UN General Comment No. 10.²⁴

In the KPK police existing system of criminal records, there were twenty five (25) registers in every police station. No doubt, this system is very comprehensive. However, the mechanism through which the data moves from the police stations to the District Police Officer (DPO) and CPO, it is very complex and time consuming. The information in the criminal record system is collated tediously at the police station level from the manual registers, from where it flows to the Superintendent of Police (SP) and aggregated at the district level under the heads of *body offences, property offences and recoveries made*. In the next step, the information is passed onto the Central Police Office (CPO), where it is aggregated at the provincial level for comparison with previous year statistics. Similarly in the next step, the information is passed onto the National Police Bureau (NPB) which acts as a repository of crime statistics at the national level. From the distance, it seems a smooth mechanism of data collection and compilation. However, NPB collects the data only in aggregate crime figures with no disaggregation.

The KPK Police introduced a new register in the existing data collection system. The register was named as Register No. 26-A. This register is also being kept in every police station in KPK. It contains only the data regarding child abuse and juvenile offenses. Nonetheless, the mechanism for the collection of information is very smooth under this new register. Every police station reports its monthly figures regarding children in contact with law to the CPO on the proforma designed for the purpose. There are two separate forms for monthly submission: a) blue proforma for indicators on juvenile offenders, and b). pink proforma for indicators on child

²⁴ *Report on New Data Collection System for Child Victims and Juvenile Offenders in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*. (2009). Peshawar: Pakistan Society of Criminology. pp.5-7.

abuses reported to the police station. At the CPO, the information is entered into a database, which is designed for computerization of the Register No. 26-A. The report of these efforts is available at the PSC website.²⁵ It is pertinent to mention that the new Register 27-A was introduced for data on violence against women, but due to constraints of resources and workload on PCWPC, only the said registers were distributed to the police stations, but training and collection of data remained unsuccessful.

6.5. Police Training on Human Rights: Particularly Child Rights and Juvenile Justice

Training brings change in the behavior. To bring a change in the attitude and behavior of police, from traditional approach towards HRFP approach, some NGOs, including PSC, arranged training programs for the KPK police on human rights, particularly children and women's rights. During the years 2009 and 2010, more than five thousand police officials of various ranks were trained on making entries into the new register No.26-A, CRC, JJSO and on handling of juvenile cases. Such trainings are envisioned to be made a compulsory part of the police curriculum at the Police Training Colleges.

6.6. Police in Collaboration with other NGOs and Stakeholders

The importance of public-private partnership in matters of human rights is accepted all over the world. KPK police also took initiatives of public-private partnership by taking a leading role in the Juvenile Justice Working Group (JJWG) in KPK, which was established under the Juvenile Justice Reform Project of the UNICEF in 2008-09 and later on supported by Save the Children Sweden in 2009-10. The JJWG remained a think-tank and policy forum for the

²⁵ Visit the following URL for the Data Collection Report on Child Abuse and Juvenile Offenders (2009).
http://www.pakistansocietyofcriminology.com/Admin/uploads/Report_Final_4_PDFbb.pdf

protection of the rights of the children in contact with law. The Supreme Court of Pakistan also ordered to establish a similar working group at the national level, with the Registrar Supreme Court as its Patron-in-Chief. Though, initially the JJWG in KPK remained very active and worked a lot on so many fronts, yet as happens to such groups, the enthusiasm of the members gradually declines and at one point of time, the group remains nowhere except on papers.²⁶

6.7. Future Vision of the New PPO, KPK

As it is well known to the world, KPK is a province, which is a direct victim of global terrorism. The police remained the key agency to fight terrorism in the settled districts of the province. Therefore, all the police planning in the last decade was geared towards fighting terrorism. The Provincial Police was provided with much material resources. Yet, the menace of terrorism remained unabated. However, the new PPO of the KPK, Mr. Fiaz Toru, realized that to keep a balance in protection of human rights and fighting against terrorism, the police needs a capacity building not only in terms of quantity, but also in terms of quality—human resource development. Resultantly, he devised a project this year with the concept of POLICING BEYOND TERRORISM. This project is directed towards making:

- the police officer as a role model of young people;
- the police as the most visible part of governance;
- gender mainstreaming at operational level; and
- the police as a custodian of rights of the people.

Although it is a very bright vision for the police, it seems impractical.²⁷ The maximum training duration proposed in the project is only three days. Such short term training cannot bring a long

²⁶ Visit the official website of Juvenile Justice Working Group at www.jjwg.org

²⁷ For details of the project, visit Special Development Support Program (SDSP) for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police. Website, www.sdsp.gkp.gov

and relatively permanent change in the attitude and behavior of a police whose behavior has been shaped by centuries of experience of military model of policing (Bowling, 2002). The basic idea of this Policing Beyond Terrorism is a reversal to the usual police work but now based on modern concepts and approaches, which is undoubtedly a commendable initiative. However, to translate this idea into practice, there is a need of committed officers of unflinching endurance, vision, knowledge resources and authority. The lessons learnt from the failure and shortcomings of previous projects and concepts shall be kept in mind. There are certainly constraints and challenges to this new approach line; the police are still overburdened with the severe and serious terrorist incidents on a daily basis. Also, the police training and education is not revamped to accommodate new subjects of human-rights, intelligence collection, data collection, data analysis, human rights, and the criminal record of the police is still based on the old Police Rules of 1934, which needs a change to include human rights abuses and some other useful indicators for research-based policy options. This last factor needs a brain-storming session of all stakeholders to decide what indicators of human rights violations should be collected and compiled in a composite whole, which will give an idea of the overall situation of human rights abuses in Pakistan. This might possibly include child abuses (physical and sexual), violence against women (honour killing, acid throwing, physical torture, domestic violence, sexual harassment, etc), discrimination against minority (desecration of their religious emblems, killing and hurt, etc), murder (of children and women), police torture (illegal detention, beating, hurt, extra-judicial killing, etc) and disappearance (missing persons, etc), to name a few. Lastly, we shouldn't ignore the importance of an institutionalized mechanism for complaint against non-registration of cases by the police, tempering or delaying the investigation processes, wrong implications of innocent people into criminal cases or any incident of police high-handedness

and brutal behavior towards complainants or offenders/suspected or witnesses. Fair transparent and timely redress of such untoward happenings are a pre-requisite for improvement of police image, professional competence, and hence a human-rights friendly policing.

7. CONCLUSION

HRFP is just a new idea and will need more input and feedback from experts of policing sciences, field practitioners, and criminologists. To develop its theme into a fully blown concept with clear-cut contours, more work and field-testing will be required. A committed police leadership and a cooperative team of human rights workers can really make it a success.

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Policies and Practices against Human Trafficking in Taiwan

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A Comparison of Police Intern Education

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ABSTRACT

The core mission of police education is mainly to cultivate superior leaders in police. The essential professional skills, knowledge, and abilities in police are not only based on academic subjects such as law, legal, and police sciences, but also practical exercises of work, which are not solely instructed at school. Hence, it is vital to combine school with current units. Let students experience the working environments and follow orders from the supervisors through internship programs. Therefore, it is the very crucial period for cadets to transform themselves into skillful police officers.

This study applies literature reviews for collecting all sorts of theories and different police intern programs. The result finds Police Intern programs analysis and comparison, better police intern models, and the Interrelated Factors for Police Intern Model, and got four conclusions as below.

- A. The interns are the key link for police education and duty.
- B. Police education must include complete intern programs.
- C. Schools have to play the key role on police intern program.
- D. It is necessary for more research on police intern model

KEY WORDS: Intern, Intern Education

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In Taiwan, policing is currently facing new challenges because the public has begun to ask Taiwan's National Police Administration to raise police's service quality, especially for those police officers who just graduated from a Police University or Police School. The core mission of police education is mainly to cultivate superior leaders in police. The essential professional skills, knowledge, and abilities in police are not only based on academic subjects such as law, legal, and police sciences, but also practical exercises of work, which are not solely instructed at school. Hence, it is vital to combine school with current units. Let students experience the working environments and follow orders from the supervisors through internship programs. Therefore, it is the very crucial period for cadets to transform themselves into skillful police officers.

1.2 Research Method

This essay uses the "Document Analysis Method" to investigate, induce, compare, and analyze the interrelated Chinese and foreign books, periodicals, essays and internet documents on intern theories, several countries' police education systems, and intern programs.

1.3 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to find the challenges of police intern programs and provide useful suggestions for police schools, students, and police departments to modify police intern policies. The details are as follows:

- A. To collect different police intern programs from different counties and departments, and to compare them.
- B. To collect some education, training, and intern theories and police duty requirements, and try to find better intern models for police.
- C. To combine with theories, intern models, and requirements, and try to find the interrelated factors for police intern model.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are many area of research to discuss with interns but just a few for police interns. This paragraph applies literature reviews for collecting all sorts of theories, different police intern programs, domestic, and overseas research as below.

2.1 Theory

2.1.1 Purposes of Intern

2.1.1.1 Effectively Learning

American scholar Olson, D.W. (1973) indicates that effectively learning includes six steps as Figure 1 and are listed as below. (Shih, Teng-Yuan, 2006):

A. Input

There are many reasons from observing, imagining, reading, studying, problem solving or facing challenges which cause people to learn.

B. Construct

Similar to a blueprint, the purpose will decide the directions of learning.

C. Planning

Learning from the suitable plans will be effective.

D. Operation

All of results of learning will be tested and verified during this step, just like to be made from materials to finished products.

E. Responds

Depending on testing or self-criticism, people can find how effective the learning is and modify ways and attitudes about themselves.

F. Better Reconstruction

More effective learning will be reconstructed by testing roundly from steps A through E more effectively.

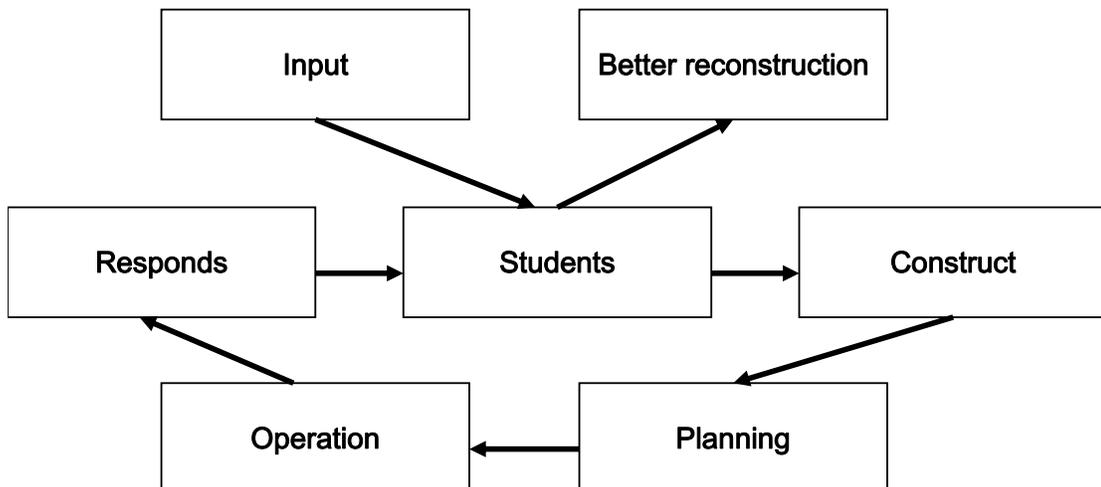


Figure 1.6 Steps of Effectively Learning

2.1.1.2 Adapt Easily to Work Conditions easily

Rogers, M.E. (1980) indicates that there are three interaction principles between people and conditions as below.

A. Principle of Resonance

The interactions between people and conditions will advance gradually.

B. Principle of Helical

The interactions between people and conditions will continue and become more and more complex.

C. Principle of Integrality

After roundly interactions and changes, the relations between people and conditions will move to an integrality situation.

2.1.2 Intern Models

2.1.2.1 Curriculum Design Model

Chu Yuan-Pao (2001), the scholar of Taiwan, indicates that there are three models outside school for the curriculum design as below.

A. Objective Model Curriculum Design

It depends on the objectives of education for teachers to design their intern programs.

B. Process Model Curriculum Design

This model will not focus on results of learning, but on education's methods and process of learning.

C. Situation Model Curriculum Design

This model combines with the advantage of Objective model and Process model and has five elements as below.

- a. Conditions analysis.
- b. Objectives decision.
- c. Classes design.
- d. Classes execution and superintendence.
- e. Review.

2.1.2.2 Intern Classification

Depending on data of Technological and Vocational Education, Taiwan (Hsu, Heng-Chi, 2006), in Taiwan, there are sixteen kinds of intern programs, which are listed in Table 1.

2.1.2.3 Sandwich Courses

There are three key elements, including schools, students, and companies, for intern educations. The relations between those three key elements, just like 'Sandwich' and this model, will make education of students more effect. Therefore, the schools can know the requirements of companies and modify their education program, and the companies will receive useful suggestions from interns or their teachers. However, there are some problems about 'Sandwich Courses'. The scholar Chen, Ya-Hui (2006) indicates that Taiwan's intern education has four problems, which are listed in Table 2, during government, schools, companies, and students.

2.1.2.4 Master-Apprentice Model

In this kind of program, usually, a company will arrange one master to teach one student during the intern term. The master can understand all details of learning and problems of his, or her, apprentice, help student to find correct solution quickly and increase his, or her, teaching ability in the same time.

Table 1. Intern Types Outside the Schools

TYPE	SUBJECT	MODE
Practical Training		Practical training outside the school in the cooperative factory during summer vacation and winter vacation
Normal Class	Company's	Proprietors encourage their employees to take the normal classes at school
Part-time	Staff	In order to gain school expenses, they work during summer vacation and winter vacation
Special Class Worker		Authorized school to set special classes up for company's requirement
View and Emulate	Teachers and Company's	The teachers lead their students to the contracted factory and learning on the job as a beginner each other through their interflow
Substitute	Professionals	Students work at cooperative factory in order to receive an allowance authorized by the government
Researched Workers		Schools engaged in a series of case studies, which are
Commuting	Recent Graduate	Arrange with intern to harmony with procreation and Re-trainings for the recent graduated students
Selected Student		study during others time. selected by the employer
Teach-Train-	Students	Cooperation among schools, companies, and government
Moved by Steps Employ		Period of practical training, especially the last one or half year's study at school
Scholarship	Students who are not in	The contracted factory provided scholarship to those Students who are approved to take turns to stay at
Alternated		students who work for the factory after graduation education institution and cooperative professional
Quarter	Graduation class	mechanism for three months at a time Arrange for one year into three quarters and promote

	students to intern
Sandwich Learning	The combined courses make students' experience both school lessons and factory lessons

Table 2 : Problem Analysis for Education-Training-Employ Intern Model

Unit	Problems
Government	1 It has no difference between skill and normal education
	2 The criticism system of academics cannot exactly lead the way of education
	3 The system of certificate was not carried out fully
Schools	1 The teachers of schools lack of the experience of factory affairs
	2 Teaching materials repeated
	3 The contents of school program cannot match up the ability that factory needs
	4 Lack of training equipment
	5 The selection of cooperation factories
Companies	1 Just few factories to support the cooperation plan
	2 Not enough technique trainings
	3 The cooperation contract without complete details
	4 The location of interns are scattered
Students	1 Not ready to give their words to the factories they work
	2 Confused about the role they are playing

2.1.3 Successful Factors of Intern Education

Taiwan’s scholar Peng, Hsien-Chu (2008) indicate that there are five important factors. This includes objectives, assistance systems, qualified cooperation companies, correct learning attitudes, and well-arrange cooperation agreements, which will make the intern programs successful. The details of each factor are listed in Table 3.

Table 3 : Factors for Successful Intern Education

Factors	Elements
Objectives	1 to fit the developing objectives and positions of the schools
	2 Intern programs design
	3 Design of intern targets in depending on the needs of the companies
	4 Considering the characteristics and future developments of students
Assistance Systems	5 School selection of companies
	6 To build the data base of the cooperation companies for students to consult
	7 Set up interview standards for cooperation companies
	8 Conference for sharing each duty experience
	9 Roundly monitored by teachers
	10 Assistance in problems of the students
	11 Final test
	12 Assign professional persons for intern

	13 Tracing for graduated students
Qualified Cooperation Companies	14 Complete organization companies
	15 High level leaders of companies support
	16 Provide training for professional knowledge and skill
	17 Provide training plan for job ethics
	18 Review students' intern conditions by companies and school
	19 Seminar in the schools
Correct in Learning Attitude	20 Training in interview skills
	21 Training in the sense of responsibility
	22 Training in the sense of honor
	23 Training in independent operation ability
	24 Training in the sense of positivity
	25 Training in communication ability
	26 Training in resisting compression ability
Well Arrangement on Cooperation Agreement	27 Clear police and duty for each other
	28 Final test design and standard
	29 Benefit promise
	30 Distant view design for cooperation

2.2 Intern Systems of Some Countries

Because there are different police organizations, cultures, circumstances and duties, the designs of most countries' intern programs are different too. In this paragraph, the intern

programs of France, Austria, America, Canada, Korea, Thailand, England, Germany and Taiwan are reviewed as below. (Chen, Ming-Chuan Mou, Youn-Ping Chiou, Hwa-Jiun, Liu, Wen-ZhangDeng, Tzu-Jeng Jin, Xuan-Hu, Da, Na & Yan, Ai-Ling, 1996.)

2.2.1 France

In general, there are three levels of police intern programs in France.

A. Basic Level:

Four months training in police academics.

B. Middle Level:

Three months training in the unit of duty.

C. High Level:

Two years reiterative training between police academics and police departments

2.2.2 Austria

A. Basic Level:

Six months one by one training by senior police officer.

B. Middle Level:

Three months intern by middle level police officer.

2.2.3 America

Though police educations are controlled by state governments, new police officers will be arranged with at least six months or longer interns.

2.2.4 Canada

Basic level police officers will be arranged with six month interns under their commanding officers.

2.2.5 Korea

There are six weeks summer school and four weeks winter school for Police University's students to be trained in basic police duties.

2.2.6 Thailand

Students in Police University are arranged with two-step interns as below.

- A. During third and fourth years of attending the Police University, students are arranged with basic unit interns on every Saturday and Sunday.
- B. There are 30 days internships to be completed after final test of Police University.

2.2.7 England

The design of basic police education in England is either a 'Sandwich Course' or a 'Master-apprentice' program. Police officers will be educated and trained in school, police stations, police substations and other police departments by senior police officers one by one. There are three levels as below. (Wu, Hsuen-Yen, 1996)

A. First Level:

Three months in District police Training Center and two years in police departments.

B. Second level:

Two years training for special duties in police departments.

C. Third level:

Two years higher level training in Police University and police departments.

2.2.8 Germany

The design of police education is a ‘Sandwich Course’, through which police educations are controlled by state governments. There are three levels police education as below. (Lee, C.S.,1996)

A. First level:

Learn police duties as a beginner for one year in police departments during basic level education.

B. Second level:

In general, middle level police educations are three years, which include one year of education in school and two years interning in police departments.

C. Third level:

High level police educations are one year education and one year intern in local and federal police department and training centers.

2.2.9 Taiwan

Taiwan’s police education systems include Junior Police Education, executed by Taiwan Police College, and Senior Police Education, executed by Central Police University. Therefore, the police intern programs in Taiwan, following ‘Sandwich Courses’ and ‘Master-Apprentice’ Models, are two levels as below.

A. First Level

Learning basic police skills in basic police units, there are three months for Taiwan Police College's students and one month for Central Police University's students.

B. Second Level

It is one month for Central Police University's students to learn specialized skills, including leadership, in several specialized police departments.

3. FINDINGS

3.1 Police Intern Model Analyze

There are many different police intern programs around the world in literature review, because different countries have different police education systems or employment systems. This study investigates, induces, compares, and analyzes those data of literature reviews and finds that police intern programs can be analyzed and compared by five factors, which are 'intern opportunity', 'intern period', 'intern department choosing', 'intern teacher assigning' and 'final test design'.

3.1.1 Intern Opportunity

Generally, police intern programs will occur when they are in school just graduated from school, or assigned to a new position. Most police intern programs, such as in U.S.A, Japan, Thailand, Korea and Taiwan, occur in school, whereas others, such as in England, France, Austria or Germany, are done after graduating or being assigned to a new position.

3.1.2 Intern Period

There are not correct answers for how long a police intern program is necessary. All of them are more than eight weeks. The longest intern for basic police is two years (in England) and twelve months for middle degree police officers (in Germany).

3.1.3 Intern Department Choosing

For intern department choosing, the designs of most countries are similar. Those interns are assigned to basic or professional police departments to learn how to process daily cases and emergencies.

3.1.4 Intern Teacher Assigning

For intern teacher assigning, the designs of most countries are similar. Those departments for interning will assign a senior and professional officer for one student, following the 'Master-Apprentice model', in order to maintain intern quality. In Taiwan, the Central Police University will assign a professor to cooperate with the teachers, who is assigned by police departments, to raise the quality of interns.

3.1.5 Final Test Design

After interning, some of the final tests will be processed with some design as below.

- A. Test by the commander or director of police department.
- B. Test by the senior police officers.
- C. Test by the commander or director of police department and the senior police officers.

3.2 Police Intern Model Comparison

The comparison of ‘intern opportunity’, ‘intern period’, ‘intern department choosing’, ‘intern teacher assigning’ and ‘final test design’ for those police intern programs in literature review are listed in Table 4.

Table 4. Comparison on Police Intern Programs

Factors Countries	Opportunity	Period	Department Choosing	Teacher Assigning	Final Test
FBI / USA	Summer vocation for senior or graduate school students	10 weeks	Sections of FBI headquarter	Section chiefs of FBI headquarter	By section chiefs
FLETC/ USA	Spring, Summer and Fall sections for 4 th degree or graduate school students	12 weeks	Criminal detection, Criminal Justice and Homeland Security Departments	Senior officers of intern departments	Director of intern departments
France	Raise to higher positions	3 or 4 months for each levels	Schools and police departments	Senior officers of intern departments	Director of intern departments
Austria	Begin of police and Raising to higher positions	6 months for basic and 3 months for middle	Police departments	Senior officers of intern departments	Director and senior officers of intern departments
Canada	Beginning of police	6 months	Police departments	Senior officers of intern departments	Director of intern departments
Korea	In police University	6 weeks in summer vocation and 4 weeks in winter vocation	Police departments	Senior officers of intern departments	Director of intern departments
Thailand	In police University	Weekends during 3 rd &	Police departments	Senior officers of	Director of intern

		4 th year and 30 days after graduated		intern departments	departments
England	Begin of police and Raising to higher positions with Sandwich Courses model	2 years for each levels	Police departments	Senior officers of intern departments with Master-Apprentice model	Director of intern departments
Germany	Begin of police and Raising to higher positions	12 weeks, 15 months and 12 months for 3 levels	Police departments	Senior officers of intern departments	Director of intern departments
Taiwan	In police University and College	30 days for each levels	Basic police departments and professional police departments	Senior officers of intern departments and professors of schools	Directors of intern departments and professors of schools

3.3. The Better Methods

In accordance with literature review, 'Sandwich Courses Model' and 'Master-Apprentice Model' are adopted by most police intern programs. First, the students learn roundly in school and police departments by following the 'Sandwich Courses Model'. So that, they can understand clearly what condition they will meet in the future and they know-what knowledge should be learned in the school. Second, by following 'Master-Apprentice Model', the senior police officers will be assigned to direct students one by one. They will work and live together during all intern period. The apprentices can get the useful skills and common sense from their master. Both 'Master-Apprentice Model' and 'Sandwich Courses Model' are effective and better methods for police intern.

3.4 The Interrelated Factors for Police Intern Model

In accordance with literature review, this study finds some factors that are very important for the police intern model. First, based on the successful factors of intern education in chapter 2.1.3, there are five important factors, which include objectives, assistance systems, qualified cooperation companies, correct learning attitude, and a well-arranged cooperation agreement, that will make the intern programs successful. Also, there are thirty detailed elements, which are listed in Table 3. Second, according to the ‘Sandwich Courses Model’, schools, students, and companies are three key elements for intern education. However, this study tries to sum those elements up and explain the interrelated factors for the police intern model as seen in figure 2.

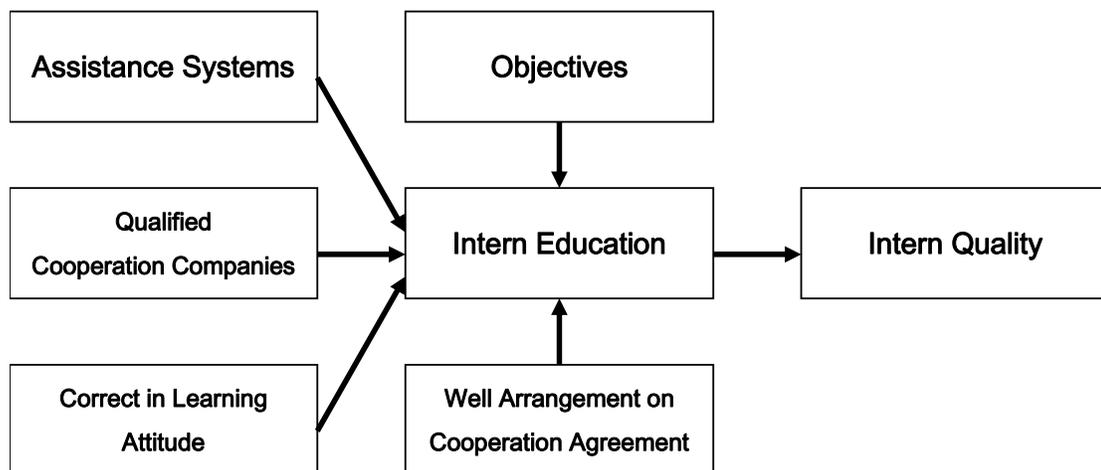


Figure 2. Factors for police intern model

4. CONCLUSIONS

4.1 The Interns are the Key Link for Police Education and Duty

The interns are the key link between police schools and police departments. Public hope that police, whether they are senior, junior, or just beginning in police duties, can do their jobs well to protect the life and property of people, to maintain social security effectively, and to

process emergency quickly. So that, any police officer has to prepare for duty well before graduated from police school. However, those knowledge and skills for police duty cannot be learned just in police school. Therefore, depending on the literature review and findings, all countries' police education include ~~with~~ intern programs and those police intern programs are the only opportunity for students to raise their abilities on police duties.

4.2 Police Education Must Include Complete Intern Programs

For keeping the qualities of police duties, it is necessary for police education and training to provide complete intern programs before graduated from police schools, raise to a higher position, or move to a new professional position. However, it seems that there are not enough police intern programs for each police education and training of those countries in literature.

4.3 Schools Have to Play the Key Role on Police Intern Program

Though there are three elements, companies, students, and schools, within police intern programs, schools are closely integrated with their intern programs. Depend on literature review and findings, it seems that most of the police departments have to provide all service, teach, and finally test for intern programs, but police schools do nothing about them. Therefore, there are many advantages, while police schools play a key role, as below.

- A. Design a complete police intern program and make particular agreements with police departments to keep quality of police intern programs.
- B. Help assigned officers of police departments in teaching students with right methods and new theories.

C. The professors can learn more experiences and skills of police duty to full their data of education.

D. Help students to understand the conditions of police departments.

4.4 It is Necessary for More Research on Police Intern Model

A complete police intern model is very important and useful in police education. Police school can follow the model to design detail programs for police interns for keeping qualities. The model of Interrelated Factors for Police Intern, in figure 2, is combined with several theories of education and intern. Although this study is limited in funds and manpower, it cannot prove the relations about those factors by using quantification method, it should be further researched in this domain and provide more useful suggestions for police to raise the quality of police intern programs.

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Contrary Crimmigration: Limitations to the Hypothesis for Policing Dubai

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ABSTRACT

The term ‘*crimmigration*’ is currently being used by Stumpf as she develops a way of trying to explain the seemingly inevitable link between migrant groups and crime in their country of choice. *Crimmigration* focuses on the increasing merger of US and European criminal and immigration law. There is always a nexus between forms of crime, crime markets, and specific ethnic or national characteristics. To some extent, *crimmigration* marks a modern, more critical version of Iannini’s (1974) Ethnic Succession Theory of Involvement in crime. *Crimmigration* attempts to develop an explanation based on alienation and denial of full citizenship, but is less fulsome in relation to structural explanations that focus on poverty, discrimination, etc. that this necessarily entails. However, what is striking and radically different about our research findings from the United Arab Emirates (UAE), is the extent to which those who are the least privileged and most numerous section of the Dubai population; in example, those from the Indian subcontinent, have the lowest offending rates, despite the focus of police attention on them. The study is based on new official crime data and interviews with key Dubai police officers.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter first outlines the key elements of crimmigration theory, before moving on to present some of our key findings from our research into crime and immigration in UAE that suggest crimmigration does not offer a full explanation outside the countries to which it has been applied. We then conclude with a discussion on areas that require further research.

Crimmigration: Explaining the Migration and Crime Nexus

Stumpf (2006) has argued for increasing academic attention to be paid to the accelerating merger of immigration law and criminal law in advanced countries, hence the term ‘crimmigration’. This concept is based on the critical application of membership theory as a unifying theory to explain the relationship between migration and crime. As Stumpf (2006) notes:

‘Membership theory restricts individual rights and privileges to those who are members of a social contract between the government and the people. It is at work in the convergence of criminal and immigration law in marking out the boundaries of who is an accepted member of society.’

In this scenario, positive rights arise only if you are included in a social contract between government and citizens (see Cleveland, 2002; Bickle, 1975; Aleinikoff, 1986). Those who are not parties to that agreement, but still bound by government policy and practice, have no claim to such rights (Stumpf, 2004; Cleveland, 2002; Aleinikoff, 1986). This means that the government, or agencies acting for the government, can act outside the contract’s protections, against residents who are ‘non-members’ (Cleveland, 2002). This is a key issue in UAE as we shall see.

Membership theory therefore provides an explanation of how policy makers and politicians justify excluding ‘types’ of individuals from their society by use of immigration and criminal law. This, in turn produces an ever-expanding group of outsiders who are denied the normal rights of domestic citizens. In Stumpf’s case, this is related to the USA where she carried out her analysis. She argues that crimmigration has given sovereign states ever greater powers to punish and express moral condemnation in relation to non-citizens. Stumpf (2006) also points out that:

‘only the harshest elements of criminal law make their way into the criminalization of immigration law, and the apparatus of the state is used to expel from society those deemed criminally alien. The result is an ever-expanding population of the excluded and alienated.’

Stumpf’s concern is that this development is excluding and alienating a population with strong family, community and business interests in the United States and that it therefore fractures US society in ways that are more profound than any deportation and/or criminal penalties. The result is increasingly extreme divisions in advanced societies between insiders (the included) and outsiders (the alienated).

What is important from our perspective is that the process and nature of migration for the vast majority of migrants to UAE is that migrants were never envisaged as part of Emirati society, despite forming the majority of the population. It seems that many of the components of crimmigration are present in UAE, yet the different national, constitutional and economic context dictate that the association between crime and migration works in a different way, with different results.

The elements of crimmigration as Stumpf (2006) outlines them, that are most apparent in UAE are as follows.

- First, the flexibility afforded to decision makers on whether an individual is part of the national community does determine their access to constitutional and other rights.
- Second, criminal and immigration law in UAE have combined into a single system of exclusion, creating insiders with rights and a hierarchy of outsiders with varying levels of toleration and privileges.
- Third, there is a prevailing view that immigrants are more likely to commit crime (see Neuman, 1996; Miller, 2003, 2005; McKenzie, 2004).
- Fourth, criminal and immigration law, and law enforcement, ensure that outsiders are separated from the rest of UAE society through physical exclusion rules that ensure lesser levels of citizenship (see Demleitner,1999).

It is not the case, however, that lawful permanent residence acts as a sort of probationary membership period for most migrants to UAE, as is the case in the US (see Demleitner, 1999). It is in the very nature of the mediated contract with the state, one of bonded labor, that most migrant workers are excluded from ever attaining full citizenship, and as Martin (1983) argues, constitutional protection in law depends mostly on an individual's connection or potential connection with the national community.

Keane and McGeehan (2008) have outlined the contemporary labor regime in UAE, especially in relation to migrants from the Indian subcontinent. They argue that the state has a vested interest in what we have termed the importation of exploitation, so that the most of the economy is built from cheap, available labor; however the reasons why organized crime and also legitimate businesses both draw on illegal labor are because *they can* without fear of political or law enforcement interference. In essence, most workers from the Indian subcontinent and those of other nationalities who occupy the lowest rung of employment are managed by state proxy

through labor contracting companies that have effectively imported an existing form of bonded labor from the Indian subcontinent. This involved laborers being bussed in and out of work zones to be cantoned in relatively low-grade accommodation built away from the commercial areas.

Stumpf's (2006) focus is really on whether the state is too powerful in being able to exclude individuals and groups from full participation, and protection, in civil society. She argues excluding them conflicts with the need to integrate these groups into society, 'especially if lack of resources and exclusion from participation results in alienation and contributes to the commission of further crimes'. Our jumping off point for UAE is that there was never any intention of integrating or encouraging permanent residence for the vast majority of migrants to UAE and that, contrary to expectations, those in the weakest position, in example from the Indian subcontinent, while often being blamed for crime in the popular press, are actually the group least likely to commit crime. This is uniquely at variance with Stumpf's findings for the US and also with the notion of ethnic succession (see Ianni, 1974) since most of those who are excluded will never have the chance to 'succeed', which would suggest that crime should be high among them, and remain so.

Within this framework, the lowest grade workers are not integrated into mainstream UAE society and though, as we shall show, they are underrepresented in crime, they come to occupy what Garland (2001) terms the 'alien other', and as such are regarded as an underclass with a separate culture and identity that is both alien and threatening.

The rest of this paper is devoted to outlining, for the first time with clear evidence, that those who are most excluded in UAE are in fact the least likely group to become involved in criminal activity. These results are from a larger study on crime and migration in UAE and the

full design for that project is outlined below. The full findings will be published in 2012 and 2013.

As a result of the research carried out at primary and secondary levels, this chapter therefore contains an important contribution to knowledge since none of the data on which it is based can be obtained elsewhere. Despite the limitations of such datasets that apply in all countries, for the first time, for the UAE in general and Dubai in particular, clear statements can be made about both the differential **levels and rates** of crime committed by the main national groupings living and working in UAE. We are a long way from the first victimization survey in UAE, but this analysis will help form part of the case for such an exercise to be carried out in the future.

Data were collected during 2008 and the secondary data were (and still are) the most recent data available at that time. All four types of data collected and analyzed in this chapter are summarized in the table below:

<p>1. UAE latest (2007) population data on nationality, age and gender. These have been obtained from the UAE Home Office through specific request for access. These data only exist as a limited number of hard copies, in Arabic, and access is highly restricted.</p>
<p>2. UAE (2007) police recorded crime data by crime type and nationality. These were also obtained from the UAE Home Office under a specific access request. Again, these data only exist as a limited number of hard copies, in Arabic, and access is highly restricted.</p>
<p>3. Naiff Police Station data (2008). These were recorded in a special data collection exercise which would not be feasible for all police stations in Dubai without a large field force as they exist only in hard copy. Naiff Police station was chosen because it is the main</p>

<p>destination for all foreigners arrested in Dubai, especially in relation to immigration irregularities.</p>
<p>4. Interviews (2009) with police officers about their views on crime and nationality in the UAE. These interview schedules were designed based on the key findings already identified in the literature reviews presented here in the earlier chapters, and from analysis of the secondary data analysis carried out specifically for this study and summarized immediately above.</p>

Our focus here is exclusively on the official crime and population figures.

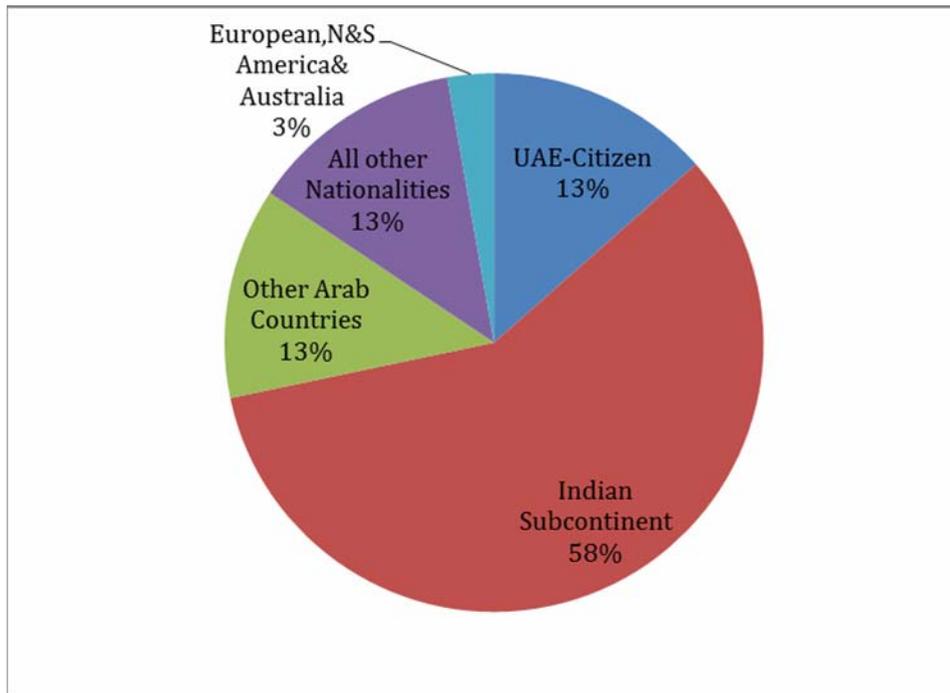
Nationality and Crime in UAE: The ‘Official’ Picture

One of the most unusual characteristics of the UAE in general, and Dubai in particular, is that the citizens of those countries find themselves in a very small minority, despite their comparative wealth and power. Unlike many countries;’ criminal justice systems that are studied in a comparative context, the situation in UAE/Dubai is that there is no easily accessible central source of statistics (in English or Arabic) on which to rely. As a result, UAE, and many of its neighbors are absent from international comparative studies. The data for this study have therefore had to be compiled from various sources, none of which is designed to match with the others, and it involved considerable time, effort and negotiation in order to produce them in a way which could be used for meaningful analysis. It also means that at times, figures for UAE generally have to be used, while wherever possible, figures specific to Dubai have been used.

As Figure 7.1 shows, UAE citizens make up only 13% of its population, and this is matched by those who come from GCC and other Arabic countries, while a staggering 58% come from the

Indian subcontinent, with Indians alone comprising over a third. Those from what are traditionally referred to as ‘Western Countries’ make up only 3% of the UAE population.

Figure 7.1: Population of UAE 2007 by key nationality groups (Total population 6,493,929)



(source: Al Bayan News, 2008)

The full list of the UAE 2007 population by nationality is outlined in Table 7.1.

Table 7. 1: UAE 2007 population by nationality in rank order of size

Nationality	Population	Percentage %
UAE Citizens	875,617	13%
Indian	2,367,732	36%
Arab Countries	823,633	13%

Pakistan	822,914	13%
Bangladesh	589,545	9%
Philippines	279,602	4%
Other Asian Countries	151,234	2%
Europe & Australia	134,630	2%
Sri Lanka	104,623	2%
Iran	100,309	2%
Nepal	93,469	1%
African Countries	72,453	1%
North America	41,354	1%
China	32,637	1%
South America	4,177	0%
Total	6,493,929	100%

(Source: Al Bayan News, 2008)

This suggest that at the very least, and leaving aside differences in social and economic position, around 58% of those dealt with by the criminal justice system in UAE and specifically in Dubai, should be from the Indian subcontinent.

However, the latest crime figures available, for 2007, show this not to be the case, with only 36% of crime in UAE attributable to those from the Indian subcontinent (Table 7.2), and a similar figure of 38% for Dubai alone (Table 7.3).

Table 7.2: UAE crime (2007) ranked by major regional groupings

Key Regional groups	Crimes	Percentage %
Indian subcontinent	34880	36%
Other Arab Countries	22238	23%
Other Asian Countries	12764	13%
GCC	16988	18%
Western countries not clear	4252	4%
Europe N Am & Australasia	2272	2%
Other Western countries	3237	3%
Total	96631	100%

(Source: UAE Home Office, 2007)

Table 7.3: Dubai crime (2007) ranked by major regional groupings

Key Regional groups	Crimes	Percentage %
Indian subcontinent	15640	38%
Other Arab Countries	7173	18%
Other Asian Countries	4145	10%
GCC	6726	17%
Western countries not clear	3381	8%
Europe N Am & Australasia	1802	4%
Other Western countries	1792	4%
Total	40659	100%

(Source: UAE Home Office, 2007)

It required a number of adjustments to generate the standard crime rates per 100,000 population and the caveats are as follows. First, because crime and population statistics have been compiled according to different aggregations of nationalities, this has limited comparative crime rate analysis to five major categories: UAE citizens; other Arab countries (including GCC); Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan & Bangladesh); Europe, North America and

Australasia; and ‘All other nationalities’. There are limitations to the European category as Russia is excluded in the crime figures, and it is not clear if it is included in the population figures. Second, while no UK citizens appear in the 2007 crime figures, the proportion of crime committed where nationality is recorded as ‘Western not known’ is 4.68%, suggesting that figures for all other ‘western’ categories should be a little higher.

Given these issues, there are therefore likely to be inaccuracies in the crime and population figures related to ‘Europe, North America and Australasia’ and ‘all other nationalities’ categories. However, our focus is mainly on the other three population categories which are more robustly compiled. Although this is not perfectly satisfactory, it is important to be clear that the development of these statistics and analysis do represent a large step forward in filling the gap in our knowledge about crime and nationality in the UAE and in Dubai, given the work required to obtain the data.

Table 7.4 summarizes the figures in Table 7.1 in the five nationality groupings we are concentrating on. The overall population of UAE in 2007 was 6,493,929, and is clearly dominated numerically by those from the Indian subcontinent.

Table 7.4: UAE population (2007) ranked by major aggregated nationality categories

Nationality	Population	Percentage %
UAE-Citizen	875,617	13%
Indian Subcontinent	3780191	58%
Other Arab Countries	823,633	13%
All other Nationalities (except European etc)	834327	13%
European, N&S America & Australia	180161	3%
Total	6,493,929	100%

There are further caveats to bear in mind when using recorded crime figures for UAE. Although it appears that there was a comparatively low number of recorded crimes, 96,631, in UAE in 2007, this figure must be treated with caution as the true level of crime, though it is more useful once it is relativized across nationality groupings. As shown in Chapter 1, crime in European countries, such as the UK, tends to be around three times higher than in UAE. However, the UAE only crimes figures are essentially arrest figures, while European, North American and most other countries count all crimes reported to the police. This will potentially affect the recorded crime data differentially across nationality groupings, but to an unknown extent. There may be differential reporting recording factors between the five major nationality groupings, but this would tend to favor the groups who have more power (in reducing the apparent level of recorded crime) and against those from the Indian subcontinent who are generally in the least powerful positions (increasing the level of recorded crime). In other words, the patterns revealed in the analysis below may be stronger, rather than weaker in reality.

With these caveats established, a striking pattern still emerges. The predominant focus in policy and policing in UAE tends toward the simplistic ‘absolute crime figures by nationality grouping’, which indeed show (Tables 7.5 and 7.6) that those from the Indian sub-continent are responsible for the largest single contribution (34,880) to crimes committed. However, this does not account for their overwhelming numerical superiority in UAE population. In fact, those from the Indian subcontinent do not commit the majority of crime (36%) and are far less represented in recorded crime figures than would be expected. Indeed, a crude comparison of the difference between population and crime figures shows that involvement in crime is some 22% below what might be expected based on the Indian subcontinent group’s proportion of the UAE population (Tables 7.5 and 7.6).

Table 7.5: UAE crime (2007) ranked by major aggregated nationality population (2007) categories

Key Regional groups	Crimes	Percentage %
Indian subcontinent	34880	36%
UAE Citizens	14770	15%
Other Arab Countries INC GCC	24456	25%
All other nationalities	20253	21%
Europe N Am & Australasia	2272	2%
Total	96631	100%

(Source: UAE Home Office, 2007)

Using the same relatively crude methods, some telling patterns emerge when looking at the same population/crime ratio for the five main nationality groupings.

Table 7.6 proportions of UAE and crime (2007) and population (2007) by major aggregated nationality categories

Nationality	% Population	% Crime	Simple Difference in % points
Indian subcontinent	58%	36%	-22%
UAE Citizens	13%	15%	+2%
Other Arab Countries INC GCC	13%	25%	+12%
All other nationalities	13%	21%	+8%
Europe N Am & Australasia	3%	2%	-1%

(Source: adapted from Al Bayan News (2008) and UAE Home Office, 2007).

Although relatively crude, this approach is a convincing starting point in looking at the extent to which different population groups commit crime in comparison to the focus of police attention. It is clear that those from the Indian subcontinent commit crime at a much lower rate than all of the other groups. While there is a marginal difference for UAE citizens, those from Other Arab countries are committing crime at a much higher rate than the other nationality groups. The figures for all other nationalities also suggest a higher rate of crime than expected, but it is difficult to be precise here and the difficulty with the European, North American and Australasian category suggests that this may be an underestimate of involvement in crime, although the group as a whole is located high up in the social and economic hierarchy and therefore less likely to be involved in the type of volume crime typically investigated by police. Based on this simple, but important pattern, further analysis was carried out to establish the crime rates for the different nationality groups.

Crime Rates Per 100,000

The overall crime rate for UAE is 1,488 crimes per 100,000 population. For the reasons noted above, it is difficult to compare this with crime rates in other countries (e.g. the equivalent figure is 7,636.4 per 100,000 for England and Wales) but it is a very useful baseline for comparing each of the five nationality groupings comparatively. This is important, because it relates the level of crime committed by the different aggregated communities. Using this relativized type of approach allows the ranking of different population groupings and the results show that the poorest, least powerful grouping, those from the Indian subcontinent, despite being ~~a~~ the largest population group in UAE, appear to be offending at the lowest rate of all of the

other nationality grouping. The grouping most prone to crime are those from other Arab countries outside UAE. UAE citizens themselves are in the mid-ranked position.

Table 7.7: Crime rate for UAE per 100,000 population (2007) ranked by nationality groups

Nationality	Total crimes	Crime rate per 100,000	Rank
Other Arab Countries INC GCC	24456	2969.3	1
All other nationalities	20186	2419.4	2
UAE Citizens	14770	1686.8	3
Europe N Am & Australasia	2339	1298.3	4
Indian subcontinent	34880	922.7	5
Total	96631		

(Source: UAE Home Office, 2007)

While there are many potential intervening factors here, this is the first time that it has been possible to carry out this particular type of analysis for UAE. It certainly questions the views of the key enforcement officers as outlined in the interviews below and perhaps also the focus of the Naiff police station operations. Given the different social and economic positions occupied by these groups in UAE society, it is important to establish whether the nature of the crimes committed by these major groups varies. This is the analysis carried out below and which leads directly into the finer grained picture provided by the data collected from Naiff police station.

Patterns of Crime by Nationality

The overall pattern of officially recorded crime in UAE is dominated by financial crime (67% of all crime), followed by offences against the person (15%). Illegal alcohol production makes up the only other sizeable category at 8%. The rest of the offences are relatively trivial in terms of the proportions involved.

Table 7.8: Crimes by offence type in UAE (2007)

Types of Crime	Number	Percentage
Financial crime	64,509	67%
Offences against the person	14,885	15%
Illegal Alcohol production	8,129	8%
Other/Miscellaneous crime	4,457	5%
Drug crime	1,834	2%
Immigration crime	2,059	2%
Workplace crime (General)	758	1%
Total	96,631	100%

(Source: UAE Home Office, 2007)

Given the overall importance of financial crime it is best to start here when looking at differences in crime rates between the five major nationality groupings.

Financial Crime by Nationality Groupings in UAE

The 64,509 financial crimes recorded in UAE in 2007 produced a rate of 993.4 per 100,000 population. The pattern of financial crime by nationality is very similar to that of overall

crime in UAE. Although the group from the Indian sub-continent committed more of these crimes (21,450, just over 33% of all financial crime in 2007 committed by a group that forms 58% of the UAE population) than any other single nationality group, this was almost equaled by the 18,386 financial crimes committed by those from Arab countries outside UAE (29% of financial crime by a group that only forms 13% of the UAE population).

This huge difference in offending patterns is best represented by the crime rates for each of the population groups and their relative rankings, as outlined in Table 7.9. It is clear that those from other Arab countries produced the highest financial crime rate of 2,232.2 per 100,000 of the UAE population, while those from the Indian subcontinent produced a very low equivalent rate of 567.4 per 100,000 UAE population, well below the total population baseline financial crime rate of 993.4. UAE citizens themselves were mid-ranked in financial crime, with a rate of 1067.2 per 100,000. This really does suggest that policing and enforcement against financial crimes should focus most heavily on those from Arab countries outside of UAE as the highest risk group, not those from the Indian subcontinent. It was not possible to collect data on the specific type of financial crime and the sums involved and this would be a key area for further research in order to target enforcement action where it is most needed.

Table 7.9 UAE financial crimes analyzed by nationality, 2007

	Nationality of offender					Total
	Indian	UAE	Other	Europe	All other	

	sub- contine nt	citizen	Arab countries inc GCC	N Am & Australasia	nationalities	
All financial crime	21,450	9,345	18,386	1,506	13,822	64,509
Rate per 100,000 population	567.4	1,067.2	2,232.2	835.9	1,656.7	993.4
Rate ranked by nationality group	5	3	1	4	2	

Offences against the Person by Nationality Groupings in UAE

Offences against the person were the second most common form of recorded crime in UAE. There were 14,885 offences against the person recorded in UAE in 2007, a rate of 229.2 per 100,000 population: a much lower overall rate than for financial crime. Again, as Figure 7.10 shows, although the group from the Indian sub-continent committed the largest single portion of these crimes (4,684) than any other group, this only accounts for 31% of the total offences against the person in UAE, at a much lower crime rate (123.9 per 100,000) than the baseline rate for the whole UAE population. Perhaps surprisingly, UAE citizens accounted for 25% of these same offences, but at a very high relative offending rate of 422.7 per 100,000, while Arabs from outside UAE accounted for a further 22% with an equivalent rate of 398 per 100,000. Similar to financial crime, it appears that those from the Indian subcontinent have a relatively low propensity to commit offences against the person. Enforcement and preventive measures would therefore be better directed at UAE, and other Arabs nationals living in UAE. It is also clear that those of other nationalities ‘not including Europeans, North Americans and Australasians’ need to be researched more thoroughly once data capture is improved by UAE as there may be differential crime rates among the many nationalities represented here.

Table 7.10 UAE Offences against the person analyzed by nationality, 2007

	Nationality of offender					Total
	Indian sub-continent	UAE citizen	Other Arab countries inc GCC	Europe N Am & Australasia	All other nationalities	
All offences against the person	4684	3701	3278	296	2926	14885
Rate per 100,000 population	123.9	422.7	398.0	164.3	350.7	229.2
Rate ranked by nationality group	5	1	2	4	3	

Alcohol-Related Offences by Nationality Groupings in UAE

The only other significant volume crime recorded, at 8% of the total, was alcohol-related crime. This is a relatively minor level of offending. As table 7.11 shows, there were 8,129 alcohol offences recorded in UAE in 2007, a rate of 125.2 per 100,000 population. Although the group from the Indian sub-continent committed more of these crimes (5,226) than any other group, they came second in the rankings to the amorphous mix of ‘all other nationalities’ who had a rate of alcohol-related offending, at 155.3 per 100,000 population. The final two groups, as might be expected, were the predominantly Muslim groups from Other Arab countries and the group of UAE citizens, at 96 and 48.1 respectively, which are very much lower rates of offending than all the other groups for this category of crime.

Table 7.11 UAE Alcohol offences analyzed by nationality, 2007

	Nationality of offender					Total
	Indian	UAE	Other	Europe	All other	

	sub-continent	citizen	Arab countries inc GCC	N Am & Australasia	nationalities	
All Alcohol offences	5226	596	791	220	1296	8129
Rate per 100,000 population	138.9	68.1	96.0	122.1	155.3	125.2
Rate ranked by group	2	5	4	3	1	

Immigration Crime

Immigration crime formed only 2% of recorded crime in 2007. There were 2,059 immigration crimes recorded in UAE in 2007, a rate of 31.7 per 100,000 population (Table 7.12). Although the group from the Indian sub-continent committed more of these crimes (1,093) than any other group, again, they were not the highest rate offenders and are ranked third of the five nationality groupings. The group of 'all other nationalities' had the highest rate of offending, at 73.7 per 100,000 population, and interestingly, those from other Arab countries (including GCC) the next highest rate at 36.5, followed by the group from the Indian sub-continent at 28.9. The offending rates are very low and it seems, once more that those from the Indian subcontinent are not the key group to target for enforcement.

Table 7.12 UAE Immigration crime analyzed by nationality, 2007

	Nationality of offender					Total
	Indian sub-continent	UAE citizen	Other Arab countries	Europe N Am & Australasia	All other nationalities	

			inc GCC			
All Immigration crime	1093	36	301	14	615	2059
Rate per 100,000 population	28.9	4.1	36.5	7.8	73.7	31.7
Rate ranked by group	3	5	2	4	1	

Drugs Crime and Workplace Crime

There were 1,834 drugs offences and only 758 recorded workplace crimes recorded in UAE in 2007, forming a very small portion of overall crime. As Tables 7.13 and 7.14 show, the offending rates are very low, but it is important to point out here that those from the Indian subcontinent are ranked lowest in terms of their offending rates than the other four main nationality groups.

Table 7.13 UAE Drugs crimes analyzed by nationality, 2007

	Nationality of offender					Total
	Indian sub-continent	UAE citizen	Other Arab countries inc GCC	Europe N Am & Australasia	All other nationalities	
All drugs crime	208	479	545	166	436	1834
Rate per 100,000 population	5.5	54.7	66.2	92.1	52.3	28.2
Rate ranked by group	5	3	2	1	4	

Table 7.14 UAE Workplace crime analyzed by nationality, 2007

	Nationality of offender					Total
	Indian	UAE	Other	Europe	All other	

	sub-continent	citizen	Arab countries inc GCC	N Am & Australasia	nationalities	
All workplace crime	253	149	159	17	144	758
Rate per 100,000 population	6.7	17.0	23.7	9.4	17.3	11.7
Rate ranked by group	5	3	1	4	2	

Summary of Findings from UAE Crime and Population Figures

It is clear that although these data are limited when compared to countries with more advanced criminal justice statistics, however, the data is certainly strong enough to shed new light on the centrality of nationality in UAE, as evidenced in earlier chapters, and its relationship to crime. While the Indian subcontinent population suffers the worst conditions and levels of discrimination, it also appears to be the least criminal. When the crime data are relativized to account for vastly differing proportions of the population occupied by different nationalities, those from the Indian subcontinent are ranked fifth out of the five groups in four out of the six main categories (it was difficult to analyze meaningfully for any patterns relating to the assortment of other/miscellaneous crime that accounted for 5% of all crime in UAE) with of recorded crime in UAE, and are ranked second for alcohol related crime and third for immigration crime. In other words, those from the Indian subcontinent are the lowest offending group in the categories of crime that account for 85% of all crime in UAE, and are ranked second or third in categories of crime that account for only 10% of all crime in UAE.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter emphasizes one key aspect of a larger study but it suggests a number of important issues that need to be addressed in the future.

First, is the need to reform the idea that the policing and enforcement against different national groups should be based on relative crime rates and not the simplistic absolute numbers that will be generated to a large (but not complete) extent by the proportion of the UAE population that each group represents. Certainly, if this approach is adopted, tackling the highest volume crime in UAE, financial crime, needs to include more emphasis on non-UAE Arab nationalities.

Second, crimmigration offers the basic building blocks for the explanation of crime in UAE, but the context varies so dramatically from the USA that there is a need to mediate and combine Stumpf's approach with that of McGeehan. It may be that both crimmigration and ethnic succession theories may have more explanatory power for other national groupings in UAE, but the profile of the workers from the Indian subcontinent is uniquely perverse in that poverty, structural inequality etc. have produced a lower, rather than a higher crime rate. In addition to the impact of the labor contracting system, it may also be that closed off in compounds do have an incapacitative effect and this needs further research, as does the notion the crime within the compounds may not be regarded as 'real crime' in much the same way the crime in prisons tends to be regarded as internal discipline matters.

Third, it is obvious that more effort needs to be put into producing better, finer grain and more accessible crime and population figures (and indeed other data from other jurisdictions

such as health, employment, and education) so that better analysis can be carried out. There is also an obvious need for a high quality victimization survey.

On a final note, it is ironic that, while UAE appears to systematically exclude from mainstream society, those from the Indian subcontinent, there is evidence that the US immigration National Security Entry-Exit System's ("NSEERS") focus is, inter alia, on deporting non-citizen men from Muslim and Arab countries. It seems that if you move location, you may be hoist by your own petard.

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The Evolution and Demise of Community Policing in the NYPD: 1980-2011

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Community policing continues to receive considerable attention as a crime fighting model for law enforcement agencies in the United States and globally. In the 1980s, the problem solving principles of Herman Goldstein coupled with the neighborhood foot patrol initiatives promoted by Robert Trojanowicz created the newest sensation in American local law enforcement and some enthusiasm for police executives who had been faced with rising crime and violence rates. Community policing quickly became the newest paradigm in crime reduction. The NYPD commenced community policing pilot projects in 1983, which evolved into department wide implementation in 1990. Problem solving took the forefront in 1994 when this responsibility was transferred from the patrol officer to the regional commander, who was tasked to conduct crime analysis through time and spatial mapping of criminal events. The “Zero Tolerance” enforcement scheme, long advocated by Kelling and Wilson, was implemented at the same time and the results included immediate and clear reductions in crime. Both the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks and the incorporation of technological tools in the fight against crime have watered down the community policing concept once promoted as the crime reduction “cure” for law enforcement administrators. One of the main components of community policing, namely community participation in police decision making, has since been eliminated. The evolution and demise of community policing as it was implemented within the NYPD will be thoroughly outlined and analyzed. In addition, the concept as it has been applied in Sweden and

Norway will also be examined to determine if a similar “devolution” of community policing has occurred in other countries.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1980s, police administrators in the USA implemented Community Policing initiatives based on research conducted by Herman Goldstein (1990) and Robert Trojanowicz (1988). Quickly becoming the buzz word of educated law enforcement executives, and aided by federal funding under the COPS program, community policing became a recognized program in almost every local American police agency. Police commanders routinely boasted of their strong ties and cooperation with their communities. However, in the late 1990s, the success of the more proactive “zero tolerance” philosophy and computerized crime analysis in some large municipalities drew attention away from community oriented policing, as crime rates declined nationally. Law enforcement agency funding shifted to enhanced technology and crime mapping. At the same time, the more proactive approach resulted in a small number of sensationalized tragedies involving shootings that were criticized by minority group leaders. Ultimately the tragic events of September 11, 2001 brought an end to community policing as the predominant emphasis of law enforcement agency deployment in the United States. The contemporary need for counter-terrorism measures and the ready availability of federal grants to undertake these new responsibilities has brought community policing to the brink of “extinction” within the USA. While no police commander would openly note any decline in their police-community partnership, the reality is that these endeavors have dramatically declined, at a time when many constituents, particularly those from minority communities, allege police abuse and racial bias.

However, community policing and the problem solving concept have brought increased vigor to law enforcement practices in other nations. Community policing programs implemented in Europe, particularly in the Scandinavian countries, have been comprehensively examined, but ultimately these evaluations appear to reflect the trend witnessed in the USA, albeit at a slower pace. Technology has superseded the “personal touch” of community policing and actually has again moved local law enforcement officials away from direct contact with the population that they serve. This has caused unwanted criticism of the police, more so in the USA, due to the loss of the once existent and relatively strong community-police partnership. Effective strategies involving crime analysis, GIS mapping, and “Hot Spot” deployment are the contemporary trends in the arena of modern law enforcement. Unfortunately the recent emphasis on counter-terrorism and emergency incident response and the dramatic reduction in federal community policing funding for US police agencies has brought community policing closer to “extinction” and this pattern is being copied in other democratic countries across the globe.

COMMUNITY POLICING ACROSS THE GLOBE

Crime rates in the USA have climbed steadily since the 1960’s and Americans responded by asking local politicians and police executives to respond accordingly. The reactive form of policing clearly had not been effective. Residents of large cities no longer felt safe and the introduction of an inexpensive drug option, crack cocaine, resulted in violence by both user and dealer. Law enforcement leaders under political, media and public pressure were forced to respond. Early research by two criminologists, Goldstein (1990) and Trojanowicz (1988),

caught their attention as their findings about a “new” concept called community policing appeared to improve citizen satisfaction in police, job satisfaction of patrol officers and the problem solving goal appeared to advocate a long term solution to crime trends. Forced to make ideological changes, police executives in large cities like New York City and Chicago, among others, implemented small community policing pilot programs. The NYPD in 1983 instituted the Community Policing Orientation Program, nicknamed “CPOP,” in some select police stations. Receiving strong public accolades, the NYPD through 1985 expanded the CPOP program to all 75 police stations throughout New York City. Each police station was divided into 10 police beats, some only 4 square city blocks and others up to 40 square city blocks. Each neighborhood was patrolled by a community policing “beat cop,” who was tasked to patrol that community on foot patrol, attend all community meetings within their jurisdiction, and incorporate a problem solving approach to crime trends. The problem oriented strategy was foreseen as a mechanism to lower crime rates and the increased uniform police presence in every neighborhood was to reduce fear of crime. The Chicago Police Department and other law enforcement agencies also selected community policing as their predominant ideology (Skogan and Hartnett, 1999). Soon community policing became the predominant buzzword of police professionals nationally.

Ultimately though, the concept did not impact soaring crime rates. One apparent lapse was the failure of police agency leaders to promote the concept agency wide, and what arose were philosophical differences between the “beat cop” and the ordinary patrol officer. After achieving record murder levels in 1988 and 1989, the new mayor of New York City, David Dinkins, quickly hired community policing advocate, police executive and academic Lee Brown

to implement community policing as the NYPD's agency philosophy. This was joined by a dramatic hiring in police personnel and a drastic increase in community policing beat cops from 10 in each police station to between 33 and 70 in each police precinct, which ranged in size from 4 square miles to 50 square miles. While it is more likely that the increased uniformed police presence in all neighborhoods was of more relevance, the crime rate in New York City stabilized in 1991 and thereafter commenced a continual decline in violent and serious crime rates.

Once these results were reported nationally, it did not take long for other law enforcement executives to take notice. Thereafter, community policing, with its problem solving approach, was accepted as the leading crime fighting practice both domestically and abroad. Community participation was advocated, and the final aspects of the community policing equation, namely fixed neighborhood patrol, the problem solving approach and strong partnership with the community became the norm. These efforts crossed the globe and similar initiatives were commenced in Israel (Weisburd et al, 2001), South Africa (South African Police Service Act of 1995, South African Department of Safety and Security Policy Framework and Draft Guidelines of 1997, and South African Department of Safety and Security White Paper on Safety and Security of 1998), Sweden (Swedish Police, 2005), Norway (Norwegian Police, 2000), and elsewhere.

In the mid-1990's, the problem-solving approach was supported by crime analysis and crime mapping, and community policing in its initial form lost its glamour as crime rates steadily declined nationally. The "zero tolerance" concept also drew the attention of both practitioner and researcher, and was often added to promote reduction in crime rates.

Internationally, the law enforcement agency that has received the most attention through the media and through its own self-promotion is the New York City Police Department. A comprehensive analysis of their assorted efforts at community policing and problem solving will be followed by perspectives of similar efforts attempted in Scandinavia.

COMMUNITY POLICING IN NEW YORK CITY AND THE USA

Historical Perspective (January 1994 - August 2001)

In January 1994, Republican candidate, Rudolph W. Giuliani, was sworn in as New York City's Mayor. His platform promoted a hard stance against crime and the improvement of quality of life throughout the city. To spearhead these efforts, Mayor Giuliani appointed former Boston Police Chief William Bratton as the New York City Police Commissioner. His first month in office saw the total restructuring of the upper executive corps with highly motivated "young blood" administrators taking over the top executive positions.

Under the supervision and guidance of the former NYPD Chief of Department, Louis Anemone, a number of initiatives have been undertaken since 1994. Since their implementation and continuing through 2010, a dramatic – 85 % reduction in violent crime and a notable improvement in quality of life has resulted. The following initiatives represent some of the more significant and successful programs instituted by the NYPD:

- 1) "Zero Tolerance" Proactive Policing
- 2) The COMPSTAT (Crime Analysis) Process

- 3) Twelve New Police Strategies
- 4) Crime Reduction Principles
- 5) Vehicle Safety Check Points
- 6) Truancy Sweeps
- 7) Surveillance Cameras
- 8) Enhanced Intelligence Gathering
- 9) Suspect Background Identification

1) **“Zero Tolerance” Proactive Policing**

The NYPD crime reduction strategists theorized that individuals who committed lower level offenses may later be responsible for participating in more violent criminal activity. By targeting and detaining offenders for less serious infractions, the police may be preventing a more tragic incident from occurring. While this concept may sound like a recent innovation, it was first introduced by Patrick Colquhoun (1795) in the 1790's, when he advocated targeting non-violent unlawful activity, e.g., gambling, public intoxication, etc., to deter more serious illegal activity. The NYPD quickly initiated a “zero tolerance” policy and began proactively enforcing lower level offenses including panhandling, public intoxication, excessive noise and disorderly conduct. All NYPD patrol personnel were supplied with pocket sized cards outlining legal references and procedural guidelines involving the lower level infractions. An additional goal of this strategy was to improve the quality of life in public areas. In line with George Kelling's and James Q. Wilson's “**Broken Windows,**” both sociologists and practitioners believed that addressing the quality of life concerns of the community should improve public

confidence in the police and reduce the level of fear in the traditionally higher crime neighborhoods in the city (Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

Since its inception in January 1994, this initiative has been highly effective and has greatly contributed to the impressive – 80+ % decrease in FBI Index Crime levels in New York City through 2010. As a result, New York City is now regarded as the safest city in the United States of America with a population exceeding one million residents, and this remarkable improvement in quality of life resulted in the easy and overwhelming re-election of Mayor Giuliani for a second term.³⁰

2) The “COMPSTAT” Crime Analysis Process

Since his appointment in 1994, (former) NYPD Chief Anemone advocated holding police executives completely accountable for the operation of their commands. Police Commanders have now been granted the discretion to assign their personnel as they deem necessary and no longer as per pre-designated staffing percentage guidelines. In order to be best informed and to appropriately deploy manpower, it is clear that police commanders must have information regarding current crime trends and productivity indicators readily available. Due to the archaic hand written fashion in which criminal incidents were recorded in the past, statistical information regarding index crimes, arrests and summary activity was routinely available 90 days to six months after the fact. In order to remedy this situation, the NYPD undertook the task of inputting

³⁰ The author was a member of the New York City Police Department from 1984 through 2003 and his first hand exposure to the various elements of community policing from its inception in the early 1980s through his promotion to police station commander at the turn of the millennium make it difficult to reference many aspects since programmatic elements and statistics were obtained while in service and were common knowledge to NYPD practitioners, particularly those in executive ranks.

all crime incident reports and arrest information into a computerized database. Precinct commanders and police executives now receive a weekly report that outlines summary statistics involving command demographics, precinct/unit staffing levels, civilian complaints, overtime, summons activity, sick rate, radio runs and response time with comparisons to prior year and city-wide data. Of even more importance is the weekly comparison report that documents criminal incident, arrest and summons activity on a week-, month- and year-to-date basis. Each commander must prepare a weekly response delineating efforts being made by their respective units to further improve the statistics and reduce serious crime.

In order to ensure that police commanders are continually analyzing this information and addressing necessary concerns, they are summoned to unannounced “COMPSTAT” (COMPUter STATistic) meetings at police headquarters, at least once each month. These commanders are subjected to direct questioning by the Police Commissioner, the Chief of Department, and other higher ranking executives regarding the efforts being conducted to address recent violent crimes in their respective jurisdictions and to ensure that crime reduction strategies, as instituted, are effective.

3) Twelve New Police Strategies

In order to give precinct commanders and police executives direction in their crime reduction endeavors, the NYPD has outlined 12 department-wide strategies that address important issues such as: gun control, youth violence, drug dealing, domestic violence, quality of

life concerns, auto theft, police corruption, traffic problems, professional and courteous public interaction, and the apprehension of fugitives.

4) Crime Reduction Principles

The NYPD has outlined four (4) crime reduction principles that apply the problem-solving philosophy (specifically: accurate and timely intelligence; effective tactics; rapid deployment of personnel and resources; and relentless follow-up and assessment) to the crime reduction strategies.

In line with this initiative, each precinct now has a Special Operations Lieutenant whose responsibility is to assist the precinct commander in analyzing crime patterns and quality of life conditions and to design a customized strategic response. The Special Operations Lieutenant additionally establishes and maintains liaison with other NYPD units, e.g., Narcotics Division, Vice Enforcement Division, Emergency Services Division, etc., and government and public agencies that can assist in the suppression of crime and the improvement of the quality of life in the neighborhood concerned.

5) Vehicle Safety Checkpoints

Each precinct and uniformed enforcement unit has been directed to conduct regularly scheduled vehicle safety checkpoints (utilizing the constitutionally permitted non-arbitrary method which allows police personnel to stop vehicles in a systematic fashion, e.g., every

vehicle, every fifth vehicle, every green vehicle, every vehicle with Pennsylvania registration plates, every taxi, etc.). Police officers are directed to conduct driver license and criminal warrant checks on all individuals stopped and to arrest or summons violators. While this may appear at face value to be purely an income generating operation, it has led to a dramatic reduction in auto thefts and a decrease in both vehicle accidents and pedestrian fatalities throughout the city. In order to obtain a greater benefit, the checkpoints are regularly conducted at accident-prone intersections, in higher crime areas or on streets where a crime pattern has been identified. The checkpoints are normally conducted for one to three hour periods and the increased uniform presence will act as a deterrent to violent crime in the surrounding public areas. The checkpoints may also be used to facilitate the exchange of information whereby wanted person bulletins and crime prevention information are distributed to vehicle occupants who may reside in, drive through, or frequent the area.

6) Truancy Sweeps

It is widely recognized that juveniles and adolescents are responsible for a significant portion of violent crime and community complaints. The New York City Education Law allows police officers to detain individuals during school hours who appear to be 17 years of age or younger. The pedigree information is recorded, criminal warrant checks are conducted, parents/guardians are notified, and the truants are returned to their respective schools, if within the precinct boundary, or to truant drop-off locations designated by the New York City Board of Education. School personnel also conduct truant debriefings and make additional parental notifications. NYPD guidelines also allow police officers to frisk and/or handcuff the truants as

the situation dictates for safety reasons as per “Terry v. Ohio” guidelines (Terry v. Ohio, 392 U.S. 1 - 1968). Countless weapons have been discovered and removed as a result of this initiative, and those responsible have been further charged as juvenile delinquents or youthful offenders in both Family and Criminal Courts. Locations that have been found to routinely “harbor” truants, e.g., billiard halls, bars, small convenience stores that sell alcohol and cigarettes, etc., have also been targeted for increased enforcement activity to deter catering to underage or truant teenagers.

7) Surveillance Cameras

By monitoring television screens that are connected to video cameras placed in public areas, a single police officer can maintain observation of a widespread area that, in all likelihood, would require the assignment of a team of patrol officers. The NYPD has conducted a number of pilot programs to measure the crime reduction potential of video cameras strategically placed in problem plagued public areas, such as city parks, school yards and the public areas surrounding socialized housing developments. Initial results have indicated a dramatic decline in reported criminal and community complaints and have resulted in an expansion of the program. It appears that the mere presence of the video camera itself acts as a deterrent to illegal activity. The operation is very cost effective in that a restricted duty (injured) police officer is assigned to monitor the television screens in lieu of the deployment of a squad of police officers to cover the same area, thus saving valuable man-hours and allowing the redeployment of these personnel to other initiatives and enforcement functions.

8) Enhanced Intelligence Gathering

In order to solve crimes and apprehend offenders, extensive effort has been applied to obtain as much intelligence information as is possible. After the police respond and gather information and evidence at a serious criminal event, or if it is determined that a pattern (serial) crime has occurred, the Precinct Commander or Precinct Detective Squad supervisor will direct a community policing beat officer or detective to respond to the incident location and conduct an investigative debriefing of area residents and business persons. This canvass may occur immediately after an incident, the next day at approximately the same time of occurrence, during evening hours when residents are more likely to be home, or if warranted, repeatedly at different times.

Another extremely effective initiative to obtain criminal intelligence is to have precinct detectives approach persons in police custody and thoroughly debrief them utilizing a list of prepared general questions, e.g., “Do you know anyone that sells drugs?” or “Do you know anyone that possesses illegal weapons?” and a list of relevant questions dealing with current ongoing investigations, e.g., “Last Thursday a homicide occurred at First Avenue and 55th Street not far from your residence. Do you know anything about this? Did you hear any rumors?” While there are apparent restrictions regarding the questioning of suspects (as per the Miranda guidelines), suspects often have no reservations about discussing criminal conduct that has been committed by others.

In addition, arrested individuals who have waived Miranda protections and have chosen to be questioned by investigators are thoroughly debriefed regarding other criminal participants (e.g., “Who sold you the narcotics? Who offered to buy the stolen property from you? Who else participated in the planning of this crime?”). Detailed information should be obtained in an effort to procure arrest and search warrants with the assistance of the prosecutor’s office. The ultimate goal is to remove as many violators from the streets as possible.

9) Suspect Background Identification

Many violators, when arrested, refuse to identify themselves, utilize a fictitious identity, or are released on their own recognizance without a thorough background investigation (e.g., parole/probation status, arrest warrant, recidivist status, suspended/revoked driver’s license, bench warrant history, etc.). NYPD arresting officers can no longer release an individual by issuing a desk appearance ticket or universal summons without first positively identifying the suspect. Only certain select forms of identification (i.e., photo driver’s license, valid passport, citizenship or naturalization papers, and resident alien card) are acceptable. Without proper identification, the individual will not be released and will be processed as an arrest and delivered directly to the court system. If the suspect does provide legitimate identification, a thorough background investigation will be conducted before the person may be issued a court appearance ticket. If a person fails any stage of the background check, they will be removed directly to court for a prompt arraignment before a judge.

2011 Statistics

At the start of the year 2011, New York City progressed through the new Millennium as the safest city in America with a population over 1 million people. While New York City had consistently ranked in the “Top 10” crime ridden cities in the USA through the early 1990s, NYC now ranks near the bottom of the more than 220 American cities with a population over 100,000 (FBI Index Crime Report, US Department of Justice, 2009). The strategic deployment of NYPD personnel, coupled with the “Zero Tolerance” philosophy, has resulted in continuing reductions in serious crime through 2010, which continues the crime reduction trend that started in 1994. Since the COMPSTAT and Zero Tolerance initiatives have commenced, serious crime in New York City has decreased more than –80 % and this trend continues, with the largest and most impressive reduction in the former bellwether crime of murder, which has declined almost –85 % since 1994. The number of individuals injured by gunfire in NYC in the last six years also declined approximately –75 %. It is estimated that this dramatic reduction in murder since the inception of the new policing philosophy in NYC has spared over **22,000** lives from the murder rolls.³¹ While the costs of policing the streets of New York City can be concretely defined, there is no way to estimate the value on the lives of the thousands of people that are alive today because of the NYPD’s successful endeavors. Of interesting note, due to the lack of gunshot victims, medical professionals have made an issue that new medical interns no longer obtain sufficient trauma training at hospitals located throughout NYC.

Tourism and Revenue

³¹ This statistic is calculated by comparing the base level of 2000 murders each year in New York City in the early 1990s and comparing it to the contemporary figure which hovers around 500 murders annually.

The heightened sense of safety and security on the streets of New York City has had a drastic impact on business and tourism. Recent statistics indicate that in excess of 200,000 tourists visit the “Big Apple” NYC each day on average. The tourist trade, coupled with the success of flourishing new businesses, had resulted in annual tax surpluses surpassing \$4 billion dollars through the start of the new millennium. Unfortunately the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack reversed that trend for a number of years, but the economic condition of NYC has steadily improved since that time to approach a \$5 billion dollar annual tax surplus since 2006. More importantly, New York City continues its designation as the “safest big city in America.”

A Look Back to the 1990s: Community Policing in NYC (1990 to 1994)

As previously outlined, not only was crime rampant in New York City in 1990, but police-community relations were at an all-time low. Due to NYC’s high crime rate (with a murder rate that surpassed 2,200 in 1990) and a highly publicized corruption/perjury scandal, the public had little confidence, nor support, for the police. In 1990, NYPD Police Commissioner Lee Brown was appointed by Mayor David Dinkins to rectify the sad state of affairs. Commissioner Brown immediately instituted “Community Policing” as the department-wide philosophy. The entire police department was evaluated and re-organized, and thousands of police officers were re-assigned from administrative tasks to patrol and enforcement responsibilities, with new civilian employees hired as their replacements. In addition, 5,000 new police officers were appointed over 5 years with supplementary funding supplied by New York State and the implementation of a new “police tax.” The community policing implementation plan, entitled “**Safe Streets/Safe City**” (City of New York, 1990), called for precinct patrol

personnel to be assigned to foot patrol in every neighborhood in the city. In fact, the contractual agreement between NYC and New York State mandated the deployment of between 30 to 70 police officers to foot patrol on community policing beats in each of the NYPD's 75 police stations or "precincts," some of which are only two to three square miles (four to six square kilometers) in area. The goal of this tactic was to increase the visible uniform presence in an effort to deter crime and increase the sense of public security.

Police Commissioner Brown also instituted a dramatic change in management style by directing all Precinct Commanding Officers to chair monthly "Community Council Meetings" that are held directly in each police station and that are open to all precinct residents and business persons. The purpose of these gatherings is to allow all members of the public to relay their concerns and complaints directly to the precinct commander, who was given the new responsibility as problem-solving coordinator for the jurisdiction. In addition, Commissioner Brown, in an effort to strengthen the police-community partnership, mandated that an elected panel of five representatives from each precinct would designate the five priority problems to be addressed by precinct personnel and would evaluate the progress of the efforts and conditions each month. This clearly established the community as an equal participant in the police-community partnership.

The implementation of the community policing philosophy resulted in the stabilization of serious crime and a dramatic increase in citizen satisfaction in the police and an enhanced feeling of public security.

Supporters of “Community Policing” note that there are two important components, namely, enhancing community involvement while at the same time utilizing a problem-solving approach against crime and other community concerns. Commissioner Brown’s implementation plan did much to enhance community participation, but in reality left the responsibility of developing and implementing problem-solving strategies in the hands of front line patrol officers. The community policing “scale” in the early 1990s therefore favored the “community partnership” half of the equation.

On the other hand, the new “Zero Tolerance” crime analysis oriented policing philosophy swings the scale to the other side by holding the precinct commander strictly accountable for the crime reduction problem-solving efforts within the jurisdiction. While community policing continues to be an important aspect of policing in New York City, the proactive and assertive enforcement efforts have recently placed a burden on police-community relations since the mid-1990s, most notably in communities with large minority (e.g. African American and Hispanic) populations.

Police-Community Relations

Mayor Giuliani’s “get tough on crime” stance has had a clear impact on illegal and violent conduct and improved the quality of life on New York City’s streets. Thorough analysis of crime has resulted in the strategic deployment of NYPD resources in the neighborhoods with the highest crime rates. In New York City, these areas tend to be predominantly minority (i.e., African-American and Hispanic) communities at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. The

dramatic increase in uniformed police presence initially drew cries of a “Police State” in these neighborhoods, but once violent crime subsided, most community leaders quickly supported the new initiatives. It is now relatively safe to walk on the streets again, even in precincts that traditionally had high crime rates. However, some minority leaders and political activists have publicly extolled that the increased police presence in minority neighborhoods is racially motivated and is a coordinated effort to target only African-Americans and Hispanics for summary action and arrest. Some of these minority community leaders often refuse to publicly acknowledge the positive impact of the statistical analysis of violence and crime trends, the strategic deployment of police personnel to high crime neighborhoods, and refuse to accept the reality that the majority of serious crime in New York City is committed by minority males (85%), most of whom are African-American (55%) (Ridgeway, 2007). The same leaders maintain that relying on statistics will result in stereotyping which in essence promotes racism.

Racism and the Police

Is there racism within the police? Does racial profiling exist? Is there a clear definition of racial profiling? These are difficult questions to answer. Each person in society and each police officer have their personal opinions and prejudices, which may change after extended experience and exposure to the harsh realities of the street. The NYPD mandates that all personnel remain professional and neutral at all times. Is it possible that police officers can totally put aside personal beliefs or perceptions and take unbiased police action? Do police officers suspect that young African-Americans driving fancy new cars are actually drug dealers or car thieves? Are police officers themselves being stereotyped as being anti-minority and

racially motivated? These questions cannot be concretely answered in general terms and the responses will differ on an individual basis.

In 2000, the US Department of Justice concluded that the NYPD did participate in widespread racial profiling and recommended an independent monitor of the police. The Justice Department came to this conclusion by stating that, since approximately 54% of the NYC population is non-white, yet 90% of the persons that are stopped by NYPD officers with “reasonable suspicion” of criminal conduct as per Terry v. Ohio guidelines (US Supreme Court, 1968) are minorities, NYPD officers are therefore utilizing racial profiling as their justification to stop these suspicious individuals (US Commission for Civil Rights, 2000).

These minority leaders and the US Department of Justice failed to comprehend a major reality. While arrest and crime reporting data reveals that the criminal population in New York City is comprised mainly of members from minority groups, most police officers (approximately 61% in the NYPD) are white males. This therefore creates the likelihood that male white police officers will routinely interact with minority suspects. This results in numerous occasions for minority leaders and the media to label sensitive incidents, such as police shootings and allegations of police brutality or misconduct, as being racially motivated. There have been an isolated number of highly sensationalized NYPD incidents that have drawn the attention of the media and the scrutiny of the public.

The 70th Precinct Police Brutality Case

In August 1997 in the early morning hours, as a crowd was leaving a dance club that was closing for the night, a large group of Haitian immigrants began fighting with each other. When 70th Precinct police personnel responded to the call for assistance, they themselves were turned upon by the intoxicated crowd. After further police officers arrived and the crowd was finally separated, one of the original combatants, Abner Louima, punched a uniformed police officer in the face without provocation. That officer, Justin Volpe, placed the individual under arrest. What happened next was clearly bizarre and difficult to comprehend. Later the same day, the suspect made the sensational allegation that the officer that had arrested him had brutally and sexually attacked him in the police station bathroom. The Haitian and African-American communities immediately staged large-scale demonstrations. The media grasped the allegation as the major headline for months, relying mainly on the fabricated claim by certain African-American leaders that this single isolated incident was an indication that police brutality against minorities in New York City was widespread. Almost two years later in the summer of 1999, Police Officer Volpe pleaded guilty to this unbelievable crime. This brutal attack on an unarmed and handcuffed suspect was the first of a small number of incidents that have drained police-community relations in minority neighborhoods and have initiated a sense of mistrust in the New York City Police Department.

The Bronx Street Crime Unit Shooting

In February 1999, the elite plainclothes Street Crime Unit, with its reputation for arresting large numbers of violent and armed suspects throughout New York City, was deployed in the Soundview section in the Bronx in search of a violent serial rapist. One evening while

patrolling the streets in their unmarked vehicles, two officers observed a male in a dimly lighted doorway that they believed resembled the sketch of the wanted suspect. As they exited their auto, the first two officers were joined by two colleagues who had also observed the suspect. The four officers identified themselves as police officers and directed the suspect to stop and raise his hands. The suspect, in apparent defiance, started turning away and reached into his pocket while standing in the dark apartment building doorway. The officer standing closest to the suspect observed the male remove a black object from his pocket and yelled the word “gun!” to his colleagues and, in self-defense, the police officer drew his firearm and fired. The three other officers also fired, believing that the ricocheting bullets were actually bullets being fired at them. At the conclusion of the event, which lasted only 5 seconds, the four officers had fired 41 bullets, and the suspect lay dead in the building doorway. The object in the suspect’s hand turned out to be a black wallet. It is unclear why the suspect made the evasive and furtive movements, but the suspect was an illegal alien from Africa who may have incorrectly believed that he would be deported if apprehended by authorities. All four officers involved in the incident were white and the same African-American leaders once again proclaimed that the incident was a clear example of racism and racial profiling, and called for large scale demonstrations and civil disorder. The media also fueled the “anti-police” environment by reporting that the police had shot and killed an “unarmed street peddler,” when the victim’s occupation had nothing to do with the incident. The Bronx prosecutor, Robert Johnson, himself an African-American, in an apparent effort to gain political favor, charged the four officers with intentional pre-meditated murder.

The media attention and public outcry compelled the New York City Police Department to evaluate recent trends in the stopping of criminal suspects. The African-American community alleged that NYPD personnel engage in racial profiling and thus target mainly African-American and Hispanic individuals when conducting criminal investigations.

The NYPD analyzed documents to ascertain if these claims were true. The results of this investigation were interesting and notable. Although 90% of suspects described by crime victims were minorities, only 85% of the suspects stopped and investigated by police were African-American or Hispanic, and 13% were white. These statistics therefore counter the claim that NYPD officers engage in racial profiling by intentionally detaining a larger proportion of minority suspects. It appears that police officers in New York City are merely stopping suspects in response to descriptions provided by crime victims, who in 81% of violent crime incidents are minorities themselves (New York City Police Department, 2000). Mayor Giuliani and NYPD executives were quick to emphasize that their own findings counter the claim made by the US Department of Justice that NYPD personnel engage in wide-spread racial profiling.

The four officers were tried in Criminal Court and in February 2000 were found “Not Guilty” of all charges, having been found to have acted in self-defense. The African-American leaders disregarded the jury’s findings, and continued to cause more controversy. In two subsequent cases in which African-American suspects were killed by police in New York City, these same leaders claimed that racism played a role, even though the police officers involved were themselves minorities, and in both cases were involved in life-and-death situations in which the suspect was trying to take the officer’s firearm. It often appeared as if the media enjoyed

causing increased sensationalism and community unrest by emphasizing inaccurate information in their headline reports.

Courtesy, Professionalism and Respect

In August 1997, in response to the 70th Precinct police brutality case, the NYPD released a new strategy aimed at improving the professional image of the police by emphasizing increased courtesy and respect to the public, criminal suspects and NYPD supervisors and peers. A copy of the report, entitled “**Courtesy Professionalism Respect**” (New York City Police Department, 1997) was distributed to each of the 41 thousand police officers and 9 thousand civilian employees of the NYPD. The ultimate goal of this strategy, nicknamed “CPR,” was to breathe new life into police-community relations.

The report emphasized positive interaction with the public and noted that if “crime levels decline, but members of the community are reluctant to approach police for fear of a negative encounter, then the police have not met their obligations to the public.” The document continued that “negative perceptions of police behavior toward the public” may emanate “not only from incidents of actual misconduct, but also from situations where proper police actions were mistakenly viewed by the public as inappropriate.” This is a clear reference to the media’s continuous sensationalizing of controversial or questionable police actions and reporting of contradicting information, which in itself has repeatedly caused community unrest and, on occasion, rioting.

The NYPD has undertaken considerable effort to improve the image of the police. New initiatives have been instituted to enhance the quality of newly hired police officers. The applicant screening process has been revised to emphasize the “screening in” of candidates with desirable characteristics, rather than the “screening out” of unqualified candidates. In addition, efforts have been made to recruit most candidates from the pool of New York City residents, not from the surrounding suburbs. Many sociologists believe that persons who reside outside of major American cities may not appreciate the diversity and comprehend the cultural differences in the various communities in the neighboring metropolis. New York City residents now receive extra points toward the final score on hiring and promotional exams and increased effort have been made to conduct recruitment drives at colleges and schools in minority neighborhoods. Educational requirements for newly hired police officers have also been increased from a high school diploma to two years of college education (or two years of military service).

In 1994, the NYPD introduced the “Verbal Judo” concept when interacting with suspects and other members of the public. Every member of the NYPD has attended the “Verbal Judo” course, which emphasizes verbal de-escalation techniques to help police officers avoid and defuse conflicts while obtaining voluntary compliance, improve communication skills and reinforce concepts of professionalism and respect to ensure use of minimum necessary force (Thompson, 1983).

In addition to attending mandatory community meetings with representatives from the respective neighborhoods that they serve, all police officers have obtained and will continue to

receive both ethical and cultural awareness training, and now have the opportunity to obtain language instruction to overcome barriers and better communicate with neighborhood residents.

The NYPD has six separate performance monitoring programs which are designed to proactively identify and track police officers who present discipline problems, appear to use excessive force, or have personal difficulties which may impact their job performance. This computerized early warning system supplies numerical points to incidents that occur within a police officer's career. When a police officer obtains a target number of points, the individual is called into police headquarters and is interviewed by a peer counselor who apprises the officer of the situation and the negative impact it may have on his career aspirations. If the negative conduct fails to improve, then the officer concerned is assigned to a non-patrol function. In addition, precinct and unit commanders are apprised of the special monitoring status of personnel within their command and must then reevaluate the progress of the individual officers.

The most important aspect of the "CPR" initiative is the regularly scheduled community meeting attended by police commanders in each of NYC's neighborhoods that allow an open dialogue between the public and the police. In addition, many highly successful programs have been instituted that involve community youth in sporting and other positive activities, where police officers can interact directly with the juvenile population in an informal and friendly environment.

Civilian Complaints against Police

While some minority leaders and the media contend that the new “Zero Tolerance” philosophy would create a “Police State” in minority communities and that there would be an overwhelming increase in negative interactions with the police, Civilian Complaint statistics clearly indicate that the opposite is true. From 1995, when the new policing style was fully institutionalized, through the turn of the millennium, the number of civilian complaints filed against the NYPD has decreased by -20% and the number of excessive force complaints has declined -32 % (New York City Civilian Complaint Review Board, 2001). This impressive reduction occurred at the same time that the complement of police officers in the NYPD increased by approximately 12,000, which reflects a +40 % increase in police personnel through 2001. However, once the New York City Civilian Complaint Review Board permitted unscreened online reporting of abuse allegations against members of the NYPD, the number of complaints increased dramatically (New York City Civilian Complaint Review Board, 2006), but has now declined again since 2009. However, it should be noted that well less than 2% of all civilian complaints filed against NYPD members, including the more than 10,000 civilian staff (e.g., parking enforcement agents, school safety officers, 911 operators, etc.) are found to be substantiated.

Police Corruption and Misconduct

Of the approximately 35,000 police officers presently in the NYPD, there are over 500 investigators assigned to the Internal Affairs Bureau, which is responsible for thoroughly investigating allegations of corruption and police misconduct. With the dramatic increase in police resources in recent years, there has been a notable decrease in the number of corruption

complaints filed against NYPD employees. In the period between 1997 and 2001, these complaints have declined approximately -33 %, and continue a trend that commenced in 1994 (New York City Police Department, 2002).

In proactive fashion, Internal Affairs Bureau investigators routinely conduct integrity tests either randomly or involving targeted police personnel. These tests evaluate a police officer's reaction to found currency or narcotics and ensure that legal and police department procedural guidelines are complied with. From 1997 through 2001, only one police officer has failed a random integrity test and approximately 40 police employees have failed targeted tests (New York City Police Department, 2002). Individuals failing an integrity test are subsequently arrested and suspended and all efforts are made to terminate them from their employment with the NYPD.

All police officers are administered tests for illegal drug usage. These urine and hair sample tests are administered to all newly hired police candidates, to all promoted and newly transferred personnel, to officers suspected of using drugs illegally based on allegations and observation, and to all police personnel on a random basis. In 1998, sixteen and in 1999, 25 police officers failed the illegal drug examinations and were subsequently and automatically fired from the NYPD. The numbers of drug test failures continues to decline (New York City Police Department, 2002).

Fatal Shootings involving the Police

While the media and certain minority leaders would have you believe that NYPD officials, under the new “zero tolerance” philosophy, have created a racially motivated “police state” promoting a “cowboy shootout” environment, the opposite is actually true. In 1990, at the peak of the rising crime rate, there were 41 fatal shootings by NYPD personnel, which declined to 30 in 1994, when the zero tolerance philosophy was initially instituted. In 1999, there were 11 fatal shootings, a - 75 % reduction since 1990 and a -65 percent drop since 1994. In addition, the number of shooting incidents involving NYPD officers has decreased over -50 % since 1994, and the number of bullets shot by NYPD personnel has decreased more than - 45 % over the same time frame (New York City Police Department, 2001). These dramatic reductions occurred as the firearms carried by NYPD officers were improved from the six shot revolver to the 16 shot 9MM handgun. To better appreciate these statistics, one must consider that the number of sworn officers in the NYPD increased almost + 40% over the same period. When compared to other metropolitan police departments in the USA, the NYPD is actually one of the most restrained law enforcement agencies in America. These figures have remained relatively stable through the new millennium.

As the streets of New York City have become safer for the public, they have also become safer for NYPD officers. From 1999 through early 2003, no members of the NYPD were killed by gunfire. However, that figure has unfortunately changed through 2004 and 2005 with three line of duty deaths annually involving NYPD enforcement personnel (New York City Police Department, 2006), but clearly much lower than line of duty death trends witnessed in New York City and across the USA in the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s.

The Effective and Professional NYPD

Not only has the 1994 reorganization of the NYPD and the institutionalization of the zero tolerance philosophy resulted in the dramatic – 85 % reduction in serious crime in New York City since that time, but all indications are that the New York City Police Department has continued to evolve into a highly professional police agency. From 1994 through 2002, the sworn officer complement of the NYPD had increased by approximately 12,000 police officers (or about + 40 %), yet the number of civilian complaints filed against the police, fatal police shootings, police shooting incidents, police brutality complaints, and corruption and misconduct allegations made against the NYPD have all drastically declined.

It appears that the negative perspective that the media and certain minority leaders are portraying of the police is inaccurate and that the opposite is actually true. The stereotyping of NYPD personnel as being brutal, abusive and racist is not based on fact or reality, but on isolated incidents or fabricated allegations, and it often appears that the media is merely relying on the sensationalism created by opportunistic minority leaders to sell more newspapers and obtain more television advertisement revenue.

It should be noted, though, that a certain amount of racism and prejudice exists in many individuals regardless of profession. But the strong probability that a male white police officer will become involved in a “negative” incident (e.g., arrest, shooting, physical confrontation, etc.) with a minority suspect is not based on racism, but is merely the most likely police-suspect

interaction encountered in New York City. The public and the media both have to acknowledge that reality.

It also should be emphasized that all efforts should be made to gain the respect and cooperation of community members, and the NYPD and police agencies throughout the world should ensure that their personnel are educated in cultural diversity and in “courtesy, professionalism and respect.” Recruitment of new officers should target all facets of the community at large. Diversity in police agencies will improve public confidence and satisfaction in the police. No effort should be spared to improve and strengthen the police-community partnership. The support and trust of the population that is served is an important and necessary aspect of effective policing, and is just as relevant an indicator of police department success as crime reduction.

The Post - September 11, 2001 World

Stating that the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on American soil has changed life in the United States and the role of law enforcement is an understatement. On September 11, 2001, over 3,000 innocent lives were lost in a surprise dramatic attack by extremist Middle Eastern terrorists. The loss of 420 rescue personnel in New York City, including 72 law enforcement officers, coupled by extensive and exhausting counter-terrorism measures, has dramatically caused a drop in morale and the retirement and resignation of over 15,000 NYPD officers since 2001. The complement of officers has steadily declined from a high of almost 42,000 in 2001 to

the current level of approximately 31,000 enforcement personnel, a steep decline of almost – 30%.

This terrible tragic attack did have one positive result. Public support for police and rescue personnel dramatically improved. This immense tragedy did not cause dissention, but actually drew Americans and the international community together. Unfortunately another intention of the perpetrators was to cause an economic decline in NYC and the United States, which did occur, but which has slowly improved.

Mayor Giuliani, who had lost much of his public support, particularly from minority communities within New York City, quickly emerged as a strong leader in the darkest hours in this country's history. The NYPD, faced with extensive and new counter-terrorism responsibilities, continues the successful crime reduction trend to this day. But the NYPD continues to receive criticism from the African-American community after each incident in which a white officer interacts with a minority (non-white) suspect under media sensationalized circumstances.

The Future of Community Policing in the USA

So where does all this leave community policing? Do the two basic subcomponents, community participation and problem-solving, still warrant a role in contemporary law enforcement? The answer is a definitive “Yes!”

With the additional responsibility of counter-terrorism, the community has been called upon to provide law enforcement with as much assistance as possible. Given the gravity of the situation, it is imperative that everyone acts as the additional eyes and ears of the police. In addition, community input and feedback are critical aspects (and measures) of agency success. If the population served is not content with the police service, then community unrest could result. And as “public servants,” the police hold an important stake in ensuring that the public has both trust and confidence in law enforcement.

The second aspect of community policing, problem-solving, has clearly become an important factor in the national crime reduction trend. While the emphasis has shifted from the front line beat cop back to the local commander, instituting a strategy that addresses the root cause of the problem or crime trend can save considerable effort in the long run. With the assistance of computerized crime analysis and crime mapping, major police departments can strategically deploy personnel to disorder ridden areas. The utilization of the “Broken Windows” theory and the “Zero Tolerance” enforcement initiative has had a dramatic effect on improving the quality of life, as well as unforeseen decreases in violent and serious crime.

What then has affected the concept of community policing in America the most? Clearly the emphasis on homeland security, not only in local law enforcement deployment, but more importantly in the drastic shift in federal funding, has played a major role in the contemporary trend away from local community policing efforts. COPS and other traditional grants for local law enforcement agencies have become practically extinct, as the emphasis has shifted to counter-terrorism and emergency preparedness. While community policing clearly has merit

and is the basis for recent dramatic crime reductions both locally and nationally, the concept as originally depicted unfortunately may go the way of the dinosaur.

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS: SWEDEN AND NORWAY

The crime reduction successes in the United States have drawn the attention of international police executives over the last decade. During the dawn of the American crime decline of the mid-1990s, many law enforcement leaders placed responsibility for this dramatic accomplishment on the community policing strategies that they had been publicly endorsing. The promotion of this accomplishment caught the attention of the federal government, and the COPS funding initiative was created. No police executive could turn down federal funding for additional personnel and equipment. The crime reduction trend continues in the USA to this day, and police executives in other nations had been paying attention. As crime rates increased in Europe and globally, the public there called for action. If this strategy worked in one western democracy, then why not in another? The national police administrations in Scandinavian countries and other nations, e.g., Israel, South Africa, Haiti, Brazil, among others, have opted to implement community policing as the crime fighting initiative for the new millennium (Davis et al, 2003; Israeli Police, 2004; South Africa, 1995; South African Department of Safety and Security, 1997 and 1998; and Weisburd et al, 2001).

Policing in SWEDEN

The Scandinavian country of Sweden is protected by the National Police Administration comprised of a national headquarters and 21 subordinate county police authorities and 23,000 employees. Annually 1.2 million criminal offences are reported to the Swedish police. The most frequent grounds for police interaction involves public disorder complaints (35% of all incidents), followed by 16% for violent crime and 15% for theft (Swedish Police, 2005-1).

Following the American trend, the Swedish National Police Administration instituted the community and problem oriented policing models as the new law enforcement ideology in the early 1990s. In addition, an effort was made to incorporate community involvement in crime fighting. A complement of 1,500 auxiliary (volunteer) police officers now assist Swedish police in uniformed patrol and rescue operations. The Goldstein model involving fixed localized assignment and front line problem solving was selected as the methodology to be instituted. Regional commanders were also granted the discretion to deploy personnel as needed (over six week periods), which permitted the assignment of resources to reflect crime trends. The result has been the stabilization of crime in Sweden over the last decade (Swedish Police, 2005-2).

Another initiative has been the development of a comprehensive survey to measure the quality of police service. The Swedish Police Balanced Scorecard, which examined crime victimization, fear of crime, and fear of disorder (quality of life offenses), has been in use since 1998. Over 200,000 surveys have been administered nationally resulting in the following significant findings:

- The main public fear of disorder involved interaction with intoxicated persons and drug users in public places
- The fear of crime was highest in transportation facilities such as train stations and bus depots
- The fear of crime was dramatically higher in cities rather than suburban and countryside regions
- The public preferred visible foot police patrols over longer vehicular patrol shifts
- The public is increasingly dissatisfied with the processing and investigation of criminal complaints

The Swedish police have thus created a mechanism to obtain public feedback and have used the citizen survey as a measure of police effectiveness (Swedish Police, 2005-2).

In summary, the National Police Administration in the 1990s had accepted the Goldstein model of community policing as its crime reduction ideology. However over time, the regional commander, and not the front line foot patrol officer, has been designated the chief problem solver and strategist, which reflects more the crime analysis (COMPSTAT) prototype than the delineated problem oriented practices of Goldstein. The results have however been impressive with crime rates remaining steady since the initiative's inception. The use of the citizen survey as a major measure of police efficiency does reflect the country's desire to use public input to impact police performance.

Policing in NORWAY

The Norwegian Police is a national agency under the supervision of the National Police Directorate. Specialized national investigative units and the National Police Academy join 27 regional police districts with a total complement of 12,000 employees. Theft related crimes account for the vast majority of criminal complaints followed by a small number of drug, violence and vandalism related crimes (Norwegian Police, 2005).

In 2002, the Norwegian police instituted “Crime Prevention Policing” which emphasized the Goldstein problem-oriented policing methodology. However, keeping in line with the American trend, the district commander was designated the problem solving strategist (not the front line patrol officer), which reflects the COMPSTAT model. As a result, national crime rates, which had been stable since the end of the 1990s, commenced an impressive decline overall and in each category but drug related offences (Norwegian Police, 2006)

The Crime Analysis and Problem-oriented model is now the mandated crime reduction strategy with a directive that all districts receive specific training in the concept by the end of 2006. The emphasis is now on proactive enforcement over reactive response. In line with the community policing model, the police receive training in contact with both public and private agencies to foster the involvement of social agencies to deter delinquency and drug usage, and the use of security personnel and architects to promote safety through environmental design. In addition, fixed patrol assignment has been directed, but very few officers are routinely assigned to foot patrol, which is the most recognized form of community policing within the Goldstein and Trojanowicz perspectives. Efforts have been made to emphasize community involvement,

and the “Night Raven” civilian patrol program has become highly regarded and extremely successful (Norwegian Police, 2006).

In summary, the police of Norway have incorporated accepted community policing and problem-oriented practices into their crime fighting initiatives. In line with recent American successes, the task of coordinating problem solving strategies has been delegated to the local commander. The initiative has been successful as crime continues to decline. Efforts to engage the public in crime prevention endeavors also has proven to be beneficial. The one drawback has been the difficulty of police executives to deploy additional personnel during days and time frames needed as reflected by crime trends. Cultural norms and lack of union cooperation have made it challenging for commanders to assign supplementary personnel to weekend and evening patrols, when street level crime and disorder conditions are most visible. Regardless of this drawback, the Norwegian police appear to be moving in a positive direction.

THE FUTURE OF COMMUNITY POLICING

It is clear that the paradigm of community policing as described by both Goldstein and Trojanowicz never reached its advertised fruition. While appealing and successful in small scale pilot projects, when expanded to large agencies, the expected goals were rarely, if ever, achieved. However, the problem-solving concept did evolve into the crime analysis/proactive strategic response model most clearly exhibited by the COMPSTAT practices of New York City and copied elsewhere. Most law enforcement executives and many criminologists give this

aspect of the community policing ideal credit, at least partially, for crime reduction trends in large cities and nationally in America, and for crime declines in other nations such as Norway and Sweden.

It would therefore appear that community policing in its purist form is facing extinction both in the United States and internationally, but the concept is still being promoted by law enforcement executives as a means to advocate enhanced police-community cooperation and partnership. Computer analysis and proactive strategic deployment (based on crime mapping and “hot spot” deployment) appear to be the more desirable (and clearly more effective) forms of problem-oriented policing and crime fighting. In the United States of America, budgetary shifts emphasizing counter-terrorism have taken funding away from most community policing related endeavors. While no police executive will publicly admit this reality, community policing in its classical form has never been fully realized and faces extermination in both the USA and abroad. It can be concluded that in the contemporary world, technology has taken away the “personal touch” within local law enforcement. This trend is clearly being duplicated internationally.

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Promoting the Construction of Community Policing and Building a Harmonious Police-Public Relationship

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ABSTRACT

Community-oriented policing is an integral part of work at grass-root police stations. Therefore, it is significant and hard for public security organs to undertake community policing well, to make community policing effective, to meet new expectations from the public, to ensure the safety of people's life and property, to further intensify people's sense of security, and to build a closer police-public relationship. Grounding on operational practice of grass-root police stations and apprehending the demand of social regulation innovation, this article analyzes the key factors in promoting community policing and building a harmonious police-public relationship, and objectively presents the following opinions on community policing: to have a

correct concept, to reform the dated work style of public security police, and to maintain the integrative coordination of policing.

Key words: community policing, police-public relationship, public security work

Community police services are based on communities and serve the communities. Only when community policing work is implemented well can public security work be fruitful and vital. To achieve the goal, the key lies in the working style of the police: to keep contact with the public, to serve the public and to build a harmonious police-public relationship. The article hereby grounds on the practice of grass-root police stations and discusses issues like community policing and a harmonious police-public relationship.

I. Essential Requirements and Effectiveness of Community Policing

Community policing has the following main characteristics: it aims at crime prevention and crime reduction; reactive policing has been replaced by proactive policing; it depends on the support of the public to control crime and is forming a positive cycle gradually in social security. So community policing is community orientated, service orientated, and root causes elimination oriented. It highlights the friendly image of police officers, the police-public partnership, and the socialization of policing and proactive control of latent crimes. Police officers should commit to the community and propaganda actively for the purpose of strengthening the awareness of community residents to abide by the law and to prevent crimes. They also motivate and organize the community public to participate in community security management, and promote a mass prevention and treatment pattern and a cooperative police-public pattern.

In recent years, domestic public security sectors have been advocating the good tradition of adhering to the mass line, have been drawing on advanced foreign experience and outstanding achievements, and have been endeavoring to promote the “three constructions” of community policing. The “three constructions”, that is, “informationalized policing, normalized law-enforcement, harmonized police-public relationship”, aims to improve community police services. Take the Hengshui Public Security Bureau for example. The bureau has innovated the community policing pattern, from administration-oriented to service-oriented, and properly arranged the community police force. Through this method, police have gone into the community and have become closer to the public, and the police-public interaction has further developed. The bureau has gained remarkable achievements, including:

Firstly, responsibility zone adjustment and reasonable police force allocation.

According to community size, population size, security condition, quality and quantity of police officers, and the standard by the Ministry of Public Security that one police officer is responsible for the local administration for 1000 households or 3000 people, “two police officers in one community” or “one police officer in one community” is adopted. The Municipal Public Security Bureau appoints police officers to the community to help community colleagues with community affairs.

Secondly, more normalized community policing offices and distributed equipment.

The size of the community policing office is the same as that of community residents committee, with an area of no less than 15 m². It has a unified identifier and appearance. Standards are set for work, including work system, work specifications, and workflow. In the office, there is a file cabinet, a police affairs transparent board, a current position board of police officers, a message book for community residents, a police-public contact box, a comprehensive account, a

jurisdiction management map, computers connected to police network, laptops connected to internet, a camera, and a record pen. Additionally, vehicles are provided. In all, everything is prepared.

Thirdly, responsibilities of community police officers are defined. The bureau has determined that community police officers should perform five items of responsibilities: collecting and mastering information, management of present population, organizing network-prevention, public security management, and building a closer police-public relationship. Otherwise, it has defined work specification and evaluation criteria.

Fourthly, community resources have been scientifically integrated, and a comprehensive system of “mass prevention and treatment” has taken an initial shape. Each community has organized a “mass prevention and treatment” team, which consists of community public security treatment and guard committee, community patrol guards, security treatment activists, and residence and courtyard advisers. A multi-faceted, comprehensive and integrated crime prevention network comes into being,

In all, community policing has gained greater achievements everywhere. Community policing appears to be positive. However, there are still some problems that need solving. For example, the community lacks police force. There is one policeman in charge of two or more communities in many places, and he is likely to be careless in work; some community policemen seldom do their best to keep contact with residents, the relationship with community is not close, and they do not have sufficient information, which brings difficulty in dealing with problems; the self-governing security organizations seldom organize activities, some of such organizations do not play a role. All these problems need to be studied and solved carefully in practice. The

subjective effort of police officers should be investigated and analyzed. Measures should be taken to solve these problems.

II. Main Factors that Influence Community Policing of the New Type

The practice has shown the main factors as follows: conceptual vagueness of community policing, lagged individual quality of community police officers, dated performance evaluation criterion of policing, poor service and assistance given to the public by community police officers.

1. Conceptual Vagueness of Community Policing

Among the community police officers, there is still a shallow understanding of cooperative community policing that requires resident participation. The thoughts of law-enforcement are not healthy. The privilege thought of “managing humans” and “punishing humans” is deep-rooted. A sizable number of community police officers thinks that community policing is a new version of the work of conventional household registration police officers or jurisdiction police, similar to responsibility zones. Some even think that community police officers work in isolation, have no right to handle an incident and no right to manage affairs, so they have no achievements. Some grass-root police officers do not realize that implementing the community policing strategy is good for social stability. The shallow understanding of community policing and the advantage makes police officers lack enthusiasm for work, and each measure cannot be carried out in the progress of promoting community policing.

2. Lagged Individual Quality of Community Police Officers

Community police officers act as security police officers and community police officers. Many community police officers do not receive good education. So they cannot face the increasingly complicated tasks of social regulation and security-prevention, cannot guarantee the legal rights of the public timely and effectively, thus affecting the harmony of police-public relationship. Some police officers do not have multiple skills, and they feel confused when performing their duties, they do not know what to do, how to do, and from which to commence with. They lack work experience of communicating with the public. Some police officers cannot calm down, and they are unwilling to keep contact with the public. Some even cannot keep up with the age, accept the newly emerging things, master modern scientific technology, and apply hi-techs to community policing. So in the new situation, they do not meet the requirements of policing, and increasingly they are incapable of controlling the community and handling social security.

3. Dated Performance Evaluation Criterion

The conventional criterion to evaluate policing performance is not so reasonable. For example, the quick response time, case solving rate and arrest figures are all determined according to crimes. The action value of the police lies mostly in fighting against transgression and crime, and it is evaluated only in public security organs. While the action value of community police officers lies in management, service, and prevention, the evaluation emphasizes the public satisfaction and sense of safety, and the evaluation criterion is set with the public oriented. The community police officers visit and communicate with the public, patrol,

help teenager offenders, and deal with family dispute. It is the daily service that changes the public attitude towards police officers and increases sense of safety of the public. A scientific evaluation of community police officers demands involvement of many social sectors, and it is not simply an in-public security sectors business. For community policing of the new type, the conventional criterion to evaluate the policing performance is far from the new demand of community policing.

4. Poorly Performed Work of Community Police Officers in Serving and Assisting the Public

The grass-root police stations undertake more tasks, such as answering and handling the alarming call, and first response actions, particularly after the quick reaction mechanism of 110 alarming has been popularized, so community affairs, both the public-serving and the public-assisting, are neglected. For instance, in immigrant population management, quite a lot of immigrants swarm into the city, which adds burden to municipal security management. It is common for public security organs to take adverse measures to manage immigrants, and the service for immigrants has not been in progress. A survey shows that, the workload percent of the public-serving and assisting is only 25% of the total workload at police stations in China, while it is 36% for European or American coppers. There is a big difference. In addition, police work in conventional policing is administration-oriented. They report to a higher level of authority whenever encountering problems, only when receiving instructions that they can handle. The conventional working style limits the capability to handle cases and lowers service effectiveness of the new community policing, which expects an extensive participation of the public.

III. Measures to Promote Community Policing

Police officers should grasp the essential requirement of innovative community policing, consider key factors influencing community policing, have a correct concept of community policing, adjust measures to conditions, and promote the community policing.

1. Unifying the Ideology and Setting Up a Correct Concept

The correct concept should stress the overall awareness, management awareness, and the public awareness. **Firstly, develop an overall awareness of community policing strategy.** Community policing strategy is a complete and systematic project of public security. With the quickened progress of urbanization, promoting community policing is part of both community construction and reform. To a great extent, community policing foretells and determines the future security work, especially foretells and determines the development course of grass-root public security work. The goal of community policing cannot be attained simply by building several police service offices, and by creating several fashionable slogans. We must consider the overall situation, resist the idea of “once and for all”, abandon the working style of “bit by bit”, take community policing as a systematic, long-term, arduous and strategic project to promote, carry out thoroughly, and lay a solid ideological foundation for creating a new situation of public security work. **Secondly, build up awareness of new security management.** Community policing represents the thoughts and patterns of public security. The purpose of it is to perfect the police officer’s image, to build a closer police-public relationship, to make police officers work near the public, and thus to control social security effectively. In the progress of community policing, police officers should build up firmly a concept of security protection, aim at

community security, strengthen prevention, regulation and control, adjust goal timely, master emphasis of public security, and have the initiative to complete the outlined goal. The guiding ideology of “combination of punishment with prevention, with stress on prevention, seeking both temporary and permanent solutions with special focus on permanent solutions” should be built up, various social forces and social elements should be integrated thoroughly into an organic whole. The purpose is to promote stability and development of community. The police and the public share the responsibility of protecting community security. The community stability is the basis of social stability and the premise of improving the whole public security situation.

Thirdly, heighten the awareness of cooperation with the public. Carrying out the mass line is always an unalterable work style of communist party, and also a traditional advantage of public security work. Community police officers work at the grass-root community, communicate and contact with the public directly in daily routine, deepening the close police-public relationship. The work style activates the system of “neighbor watching” and the system of “joint prevention and patrol”. To an extreme extent, it makes full use of certain security management resources and realizes “limited police resources, infinite public force”. Such a policing pattern reduces the administration cost of social regulation and improves work efficiency. To promote community policing is to identify the emphasis of work, to build a platform, to motivate the public to participate, and to gain active support from the public.

2. Break the Routine, Adjust Measures to Conditions and Carry Out the Reform of Public Security Work Style with a Bold Hand

Community policing requires police officers to devote to management, prevention, and community service so police officers have more chances to make their decisions, and have the

discretion to handle the cases they accept. The police share the management right with community residents, and build an intimate partnership with them. There is a power sharing between community and police in police decision making. To establish a new pattern of community policing, the following work should be done. Firstly, strengthen standard construction of police affairs office. Security developing tendency and real fight against enemies' demands standardized construction of community police affairs offices with high standards. The police affairs offices are the standing agencies, which are of great importance to community policing. To promote community policing, it is necessary to activate the enthusiasm of police officers for work. After determining the missions of community policing, the emphasis should be on how to make police officers perform their duties seriously, and on how to make them undertake the responsibility independently and willingly. The community police officers should enhance cooperation with police varieties and community residents, forming the mechanism of "community police officers lead, multi-police cooperation, police-community interaction". Secondly, be strict with social security management and control. Social security management aims at the suspicious-persons, things, and places. The public security agencies take open and secret measures to prevent various transgress and crimes. For community policing, police work shift from enforcement to prevention. The purpose of it is to control suspicious persons, and to protect the people who are liable to be aggressed illegally. Regular patrol is carried out at the area, venues and working sites where crimes take place frequently. Incident driven policing has been replaced by problem oriented policing. Community police officers should enhance communication and cooperation with each community resident and community organizations at all levels. By fully developing human resources, material resources, financial resources, and information resources in the community, and integrating community public force

into security comprehensive treatment, a cooperative security-prevention situation will form improving the utilization efficiency of community resources. **Thirdly**, strengthen objective management in work. Responsibility system carried out step-by-step guarantees the realization of policing objectives and it is also a basic evidence to monitor and evaluate community policing work. To carry out objective management of community policing, a management system should be established and perfected, with responsibility system as its core. On the one hand, establish an objective scientifically. Based on much investigation, conclusion, and analysis, an annual objective is established for community policing work, and the objective system should be kept stable on the whole. On the other hand, be strict with evaluation. With reference to the practice of community security, an overall performance evaluation of community policing should be conducted strictly. Crime-control incidence is a vital objective parameter. The fundamental work in the community should be checked and accepted. Meanwhile, comprehensive evaluation covers the public serving, clues to cases offering, the alarming call answering and handling, civil dispute mediating, and public security cases handling.

The 2011 AAPS Annual Conference Proceeding



7. Alex S. Vitale (Brooklyn College, USA) *Strategy and Tactics in Protest Policing: The Limits of Negotiation Management in South Korea.*
8. Fei-Lin Chin (Central Police University, Taiwan) *A Three-Dimensional Analysis of Drug Enforcement Policy in Taiwan.*
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10. Andrzej Trela (Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Polish National Police) *The Process of Evolution of Cost Management in Police with Use of Benchmarking Techniques.*

Strategy and Tactics in Protest Policing: The Limits of Negotiation Management in South Korea

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A Three-Dimensional Analysis of Drug Enforcement Policy in Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

For the last decade, Taiwan has faced drug dealing and drug using as an increased phenomena. The dominant response of government to this dramatic evolution was (and already is) a metropolitan drug enforcement through periodical and local massive arrest policy. But the drug problem continues to increase, and policy does not work in the manner in which we might expect.

The application of this policy is accomplished through three steps: the first one is the decision making of policy by criminal investigation bureau, the second one is the elaboration of local massive arrest strategy by police high officer, and the third one is first-line policemen application of the policy. In each step, they have their own objectives and expectations. The original policy has evolved over time, but we don't know the influence of this evolution to fight drug trafficking.

Our research plan is to understand what is the real distortion, and what is the effective influence of this distortion on the policy efficiency. We will use the organizational anomie theory (we also use to analyze the community police in another research) as cognitive base. We will also use the three dimensional analysis as methodology. The three dimensional analysis is based on the clear differentiation of: the first dimension, what we wish, what we want to, what we project and institutionalize. The second dimension is what it is in fact, how do each one accept or reject the institutionalization, what do they practice and what do they not. The third and last dimension is what must be to ameliorate the policy.

A three dimensional analysis will help us to understand the reason of distortion, to understand the real attitude of the actor, and to find some way to adapt efficiently the concept of drug enforcement.

To accomplish the three dimensional analysis, in each dimension we will conduct an interview the three steps actors: decision step (member of the criminal investigation bureau), elaboration step (police officers) and application step (first line policemen).

I. INTRODUCTION

1) Introduction on Research Problem

During the few months of non-official interviews and discussion, we understood that the way police leader elaborate drug enforcement policy and strategy was still different from the way first line police practice this strategy. It seems that an evolution of mentality and level of acceptance exist and grow up from decision-makers to practitioners.

Non-official interview isn't scientifically proven; it is hardly useful for us to establish a clear and secure cognitive apprehension of the subject based on this type of knowledge, and it is not acceptable to base reflection on obscure proof, and find a way to resolve emblematic problems of police system. We need to use an official and scientific way to accomplish our research.

This present paper will focus on metropolitan drug enforcement through periodical and local massive arrest policy and strategy.

2) Introduction to Research Method

We will use a tridimensional analysis method. The tridimensional analysis is the method used during research regarding the relation between first line policemen and private security relationship (Chen, Lahlou, 2010). It is based on the clear differentiation between:

1. The first dimension: what we are, what we wish, what we want, what we project and institutionalize.
2. The second dimension: what it is in fact - how does each one accept or reject the institutionalization, what do they practice and what they do not practice.
3. The third and last dimension: what we must be doing to be effective.

Tridimensional analysis seems to have a similitude with traditional analysis, but in fact, it differs in structure.

1. Traditional analysis includes research on literature review (establishment of the theory using for the following objective research and experimentation), from an analysis of situation and a conclusion. The three part of traditional research include the logic of

cause-effect process, the most important element being the inter-dependence of each part: the research review prepares the base of analysis, and the researcher elaborates analysis based on review of the conclusion. The conclusion is a result of discussion about the analysis. It is traditionally practiced for inductive or deductive research. But it is difficult in the case of counter-induction or abduction.

2. In tridimensional analysis, the three parts are mostly independent of one another; each part could be by itself a research including literature review and observation or experimentation. We independently examine what is the view of each actor on ideal policy and on their self-social-identity; we also examine what is our understanding of theoretical social identity of each actor. In a second part, we independently observe by induction the reality of actor action, what is in correlation with the first part and what is not. (There are no pre-established hypotheses on the results of the second part). The last part used the first part and the second to pre-evaluate the ideal of policy evolution.

The goals of each research model are different, and so are the processes. Traditional method goal is to understand reality based on theoretical explanation; it's an open and linear process. If reality is different to the theory and the hypothesis, the researcher can reject the theory and build a new one.

Tridimensional research starts with an already understanding problem, as problem knew by a non-official interview or self-experiences, so we already have a clear idea about the phenomena. The objective is to understand the corresponding theory and the fact, both in equal level, and to make the first and the second dimensions become a harmonic system (the third dimension). The finality is to find the logical law influencing the phenomena.

The three dimensional analysis methodology is based on some basic rules associated with the Descartes (2000, 2002) method.

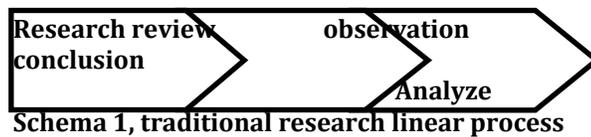
1. Rule I (quotation of 2002), *studies' object must be the direction of the spirit, make it able to have a clear and right judgment about all phenomena it is face on.*
2. Rule II (quotation of 2002), *just care on the object your mind may have a certain and indubitable understanding.*
3. Rule III (quotation of 2002), *facing the object we are studying, don't make research on what somebody else think about, and not about what you think about (=believe, abstraction and subjectivity) but about what you can have a clear and sure intuition on, or about what you can surely deduce on.*
4. Rule V (quotation of 2002), *to find the true, the method consist on the disposition and the ordination of the objects you are looking on.*
5. Rule VIII (quotation of 2002), *If in the (organized) serial of objects appear one for which you cannot have clear intuition, you must stop here: you cannot examine the following object*
6. Chapter IV (explanation of 2000), *The ordination of objects must be based on simple, sure and admissible principle*
7. Chapter I, II, III, IV (explanation of 2000), *if two theories are in opposition, it prove that at least one of them is wrong, and perhaps the both are. Almost every theory already has counter-theory. Theory cannot be the base according which we observe fact; fact must be observed just as fact without pre-established mind windows. And theory cannot be the basement of ordination of the studies' object*

(It must be a simple, sure and admissible principle).

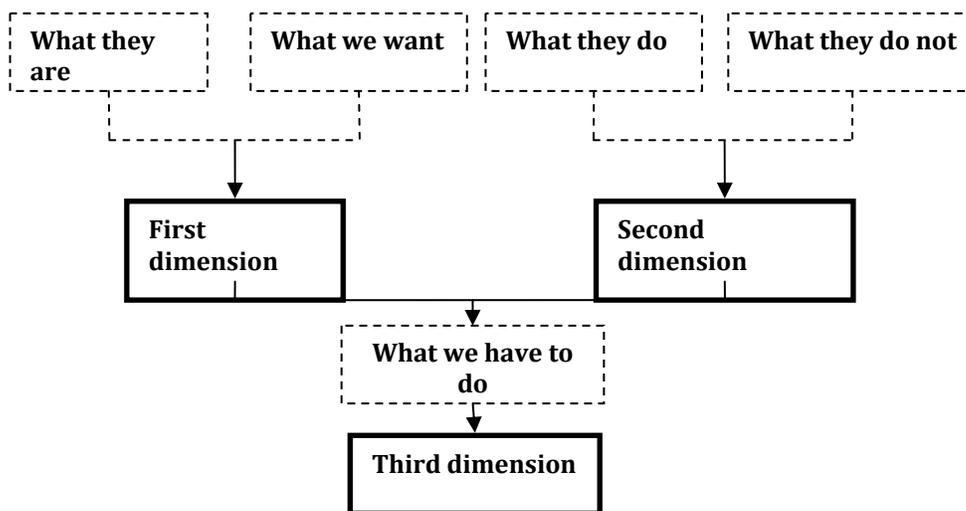
So we first understand the object, and then, based on sure and admissible principle, we start the research by ordination and disposition and search the logic regulating the phenomena.

This is a more closed system than the traditional system, and it's a "Y" form process (in opposition to the linear process which is a "I" form process).

Traditional research model :



Tridimensional research model :



In this process, nothing will be rejected, neither theory nor fact, but both will be considerate as the equal object of studying, and the research tends to readapt and harmonize them. The ordination and disposition of the objects are the first dimension (what they are, what we want) and the second dimension (what they do, what they do not). In the third dimension, we

reorganize the cognition to find the logic law regulating the phenomena, and so the way to resolve the problem.

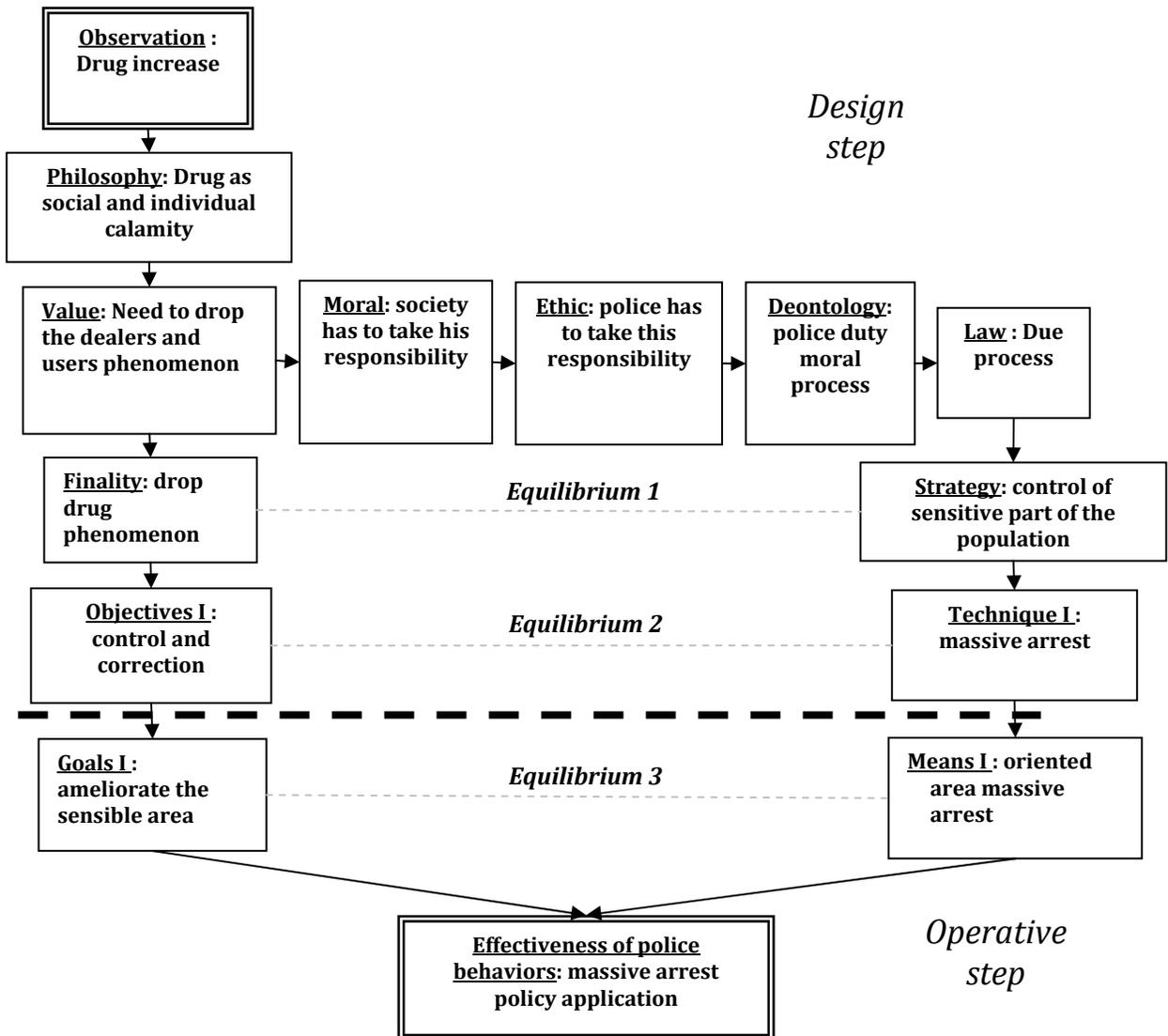
3) Introduction on School

This present paper is based on criminology and includes police sciences. In studying criminology, police sciences or criminal justice, every researcher needs to base his or her research orientation on a specific school. Our school focuses the comprehension of objects into three main elements.

1. The first and more important element of our school is the comprehension of system.
2. The second element is the clear distinction between the process of mean and the process of goal.
3. The third element is the logical process of moral-ethic-deontology³²-law

The system we use is the “Organizational Anomie” system. This system was established through a complete theory in the past few years. In this present paper, we will not explain again all theory (because of time and space reasons), but we will further adopt the drug user/dealer mass arrest policy to the system, and we will make a point about problem of “equilibrium” inside the coordinate system.

³² In English literature, deontology is usually translates by “practical ethic”, but in Chinese and in French, deontology have an independent appellation, focusing on the difference between ethic and practical ethic. Our school pays much attention to this difference.



Schema 2: fiction example of massive arrest drug enforcement system organization based on Chen, J.C., Lahlou, A. (2011) schema on “Organizational Anomie”

Of course, in our schema, the content of every case is a title (fiction), but even if it is a simplification, fact is that the strategy of control of sensitive part of the population (young, teenagers and nightclub clients) tries to attain the finality of “drop drug phenomenon”. And the use of mass arrest approaches is one of the techniques (not the only one) to accomplish an efficient control and send into correctional system the law-breakers. So, one of the means (not the only one) consists on focusing massive arrest on sensitive areas (nightclub, pubs, etc.) and on

sensitive time (evening and night), to ameliorate the life safeness and the quality of this sensitive area.

As we can see, strategy corresponds to finality, technique to objective, and mean to goal. These are the three equilibriums between the two processes inside the system. If there is no equilibrium, any coordination is impossible. Merton used to discuss on means and goals. It is in fact the *equilibrium 3* of the system, but there are two others before it.

4) Introduction to the Finality of Present Research

Based on *Project Social* theory, analphabetism for la Croix Rouge-Niort, Robert Lahlou states and demonstrates that for a successful partnership, we don't need that every partner have the same level of consciousness (means the same values on the top of each organizational system, and same finality). He states that different partners (professor, humanitarian association, social-worker, psychiatric hospital, etc.) just need to have the same objective and the same goals. If it is true, it means that objective and goal are the main origin of organizational behavioral success, and as Merton states, the most important is to understand if goal and mean are coordinate or not.

But more important: if it is true, it means that Durkheim's first Anomie Theory needs to be readapted. In *La Division du Travail* (1893), Durkheim states that anomic enterprises have four common problematic phenomena:

1. Because of division of the work, the entire production is separate in different organs.
2. Because of different organs specificities, workers don't feel like working on the same

duty, but consider their own organ as an entity and forget the common moral³³. It follows a refutation of common values and common finality and goals, and an emphasis of organ's own values, finality and goal.

3. Because they consider themselves as an entity (independent system with his specific organizational norms), they may consider other organs as enemies; by the way forget the unity of the enterprise.
4. The solidarity inside the enterprise as entity disappears.

It means that to work well, every step of the hierarchy and every organ needs to have a common moral, common finality and common goals.

Our hypothesis is that Durkheim is right, and *Project Social* theory is not. So, by hypothesis, we don't agree about *Project Social* statement as a rule. And we use the theory on different organizational behavioral situation to test it.

In the past, the first research was about reform of system inside an organization: when we change the system, must we change the level of consciousness (beginning with values), and goals and means will be more important. We have tested it with community police reform in France and in Taipei. The first part of the theory and demonstration was published in Taiwan (Lahlou, A., 2010; Chen Ja-qin, Lahlou, A., 2011) and the last part will be presented in August' Kobe symposium. It proves that during a reform, if we don't change and unify the level of consciousness of every organization's members, the reform can't success, or can fail. The second

³³ « Sur le point de vue moral, en même temps que chacun est ainsi placé sous une étroite dépendance à la masse, il en est naturellement détourné par le propre essor de son activité spéciale qui le rappelle constamment à son intérêt privé dont il n'aperçoit que très vaguement la vraie relation avec l'intérêt public » ; « la diversité fonctionnelle entraîne une diversité morale que rien ne saurait prévenir, et il est inévitable que l'une s'accroisse en même temps que l'autre »

part was to test the influence of a same goal but opposite finality between two organizations inside the same area (without partnership). We use the relation between police and private security. It was published in India (Chen Ja-Qin, Lahlou, A., 2010). It proves that the two organizations see each other as concurrent with harmful conflict for both parts.

In the present paper, we will test the situation inside a stable and traditional organizational behavior, with no evolution, no reform, and no change. It means that the habitual behavior exists for generations. We will use the massive repression arrest policy. We will test the evolution of levels of consciousness along the whole pyramidal hierarchy, and his influence on organizational behavior.

5) Object of Studying

1. Review

The literature review is one of our objects of studies; it is used to add explanations to the phenomena, and not to pre-direct our view on the phenomena.

2. Interview

Through the non-official interview during few months, we already have a clear idea about empirical objects of study; the interview tends to give us an official fundament for ordination and disposition of every crucial element.

- i. The interview will be a semi-open interview, based on several questions, on cases discussion and on pictures description:
 - a. Questions abstract (it will be personalized according the level of the sample, high officers and first line policemen questions will be adapted, or explained if necessary)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Questions</i>	<i>In theory</i>	<i>In practice</i>
Enforcement values	What are the values of drug enforcement through periodical and local massive arrest policy? It corresponds to what kind of social values?	V	V
Enforcement finality	In the very end, what do you expect massive arrest will change for social order?	V	V
Id	Does it ameliorate social order?	V	V
Enforcement goal	Every time you process on massive arrest, what are the immediate goals?	V	V
Id	Does it ameliorate local environment?	V	V
Enforcement moral	Are the massive arrest policies a moral policy inside the society?	V	V
Enforcement ethic and deontology	Are the massive arrest policies a moral policy for police job? (dealers, users) Is that what society expect from police system?	V	V
Enforcement laws	Do you know according what laws are elaborates the massive arrest policy	X	V
Enforcement strategy	In general, what are your strategies?	V	V
Id	Does it correspond to outside condition?	X	V
Enforcement technics	In general, what are your techniques? Have your enough training for that duty?	X	V
Enforcement means	Do you think that you have enough legal means to do this enforcement? Sometimes, do you need to use to improvise new means to do this enforcement? (yes or no, no description)	X	V

We will not directly ask them “do you agree” or “do you believe”, because workers inside organizations like Army or police, if there is no exaggeration or abuse of the system, they have to officially agree and believe the organization, and for some of them, telling a researcher he doesn't know “I don't agree” can be one kind of treatise. “Do you agree/believe” is easy to ask a friend in police, but it is not really adapted for a stranger working in the police system. So we will ask “in practice” and “in theory” to deduce if they believe/agree or not:

- In theory and in practice it is the same. The practice does have the consequence described in theory. So they believe and they agree.

- In theory and in practice it's different, but in fact, the practice also has positive consequence (as unexpected consequence). They don't believe, but they agree.
- In theory and in practice it's different, and the practice doesn't have unexpected positive consequence. They don't believe or agree.

b. Case and picture

- ii. The interview duration will be from half an hour to one hour.
- iii. If the person we interview refuses to work with a tape because of feeling unsafe, we will use the writing method.
- iv. The interview will concern one police (ex-) decision-maker, one police (ex-) strategy-designer, XXX officers, XXX first line policemen.
- v. For all of them, there will be a control group, meaning informal discussion with same level policemen, with which we will discuss without tape and without including directly them inside the research. The goal is to confirm the validity and the reliability of interviewed population declaration.
- vi. Police (ex-) decision-maker, police (ex-) strategy-designer must have worked on a drug problem during the three last years.
- vii. The decision-maker and strategy-designer work (or was working) in national central bureau, but officers and first line policemen work in local bureau. The officers and first line policemen we interview will work in the same district, by that way, we drop the disequilibria of situation coming from local differences regarding drug problem.
- viii. The district will be in big city.

- ix. For reasons of research ethics, we will not divulge:
- a. Name of person we interview
 - b. The detail about bureau where they work
 - c. District of officers and first line policemen
 - d. The whole content of the interview (for example the content which is a danger for safety of organization or individual person).

3. Principle of regulation for ordination and disposition of elements

According to the method (cf. point six and seven of Descartes method), we don't use pre-establish theory, but we must use the most simple and realistic principle as fundament for ordination and disposition.

Our principle is that an organizational system can work and have good results only if there is a good equilibrium and a common acceptance of every step by everybody.

Good equilibrium includes:

- a. equilibrium inside the system, especially between goal and mean
- b. equilibrium between the system and the ecosystem, especially a good cognitive apprehension by the system about the "*outside reality*"

Common acceptance of every step by everybody is including common acceptance of the organizational goal, strategy, and mean.

Ordination and disposition of phenomena will focus on the disequilibria and on the divergence of acceptance between each step of the hierarchy, including the origin of these disequilibria.

II. FIRST DIMENSION

The first dimension focuses on what they are and what we want.

In system organization, we basically hope that every member stays inside the same and unique schema. If everybody inside the organization has the same values, the same objectives, same goals, same norms, the same strategies and use common means, it means that everybody works in the same level of consciousness.

With massive drug arrest policies, we can define four organizational levels: the decision, the design, the organization, and the execution.

The decision comes from CIB bureau or Ministry Police Bureau; the design comes from a central police station, the organization comes from a vice police station, and the execution can be at every level, but in general, it's vice police station and local police station, point is that it's first line policemen.

In following discussion, we will call:

Decision level	Level one
Design level	Level two
Organization level	Level three
Execution level	Level four

1. Level One:

For level one, if we want to solve the drug problem, we must focus on transporters and dealers. Crime prevention must focus on the third and fourth level drug users, because they are

not physically dependent on drugs; but first and second level drug users do have dependence on drugs, so prevention is useless. In fact, periodical massive arrest is not about solving criminal problems or prevention. Because on one side *“massive arrest policy is a mean, there is no real finality (...) more than 70% arrested are only user”* (1-1-1), and *“The result of massive arrest policy (in nightclub), now we can see the consequence, in Taiwan there is some motel, with big room, more than few hundred meters square; they will organize four five hundred people party inside motel, all drug user’s”(1-1-1)*. And in fact, during massive arrests, *“most part are first level and second level drug (like heroin user), we arrest them, but next time their recidivism exceed 90%, and will be arrest again, no amelioration (...) so we use police force on them, it’s not really useful (...) but population expect government do something on, and politician also expect we are on TV and news show we do it”* (1-1-1)

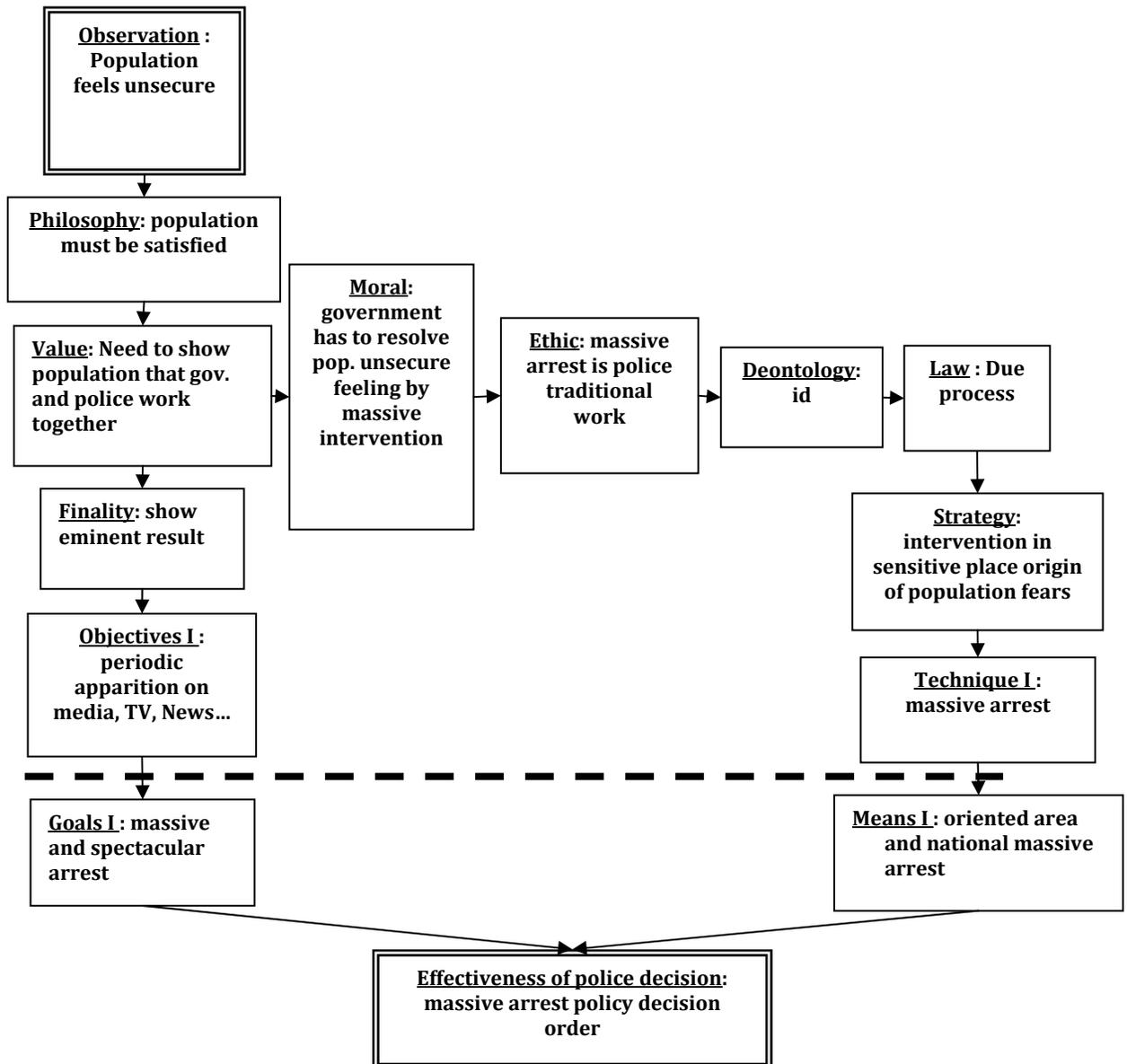
The point of periodical massive arrest is not completely police values, but it is social values: *“In Taiwan, large part of population never go to nightclub, never go to PUB, never go to this kind of place, for them, it is mysterious place, for about 90% of the population. They will connect this place with problem of drug. In fact, in this kind of place, it’s all drug of level three (...) and very few dealer”* (1-1-1) but even if there are third level drug users, the law will not punish them harshly, and police cannot use this massive arrest to prevent.

The problem is that there is big fear in the population about drugs, and the most part of this fear focuses on a “mysterious satanic” place named ‘nightclub’ or ‘pub’. Even if these places are not the center of the drug problem, police need to show that they are making interventions inside. The best way to show that is a spectacular arrest reported by the Media.

Even if it will not really solve drug problems, but this kind of massive arrest are according to the police ethic and deontology, because this kind of intervention *“about police ethic, it is an*

police traditional habitude, massive arrest is the earliest work, so it correspond with our ethic”(1-1-1).

Tradition and habitude are reflecting the ethic, meaning that ethic is oriented by organizational tradition. And it means of course that legal mean exist for long time. The organizational process of drug massive arrest in level one of police system can be resume by this schema:



Schema 3: level one's massive arrest drug enforcement system organization

2. Level Two:

For second level policemen, the massive arrest is not about prevention or solving society's drug problem. In fact, it's "*short time consequences, maybe for some of them, they are afraid to be arrest, concentration of policemen in arrest work will, he will be careful*" (2-1-1), and when the massive arrest intervention stops, everybody can go back to their everyday life style.

The point of this kind of intervention is: "*point is to make population believe in police*" (2-1-1). Massive arrest interventions try to create confidence with the population, and it doesn't really matter that this policy belongs or not on population's original expectation "*maybe it's what population expect, and maybe you make them expect it; you actively let them expect that you are doing something on this problem*" (2-1-1). So the objective is that, "*we want to tell population that police is working, you see the information that day, and you will think that police... do his job*" (2-1-1), so, for this policy, second level policemen will tell you: "*I think that his value is a value regarding media*" (2-1-1) because "*you have to report the society about your work*" (2-1-1).

By the way, massive arrest intervention design is that "*we can tell outside (media): you see, we have this result*" (2-1-1)

In fact, the result of massive arrest doesn't really mean anything regarding public security: "*the result is very subjective, for example, city X said they arrest ten thousand person in relation with drug crime (user, dealer, etc...), it don't mean anything, but population see it and think police is doing his job*" (2-1-1), and the reason why it don't mean anything is that police quotidian work is to arrest criminals, and massive arrest is just a concentration in two or three days of the jobs they originally do in a few weeks: "*(question: why two or three day a*

month?) because, we think about, it's a basic problem, they have to make arrest all the time, it's not Monday, Thursday you make arrest and Wednesday, Friday you don't make arrest, you will lost you influence outside. But (massive arrest) important part is about focusing on particular result expectation...it's a concentration. Concentration of police force will give good result". (2-1-1)

Consequently, massive arrest policy is just a technique to attain population believe, so it's not again police ethic, but it doesn't have anything to do with ethic and deontology: “ **(question on ethic)** It's about interest; there is lot of different interest, one will accept for the prime, for money, maybe because it is already an habitude, or because he feel success in his job, there is a lot of different origin of acceptance, and our objective is to tell society we are doing our job **(Do you mean massive arrest policy is not from police ethic duty, and it's just a response to society expectation?)** Yes. **(question: is my explanation right?)** yes pretty right...they will continue to use drug, they will not stop because of your massive arrest policy **(question: no correlation with ethic?)** yes, yes, yes.” (2-1-1)

But second line policemen recognize that massive arrest is a challenge regarding policemen work pressure: “If you cumulate too many specific massif arrests, the pressure for first line will be too high, they can't support too many big interventions” (2-1-1). And also that there is a problem of equilibrium: “**(question: are the mean and the goal equilibrate, can the mean attain the goal)**it's not really equilibrate, sometime it's a problem of capacity, you cannot buy the adequate technologic equipment for everybody, and more important: first line policeman, he have lot of duty, not only this one, you can't ask your man to be super-man, you can just expect

he have one domain particularly strong, but you can't order him to be expert in every domain"
(2-1-1)

3. Level Three:

The day after second level designer send massive arrest intervention order, first line policemen have to start the intervention. Third level have one day to organize the intervention in secret, and just half an hour before intervention, they inform first line policemen: *"we have to plane one's a month; for massive verification, it's one's a week. According to the result send by local police station, and the target description, and the analysis of the place, we plane the intervention. After we plane, and half an hour before the intervention, we make reunion and inform first line."* (3-1-1) *"for example, today we have intervention at ten o'clock, every policeman will be asking to come at 9:20, and our first work is the inspection of the material, pistol, ball..."*(3-1-1)

As for first and second level, the third level think that point is about showing police force to the society: *"All local police station make intervention at the same time...(question: why at the same time?)...to show the force of police, and to make detergence, let them know that police is doing his work"* (3-1-1). But at this level, there are four principal differences.

- (1) First, media is just a way to show, but it's also an dangerous institution for police work: *"if we solve a big case, the best way is to report the media...but if we start an intervention, and as X case, the media report, so...; so when central bureau design intervention, it's pretty secret, they tell us the day before the intervention, they also are afraid about evasion of information"* (3-1-1)

- (2) There is periodical prevention consequence “*during the massive arrest intervention, they will be careful, but they will continue to use drug...the intervention reduce the commerce during this period*” (3-2-1)
- (3) Real point of showing police force is not about citizen showing TV, it’s about citizen showing policemen in his street: “*during intervention period, many policemen are in the street, population understand that there is big intervention, and crime will reduce...in a street cross they can see policeman, and the next street cross see another policeman, they will appreciate, feel more secure... but an inspection here, another in the second street, they will said: why again, the last policeman already inspect, from x street to x street, there are lot of strategic line where we inspect, but we will explain patiently why we do that. If it seems that there is problem, we will reinforce inspection, but if the citizen seems to be non problematic, we just spend 3 minutes for the inspection*” (3-2-1)
- (4) There is a real preventive result in the place they do intervention: “*it will (ameliorate the public security) for example, this 8 places (pub, KTV, nightclub) the 8 places that investigators tell us, today they will make intervention during three hours...this place will know by the way that we have one eye focusing on them, this 8 places will be careful*” (3-1-1)

But as for first and second level, the third level doesn’t believe that prevention is working for drug user and drug dealer :“(**question: so the prevention is focusing on the director of the establishment?**) *Yes yes yes, exactly, if we really want to catch drug, it’s not so easy, drug need long time...*” (3-1-1)

On other hand, they believe that population really wants this intervention, not only for drug prevention, but also because drug massive arrest will drop robbery inside the community: *“the population, about massive arrest, we can say they agree. And they will help us, and more, when we need to, they will give us information we need...we have 3000 of population (giving quotidian help).”* (3-1-1) *“ they (population)agree, because it can reduce the quantity of drug user in the street”* (3-2-1) *“they hope increase public security, they don’t want thief, drug here, because generally, in Taiwan, robbery case all come from drug user population... they hope we make intervention to prevent small robbery case happen”* (3-1-1)

Other positive consequence of drug massive arrest is that it can insure police ethic of first line policemen: *“If you are too many time in contact with crime, you will make crime, police ethic is to control policemen, policemen who often are in contact with drug criminal”* (3-1-2)*“police ethic is about our rectitude...if you are in quotidian contact outside with drug case, you will naturally have temptation, if you spend your money without plan, if you don’t have rectitude about your ethic, and you are in contact with drug criminal, maybe you will also use drug... (question: and drug massive arrest will help on respect of ethic by policemen)yes yes yes. Police ethic, is the rectitude of the way, if you break the rectitude, you will influence police ethic...the result of intervention is a problem, on other side, if your rectitude make problem, media will report nonstop”*(3-1-2)

So, even if they recognize that first line policemen vision on ethic is quite different *“but the first line policemen may understand ethic as respect of the hierarchy”* (3-1-1), but *“when you work as policemen, you have to execute the orders of you superiors, if they plane it, so we do it ”* (3-2-1), the conclusion of third level policemen for drug massive arrest is that *“it is in concordance with police ethic”* (3-1-1).

For the third level, the mean and the goal are in correlation, because *“inspection and arrest is one part of policeman work, we are just develop to a massive intervention size”* (3-2-1) and *“training, it’s a quotidian training. Intervention is a practice, and the point of practice is the security of man, security is the most important.”* (3-1-1)

And so is the law: *“the law we use to plane intervention include the penal law, the due process law and other law, all is in this directive (send by level two)”* (3-1-1)

4. Level Four:

For fourth level policemen, the problem is quite different, and in fact everybody is conscious about the difference between their level point of view and first 3 level point of view: *“down, they have their own strategy, but up they have their own adaptation ”* (3-2-2)

In level four, policemen think that the real goal of massive arrest intervention is to arrest criminal: *“Our goal, it’s only catch the drug users and dealers”* (4-2-1)

For first line policemen, massive arrest intervention is also to show police forces, but to show to the population and the criminal *“in fact, it’s more detergence, we show them that police do the work (...) there are propaganda result on population, propaganda, detergence...this two days we make massive arrest, drug user know, they saw policemen are numerous, they will be careful”* (4-1-2)

More important, it’s really about control and prevention of crime: *“We need to do that, we really need to do, if you don’t make massive arrest... so let them...they...they... they don’t work, and they don’t have money to buy drug, so let them steal in the street!”* (4-2-1)*“if you make detergence, he will think about before do it again, lot of common crime come from drug problem,*

if you catch drug (user) you will solve lot of crime problem: robbery, thief..” (4-1-2). And the conclusion about massive arrest policy is that “it’s a mean to fight the crime” (4-1-1)

They also understand the necessity of superior to have statistical result, but for them, it’s not a contradiction: *“In addition of drug investigation process, it also let us having statistical result proving work on drug arrest, if we don’t do that, how can we have statistical result?” (4-1-1) “massive arrest strategy, of course it’s that you have to fix the target, you want deterrence for crime prevention, or you want statistical result on arrest, so you choice this place” (4-1-1)*

And, it’s also an occasion to investigate: *“These drug user, you can’t know where he buy drug, you can just find step by step. If we catch one hundred drug users, and twenty of them tell you who send, and this twenty users give you two names in common, so we can fix the two targets” (4-2-1)*

On other hand, they don’t denied the limits of such policy: *“if you want real result, you must investigate, fixe the target, if you just response to the monthly massive arrest order, it’s more difficult to have good result, because man will move, you can’t assure that he will always be at the same place(...)wait for fixed time massive arrest order, man disappear” (4-1-2) and also that “(national massive arrest program), it’s good for small case; big case, if you wait for national program, they already send all (the drug)” (4-1-2) “if we arrest closely, there will move to other place (...) they will not continue to do it in this place” (4-1-2) and also “It can’t (resolve problem), drug is a personal problem” (4-2-1)*

Like other department, they believe that population support that: *“about 70% (of population) support this (...) if you inspect in public place, they’ll think it’s normal, but if you inspect in the street, they don’t want”* (4-1-2), *“It is (what society expect for), because drug will increase all other kind of crime, like robbery (...) drug user, in his crime record all content robbery”* (4-2-1) but they don’t believe that such kind of intervention is the original expectation of population: *“population will not tell us: you have to do massive arrest, they expect that police have his own strategy to ameliorate social problem. So the population will not especially expect you to use one mean or another”* (4-1-1).

Regarding the police ethic, this kind of intervention is in direct correlation for 3 reasons:

- (1) It’s the duty of policemen to arrest criminals: *“It is the responsibility of policemen to do that”* (4-2-1) *“like today the massive arrest, it’s a necessary mean, it is not again (police ethic), it’s the work we have to do”* (4-1-1)
- (2) It’s respect of the law: *“the practical ethic is about you have to do your job according the law (...)you need legal base to move”* (4-1-1)
- (3) It’s respect of the hierarchy: *“police ethic is: we have to respect the older policemen, it’s our conception”* (4-1-2) *“and in addition of what X just said, ethic is about how we respect the hierarchy ”* (4-1-1)

And they also include new deontological concept in the practice: *“in modern time, we have a new concept, it doesn’t matter about your objective, you can’t make problem to the population, we don’t want they said: you make me trouble”* (4-1-1)

About law and mean, they believe that the situation is quite enough: *“The penal law about drug is already independent, it’s enough for us”* (4-2-1) *“Basic training is enough”* (4-1-1)*“for banal drug, it’s good, but for more special drug, you must see your experience”* (4-1-2)

III. SECOND DIMENSION

The second dimension focuses on what they do and what they do not. Do they attain what they want to? As we can see in first dimension, every level of the hierarchy has a different interpretation of the policy. They use the proverb *“down, they have their own strategy, but up they have their own adaptation”* (3-2-2) to explain the situation. In the Taiwan police system, this proverb is quoted by every level of police hierarchy. They don’t think that different levels of consciousness will break the equilibrium of the organization.

In past research, we (Chen jia-qin, Lahlou Albane, 2010, 2011) discover that when first line policemen don’t accept the value of a policy, they will not do (or do well) the work and policy easily fails. In present research, every step of the organization accepts the policy, but all according to different levels of consciousness:

Step	Decision Level	Design Level	Organization Level	Executive Level
Observation	Pop. feels unsecure and politician needs statistic	Not good enough positive relation between pop. and police	Crime equilibrium is centralized in definite place attitude (pub...)	Drug problem create other kind of crime (as robbery)
Philosophy	Satisfaction of pop. and politics	Believe of population in police work	Crime prevention	Crime control and prevention
Value	Show to the population that gov. work on the	Do what they expect or make them expect	Crime prevention is about presence of police in the street	Safety of community

	problem			
Finality	Show eminent result	Touch population through media	Prevent crime in relation with drug	Drop crime in community through small case control
Main Objectives	Periodical apparition on media	Show pop. that police is working	Reinforce attitude of director of sensitive establishment	Neutralized and repertory of drug user and drug dealer
Main Goal	Concentration of massive and spectacular arrest	Concentration of police force to show result	Concentration of police force to create strong impression	Concentration of arrest,
Moral	Gov. Have to solve pop. unsecure feeling	Solve drug problem and make population believe are different work	Make clear position of police about drug problem	Accomplishment of organizational goal by organizational mean
Police Ethic	It's traditional work, tradition is ethic	No correlation with, but not again the ethic	Apply a clear position of policemen facing drug world	Accomplishment of duty; respect of hierarchy; respect of law
Deontology	Id.	Id	Maintain of police ethic by brutal interruption of relation between first line policemen and street delinquent	Id
Law	Due process	Due process, penal law	Due process, penal law	Penal law
Strategy	Intervention in sensitive place origin of pop. fear	Concentration of massive arrest	Concentration according first line report on street situation	Follow order
Main Technique	Massive arrest once a month	Limited monthly number of massive intervention	Quotidian main and technique concentration	Massive arrest and inspection
Result	Support policy	Support policy	Support policy	Support policy

All are quite different, and we can observe a real evolution of the every element:

1. **Target:** politic → citizen → citizen in relation with crime → criminal
2. **Law base :** due process → due process and penal law → penal law

3. **Showing way** : media → presence in the street-citizen → presence near criminal
4. **Territory** : national → regional → community
5. **Ethic** : tradition → prevent policemen broke the ethic → Accomplishment of duty and respect of hierarchy

The only common conception is that everybody believes that massive arrest will not solve the drug problem, particularly for drug users, all other conceptions are different.

But even if this evolution creates different levels of consciousness, every step has a level of consciousness, and by the way supports for different reasons the policy and do well the work.

IV. THIRD DIMENSION: THE CONCLUSION

1. As Durkheim points out, inside organization, every organ needs to have a level of consciousness to be able to accept the goals and means and to agree with the efficient organizational behavior.
2. As *Project Social* theory points out, every organ just needs a unanimous acceptance of common goals to agree with the efficient organizational behavior, but doesn't need unanimous values (unanimity of level of consciousness).

This means that in one hand, every organ needs a level of consciousness, including values and finality in harmony with the organization culture, while on the other hand, they do not need this level of consciousness uniformly. The only important point is that without this level of consciousness, they will ignore or reject the means and objectives, and so will not well

accomplish the organizational behavior. In other hand, every organ needs to have in common the acceptation of the means, the objectives and the goals.

In conclusion, during any application of policy, government must be sure that every level of the hierarchy accepts the policy and finds value within its organizational culture. But it is not necessary that these values be identical. All that is needed is a sense of cohesion within a similar organizational culture.

Comprehensive Countermeasures against the Changing Nature of Furikome Fraud

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INTRODUCTION

In the last few years, Japan has successfully reduced namely “Furikome fraud” – a type of fraud involving bank transfers. Furikome fraud is to aim at cheating various people out of their money by telephone conversation. Con-artists, pretending to be family members, tax officials, generous financial company executives, etc. call their targets and have them send money by ATM to a bank account created by these criminals.

Exhaustive investigation, conducted by the police, had Furikome fraud drop gradually from 20,481 in 2008 to 6,637 in 2010. However, in 2008, there were hardly any cases of fraud reported in which cash cards were delivered by hand; yet the number of this method was 1,333 in 2010. Especially, “*ore-ore (It's me)* fraud” is increasing to 4,418; this rate was about 66% in Furikome fraud. Furthermore, in some cases, perpetrators (con-artists) in foreign countries call their victims. Hereby, these changing in characteristics and methods of the fraud have made prevention of the fraud more difficult.

In this paper, comprehensive measures on Furikome fraud, taken by the police and private sectors, are reviewed and possibilities of further measures on Furikome fraud is explored referring to an analysis of the current situation.

Current State of Furikome– A New Threat to Society

Status of Confirmed Crimes

During the five-year period between 2002 and 2007, the number of reported crimes decreased in every area except fraud. Fraud increased from 49,482 in 2002 to 67,787 in 2007. The reason for this was the rise of a new modus operandi for fraud; namely Furikome fraud— a type of fraud involving bank transfers. Criminals who engage in Furikome fraud primarily aim to cheat elderly victims out of their money over the telephone. Con-artists, pretending to be family members, call elderly residents and have them transfer money via ATM to a bank account created especially for this purpose.

Furikome fraud is a general term for so-called “*ore-ore (It’s me)* fraud”, “billing fraud”, “loan guarantee fraud” and “refund fraud”. So-called “ore-ore fraud” is when someone pretending to be a relative calls a victim to ask for money for some emergency situation like the need to cover the embezzled company money, leading the shook-up victim to transfer cash to the deposit account designated by the caller. “Billing fraud” occurs when you get a billing statement charging money on pretense of some fictitious purchase of goods or services and urging you to transfer the money to a designated deposit account. “Loan guarantee fraud” occurs when you are urged to transfer cash to a designated deposit account on the pretext of guarantee money to receive a loan. “Refund fraud” is when someone pretending to be an official from a social insurance office contacts a victim to complete necessary procedures to receive a refund for medical expenses and so on, directing them to an ATM to make money transfers from the account to a designated deposit account. The characteristics of all these frauds are defrauded (extort) a victim using a phone; and a perpetrator pretends to be another person informing a victim of a fictitious name, family relationship, position, or affiliation.

The seriousness of Furikome fraud is evident in the large amount of monetary loss that has been attributed to these crimes. The average amount of money lost in this type of fraud was more

than one million yen, about ten thousand US dollars. Furthermore, most Furikome fraud crimes were committed by groups involved in organized crime. Because the perpetrators usually use mobile phones and bank accounts registered under false names, finding these criminals is rather difficult. And also, as it is logistically complicated to protect a massive number of ATMs, prevention against Furikome fraud has left room for improvement.

In 2010, the number of Furikome fraud cleared came to 5,189 cases and the number of suspects arrested stood at 686. The clearance rate was low at 5.1% in 2004, but improved to 78.2% in 2010 as a result of stronger policing activities with the cooperation of related institutions and organizations.

The picture of Criminal Groups

Criminal groups committing Furikome fraud are crime organizers for which former black-market financiers, former motorcycle gang (Bosozoku) members, juvenile delinquents, “Boryokudan” organized crime group members form the core with the clear division of roles for those who make fraudulent phone calls, those who take out wangled funds from deposit accounts and those who procure crime-perpetrating tools.

These criminal groups mainly comprise young people in their 20’s and early 30’s. A person who has acquired fraud know-how in a criminal group may depart that group to form his/her own group. Therefore, these criminal groups can gather and part every several months, and have very mobile and flexible organizations with a seemingly unending stream of new recruits joining them.

Criminal groups often procure cell phones and bank deposit accounts in fictitious or other people’s names essential in the perpetration of Furikome fraud from tool dealers.

Withdrawers of wangled money who are responsible for withdrawing funds defrauded out of victims via ATM and carrying them to scheme leaders have the highest risk of being arrested by the police, criminal groups often recruit those who withdraw defrauded money via the internet or using newspaper ads so that even when they are arrested, investigators cannot reach other members of groups because they do not directly know the identities of others. There are cases where even ringleaders do not know the whole picture of the criminal groups because one of the members recruits other members by word of mouth.

Difficulties Involved in Investigation

Due to the seriousness of Furikome fraud, the Japanese police and other public and private sector groups have become gravely concerned and have begun to introduce various preventive measures. For example, an anti-Furikome fraud campaign has reduced the limit on the amount of money that can be transferred via ATM and has instituted a warning signal at ATM windows that illuminates when people use the ATM to transfer money. Additionally, stricter regulations have been implemented aimed at preventing people from opening accounts and/or purchasing mobile phones under false names. There are the following difficulties involved in investigation into Furikome fraud. The first difficulty involved is anonymity. It is difficult to identify perpetrators because they use highly anonymous tools such as cell phones and deposit accounts in fictitious or other people's names and commit crimes without seeing victims in person. The second difficulty has to do with wide areas involved in crimes. As the places of residence of victims, locations of ATMs used to withdraw fraudulently transferred money are all different; investigations have to extend to multiple prefectures in most cases and require wide-area

coverage and long periods of time. The third difficulty involves the growing sophistication and diversification of crime tactics. Criminal groups are constantly sophisticating and diversifying their ways of committing crimes by slipping through police investigations and various countermeasures taken by related institutions and organizations and sharing information on highly successful tactics among them. The fourth difficulty concerns the well-organized nature of criminal groups. Criminal groups that carry out Furikome fraud are crime organizations that consist of ringleaders, those who make fraudulent phone calls, those who take out wangled funds from deposit accounts (so-called money withdrawers), and those who procure crime-perpetrating tools. It is often very difficult to shed light on how these criminal groups operate as they repeat the process of gathering and parting quite often in a short period of time, changing their bases of operations and take other thorough steps to escape police investigation.

Growing Sophistication and Diversification of Crime Tactics

Criminal groups perpetrating Furikome fraud are sophisticating and diversifying their crime tactics in response to changes in social conditions.

Changes in “ore-ore (It’s me) Fraud”

In cheating upset victims out of money in Furikome fraud, sophisticated and diverse pretexts are employed to have them believe that people close to them are in a bind and need money urgently. These pretexts for money go through a transition. In 2004, compensation for out-of-court settlements of traffic accidents was the most frequently used pretext. However, in 2008, widely used pretexts were compensation for embezzlement and other troubles with

employer companies, like “they found out that I embezzled company funds; I need to repay them quickly,” and repayments of consumer loans or other debts, such as “I am under intense pressure to pay back consumer loans; I need the money quickly.”

Tactics employed are becoming increasingly sophisticated. An example involves a perpetrator pretending to be a relative calling a victim to tell of a change in the phone number and calling the victim again at a later date to defraud him/her out of money.

In this case, as the perpetrator uses the purportedly changed phone number to make the second phone call, the victim can be easily led to believe the call is from the relative. Since the return call from the victim to check circumstances is taken by the perpetrator, it is difficult for the victim to become aware of the fraud and avoid the damage.

Increase in Refund Fraud

The main characteristic of refund fraud is that a victim is not aware that he/she is actually transferring his/her own money to a perpetrator’s account. The victim is led to believe that he/she is getting the refund for medical expenses by operating an ATM as instructed by the perpetrator, but actually, the victim unwittingly transfers money from his/her deposit account to a deposit account controlled by the perpetrator.

Measures to Eradicate Furikome Fraud from 2004

Criminal groups perceive Furikome fraud as their business and repetitively and continuously carrying out offense with strong consciousness of the relationship among costs, risks, and returns. Therefore, in order to eradicate Furikome fraud, it is necessary to create an

environment that forces criminal groups to abandon Furikome fraud attempts by jacking up the cost of procuring perpetrating tools and risks of being arrested by the police delivered to criminal groups.

Establishment of the Dedicated Investigation Team Deployed in the Metropolitan Region

While victims of Furikome fraud are spread all over the country, defrauded funds are quite often withdrawn in the metropolitan region. Therefore, in order to conduct investigations in an efficient manner, the police have established the dedicated investigation team deployed in the metropolitan region, which comprises investigators dispatched from Prefectural Police and makes the metropolitan region as the base of its operations. The dedicated investigation team is engaged in investigations into cell phones and deposit accounts used in offenses in the metropolitan region at the request for investigation assistance from Prefectural Police, making possible efficient investigations into Furikome fraud with extensive damage over wide areas.

Construction of Database on Furikome Fraud

To cope with Furikome fraud that are causing damage across the nation, the police have constructed the database that centralizes investigative information on names of Furikome fraud perpetrators, crime tricks and other matters for figuring out the actual picture of Furikome fraud and efficiently gathering related information.

Implementation of the Freezing of Deposit Accounts

The freezing of deposit accounts (steps to suspend transactions) used in Furikome fraud is important to block the withdrawal of defrauded funds and prevent fresh damage from occurring.

Therefore, the police, when being consulted over Furikome fraud or receiving reports of fraud damage, promptly file requests for financial institutions to freeze deposit accounts after determining whether the matters of consultations or reporting justify suspicions of crimes.

Approaches to Related Business Operator

The police are encouraging related business operators offering a variety of services that are prone to be taken advantage of in Furikome fraud to take necessary measures, including requests to financial institutions to be active in calling to customers who might be suffering from Furikome fraud damage.

Measures to Eradicate Furikome Fraud from 2008

Creation of the Office against Furikome Fraud

After Furikome fraud caused damage at the worst pace on record during the first half of 2008, the National Police Agency decided to step up agency-wide efforts to cope with Furikome fraud by establishing the Office against Furikome Fraud, headed by the Deputy Commissioner General, in June 2008. Prefectural Police also have assigned the role of “playmaker” to officers who supervise criminal investigation, community safety, and other relevant divisions in order to enhance cooperation among relevant divisions and decided to promote comprehensive crackdown and prevention activities while obtaining the cooperation of related institutions and organizations.

Formulation and Announcement of Action Plan for the Eradication of Furikome Fraud

Since it is necessary for the public and private sectors alike to take various society-wide measures, let alone enhanced crackdown activities, to eradicate Furikome fraud, and more than anything else, the people's understanding and cooperation is essential, the National Police Agency and the Ministry of Justice in July 2008 worked out the basic approach and guidelines for measures to cope with Furikome fraud and announced them as "Action Plan for the Eradication of Furikome Fraud".

Implementation of the Enhanced Promotion Period for Crackdown and Prevention Activities for the Eradication of Furikome Fraud

In order to help reduce the damage from Furikome fraud substantially, the police designed October 2008 as the "Enhanced Promotion Period for crackdown and prevention activities for the eradication of Furikome fraud" to promote concerted crackdown efforts to eradicate Furikome fraud and strove to create a social environment conducive to the eradication of Furikome fraud by carrying out awareness activities and other prevention activities with the cooperation of related institutions and organizations.

As a consequence, the number of confirmed fraud cases declined by 36.5% and the total amount of damage plummeted by 46.6% from the monthly average for March-June 2008, which proved to be the peak of 2008.

Through these efforts and measures, the aggregate amount of damage in 2008 stopped short of surpassing the worst record registered in 2004.

Moreover, the police again designed February 2009 as "Enhanced Promotion Period" and as a result of all-out crackdown activities by the police and forceful promotion of coordinated

prevention activities by the public and private sectors, the month saw the 50.0% plunge in the number of confirmed fraud cases and the 47.8% fall in the aggregate amount of damage from the October 2008 levels, with both the number and the amount less than one-third of the peak levels during 2008 to market the lowest since 2004.

Promotion of All-Out Crackdown Activities by the Police

Drives to Arrest Criminal Groups

Prefectural Police are boosting their investigations by creating organizations dedicated to investigations into Furikome fraud securing enough manpower and building up cross-divisional centralized crackdown systems. The National Police Agency is also feeding back centralized information to Prefectural Police to promote strategic crackdown activities while proactively facilitating joint and cooperative investigations among Prefectural Police, thus making all-out efforts to arrest criminal groups.

Crackdown on Withdrawers of Defrauded Money and Release of their Images

The crackdown on those who withdraw defrauded money from deposit accounts is important not only in gaining investigative clues leading to core members of criminal groups, but also in preventing defrauded money from being delivered to criminal groups and eventually causing criminal groups to lose incentives for continuing offenses. Therefore, the police are stepping up the questioning of particularly those who deliberately hide their faces by wearing sunglasses or caps by the stakeout by plain-clothes police officers and surveillance activities by

uniformed police officers at locations of ATMs highly likely to be used for defrauded money withdrawals and during hours when withdrawals are highly likely to be made.

Furthermore, the police are striving to arrest perpetrators at an early date and prevent the damage from spreading further by, as required, releasing images of defrauded money withdrawers captured by surveillance cameras installed at ATMs.

Clearance of Crimes that would Facilitate Furikome Fraud

Since perpetrating tools such as cell phones and deposit accounts under fictitious or other people's names are used in Furikome fraud, the police are cracking down on practices to facilitate Furikome fraud by cutting off the distribution of such tools and preventing them from being delivered to criminal groups by making full use of relevant laws, including the Penal Code, the Act on Prevention of Improper Use of Mobile Phones and the Act on Prevention of Transfer of Criminal Proceeds.

While arresting those who bought cell phones or opened deposit accounts by concealing their intentions to sell them to other people or those who used identification documents in fictitious or other people's names to illegally conclude cell phone purchase contracts or to open deposit accounts, the police are also striving to expose tool dealers who provide perpetrating tools to criminal groups on a repetitive and continuous basis. As one of methods to crack down on tool dealers, the police also conduct sting operations where the police officers are posing as customers contact and arrest those people who are attracting illicit buying and selling of cell phones and deposit accounts by using the Internet.

Neutralization of Phones and Deposit Accounts used in Fraud Crimes

Through active gathering and utilization of information on attempted fraud, the police are striving to neutralize phones, deposit accounts and other perpetrating tools, with the police officers making calls to phones used to deceive potential victims and give Diagram 10 Promotion of Joint and Cooperative Investigations at NPA Guidance and Cooperation and with use of NPA Database warnings and asking financial institutions to freeze deposit accounts designed as ones to receive money transfers.

Measures against Bases of Crimes

The police are making use of all aspects of police activities, including routine home visits by the community police officers, to find out bases of crimes and also utilizing all pieces of information provided by citizens by consolidating them at investigation divisions for Furikome fraud for use in investigations to arrest criminal groups.

Creation of an Environment for Investigation

Quite different from crimes like homicides and larcenies, Furikome fraud are ones carried out with perpetrators lurking somewhere in society and not appearing on the scenes. As such, initial investigations do not usually produce any evidence, including eyewitness testimonies, fingerprints or other particles that link perpetrators to offenses. In these difficult investigations, phones used to deceive victims and deposit accounts designated for fund transfers provide one of a few clues.

Images captured by surveillance cameras installed at places where defrauded money was withdrawn, found through investigations into deposit accounts are very important in identifying perpetrators. However, in many cases, the lapse of the period of retaining these records while

necessary investigations are under way, make it impossible to obtain materials needed for investigations.

In order to deal with such problems and ensure the arrests of perpetrators, the police are trying to develop an environment to secure the traceability of crimes and make investigations more efficient by obtaining the understanding and cooperation of business corporations and financial institution to broaden their contact points for the police inquires and realize prompt replies to allow early acquisitions of materials necessary for the police investigations.

Promotion of Coordinated Public-Private Prevention Activities

Prevention Activities by the Police

In order to prevent damage from Furikome fraud, the police actively engaged in such activities as surveillance by community the police officers dropping by at locations where ATMs are installed and making cautions to users of ATMs.

The police also grasp and analyze circumstances under which Furikome fraud have caused damage, and make locations of ATM installations used often for offenses and hours during which fraud damage was done into map information, which community police officers use in their rounds of surveillance visits.

Effective Awareness Activities

In order to prevent Furikome fraud damage, it is important to secure people's understanding and cooperation. For this reason, the police are conducting awareness activities geared toward the general public by making effective use of anti-crime meetings and various other events.

Given that many of Furikome fraud victims made money transfers shortly after getting calls from crime groups without consulting third parties, the police are calling upon citizens to actively make reports to and consult with the police when get calls suspected of Furikome fraud attempts, let alone consultation with family members and other people close to them.

It is deemed effective for the prevention of Furikome fraud damage to take such steps as getting fraud tactics more widely known, encouraging families to set passwords known to them only, and promoting the lowering the upper ceilings on money transfers between deposit accounts.

In addition to “Dial 110”, the police stay open to wide-ranging consultations from citizens by setting up a variety of “windows”, including dedicated telephone lines for consultations (with the common nationwide phone number “#9110”) and telephone lines exclusively reserved for consultations about Furikome fraud.

In particular, considering the fact that many of victims of “*ore-ore (It’s me)* fraud” and “refund fraud” are elderly people, the police are striving to conduct awareness activities that resonate with them by individually and specially explaining latest fraud tactics and precautions against fraud damage by making use of opportunities for the police officers to meet elderly people face to face, such as rounds of regular home visits and traffic safety education sessions.

The police are also making efforts to secure the effectiveness of measures against Furikome fraud by obtaining the understanding and cooperation of elderly people through explanations about ways to prevent damage in advance, such as the lowering of limits on amounts of money that can be handled via ATMs and urging them to take concrete action.

Prevention Activities in Cooperation with Relevant Business Operators

Given that in Furikome fraud, the bulk of defrauded money is transferred to perpetrators through ATMs and over counters of financial institutions, it is important for employees of financial institutions or convenience stores to talk to potential victims or make reports to the police in order to prevent damage. For this reason, the police are urging financial institutions and convenience stores to encourage their employees to actively talk to potential victims of suspected Furikome fraud cases and make reports to the police.

The police are also seeking to strengthen cooperation for the promotion of measures against Furikome fraud by conducting exchanges of information and opinions on a continuous basis with related institutions and organizations.

Furthermore, in order to prevent damage from Furikome fraud and also minimize the damage should fraud attempts succeed, the police are urging financial institutions to introduce and improve systems for surveillance of deposit accounts being abused for Furikome fraud, facilitate the lowering of limits on money handled via ATMs, and introduce equipment that make it impossible to use cell phones at places where ATMs are installed.

Given the recent rise in fraud tactics where perpetrators have victims send cash to designated private mail boxes using EXPACK parcel delivery service, the police are striving to prevent damage from Furikome fraud in cooperation with postal service operators by asking them to provide information on private mail boxes used in crimes and give heads-up to senders of mail matter to such private mail boxes.

Since public-private coordinated efforts are essential, the police present certificates of appreciation to related business operators that have greatly contributed to the development and administration of measures against Furikome fraud.

Cleanout of Perpetrating Tools

Since Furikome fraud are crimes repeatedly carried out systematically by criminal groups using cell phones and deposit accounts under fictitious or other people's names, it is important to take steps to clean out these perpetrating tools with the understanding and cooperation of users at large and related business operators.

Confirmation of Customer Identification

As for cell phones, service operators enhance the effectiveness of customer confirmation by limiting methods of payments for usage fees, in principle, to credit cards and automatic money transfers from customer's deposit accounts and confirming credit cards or cash cards presented by customers over their counters.

For deposit accounts, financial institutions enhance the effectiveness of customer confirmation by sending cash cards by way of recorded delivery to addressed written on identity verification documents submitted by customers when opening their accounts.

Prevention of Multiple Cell Phone Contracts and Deposit Accounts for Individuals

Each cell phone service provider, in principle, limits to five the number of phone circuits that can be contracted by an individual, while each financial institution, in principle, restrict to two or three the number of deposit accounts that can be opened by an individual.

Information Sharing on Unidentifiable Parties to Cell Phone Contracts and Owners of Frozen Deposit Accounts

As for bank deposit accounts, the National Police Agency has prepared a list of holders of deposit accounts frozen after being used for Furikome fraud and provided the list to the Japanese Bankers Association and other relevant organizations so that related financial institutions can share the information. This is designed to prevent the opening of illicit accounts and facilitate the arrests of those involved, with financial institutions turning down requests for the opening of accounts when those on the list come to their counters to open new accounts and making reports to the police.

Inform to the Police when Forgeries of Driver's Licenses are Suspected

When a driver's license presented by a cell phone contract applicant to a cell phone service provider as part of identifying at the time of contract is suspected of forgery, the service provider notifies that information to the police, which in turn use the information in their investigations and try to arrest that perpetrator at an early date while preventing the distribution of cell phones involved in illicit contracts.

Future Outlook

While the number of confirmed Penal Code offenses continues to decline from the peak level of 2002, the people's sense of unease over safety has yet to be dispelled. Near-at-hand crimes that are highly to get citizens into trouble in their everyday life even without their knowing it, such as Furikome fraud that take advantage of the affections between close relatives, are serious enough to undermine the confidence placed in other people.

The decline in confidence in other people erodes the sense of security in everyday life; this is one of factors that keep people from becoming free of concerns over public safety.

On the other hand, the advances in information and communications technology have made it easier to share information on crime tactics, procure perpetrating tools such as cell phones and deposit accounts and band together to form criminal groups, leading to frequent occurrences of crimes that are carried out by perpetrators lurking in the anonymous society and take advantage of blind spots in the modern society.

While the police are making all-out efforts to promote crackdown and crime-prevention activities, not only efforts by the police and relevant institutions but also the understanding and cooperation of each citizen are essential to eradicate crimes that threaten everyday life and transform themselves in accordance with changes in social conditions.

Cooperation with Relevant Institutions and Organizations

The police have been taking a variety of measures, in cooperation with relevant institutions and organizations and also obtaining cooperation of business operators, with certain results achieved. In order to eradicate crimes that threaten everyday life, however, it is deemed necessary to further promote the following measures:

Cleanout of Perpetrating Tools

Clean out perpetrating tools by supporting measures such as restrictions on the number of contracts that can be concluded by the same person for cell phone services or opening new bank accounts thorough identity confirmation of customers using registered mail and the early deletion

by providers of illegal information and harmful posted on the internet that could induce buying and selling of cell phones and bank deposit accounts.

In addition, in order to prevent the anonymous use or use with forged identification papers of facilities and communication and distribution means from making it easier to commit crimes or receive criminal proceeds, further identify confirmation in various transactions and require strict identify confirmation when public offices issue a variety of certificates.

Securing Crime Traceability

Secure the cooperation of telecommunication service providers, financial institutions and other business operators with the police investigations by seeking their deeper understanding for such measures as the lengthening of the period of retention for images captured by surveillance cameras installed at ATMs and convenience stores.

Reinforcement of Information Sharing

Since responses to crimes that threaten people's everyday life involve many administration agencies and other organizations, seek to share information between the police and relevant institutions and organizations, reinforce consultation services, and promote awareness activities for prompt and effective prevention of damage from crimes.

For the Creation of a Safe Society

A variety of measures the police are taking in cooperation with relevant institutions and organizations cannot steadily produce intended results without the understanding and cooperation of individual citizens.

Revitalization of the diluted community solidarity and weakened family bonds and standing up against crimes as society as a whole would protect individuals in weak positions particularly vulnerable to damage from crimes and also serve as effective steps to prevent crimes from within isolated individuals.

In order to create a safe society, it is necessary to have a mechanism for mutual 'heads-up' to avoid damage taking a firm root in society and enhancing the "resisting power" of citizens against crimes. Going forward, the police will continue to promote the crackdown on crimes that threaten everyday life and strive for awareness activities that resonate with citizens, driving forward with measures that encourage the whole society to be intent on eradicating crimes that threaten everyday life of citizens.

Hoping that crimes threatening everyday life will be eradicated when we create a society that allows citizens to place confidence in other citizens, the police will continue to discharge responsibilities to protect the lives, bodies and properties of individuals and maintain public safety and order.

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The Process of Evolution of Cost Management in Police with use of Benchmarking Techniques

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Polish National Police

Representatives of University of New Haven, Connecticut and other academic institutions, research institutes, police academies and agencies from the U.S.A. and other countries.

Ladies and gentlemen !

First of all I would like to thank the University for inviting me to this conference.

I appreciate the possibility to exchange views and establish new contacts with academicians and practitioners in the field of criminal justice, the more being so the Polish National Police is also involved in a number of scientific research projects.

Let me present a small amount of information about Poland and the Polish National Police before I will proceed to the main topic of my speech, which is „*Modern Police – The process of evolution of cost management in the Police with use of benchmarking techniques*”.

Poland became NATO member in 1999 and European Union member in 2004. Our country is divided into 16 states called voivodeships, 379 counties and 2 thousands 478 communes. Population of Poland is 38 million 500 thousands, area - 312 thousands 685 square kilometers. Warsaw is a capital city with 2 million 600 thousands inhabitants.

The Polish National Police is a centralized, federal institution. There are 103 thousands sworn police officers (including 11 thousands female police officers) plus over 21 thousands civilians. The ratio is 1 police officer per 373 Polish citizens.

And now a few words about historical background of the Cost Management Process. It was the global financial crisis, which resulted in necessity to reduce the state budget's expenditures in the year 2008 and 2009.

The results for the Police National Police were following:

- **budget cuts in** the year 2008 = 540 million Zlotys;
- **liabilities of 462 million Zlotys** in the year 2009;
- **budget cuts in** the year 2009 = 380 million Zlotys.

Please, note that currency exchange rate for 1 US dollar is 2,64 Polish Zloty.

For example, the purchase of material assets in the year 2008 has reached the level of one million 217 thousands Zlotys (except the Program of the Modernization of the Police). But in the year 2009 it has only reached the level of 677 thousands Zlotys due to financial limitations and the lack of other contributions (55% of expenses from the year 2008).

The cost-cutting measures including streamlining financial and administrative **procedures** in the Polish National Police had several phases:

- **Phase 1** - setting the priorities, which were the financial priorities of the Commander-in-Chief, Polish National Police;
- **Phase 2** - comparative analysis for material assets expenditures in the year 2008;

- **Phase 3** – setting of minimum, maximum, average and expected value of chosen material assets expenditures;
- **Phase 4** - a thorough analysis of expenditure structure (done by every State Police HQ) and the creation of expenditure programs that are exceeding the average police level, plus explanations, regarding major changes from expected or average value;
- **Phase 5** - cataloguing of actions in order to achieve the planned satisfaction level; setting a date of project introduction, as well as the date of expected financial effect;
- **Phase 6** – creation of a Financial Analysis Group (experts from the Financial Bureau, who are cooperating closely with representatives of the Logistics Bureau, the Communication and IT Bureau and the Criminal Services Bureau, National Police HQ);
- **Phase 7** - monthly analysis of financial status of police units in Poland;
- **Phase 8** - monthly monitoring of the execution of the economy program, including analysis of changes from expected and average values for each expenditure, and then monthly analysis to explain the reasons of changes in different police units in Poland.

Comparative analysis of the material assets purchase was based on the Total Cost Calculation theory. The essence of cost calculation is to define the Unit Product Cost, bringing together information about costs incurred, and the level of each cost in the total value.

In order to define the amount of costs related to the object of calculation we had to decide which method of calculation we should apply:

- either **Process Costing** – which means dividing all direct and indirect costs by the number of calculation units, which results in establishing the average unit cost,
- or **Job Costing** - which means tracking separately direct costs of each product, and adding the adequate part of indirect costs with the use of cost drivers.

For the purpose of comparative analysis the Polish National Police used the method of Simple Process Costing. It relies on dividing the sum of all costs incurred during reporting period by a number of natural units.

We used the following units of measurement:

- **transportation cost** – number of kilometres driven;
- **real estate cost** – number of square metres of usable area and office area;
- **preliminary proceedings cost** – number of initiated preliminary proceedings;
- **other costs** were measured by using an average employment cost in the reporting period.

During the next phase the Polish National Police has introduced methods of the Activity Based Management (ABM) and the Activity Based Costing (ABC), but exclusively for logistics field, and with the use of internal benchmarking.

The next phase will be the application of the Activity Based Management and the Activity Based Costing to all police activities in the year 2012 – with the use of performance-based budgeting.

Cost management in the Police is carried out by using the strategic management tool - BENCHMARKING, understood as a collection of procedures and techniques enabling to make comparisons with leaders outside and inside the entity, as well as learning and the creative use of experience and analyses of best practices .

So the cost management is carried out by comparing costs of functioning and type costs between different police units. Leaders are establishing trends like, for example unit cost of kilometre or cost of the office space maintenance, etc. simultaneously sharing actions, and the final result is a desired financial effect.

Please, remember that benchmarking shouldn't be understood as an imitation or repetition. It should be a creative approach to adapt specific best practices, to make improvements in order to increase the financial and administrative performance. That's why the Polish National Police is ready to develop the idea of benchmarking with external leaders such like other European Union police forces.

Types of benchmarking we are planning to apply are following:

- **Internal benchmarking** - used by the Police, to compare within the internal structure of any given unit, between its divisions, departments, institutes – in our case between garrisons;
- **External benchmarking** - also known as a competitive benchmarking; comparison with the best institution in a given sector, which commonly is the direct competitor, with the use of research methods and development projects;

- **Functional benchmarking** – comparison of functions and procedures between organizations which shouldn't necessarily belong to the same sector. Specific functions like logistics, human resources management or marketing are compared. The creation of the Executive Agency and - indirectly – Institution of the Budget Economy is an attempt to carry out functional benchmarking in Poland.

The results of streamlining financial and administrative procedures in the Polish National Police are following:

- in the year 2010 the purchase of material assets was streamlined by the total amount of 132 million 114 thousands Zlotys, comparing to the year 2008;
- in the year 2010 the purchase of material assets was streamlined by the total amount of 66 million 170 thousands Zlotys, comparing the year 2009;
- in the year 2010 costs were streamlined by the amount of 164 million 968 thousands Zlotys, comparing to the year 2008;
- in the year 2010 costs were streamlined by the amount of 90 million 298 thousands Zlotys, comparing to the year 2009;

The next issue is cost management versus effectiveness of the Polish National Police as an institution. I would like to stress that despite the budget cuts in the year 2009, thanks to the efficient cost management and allocation of resources the Police National Police has successfully achieved such goals like:

- **High level of citizens' approval.** According to latest public opinion poll by the Public Opinion Research Centre in September 2010 - 71 % of people have good opinion about the performance of the Polish National Police.
- **Positive, long-term trend of crime reduction in Poland.** There was a decrease in almost all categories of the so called "*socially harmful crimes*".
- **Clearance rate in the last 10 years has increased by almost 20 %** as a result of the increased number of indictments

The cost-cutting measures, which include streamlining financial and administrative procedures within the Polish National Police are connected with the cooperation with other governmental institutions like the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

The Ministry of Science and Higher Education announced a competition for research & development projects, concerning the state safety and security in such fields like:

- organization and management of the police units at all levels, including the evaluation of effectiveness of the logistics departments; models of the organizational structure of each service; the satisfaction level of criminal and patrol services, regarding the work of logistics departments;
- organization of the police transport, including the assessment of transportation costs, means of transport and ownership forms, maintenance, etc.;

- real estate and financial management, including the evaluation of property itself, working conditions in the office buildings, maintenance and operational cost, management cost, cost standardization and optimization, financial models connected with cost calculation and accounting.

I would like to stress that 11 out of 46 research & development projects, selected in 2010 competition are carried out together with the National Police Headquarters, Warsaw, Poland. These projects are management, and Information Technology and Communication (ITC) mainly.

For example, Lazarski University, Warsaw is working on the optimization model, concerning the police management in the field of transportation and real estate.

Military Technical Academy, Warsaw is developing another project to make real estate management within the police more efficient, including cost-cutting measures in the field of construction, renovation and modernization of fixed property.

University of Economics, Katowice is trying to find the way to optimize the use of police vehicles, to reduce the cost of it, and to increase the operational capability of transportation means.

University of Technology, Poznan will design the management & control system to use unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) within the Polish airspace.

University of Economics, Poznan will make a comprehensive functional analysis of the Information Technology (IT) role within the Polish National Police, focusing on optimization and cost-cutting process. It will also design and create an innovative IT application to evaluate and monitor the level of satisfaction among internal police customers.

Supercomputing and Networking Center, Poznan will create ITC architecture, which provides reliable, efficient data processing & storage plus safe access to present and future applications, and services used by the Police

Additionally, the Polish National Police has been an active participant of a large-scale undertaking called “the Polish Platform for Homeland Security” since 2005. The Polish Platform for Homeland Security was established in order to create an integrated technology and computer tools to support activities enhancing public security and safety. At the same time, it fosters cooperation in the area of security among the fields of science, research and development, and education.

Until now, **four licence agreements** have been signed, allowing the Polish National Police to use the results of the projects, implemented under the auspices of the Polish Platform for Homeland Security, free of charge. The majority of support tools are dedicated for criminal services of the Police. Here they are:

- application of Artificial Intelligence methods and agent-based models to support investigative activities and evidence collection with emphasis on Internet crimes;

- mobile network-centric support system for police operations;
- supporting tool, which is utilizing automatic deduction for investigation proceedings;
- automatic translation system, designed to improve the level of public security and safety.

The Polish National Police priorities in the area of research & development in the year 2011 are following:

1. Development of integrated information system model, which will support the management of the Police.
2. Research, concerning the effective use of forensic labs' resources within the Ministry of Home Affairs.
3. Research, concerning the effectiveness of police training system in Poland (police academies and training centers).
4. Social and economical analysis of the actual cost of crime.
5. Model of authorization of users, including external users, and methods to secure access to the police IT resources from different types of networks, including Internet.
6. The use of Artificial Intelligence methods and agent-based models to support criminal analysis. The models simulate the simultaneous operations and interactions of multiple agents, in an attempt to re-create and predict the appearance of complex phenomena.
7. Development of mobile verification of identity documents and travel documents with first and second biometric feature system.
8. Stand-alone, independent devices to support the fight against cyber-crime.
9. Analyzers of acoustic signals and visual images.

10. Analyzers of muzzle fumes.

Projects from 1 to 6 will be submitted to the National Centre for Research and Development, Warsaw, which is a national legal person, established to support Polish scientific institutions and enterprises, to develop their capabilities to create applications and solutions, based on R&D results in order to boost the economy and for the benefit of the whole society.

And now I would like to say a few words about the Budget Economy Institution and the Executive Agency – the new organizational and legal forms within the Polish National Police.

The Budget Economy Institution, called also the Centre of Logistic Services was created within the Ministry of Home Affairs, after the liquidation of „public sector enterprises” and „auxiliary enterprises”, which had belonged to the Ministry and the Polish National Police.

The most important tasks of the Centre of Logistic Services are to fulfil the public obligations in favour of the police and other services, especially things like:

- accommodation for uniformed, sworn officers and civilian employees from the Ministry of Home Affairs,
- training,
- food & shelter for citizens in the case of natural disaster or other special threat,
- maintenance and technical service of the police car fleet and other services` car fleet,
- fuel distribution,

- support to the air services,
- air transport for governmental administration, airport readiness to fulfil additional tasks in the case of natural disaster or other special threat,
- customer service for ITC users within the Polish National Police,
- the real estate administration and management.

What are the benefits?

Firstly, the creation of this institution will allow to reduce public expenditures significantly. And secondly, it will allow to meet the needs of the entire home affairs sector:

- better public safety and security capabilities (training, accommodation, transportation and IT),
- one “command & control center” in the case of natural disasters and other special threats, available for other governmental (federal) institutions and local authorities, as well as commercial sector.

As to the idea of establishing the so-called “Inter-Ministerial ITC System Operator” - an executive agency - it should be stressed that general objective of this action is to create an uniform management model of ITC governmental systems in order to ensure efficient work, while the necessary expenses are streamlined. And certainly, to provide communication services for public entities on a high technical level, with lower expected costs, but according to market realities.

Why an executive agency? The answer is:

- one technical entity for the entire public administration;
- real chance to put in order ITC systems nationwide;
- support to national projects, which are currently being implemented;
- monitoring of the progressive development of ITC systems in the whole country;
- the use of technical knowledge and potential of public institutions and its engineers ;
- governmental supervision over strategic infrastructure of the future information society;
- sustainable and systematic development of the national ITC systems;
- readiness to take further actions, connected with computerization process, with the use of European Union programs and funds.

The results of centralization of resources will be following:

- integration of tele-transmission networks of public administration;
- maintenance cost streamlining, regarding national IT infrastructure;
- safe and secure critical infrastructure;
- creation of the system of national safety and security, and public order administration;
- one entity, responsible for IT resource management for the whole governmental administration.

The expected benefits, after the creation of the Executive Agency:

- control of governmental data transfer within ITC systems and professional archives;
- influence and control during the crisis management situations;
- technical autonomy of the government;
- services adjusted to the state needs;
- actual savings in significant part of governmental administration.

As you see there is a lot of work, which should be done, and the Polish National Police will keep on working.

Thank you very much for your attention!

The 2011 AAPS Annual Conference Proceeding



11. Dan Mabrey (University of New Haven, USA), Shawn Welch (West Haven Police Department, USA) *Smart Policing in Action: Initial Findings from a UNH-West Haven Police Department Collaboration.*
12. Charles Chang (Central Police University, Taiwan) *Bullying Among Male Prisoners.*
13. Justin J. Choi (Daejeon University, Korea) *An Exploratory Study on the Risks of Online Game-Item Trading: From the Korean Police Perspective.*
14. Xiong YiXin (Fujian Police Academy, China) *On the Characteristics of Social Security Crime Prevention and its Role in the Crime Prevention System as a Whole.*
15. Changrong Zhang (Fujian Police Association) *On the Prevention of Juvenile Deviant Behaviors in Adolescence.*

**Smart Policing in Action: Initial Findings
from a UNH-West Haven Police Department
Collaboration**

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Bullying Among Male Prisoners

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1. INTRODUCTION

Prisons have been depicted as “violent settings,” in which the strong preying on the weak is normalized (Cooley, 1993; Ireland & Ireland, 2000; Wolff & Shi, 2009, p. 172). Western literature has reported empirical evidence of bullying in prisons (Ireland, 2000; Ireland & Ireland, 2000; Connell and Farrington, 1996; Wolff & Shi, 2009). In Britain, for example, more than 50% of all participants in a study of a maximum-security prison reported being physically or psychologically abused by others (Ireland & Ireland, 2000). In the United States, a survey of 2,319 male inmates from 12 institutions for adult males found that 58.1% reported being slapped, hit, kicked, or choked by other inmates (Wolff & Shi, 2009). In one Canadian institution, Connell and Farrington (1996) interviewed a representative sample of twenty young male offenders, finding 70% of the offenders were involved in robberies, assaults, or threats. In Taiwan, news stories have reported violence among prisoners. In one case, a male inmate was

reported to be repeatedly assaulted sexually from January to April 2001 by another inmate (Tong-Sen News, 2002). In another case, a 23-year-old male inmate was hospitalized for an illness and subsequently died. An autopsy revealed that his death resulted from being bitten by another inmate in the prison (Tong-Sen News, 2003). Another example was reported in which four male inmates injured another cellmate in the lower part of his body because of his incontinence (Tong-Sen News, 2005). According to an anonymous inmate, such abuses and brutalities were not uncommon in Taiwan's prisons (Tong-Sen News, 2005). While a modicum of information from Taiwan's news media has shown an existence and prevalence of prison violence, to date no systematic studies have been published to ascertain the extent of prison violence in Taiwan. This study explored bullying among male prisoners incarcerated in four prisons in Taiwan, and reported findings of its nature, characteristics of victims and bullies, places of bullying, the perception of bullying seriousness, inmates' reactions to bullying, and other aspects that were seldom investigated in the past research.

Scholars have been debating over the definitions of bullying (Ireland, 2000, p. 5). Olweus (1996, 1997) studying bully/victim problems among school children argued that bullying was an abusive behavior occurring repeatedly. Ireland (2000, 2002b) contended that bullying in prisons should be defined in a broad manner and should take the prison environment into consideration. That is, a harmful behavior might be difficult to repeat because inmates are supervised tightly and are moved frequently from one sector to another within the prison. Also, whether a negative action continues might depend on how victims defend themselves during the incident (Ireland, 2000). Dormitory death runs, running the gauntlet or other initiation ceremony forced upon new prison inmates might not continue as future bullying behavior if the inmates pass the rite (as cited in Ireland, 2000). The intimidation and potential trauma resulting from initial actions,

however, might haunt victims for a long period of time, which should be seen as bullying (Ireland, 2000). This study adopted Ireland's (2000) definition and viewed prison bullying in a broad fashion specific to a prison context.

Another issue is that no consensus has been reached on what activities constitute bullying behaviors (Ireland, 2000, p. 203). Even though victims' perception of the severity of bullying varied, Olweus (1997) stated that most bullies might know that their actions would at least cause pain or discomfort to victims. These bullying behaviors could involve physical attack, words, facial expressions or hostile gestures, etc. (Olweus, 1997). Bullying can also be classified as physical, verbal, psychological or emotional (as cited in Edgar, 2005). Ireland (2000) proposed that bullying might be carried out directly and indirectly. Direct bullying involves a direct interaction between the bully and victim (Palmer & Thakordas, 2005), which include kicking, biting, and sexual abuse (physical harm), and name calling (verbal aggression) (Ireland, 2000; Palmer & Thakordas, 2005). Indirect bullying involves covert behaviors, such as spreading rumors, and intentional isolation of the victim (Ireland 2000; Ireland & Archer, 1996).

Bullying and violence are seen as different forms of behaviors, though both are subsumed under the category of aggression (Olweus, 1996; Salmivalli, 2010). While the former might not be necessarily violent leading to physical injuries, the latter is concerned with the consequences of injuries or death (Archer, 1994). Perpetrators may bully victims with unpleasant words or gestures that haunted victims emotionally or psychologically; violent behaviors often times is taken by physical means that damage victims' health or cause death (Olweus, 1996).

Research on aggressive behaviors tended to concentrate on direct abuse, physical assault, particularly (Ireland, 2002b; Wolff & Shi, 2009). This study examined various forms of bullying,

both direct and indirect, which were developed from an integration of bullying types appearing in the Western prison literature into a non-Western prison context in Taiwan.

2. TAIWAN'S PRISONS

Taiwan has forty-eight institutions, including twenty-four adult prisons (twenty-one male and three female prisons), three rehabilitative and training centers, respectively, two juvenile reformatories, two schools for juveniles, twelve detention centers (one for females), and two juvenile detention center (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). Taiwan's penal system is centralized and all of the institutions are under the jurisdiction and supervision of the Agency of Corrections, Ministry of Justice. The hiring, education, training, salary, and benefits for correctional staff and rules, regulations, laws impinging on prisoners are uniformly carried out across institutions.

At the end of 2010, there were 65,311 people housed in institutions in Taiwan, and inmates (those who were convicted and incarcerated in prisons) accounted for 87% in the population, including 4,721 (8.3%) female and 52,367 (91.7%) male inmates (Ministry of Justice, 2011b). Between 2006 and 2010, approximate from 35 to 42.9% of inmates were incarcerated for being convicted of drug-related offenses, followed by larceny (10%) and robbery (10%). About 7% of inmates in prison from 2006 to 2010 were convicted of homicide, and 5.1% for illegal firearm possession. Taiwan has faced an overcrowding problem similar to its American counterpart, exceeding rated capacity by 19.6% in 2010, and on average the available space for each inmate was less than 6.5 square feet (Wu, 2010). Prison overcrowding was partially due to the broad use of imprisonment in Taiwan, which has become the most favored sanction, while community penalties are perceived to be too lenient and are rarely employed (Hsu, 2003).

Taiwan's prison system tends to be control-oriented, adopting semi-militaristic style to manage inmates (Hsu, 2003, 2010), though variations exist from one prison to another. Daily routines for inmates, such as when to rise, eat, work, have a break, go to the lavatory, and go to bed, are rigorously scheduled. The atmosphere in prisons is surrounding around that inmates should show respect for authority and be obedient, and those who violate rules and routines are disciplined. Work is mandatory for inmates to change habitual idleness to productivity and to keep them occupied (Hsu, 2003).

As Taiwan's penal system is understaffed, with 1 staff per 20 inmates, trustees are selected by administrators to assist maintaining order in cells, workshops, and classrooms (The Handbook of Correctional Regulations and Orders, 2009). Trustees may also be assigned to organize files for staff members and do chores whenever needed. The criteria for trustee eligibility are that the candidates should not be a gang member, should be mentally healthy, should not be convicted of violent crime, have no escape records, etc. (The Handbook of Correctional Regulations and Orders, 2009). Trustee candidates are listed by correctional staff and high ranking officials in prisons determine and select who will become trustees.

3. LITERATURE ON PRISON BULLYING

Estimates of bullying in prisons varied considerably across studies because of different methods and definitions being used by different researchers (Ireland, 2002a, p. 155). Some studies, for example, asked respondents employing the term of "bullying" and left what "bullying" meant to respondents' interpretation (Monks, Smith, Naylor, Barter, Ireland, & Coyne, 2009). Some researchers, however, avoided the term of "bullying" and provided behavioral checklists containing discrete aggressive behaviors for respondents to choose (Monks

et al., 2009). Moreover, the time frame of being bullied also varied: some studies limited bullying occurring to the previous week or month, and some extended bullying experiences to a longer period of time, such as the previous twelve months or respondents' current sentences. Cooley (1993) surveyed 117 male inmates in five Canadian federal prisons within a twelve-month time frame, and estimated that 47% (n=117) respondents had experienced at least one victimization (personal or property) incident. Further disaggregating types of victimization, he discovered that 41.8% reported being robbed, sexually assaulted, or assaulted and 20% said that their tobacco, jewelry, or food had been stolen in prisons. Ireland and Archer (1996) studied bullying in male and female adult prisoners. They used behavioral checklists, laying out seven types of bullying in the survey questionnaire: physical and sexual assault, verbal abuse (e.g. name calling), gossiping, ostracizing, lending money or other things to other inmates and demanding payment with interest, and forcing inmates to hand over their possessions (p. 44). Ireland and Archer (1996) found that 13.8% among 138 adult offenders were victimized during the past week prior to the survey being administered. Furthermore, females significantly reported more bullying incidents than males. Ireland (1999) investigated bullying behaviors of male (n = 235) and female (n = 74) prisoners, and found that there were more respondents bullied indirectly (45.3%) than directly (37.5%), paralleling the previous studies (Maitland & Sluder, 1998; Power et al., 1997). Ireland and Ireland (2000) analyzed the data consisting of specific aggressive behaviors collected from 194 adult male inmates in a single prison. One example of the bullying items was: "I was called names about my race or color" (Ireland & Ireland, 2000, p. 216). Of these 194 adult male inmates, 57.2% respondents were bullied at least once in the past week, followed by being bullied twice (15.3%), and by three times or more (9.9%). They reported that verbal abuse was more common (80%) than physical abuse (44.3%) among 70

victims who suffered direct victimization. A more recent study on prison bullying was conducted by Ireland, Archer, and Power (2007) who explored bullying behaviors using a large number of adult inmates (N = 1,253) as their subjects. They reported that 52% of respondents encountered at least one bullying incident, such as sexually harassed, assaulted, gossiping, and ostracizing, etc. Also, respondents reported a higher rate of indirect aggression than direct aggression at a .01 level of significance.

Based upon a sample of 20 young male offenders incarcerated in Ontario, Canada, Connell and Farrington (1996) concluded that 25% of them reported being robbed, punched, threatened, or beaten up several times a week during their incarceration. Power et al. (1997) studied bullying among 707 young Scottish offenders, reporting that 21% of respondents were bullied at least once during their present sentences. The most common forms of bullying consisted of teasing, threats, rumors, and name calling, which did not leave physical bruises and scrapes and might be relatively difficult to be detected. They also found that inmates were more likely to be bullied by staff than by other inmates. Maitland and Sluder (1998) used non-probability samples and observed bullying among young offenders (N = 111) in a medium-security state prison. Consistent with Power et al.'s study (1997), non-physical victimization (16.2%), such as name calling and property stolen, was more prevalent than sexual abuse (0.9%).

As opposed to the studies on the extent and types of prison bullying, other issues, such as the characteristics of victims and the locations where bullying took place, have been relatively given little attention (Ireland, 2002a). Of these few studies, Ireland (2000) comprehensively reviewed prison bullying literature and noted victims' characteristics, including those who do not repay their debts, those who violated prison subculture, new inmates to the criminal justice system, knowing few friends, sex offenders (offense-related), those who failed to defend

themselves, and those who were sentenced to a short-term. Other noted characteristics released in the literature encompassed refusing to offer tobacco to other inmates, “for being quiet and not assertive enough,” being a first-time inmate (Ireland & Archer, 1996; Power et al., 1997), being odd-looking, and demonstrating unusual behavior (Power et al., 1997, p. 214).

Ireland and Archer (1996) also inquired where victims were bullied. The respondents provided information including: “anywhere,” “living quarters,” on wing/landings,” “out of sight of officers’,” “workshops,” “washroom/toilets,” and “exercise yard” (p. 40). Somewhat overlapping with Ireland and Archer’s (1996) study, Power et al. (1997) reported that bullying mostly occurred in the hall, work, showers, recreation, corridors, and reception. As bullying might take place at all kinds of places, Connell and Farrington (1996) commented that it was likely to occur “when there was least surveillance and a low probability of detection” (p. 79).

Previous studies of prison bullying generally advanced our understanding of this social phenomenon, but most were limited to a narrow scope of bullying behavior and direct aggression, such as physical abuse (Cooley, 1993). Moreover, they were primarily undertaken in the Western culture (Ireland, 2000), and little is known of prison bullying in a non-Western culture. This study examined twenty-four types of prison bullying involving physical and psychological harm, and privilege deprivation and coercion in Taiwan’s prisons and also extended the source of bullying from inmate-on-inmate to include trustee-on-inmate bullying.

4. METHODS

4.1. Sampling

The data used in this study were extracted from a larger research project on Taiwan’s prisons (Huang, 2006). The sampling method involved a purposeful selection of one male prison

located in the northern (n=5,500), central (n=4,180), southern (n=2,350), and eastern (n=1,750) area in Taiwan, respectively, in order to maximize the diversity of the sample. A proportionate sample (13.5%) of inmates was randomly selected from each prison, resulting in a total sample of 1,872 inmates: north (n=750), central (n=567), south (n=318), and east (n=237). About 689 (36.8%) surveys were removed from the study due to excessively incomplete information or the invalid answers detected by the modified lie scales designed for Chinese by Lu (1964). There were, therefore, 1,183 valid questionnaires retained in the research project: north (n=382), central (n=468), south (n=200), and east (n=133). The data collection lasted from June 28, 2006 through July 7, 2006.

4.2. Procedures

The data collection was approved by the appropriate university and related correctional agencies in Taiwan. After receiving approval, the local researcher contacted each selected prison to obtain sampling frames with inmates' numbers only, and an equal proportionate inmate from each prison was randomly chosen. Dates and times to administer the survey were set according to mutual agreement between the project researcher and administrators. In each prison, the selected inmates were gathered in a room at different time points, so they would have adequate space to answer the survey without being disturbed by other participants. Participants were informed both verbally and in a written form in the cover sheet that the survey was voluntary, anonymous, and confidential, and their selection was based upon a random selection without a human decision involved. They were also informed that no compensation would be paid to them for participating in the survey, and that no consequences would be imposed on them for terminating the participation at any time point. The researcher or the researcher's assistant was on the scene to answer any questions raised by the respondents.

4.3. *Participants*

The ages of inmate respondents ranged from 18 to 67 years (mean=36 years, SD=8.37). Of the inmates, the majority of inmates were recidivists (69.9%, n=822) and 30.1% (n=356) were first-time offenders. The average length of sentence being served and the median sentence was 2.5 and 1.6 years, respectively (SD=2.8 years).

The age distribution of the current samples was approximately matched to the prison population. In this sample 91.7% were below fifty years old, and 8.2% inmates were between 50-60 years old. The inmate population younger than 50 years old accounted for 89.49%, and the 50-60 age category accounted for 8.57% (Wu, 2010). The most common offense reported by the respondents in the present sample was drug-related violations, making up 45% (n=535), followed by robberies (n= 254, 21%), theft (n=147, 12%), illegal gun possession (n=119, 10%), and murder (n=113, 10%). Among the inmate population, the five most committed crimes were consistent with those of the current sample, and the order was drug-related offenses, theft, robberies, murder, and illegal firearm possession (The Ministry of Justice, 2011b).

4.4. *Instruments and analysis plan*

Twenty-four bullying types were developed from the information provided by a focus group and inmates who filled out an open-ended questionnaire regarding bullying behaviors (Huang, 2006). Specifically, wardens, associate wardens, administrators, correctional officers and staff were invited to share their experiences related to prison bullying. Also, open-ended survey questionnaires were distributed to 469 inmates housed in two adult male institutions asking them to identify the bullying behaviors they had seen, heard about, or experienced during their incarceration. From the information collected from the focus group and inmates, the local researcher identified twenty-four types of bullying, displayed in Table 1. The questions that

measured bullying experiences in the current study were: Have you had ever experienced the following twenty-four behaviors by trustees during your current sentences? The optional responses were: 0, one time, two times, more than three times. A separate question that described bullying by other inmates was asked in the same pattern. To detect the underlying dimensions of the twenty-four types of bullying behaviors, factor analysis was performed utilizing principal components analysis with varimax rotation. Three components were extracted based upon the criteria of the scree plot, and the eigenvalue (>1) (Mertler & Vannatta, 2002), and were labeled as “Psychological oppression,” “Physical & sexual harm,” and “Privilege deprivation & coercion” (see Table 1). The reliability test showed a high level of internal consistency among the bullying items classified in each category. The Cronbach alpha coefficient is .903 for “Psychological oppression,” .800 for “Physical & sexual harm,” and .908 for “Privilege deprivation & coercion.”

Table 1. Bullying Items and Factor Loading

Have you had ever experienced the following twenty-four behaviors by trustees or other inmates during your current sentences?	Psychological Oppression	Physical & Sexual Harm	Privilege Deprivation & Coercion
1. Threatened, frightened, insulted, or teased you	.877		
2. Frequently embarrassed and provoked you	.877		
3. United others to isolate you	.787		
4. Did not allow you to sleep or eat		.648	
5. Punished you physically (e.g. forced to stand with knees bent or hold water buckets over your head for extended periods)		.691	
6. Forced you to get tattoos		.726	
7. Forced you to have beads inserted into your penis		.716	

8. Beat or attacked you		.410	
9. Sexually assaulted you or touched your private parts		.486	
10. Forced you to masturbated in front of others		.789	
11. Forced you to satisfy other's sexual desire (e.g. masturbated for others)		.617	
12. Intentionally assigned you more work in workshops			.475
13. Required you to do more clean-up in cells			.479
14. Required you to serve others (e.g. message, do laundry, scrub backs, or make beds for others)			.511
15. Took your possessions against your will (e.g. daily necessities, foods, electric devices, tea, medicine, etc.)			.578
16. Forced you to participate in gambling			.539
17. Forced you to pay dormitory fees			.661
18. Forced you to ask your family to send money, foods, or daily necessities to others			.733
19. Forced you to apply for mail privileges to be used by others.			.685
20. Forced you to trade your new items (e.g., clothing) for other's old items			.712
21. Forced you to change sleeping spot with others			.529
22. Forced you to join cliques or gangs			.569
23. Did not let you defecate in the cell toilet			.605
24. Forced you to be a scapegoat for others' violations			.669
KMO (= .928)			
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (.000)			
Cronbach's Alpha	.903	.800	.908

Other measurements in the study encompassed the concentration of victims, the perception of prison bullying, places in which bullying occurred, the characteristics of victims and bullies, staff intervention, and reactions to bullying. This study mainly utilized descriptive analysis to address the questions of who is doing the bullying, who is bullied, where, and of what type. Bivariate analyses, t-test, chi-square, and one-way ANOVA were employed whenever appropriate.

5. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

5.1. Extent of bullying

Overall, 365 out of 1,183 respondents (30.85%) have reported to be bullied at least once during their current sentences. Three hundred thirty-five respondents (28.32%) reported that they were bullied by trustees and 290 (24.51%) by other inmates. This indicates that 260 respondents (22%) had been bullied by both inmates and trustees. There was a significant difference ($\chi^2=712$; $p = .000$) between these two sources of bullying.

As the analysis was focused on the three components identified by factor analysis noted previously, among 335 victims reporting being bullied, 289 (86.3%) respondents had experienced at least one instance of psychological oppression during their current incarceration from trustees, 109 (32.5%) were harmed physically and sexually by trustees, and 225 (67.2%) were coerced and privilege deprived by trustees. It should be noted that the percentage exceeded 100% because inmates may be victimized for more than one type of bullying. The data also revealed that bullying by other inmates in terms of the three components included: 245 (84.5%) with at least one incident of psychological oppression, 98 (33.8%) with physical and sexual harm, and 175 (60.3%) with privilege deprivation and coercion. Notably, victims tended to

experience most psychological oppression and second to privilege deprivation, and the least to physical and sexual harm.

Chi-square analysis demonstrated that a significant difference ($p < .001$) existed between trustee-on-inmate and inmate-on-inmate bullying across these three dimensions of bullying. The results indicated that victims were more likely to suffer bullying committed by trustees than by other inmates in total and for each of the three bullying types.

5.2. The concentration of bullying victimization

Table 2 presents the observed frequencies of the bullying items for trustee-on-inmate and inmate-on-inmate bullying. The distribution pattern is remarkably similar across the bullying behaviors for both sources of bullying. In all bullying categories, the majority of respondents, ranging from 79.8 to 99.2%, reported zero incidents. The smallest percentage of victims reported being bullied twice in their present sentences. The most common pattern of bullying victimization was either a single occurrence or three or more by inmates or trustees. When it comes to counts of victimization, almost no exceptions, those who encountered three times or more had experienced the most number of incidents. In the current data, for example, 9.9% of bullying victims reported almost 70% incidents of being frightened, insulted, or teased by trustees. Another example echoing the concentration phenomenon was that overall 302 (82.7%) out of 365 victims had experienced three or over three incidents of bullying in their present sentences. The finding of the repeat victim phenomenon in this study was coherent with victimization among the general population that a minority of victims accounted for the majority of victimization incidents, which has been presented in the victimization literature (Farrell, 1992; Farrell, 1995). This finding also strongly supports target selection as reported in the literature

among the general population (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978).

Table 2 Observed Frequency Distribution for Types of Bullying by Perpetrator Type

Types of bullying during present sentences	Trustee-on-Inmate		Inmate-on-Inmate	
	Number of times being bullied	Respondents (N/%)	Number of times being bullied	Respondents (N/%)
Psychological oppression				
1. Threatened, frightened, insulted, or teased you	0	944 (79.8%)	0	989 (93.6%)
	1	85 (7.2%)	1	74 (6.3%)
	2	37 (3.1%)	2	23 (1.9%)
	>3	117 (9.9%)	>3	97 (8.2%)
2. Frequently embarrassed and provoked you	0	950 (80.3%)	0	991 (83.8%)
	1	78 (6.6%)	1	73 (6.2%)
	2	36 (3.0%)	2	24 (2.0%)
	>3	119 (10.1%)	>3	95 (8.0%)
3. United others to isolate you	0	1031(87.1%)	0	1055 (89.2%)
	1	54 (4.6%)	1	57 (4.8%)
	2	27 (2.3%)	2	15 (1.3%)
	>3	71 (6.1%)	>3	56 (4.7%)
Physical & sexual harm				
4. Did not allow you to sleep or eat	0	1170 (98.9%)	0	1173 (99.2%)
	1	5 (.4%)	1	3 (.3%)
	2	4 (.3%)	2	3 (.3%)
	>3	4 (.3%)	>3	4 (.3%)
5. Punished you physically (e.g. forced to stand with knees bent or hold water buckets over your head for extended periods)	0	1164 (98.4%)	0	1166 (98.6%)
	1	7 (.6%)	1	9 (.8%)
	2	7 (.6%)	2	3 (.3%)
	>3	5 (.4%)	>3	5 (.4%)

Types of bullying during present sentences	Trustee-on-Inmate		Inmate-on-Inmate	
	Number of times being bullied	Respondents (N/%)	Number of times being bullied	Respondents (N/%)
Physical & sexual harm				
6. Forced you to get tattoos	0	1173 (99.2%)	0	1166 (99.2%)
	1	4 (.3%)	1	7 (.6%)
	2	3 (.3%)	2	2 (.2%)
	>3	3 (.3%)	>3	1 (.1%)
7. Forced you to have beads inserted into	0	1172 (99.1%)	0	1173 (99.2%)
	1	7 (.6%)	1	4 (.3%)

your penis	2 >3	2 (.2%) 2 (.2%)	2 >3	3 (.3%) 3 (.3%)
8. Beat or attacked you	0 1 2 >3	1097 (92.7%) 43 (3.6%) 16 (1.4%) 27 (2.3%)	0 1 2 >3	1111 (93.3%) 36 (3.0%) 17 (1.4%) 19 (1.6%)
9. Sexually assaulted you or touched your private parts	0 1 2 >3	1147 (97%) 13 (1.1%) 8 (.7%) 15 (1.3%)	0 1 2 >3	1149 (97.1%) 13 (1.1%) 4 (.3%) 16 (1.4%)
10. Forced you to masturbated in front of others	0 1 2 >3	1169 (98.8%) 5 (.4%) 3 (.3%) 6 (.5%)	0 1 2 >3	1171 (99.0%) 8 (.7%) 4 (.3%)
11. Forced you to satisfy other's sexual desire (e.g. masturbated for others)	0 1 2 >3	1171 (99.0%) 3 (.3%) 3 (.3%) 6 (.5%)	0 1 2 >3	1170 (98.9%) 3 (.3%) 5 (.4%) 5 (.4%)
12. Intentionally assigned you more work in workshops	0 1 2 >3	1086 (91.8%) 28 (2.4%) 15 (1.3%) 54 (4.6%)	0 1 2 >3	1109 (93.7%) 22 (1.9%) 12 (1.0%) 40 (3.4%)

Types of bullying during present sentences	Trustee-on-Inmate		Inmate-on-Inmate	
	Number of times being bullied	Respondents (N/%)	Number of times being bullied	Respondents (N/%)
Privilege deprivation & coercion				
13. Required you to do more clean-up in cells	0 1 2 >3	1061 (89.7%) 36 (3.0%) 18 (1.5%) 68 (5.7%)	0 1 2 >3	1080 (91.3%) 27 (2.3%) 16 (1.4%) 60 (5.1%)
14. Required you to serve others (e.g. message, do laundry, scrub backs, or make beds for others)	0 1 2 >3	1129 (95.4%) 16 (1.4%) 7 (.6%) 31 (2.6%)	0 1 2 >3	1143 (96.6%) 13 (1.1%) 6 (.5%) 21 (1.9%)
15. Took your possessions against your will (e.g. daily necessities, foods, electric devices, tea, medicine, etc.)	0 1 2 >3	1120 (94.7%) 16 (1.4%) 9 (.8%) 38 (3.2%)	0 1 2 >3	1135 (95.9%) 14 (1.2%) 6 (.5%) 28 (2.4%)
16. Forced you to participate in gambling	0 1 2 >3	1145 (96.8%) 16 (1.4%) 8 (.7%) 14 (1.2%)	0 1 2 >3	1161 (98.1%) 13 (1.1%) 5 (.4%) 4 (.3%)

17. Forced you to pay dormitory fees	0	1123 (94.9%)	0	1134 (95.9%)
	1	20 (1.7%)	1	18 (1.5%)
	2	7 (.6%)	2	5 (.4%)
	>3	33 (2.8%)	>3	26 (2.2%)
18. Forced you to ask your family to send money, foods, or daily necessities to others	0	1145 (96.8%)	0	1149 (97.1%)
	1	14 (1.2%)	1	15 (1.3%)
	2	10 (.8%)	2	6 (.5%)
	>3	14 (1.2%)	>3	13 (1.1%)
19. Forced you to apply for mail privileges to be used by others.	0	1160 (98.1%)	0	1169 (98.8%)
	1	9 (.8%)	1	8 (.7%)
	2	3 (.3%)	2	0 (0%)
	>3	11 (.9%)	>3	6 (.5%)

	Trustee-on-Inmate		Inmate-on-Inmate	
Types of bullying during present sentences	Number of times being bullied	Respondents (N/%)	Number of times being bullied	Respondents (N/%)
Privilege deprivation & coercion				
20. Forced you to trade your new items (e.g., clothing) for other's old items	0	1140 (96.4%)	0	1141 (96.4%)
	1	18 (1.5%)	1	18 (1.5%)
	2	13 (1.1%)	2	13 (1.1%)
	>3	12 (1.0%)	>3	11 (.9%)
21. Forced you to change sleeping spot with others	0	1073 (90.7%)	0	1098 (92.8%)
	1	49 (4.1%)	1	41 (3.5%)
	2	16 (1.4%)	2	11 (.9%)
	>3	45 (3.8%)	>3	33 (2.8%)
22. Forced you to join cliques or gangs	0	1158 (97.9%)	0	1157 (97.8%)
	1	8 (.7%)	1	12 (1.0%)
	2	7 (.6%)	2	4 (.3%)
	>3	10 (.8%)	>3	10 (.8%)
23. Did not let you defecate in the cell toilet	0	1116 (94.3%)	0	1139 (96.3%)
	1	29 (2.5%)	1	19 (1.6%)
	2	7 (.6%)	2	4 (.3%)
	>3	31 (2.6%)	>3	21 (1.8%)
24. Forced you to be a scapegoat for others' violations	0	1141 (96.4%)	0	1144 (96.7%)
	1	23 (1.9%)	1	22 (1.9%)
	2	7 (.6%)	2	6 (.5%)
	>3	12 (1.0%)	>3	11 (.9%)

a. *The perception of the seriousness of bullying*

The respondents were asked how serious they perceived bullying in their present prison and a Likert scale from 0-7 was given in the survey questionnaire. More than half of inmate

respondents (n=788, 66.6%) rated between 1 and 7, and 395 (33.4%) inmates checked 0. Whereas most respondents (788 out of 1,183) perceived a varying degree of the bullying seriousness in prisons, an indication of an existence of prison bullying, the vast majority of the respondents (n=818, 69.1%) reported not experiencing any bullying in their present sentences, as previously noted. This finding implied that there was a disparity between how people perceived and what actually happened, consistent with the previous Western studies that offenders tended to perceive more bullying than the actual extent of bullying (Ireland, 2000, p. 208), which will be delineated in the Discussion and Conclusion section. We further collapsed those who rated 1-2 on the level of bullying as “not very serious” and added those who checked “0,” resulting in that 67.4% inmate respondents perceived bullying as “not very serious,” and 32.6% held the opposite view on bullying.

ANOVA was utilized to analyze the perception of the bullying seriousness among three groups: victims bullied once, twice, and three or more times by trustees. It was found that those victimized more than three times (n=253, mean = 3.15) were significantly more likely to perceive bullying being serious than those victimized once (n=50, mean=1.52) or twice (n=32, mean=2.31). Victims experienced once or twice victimization exhibited no difference in the perception of bullying seriousness (p=1.47). The same test performing on the perceived seriousness of bullying among victims bullied by other inmates showed exactly the same pattern: those who victimized more than three times by other inmates (n=207, mean=1.80) significantly considered bullying being more serious than those encountered once (n=50, mean=1.80, p<.000) or twice (n=33, mean=2.30, p<.01) victimization. Again, no difference was found between the group of being victimized once or twice by other inmates (p=.450).

The mean comparison using t-test of the perception of the bullying seriousness between victims bullied by trustees and non-victims demonstrated that the former (mean=2.82) perceived bullying more serious than the latter (mean=1.43) ($p < .001$). Similarly, victims bullied by other inmates also were more likely to significantly see bullying as more serious (mean=3.04) than non-victims (mean=1.43).

b. Bullying in the four prisons

There was no significant difference in bullying committed by trustees across the four prisons by sources of bullying ($\chi^2=3.419$, $p=.331$, $df=3$). The non-significant result also applied to inmate-on-inmate bullying among these four prisons. This indicated that locations did not play a significant role and the prevalence of bullying was similar among the four selected prisoners. The plausible reason might be that the prison system in Taiwan is centralized. Neither rules and regulations for inmates nor education and training for correctional staff vary considerably across male prisons, conducive to minimal difference in management between prisons.

c. The most frequently occurring bullying types

There was a great consistency in the most common types of bullying between trustee-inmate and inmate-inmate bullying. The top five bullying items to which respondents reported being subjected included: threatened, frightened, insulted, or teased you (trustee-inmate: 20.2%; inmate-inmate: 16.4%); frequently embarrassed and provoked you (trustee-inmate: 19.7%; inmate-inmate: 16.2%); united others to isolate you (trustee-inmate: 12.8%; inmate-inmate: 8.7%); required you to do more clean-up in cells (trustee-inmate: 10.3%; inmate-inmate: 8.7%); and forced you to change sleeping spot with others (trustee-inmate: 9.3%; inmate-inmate: 7.2%). The first three items are pertained to the category of psychological oppression and the other two items are under the category of privilege deprivation & coercion.

d. The least frequent bullying types

The least frequently occurring types reported by trustees-inmate bullying were: force you to get tattoos (0.8%); force you to have beads inserted into your penis (0.9%); forced you to satisfy other's sexual desire (1.0%); did not allow you to sleep or eat (1.1%); and forced you to masturbate in front of others (1.2%). These five least occurring bullying types committed by other inmates were the same as bullying types committed by trustees mentioned above, though there was a difference in order.

The results in this (5.6) and previous (5.5) and (5.1) sections confirmed Western studies that verbal or psychological bullying was a preferred form for bullies (Connell & Farrington, 1996; Power et al., 1997; Willmontt, 1997), which will be addressed in more detail in the Discussion and Conclusion section.

e. Who were victims?

The three most cited characteristics for those who were likely to be bullied were: unwilling to adapt to the group life (n=1,008, 85.21%); committing blameworthy crimes, such as rape and murdering parents, etc. (n=921, 77.85%); and damaging others' interests, e.g. stealing other inmates' belongings or being a whistleblower (n=718, 69%). The two least cited characteristics included: those who were gang members (n=28, 2.37%) and those who were rich (n=94, 7.95%).

f. Who were bullies?

The most two common characteristics of bullies reported were "impulsive violent" (n=740, 62.5%), and "short-term inmates" (n=562, 47.51%). The third possible characteristic of bullies chosen by respondents was gang members (n=535, 45.22%). Those least likely to be identified as bullies were drug abusers (n=61, 5.16%) and indigent inmates (n=81, 6.85%) who

were in need of money. Noticeably, gang members were likely to be bullies, but not likely to be victims, as found above.

g. Where bullying occurred

The main locations in which victims were bullied by trustees were: the cell (n=125, 44.0%); the workshop (n=59, 20.8%); the shower room in the workshop (n=37, 13.0%); the restroom in the workshop (n=37, 13.0%); storage or inventory (n=15, 5.3%); the exercise yard (n=6, 2.1%); and other locations (n=5, 1.8%). Likewise, in rank order, the locations in which bullying occurred for inmate-inmate bullying were: the cell (n=148, 52.7 %); the workshop (n=52, 18.5%); the shower room in the workshop (n=29, 10.3%); the restroom in the workshop (n=28, 10.0%); storage or inventory (n=13, 4.6%); the exercise yard (n=6, 2.1%); and other locations (n=5, 1.8%). From the above, more than half of bullying incidents took place in the cell rooms, workshops and the locations around the workshop.

h. Staff intervention

The majority of inmates (n=924, 78.1%) agreed that correctional officers would carefully deal with bullying incidents. A substantial number of respondents (n=844, 71.3%) stated that correctional officers would deliberately protect the victims, and fairly punished the bullies (n=862, 72.9%). There were 63.9% of inmates (n=756) reported that victims were not targeted by bullies with the same type of bullying after staff intervention. Most respondents (n=808, 68.3%) expressed that they were satisfied with staff intervention.

i. Reactions to bullying

Nearly 70 percent (n=827) responded that they would take actions immediately (either fighting back verbally or physically) if bullied. Almost 21% (n=247) said that they would simply

tolerate bullying and did nothing about it, but there were 9.2% inmates (n=109) would consider to take revenge when time was appropriate.

j. To whom would an inmate seek help when bullied

Among 243 inmate victims who answered the question whether they looked for help, only slightly over a quarter of them (n=62, 25.5%) stated that they had sought for help. The primary option was the correctional officer (n=32, 52%), followed by other inmates (n=30, 48%), and trustees (n=18, 29%). Nineteen percent of inmates (n=12) said they would ask help from families and relatives.

k. Forms of bullying (group or single person)

Almost 55% of participants (n=649) reported that bullying was initiated both by groups and individuals. Around 7.0% (n=83) and 8.9% (n=105) stated that bullying was performed in a one-on-one and group-on-one manner, respectively. Twenty-nine percent of the participants (n=344) said that they did not know how bullying was implemented.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The current study on bullying in Taiwan presented findings in an area that was rarely investigated in the criminal justice field, which increased an understanding of bullying in non-Western prisons and added empirical information to the prison literature. Many results discovered in the present study paralleled those generated from Western studies, though some divergent findings emerged as well.

Previous Western studies found the extent of bullying ranging from 8-57% for adult offenders (Ireland, 2002a), and an estimated average of 53% bullying victimization across

Western studies (Monks et al., 2009). In this study, 30.85% of inmates in this study reported being bullied during the current sentences, relatively low when considering the average and the midpoint percentage of bullying (32.5%) shown in Western data. Several possible reasons might explicate this phenomenon. First, some types of bullying were not included in the current questionnaire, such as theft-related bullying, rumor spreading, denigration, taxing, name calling, etc., which might underestimate the actual counts of bullying incidents in Taiwan's prisons. Second, inmates might be unwilling to report their victimization because of no confidence in how data would be dealt with even though anonymity was guaranteed by the researchers. Third, respondents might have fading memories and did not recall all incidents. Fourth, it might be that the management model used in Taiwan's prisons was effective. Hsu studied in a mega-prison in Taiwan housing 3,500 inmates in which adopted prison philosophies derived from DiIulio's *Governing Prisons* (1987) emphasizing firm and sound management. Hsu (2003) found that such mega-prison was "successfully governed without disturbances or riots," and wondered how Taiwan's prisons could manage well with an application of the Western concept and ideas (p. 165). He rationalized that it might be partially due to the culture of self-control embedded in Eastern traditions. As Taiwan's penal system is uniformly managed, Hsu' (2003) rationalization might be an alternative explanation for the low bullying rate found in this study.

Inmate victims were prone to be bullied by trustees than other inmates in total and for each of the bullying type: physical and sexual harm, psychological oppression, and privilege deprivation and coercion. Trustees were empowered by prison authorities to assist correctional officers in supervising other inmates in several areas, cell rooms, workshops, and tool inventory (Hsu, 2003). In the formal hierarchical organization of prisons, trustees were holding a more powerful position and a higher status than the ordinary inmates. With a powerful position, they

probably assumed victims would not inform correctional officers because of their working relationship with officers. In Hsu's (2003) study, he quoted an inmate's observation, stating that the inmate observer would not be against the trustee system if trustees treated others fairly. Often time, however, as the inmate observer pointed out, trustees exploited and were greedy rather than be nice to other ordinary inmates (Hsu, 2003, p. 159). As little has been done on trustees' power abuse, such issue also appeared among prison staff. In a study conducted by Power et al. (1997), the inmate participants were found to be more likely to be bullied by staff than by other inmates. The impact of the use of trustees is not conclusive, which definitely requires more efforts to put into this important issue in the future.

In the data, a small number of inmate respondents were found to be responsible for a large number of victimization incidents. As this finding was not considered within the previous prison literature, the repeat victimization phenomenon in Taiwan's prisons was consistent with the victimization among the general population that most victimizations concentrated on a minority of victims. The "chronic victim" phenomenon supports the routine activities thesis that some victims possess attractive characteristics and were susceptible to be suitable targets by potential perpetrators (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978).

Although about 67% inmate respondents perceived an existence of bullying in their current prison, the majority of the respondents did not report any instances of being bullied. Even with methodological variations between studies, previous Western research consistently demonstrated that inmate respondents had a tendency to rate a higher percentage of bullying in prisons than what actually occurred to them. Power et al. (1997) studies bullying among Scottish young offenders and 76% (n=535) of the respondents replied that they had seen bullying during their current sentence, and 29% (n=201) said that they had been bullied. Surveying adult inmates

from four British institutions, Ireland and Archer (1996) found that 46% inmates expressed that they had seen bullying going on in the previous week in prisons, and only 14% respondents admitted being victimized.

It was not surprising that victims perceive bullying in prisons more serious than non-victims. Also, victims had been repeatedly bullied (three or more than three times) perceived the bullying seriousness at a higher rate than those bullied one or two times. No differences in the perceived seriousness of bullying between those who were victimized once or twice during their sentences. The above results apply to both trustee-inmate and inmate-inmate bullying.

The most frequently occurring types of bullying among the twenty-four bullying items for both sources, trustee-inmate and inmate-inmate bullying, were under the categories of psychological oppression, such as threats and provocation, and deprivation & coercion, such as forcing to changing sleeping spots. The bullying types least likely to occur were physical & sexual harm for both sources of bullying, such as sexual assault. The results were similar to those of Western studies. Connell and Farrington's (1996) study, for example, reported that all the participants in their study had experienced threats or verbal abuse, and some of them had encountered physical harm, and none was sexually abused or beaten. Willmott's (1997) study on male adult inmates exhibited that threats or intimidation were mostly used by bullies, and physical violence was rarely found. Power et al. (1997) also reported in their study that the most prevalent types of bullying involved non-physical behaviors, such as threats, name-calling, and rumor spreading. Ireland and Ireland's (2000) study released that bullying with psychological/verbal nature was more prevalent than the bullying behaviors involving physical contacts. Ireland and Ireland (2000) offered explications that bullies preferred to engage in

indirect or psychological/verbal aggression because these behaviors were hard to be detected as opposed to physical abuse which might leave tangible wounds.

The most important characteristic that made inmates likely to be victimized by trustees or other inmates was those who did not accommodate to the prison life, such as being selfish, idle, filthy, not being cooperative with other inmates, having bad habits, etc. The second characteristic was offense-related; specifically, sex offenders or those who slain their parents. In Power et al.'s (1997) and Ireland's (2000) studies, sex offenders also were noted as the inmates likely to be bullied. Ireland and Archer (1996) comparing male and female inmate bullying found that male inmates were more likely to regard committing certain offenses, e.g. sex crimes, be subject to being victimized than did female inmates. The third most cited characteristic of being bullied was those who snitched or exploited other inmates. Skyes (1958) has long proposed that inmates formed their own norms and values in the prison environment in order to alleviate the pains of being confined. Being a whistleblower and taking a advantage of other inmates, according to Skyes (1958), violated the inmate subculture, becoming legitimate targets of punishments for breaking the inmate code. This result confirmed the previous research (Ireland & Archer, 1996; Power et al., 197).

Affluent inmates were cited to be unlikely victims, which probably they had material resources to either loan to or share with others, making them to be needed. Gang members were not likely to be victims, either, but likely to be bullies, as shown in the data. This result echoed the findings in Griffin and Hepburn's (2006) research that male gang-affiliated inmates involved in aggression three times more than non-gang-affiliated inmates. Power et al. (1997) found that "knowing a lot of inmates" was one of the important characteristics for bullies (p. 217), and Ireland (2000) showed that "knowing few friends" was a characteristic of bullying victims.

Power et al.'s (1997) and Ireland's (2000) findings might serve explanations as to why gang members tended to be bullies but not victims because of the support from their gang members. Two other dominant characteristics that determine who would become bullies were: impulsive and short-term inmates. Impulsive inmates presumably were predisposed to be violent and aggressive, and who easily resorted to violent means to vent their stress and to deal with conflict in the restricted prison environment. Short-term inmates were not likely to be granted for parole due to their brief sentences, so they did not care too much about early release and not to be bounded to rules or regulations when disputes and conflicts broke out with other inmates.

The locations in which bullying occurred mostly concentrated on the cell, and the workshop (including the shower room and restroom in the workshop). Cells and workshops were the places in which inmates congregated that shortened physical distance, increasing the level of intense and providing opportunities for potential offenders. Additionally, cell rooms might have blind spots that weakened the effect of supervision. Similarly, shower rooms and rest rooms in the workshop might have hidden areas and loose supervision where bullies might see it was a good opportunity to bully vulnerable victims (Huang, 2006).

Most inmate respondents expressed their satisfaction in the matters how correctional officers deal with bullying. Specifically, they thought that correctional officers took bullying seriously, provided counseling to victims, punished bullies appropriately. Moreover, they responded that victims were not victimized with the same type of aggressive behavior after staff intervention. The results implied that effective intervention was necessary for prevent future victimization, and ignored bullying even minor might escalate to major offenses. This result supported what DiIulio (1987) believed that firm and sound management was the key to

maintaining order in prisons. Again, more studies need to be conducted in order to reach conclusions regarding the effective management in Taiwan's prisons.

Approximately 80% said that they would either take actions right away or revenged when time was right if bullied. This result has two implications. First, this might explain a relatively low bullying in Taiwan's prisons, since many would fight back and it might terminate future bullying, as Ireland (2000) said that victims were targeted because they failed to defend themselves. Second, those who were bullied might become bullies themselves because of the retributive behavior. Ireland and Ireland (2000) studied inmates in a maximum-security prison, finding that the largest group (43.4%) in the sample fell in the category of bully/victims, which might be in support of the second implication.

A large proportion of victims did not seek any help. Among these victims who had sought help, more than half went for correctional officers. This might show an improving relationship between inmates and correctional officers. Ireland and Archer (1996) found that inmate respondents in their research would advise victims of bullying to approach prison officers, consistent with the finding in this study.

Literature on bullying asserted that bullying was a "group process," and suggested the intervention should focus on peer-group level aggression rather than individual level aggression (Salmivalli, 2010, p. 117). This study found differently, however, that most inmate respondents reported bullying being commonly seen to be taken both by groups and individuals. While this result led to an implication that neither of the two aggression levels should be overlooked, a direct question asking victims concerning whether they were bullied by groups or by individuals is needed for future studies.

As mentioned, this study explored an infrequently studied area of prison bullying in a non-Western context, providing empirical information and accumulating knowledge to prison bullying. Cautions must be taken when the results are interpreted since limitations are present in this study. First, the sample chosen in this study began with a random selection from the four selected prisons scattered in eastern, central, northern, and southern Taiwan, respectively. An exclusion of surveys suspected of containing invalid information detected by lie scales might diminish the degree of generalizability, even though the key characteristics of the studied sample, such as age and crime offenses, were similar to those of the Taiwan inmate population. This limitation has led to a suggestion that a better strategy is required to gain respondents' trust and willingness to provide valid information, such as placing a sealed box for participants to drop completed surveys, instead of collecting surveys by the researcher or researcher assistant. Third, this study lacked some types of bullying, such as rumor spreading and name calling, to precisely estimate the extent of bullying in prisons, which might underestimate the actual extent of bullying. Fourth, this study offered plausible explanations to account for some results, but they have not been verified due to the absence of appropriate data.

Although this study made the results with references to the results in Western studies, it did not intentionally to make a direct comparison of prison bullying between Western and Taiwan's prisons because of the mythological disparities between research. Given the fact that prison bullying has not been fully studied and understood particularly in non-Western cultures. It would be interesting to examine the similarities and differences between prisons by conducting cross-cultural studies in the future. Also, inmate self-report surveys provided useful quantitative information, but some unsolved questions were produced in this study, such as how effective

management in Taiwan's prisons, and qualitative research generating more in-depth information might be the solution for future research.

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An Exploratory Study on the Risks of Online Game-Item Trading: From the Korean Police Perspective

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**On the Characteristics of Social Security
Crime Prevention and Its Role in the Crime
Prevention System as a Whole**

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ABSTRACT

Social security crime prevention refers to crime prevention work conducted by the social security departments under the public security organs aimed at maintaining social security and public order, ensuring public security, and protecting the citizens' lawful rights by means of social security management in line with laws and regulations. In China, social security crime prevention is characterized by its wide range of administrative organs, open management, multitudinous targets, and the broad masses' support. Throughout years, social security crime prevention has been playing an irreplaceable role in China's crime prevention system as a whole.

I. Characteristics of Social Security Crime Prevention

Social security crime prevention refers to crime prevention work conducted by the social security departments under the public security organs aimed at maintaining social security and public order, ensuring public security and protecting the citizens' lawful rights by means of social security management in line with laws and regulations.

The characteristics of social security crime prevention are as follows:

1. Social Security Crime Prevention Work is Mainly the Responsibility of the Social Security Departments under the Public Security Organs.

The social security departments under the public security organs are quite different from non-governmental bodies and organizations since they are specialized institutions engaged in social security administration, empowered by the legislature to shoulder the responsibility of maintaining social order, established by the state in line with legislative procedures. According to the relevant article in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and the relevant laws, China's public security organs are of armed social administrative institutions, whose main tasks are to prevent crime, punish criminals, protect the lawful rights of the citizens, maintain social order, and ensure the successful implementation of China's socialist modernization program. These tasks are fulfilled with the cooperation of all departments of the public organs at all levels, including the departments of social security, criminal investigation, and other security work etc. Here in China, we pursue a policy of combining management by specialized management organs with the involvement of the masses in social security management, so the mass organizations related to social security administration play an important role in crime prevention and maintenance of social order. Therefore, in a broad sense, various mass social security organizations, such as public security committee, joint social security crime prevention teams, and security service companies, are also in charge of social security crime prevention work.

2. The Form of Social Security Crime Prevention is Open Management According to Law

Social security management, like other state administrative management, is administered in line with the relevant laws and regulations. Open management is one of the important characteristics of social security prevention work as well as social security management. The

tasks, scope, means and measures etc. are based on the relevant laws and regulations. Therefore, social security management work by the people's police is open administering according to law.

In view of the special power given to the people's police by the state, it is essential to place the law enforcement of the people's police under supervision to prevent power abuse. It is clearly stipulated in the relevant laws about the supervision of the law enforcement by the people's police: 1) the law enforcement by the people's police must be supervised by the people's procuratorate and the state administrative supervisory committee; 2) internal supervision system is established within the people's police organs which is different from the internal supervision of other administrative organs; 3) the police must conscientiously place themselves under the supervision of society and the citizens. So the supervision of the law enforcement by the people's police is an important aspect of open administration- in conformity with law.

Though open management is the main form of social security management, some necessary secret means and methods are required to supplement open management. This feature of social security management distinguishes social security crime prevention from any other type of crime prevention.

3. Social Security Crime Prevention Has a Wide Scope and Multitudinous Targets

The tasks of social security crime prevention are determined by, the scope and targets of social security management. The extensiveness and complexity is reflected in the scope and targets of management. The scope and specific targets of social security include things as well as people, the handling of cases, events involving social security, and the prevention of calamities related to social security as well as the management of places, professions and regions. This is a characteristic distinct from any other administrative management.

The management of people by the social security organs is extremely extensive. For example; the residents to be managed is the entire population, as many as 1200 million people, and the management of each resident is lifelong. Its extensiveness and long term cannot be matched by any other administrative management. Traffic management is to control all traffic participants (pedestrians, passengers, and drivers). Hazardous article control covers everything related to the manufacture, storage, shipment, purchase, use and destruction of hazardous articles. Those who jeopardize social security are the main targets of social security management, mainly including those who violate social security regulations, criminal suspects, and those who commit offenses against social order. The above-mentioned undeniably proves the extensiveness and complexity of social security management of people.

The management of things by social security management organs covers many types and a wide scope, ranging from highly hazardous articles such as firearms and ammunition, knives under control, explosives, highly toxic and radioactive articles, obscene articles, opium, morphine, heroin, and articles for feudal superstition activities, gambling tools, stolen goods to other contraband goods. In addition, there is a large quantity of public property and facilities that require special protection by the public security Organs in coordination with the relevant departments, such as survey marks, public facilities of postal service, communication, transportation, fire - fighting and power supply, historical relics, places of historic interest, beds of railways, highways and bases of dams. Control over things by social security management aims at the control of hazardous articles and preventing them from causing jeopardy to society and ensure the safety and intactness of the things under protection.

The management of certain areas and places is also extensive and complicated. Any area where offenses are likely to occur must be under social security management, such as

complicated public places and busy commercial areas in cities and towns, key institutions of top leaders and their vicinity, foreign embassies and foreign agencies, neighborhood, areas bordering different administrative regions, city roads, highways in rural areas, residential areas, border areas, forest areas, lake and river - net areas, which all belong to the key areas for social security management.

The interference in people's acts by social security organs and their organizations at grass - roots level must be done in line with the relevant articles of the Criminal Law and the regulations of social security management concerning crimes and offenses in violation of social security management. The social security organs must not only try utmost to prevent crime but also have to handle various offenses in violation of the relevant laws and regulations. The calamities under the management of the social security organs refers to those related to social security, that is, calamities the social security organs are obligated to handle, which is clearly stipulated in the relevant laws. The repeatedly occurring social security calamities that may have serious consequences are as follows: accidents of fire, explosion, poisoning, radioactive material, and accidents involving firearms and ammunition, traffic accidents, shipwreck, casualties caused by crushing in public places or by collapse of buildings. In addition, the social security management organs also have the obligation to handle, in coordination with other relevant governmental organs, natural calamities such as floods, earthquakes, plagues of insects, volcano eruptions, typhoons, mud - rock flows, landslides, and industrial injuries and the overturning of train and airplane crashes and prevent secondary social security calamities or accidents from happening.

4. Social Security Crime Prevention Work is Greatly Supported by the Broad Masses

Relying on the masses in social security crime prevention work lies with the characteristics of China's social security management. The combination of specialized organs with the broad

masses is a fine tradition of the People's police and a principle of public security work. Involving the broad masses in social security management work by mobilizing' and organizing them is an advantage as well as a hallmark of China's social security crime prevention work.

Social security management, with its wide scope and complexity, has direct bearing on the interests of the state, collective and individuals. Participation of the masses in social security management work is a necessity for the maintenance of social Security, and the requirement on the part of the masses as well. As a bid to extensively mobilize and organize the masses, public security committees, social security crime prevention teams, and other organizations for helping and educating those who are likely to disturb public order and other organizations are set up to jointly prevent crimes by keeping watch on the residential areas, patrolling, helping and educating the elements who are likely to cause trouble, or mediating disputes. It is under the guidance of the public security organs that the masses participate in social security crime prevention work in organized form, with particular goals and good discipline. China's social security management is to prevent crimes according to law by combining the forces of the people's police with that of the masses and units. China's Constitution stipulates the principles and forms of the participation in the maintenance of social order by the masses and mass social security organizations. The specific tasks, types of organization, the functions and power and the higher authority of the mass social security organizations are clearly stipulated in detail in the Provisional Organizational Regulations for Social Security Committee. At present the mass social security organizations such as security committees, joint social security crime prevention teams all over the urban and rural areas have become a bridge linking the public security organs and the broad masses. People in these organizations have played an irreplaceable role in helping the masses increase their knowledge about law and their sense of crime prevention, motivating

them to take part in joint social security crime prevention work, executing mass crime prevention measures, preventing and cracking down on crimes in coordination with public security organs, and in maintaining public security and social order. They are a component part in China's multi-level social security crime prevention network and an important force of social security crime prevention work at the grass-roots level.

The Role of Social Security Crime Prevention in China's Crime Prevention System as a Whole

1. Social Security Crime Prevention is an Important Component of China's Crime Prevention System as a Whole.

Presently, China's crime prevention can be divided into three categories: mass, professional, and technical crime prevention in terms of personnel and means: general, key, and special crime prevention according to function. These aspects, closely related and complementary to each other, form China's present framework of crime prevention. The specialized organ of public security, procuratorate, court and judiciary are the backbone of all crime prevention work. Specialized crime prevention refers to strengthening the crime prevention mechanism by bringing the functions of the organs of public security, procuraterate, court and judiciary into full play. Social security crime prevention is an important component of professional crime prevention, of which the public security organs are in charge, arid its importance is determined by the following factors:

Firstly, the fundamental task of the public security organs is to safeguard national security, maintain social order and public security, protect personal safety and freedom and their lawful property, protect public property and prevent, stop and punish criminal offenses. In this sense,

public security organs are established to prevent and crack down on crimes. The police are the main force in preventing and cracking down on crimes in every country all over the world. Therefore, an important measure of preventing and cracking down on crimes is to increase police forces in countries all over the world. China's police force increased at such a great rate that it doubled from mid – 80's to early 90's, and it is now still increasing at a considerably great rate. China's public security organs have become the core force of preventing and cracking down on crimes.

Secondly, the public security stations, a grass - roots level organization under the public security organs, well organized, with various functions, are set up all over the urban and rural areas. The public security station is a grass-roots level organization for preventing and cracking down on crimes as well as a grass-roots level organization of public security management. The responsibilities of the public security station are 1) Implementing the laws and regulations concerning public security, and doing propaganda about the knowledge of law,- that is, publicizing among the public the importance of observing the Constitution, laws and social security regulations, public order and social morals; helping in cooperation with the relevant institutions those who have committed light offenses. 2) Implementing the judicial decisions, that is, controlling, educating and reforming according to the relevant laws and regulations the offenders who have been sentenced to be under supervision, deprivation of political rights, or who have been released on probation, on parole or medical parole, and keeping watch on the dwelling places of those who have been sentenced to be under surveillance. 3) Residence registering. This is a measure to know about the permanent and temporary residents and know about the criminal suspects and their movement through residence registering, census, check of ID cards in order to prevent crimes. 4) Administering social security management of the

complicated public places and sectors, special professions, enterprises and institutions, key sectors and residential areas under its jurisdiction, and helping large units under its jurisdiction with their security work to prevent or reduce crimes and calamities or accidents concerning social security. 5) Promoting multi - level mass crime prevention and mass social security improvement work with social security committee as the main organization in charge. Organizing the masses in joint social security crime prevention, in patrol, protection of factories, schools, shops and management of high - rise apartment buildings and crime prevention work in ordinary residential areas, so as to prevent crime and ensure safety. 6) Cracking cases involving social security in the area under its jurisdiction; solving or helping solve crimes committed in or related to the area under its jurisdiction; protecting scenes of serious crime; preventing and stopping all criminal offenses. Presently in China, the public security station, the corner stone of public security work and the forefront of social security management, has become a comprehensive multi - function social security organization at the grass - roots level. It is also a grass - roots level organization in China's crime prevention.

2. Social Security Crime Prevention Runs Through All Levels of the Crime Prevention System

Firstly, social security crime prevention work runs through mass crime prevention work. The public security police patrol team is also a grass - roots level social security organization besides the public security station. Public security patrol police is a new type of police formed by the public security organs to curb the ever increasingly rampant crimes in Chinese society. The public security patrol police is a quick-response police force patrolling the streets and communities- to prevent or crack down on crimes. The public security stations and the police patrol teams have a greater contact with society and closer ties with the masses than any other

public security organs, and social security crime prevention runs through and is based on mass crime prevention work. Mass crime prevention work means to establish a sound crime prevention mechanism by involving the broad masses and the various forces in society in the comprehensive improvement of social security. All the mass crime prevention work is done under the leadership or guidance of the public security organs, whether it is the publicity of knowledge of law, education work, helping and educating people who have committed light offenses, mediating disputes among neighbors or it is joint social security crime prevention work, organizing patrol or keeping surveillance, providing information about public security, or helping public security organs catch offenders. In other words, the efficiency of mass crime prevention, to a large extent, is determined by the efficiency of the public security organs, especially the grass-roots level social security organizations.

Secondly, social security crime prevention is a tie linking general, key and special crime prevention. The feature of general crime prevention is that it has no specific targets, and it is only a general measure; key crime prevention work refers to the measures taken with specific people or things as targets. For example, those who are likely to commit criminal offenses or who have violated law or committed light criminal offenses; special crime prevention refers to the investigation, prosecution, arrest; trial, imprisonment and reform of the serious criminal offenders according to law, so as to achieve the purpose of preventing or reducing crimes. One of the characteristics of social security crime prevention is that its targets are non - specific as well as specific, that is to say, it is the dialectical unity of the specific and non - specific. And this characteristic lies with the characteristic of social security management. On the one hand, the scope of the management of people by the social security organs is rather extensive, including all residents without any particular target, and on the other hand, they have specific key targets on

the basis of general management, and it is of great significance for preventing and curbing crimes, educating and reforming offenders and for keeping a tight control over the sectors of society where offenses are apt to be committed. Social security crime prevention is also closely related to crime prevention as a whole. For instance, the supervision, reform and management of the convicted criminals who are under surveillance, on probation, parole, or medical parole, or who have been deprived of political rights according to law, are an important aspect of special crime prevention.

Thirdly, social security crime prevention has gradually developed into a combination of personnel and technology crime prevention. The social security management departments under public security organs are first a kind of personnel crime prevention. The development of economy and science and technology in modern times, and the appearance of intelligence and high - tech crimes have brought about the possibility and necessity of preventing crimes through technology, which is now playing a more and more important role in the crime prevention system as a whole. Technology crime prevention includes: 1) Detecting systems (micro - dose x - ray detecting system, metal firearm detecting passageway system, laser micro - spot detecting system, on - spot narcotics detecting system, explosion - proof and defusing system, just to name a few. 2) Alarming system (mainly all kinds of infra-red detecting alarming systems and alarming devices of all kinds. 3) Monitored control system (mainly optical fiber video transmission electronic monitored control system and other control systems). In addition, with the development of computer technology, a series of comprehensive control systems have been developed. For example, the comprehensive micro - computer control system combining supervisory control, alarm and monitor as one; auto alarm network system with digital coding, radio transmission, micro - computer processing, combining information, alarm, communication

and command as one. At present, with the development of science and technology, social security crime prevention has become a combination of personnel and technology.

3. Social Security Crime Prevention Occupies an Important Place in China's Comprehensive Social Security Improvement

Comprehensive social security improvement is the guiding principle for social security work in China's new historical phase, and is the fundamental measure of crime prevention. The place of social security crime prevention in the comprehensive social security improvement is determined by the place and role of the public security organs in the comprehensive social security improvement. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council point out in Decision on Strengthening the Comprehensive Social Security Improvement that “the public security organs, being the competent authorities in social security work, holds an especially important position in the comprehensive social security improvement. The public security organs must, according to the needs of strengthening the comprehensive social security improvement, appropriately adjust their focus of work, deployment of police forces and service system, improve working methods, strengthen the grass - roots level social security work by putting more personnel and energy into it, so as to become more efficient.” To be more specific, the importance of social security crime prevention work in the comprehensive social security improvement lies with the following factors:

First, the main goal of the comprehensive social security improvement is that of the public security organs', that is, society is stable; serious and vicious and repeated offenses are under control or on gradual decrease; social evils are greatly reduced; the places and units where criminal offenses were common occurrence take on a new look; with good social order, the public enjoys a sense of security.

Second, social security crime prevention organizations at the grass-roots level, being in the forefront of the struggle against criminal offenses, know very well about the status quo of the criminal offenses, the distribution range, time and means of offenses, targets of offenses, and the offenders, the regularity of active offenders. They shoulder the responsibility of maintaining social order and public security in the area under their jurisdiction. For this reason, strengthening the public security organizations at the grass-roots level and doing a good job in social security crime prevention is the fundamental guarantee for implementing unified leadership, for coordination and cooperation concerted management, and for an all - round implementation of the measures for comprehensive social security improvement.

Thirdly, social security crime prevention runs through six aspects in the comprehensive social security improvement work. The special actions of trying to eradicate the "six evils", namely: gambling, prostitution, drug-addiction, and the manufacturing and selling of pornography and feudal superstition, are important tasks of social security crime prevention. The tasks of social security crime prevention also include comprehensive social security crime prevention work such as extensively mobilizing and organizing the broad masses so as to take all kinds of precautions to eliminate the destabilizing factors and hidden troubles; solving all kinds of contradictions in society and civil disputes through persuasion and mediation; improving the internal safety and security work and technical preventative measures in state organs, schools, enterprises, and institutions, and bettering the crime prevention facilities in residential areas both in urban and rural areas; exercising joint social security crime prevention in both urban and rural areas and perfecting the mass prevention mechanism; organizing police and civil joint crime prevention; providing security service. In addition, the following are all important tasks of social security crime prevention work: educating the public through popularizing laws and regulations

and through all kinds of activities of publicizing law in order to raise the sense of law and the sense of protecting and abiding by law; educating and redeeming problem juveniles and light juvenile delinquents; helping and educating those who have been released after serving a sentence or reform through labor. Presently, it is imperative to do well all the social security management work, especially the management of the transient population and the special professions like hotels, junk markets, dance halls, video halls, the management of the cultural market and publications, peddlers' market, and the key units such as coffers and ware houses of important goods and materials. Social security crime prevention also covers enacting and perfecting relevant rules and regulations and exercising comprehensive social security improvement responsibility system. It also shoulders the responsibility of extending the reform work "forward, outward and backward", and supervising and reforming those who should be supervised and reformed according to law. In a nutshell, the social security crime prevention runs through the six links of the comprehensive social security improvement, namely, crackdown, prevention, education, management, enactment and reform, that are closely related to each other and form a unity.

On the Prevention of Juvenile Deviant Behaviors in Adolescence

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ABSTRACT

Juveniles are in a crucial stage of physical and mental development, and are inclined to have deviant behaviors. So the prevention of juvenile deviance is of great significance for the control of juvenile delinquency. This project conducted a sample survey on 5,594 Grade 9 students, discovering a few new juvenile deviant behaviors in adolescence that deserved attention. Both schools and families still lay emphasis on ranking good and bad academic performances based on their scores, which results in more and more prominent negative effects. Prevention of juvenile deviant behaviors is a very important basis for crime prevention, therefore, the whole society should work together to prevent the juvenile deviance and create positive conditions to reduce the juvenile delinquency by improving infrastructure.

Key words: juvenile; deviant behavior; prevention

Deviance is violation against the social or organizational norms. Generally speaking, social norms are interpreted by written languages or some accustomed perspectives. The younger generation mastered them through learning and form cognition about them. Juvenile deviance has its specialty, such as juveniles are not allowed to smoke and drink alcohol, whereas such behaviors of adults are not viewed as deviance at all. The special requirements for the juvenile behaviors are very significant for crime prevention. For this reason, the Standing Committee of National People's Congress passed the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency* (hereinafter referred to as *Law of the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*) on June 28, 1999. Nine deviant behaviors are listed in Article 14 of this Act, and

nine serious misconducts are mentioned in Article 34, which actually defines the juvenile deviance in Chinese legal documents. In addition to this, there are also some evaluation comments on juvenile deviance in Chinese traditional culture. In order to know the current situation and causes of deviance of the juveniles who were born after the 1990's, from November 2006, our research group had been conducting a four-year investigation on the prevention of juvenile delinquency among some Grade 9 students in the Fujian Province. With supports from the Politics and Law Committees in Xiamen, Quanzhou, Nanping and Fuzhou cities, our research group interviewed eighty Grade 9 students in total, conducted questionnaire survey among 5594 students (14-16 years old), and held symposiums respectively in those four cities. The percentage of male and female students participating in answering the questionnaires respectively was 51.73% and 48.27%. Among those four junior high schools, two of them are in the cities while the other two are in the urban fringe areas. Regulated by *Law of the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*, juveniles refer to those who are under 16 years old. Psychological studies hold that juveniles in adolescence are in a stage that their psychological and behavioral development undergoes the most prominent changes in their life. They are between 11 and 16 years old. Changes in female students generally take place one year or two earlier than those of the male students. In this stage, juveniles are getting mature physically, but comparatively lagging behind in their psychological development. The development of their legal and moral judgments, and competence of self-restraint falls behind their physical development, thus the contradictions of unsynchronized levels between them determine the changeability and complicatedness of juvenile behaviors. This stage can be a window for schools and parents to observe the juvenile trend of moral development, and it's also a crucial period to prevent crimes. Therefore, in this

study, some Grade 9 students were chosen as study samples. Questionnaire surveys were carried out by our research group, and the forms were collected by secret ballot in the class.

I. Deviant Problems of the Juveniles in the Adolescence

1. Truancy and Staying out All Night

Truancy and staying out all night is regulated as deviance in Item 1 of Article 14 in *Law of the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*. Among those 5,594 students who answered the questionnaire survey, 574 of them had ever quit classes and stayed out all night, accounting for 10.6%, (Note: the percentage was calculated net of invalid questionnaires, the same hereinafter), out of which 8.25% quit classes and stayed out all night not more than 3 times and 2.41% above 3 times. Truancy and staying out all night may influence not only the juveniles' academic performances but more importantly, their character development. Members of research group got to know from the information obtained from the symposium that the students who quit classes and stayed out all night mostly went meeting friends, surfing on the Internet, visiting clubs or video hall, etc. The absentees' friends outside campus always had complicated background, and some of them lured them with all kinds of temptations, thereby increased their risk of crime. In order to observe the relationship between deviance and crimes, our research group surveyed 50 juvenile criminals under detention in Fujian Provincial Juvenile Prison in February 2007, and was informed that 78% of them had ever quit classes and stayed out all night. So, frequent truancy and staying out all night could be an important index for assessing the risk of juvenile delinquency. Whereabouts for the class absentees and students staying out all night were ranked as follows: Internet bars, dance balls, video halls, game centers, messing about or hanging out in

the street, etc. Commercial entertainment places are not suitable for juveniles to get access to for there are strict state laws forbidding them to do so. However, many business operators do not take it seriously, which provides chances for juveniles slip inside. Since disco clubs, night clubs and bars are always places where drug abuse and pornographic behaviors often take place. Some juveniles are not well developed psychologically, so they are greatly possible to learn, imitate, and have desire for money, which results in committing crimes such as robbery and theft, etc. According to the *2006 Annual Research Report of Fujian Provincial Public Security Department*^[1], since 2001, the percentage of the juvenile students who were involved in criminal cases has been increasing every year. And, the students committed crimes mostly began with making some bad friends when they quit classes or after dropping out the school.

2. Smoking and Alcohol Abuse

Smoking and alcohol abuse are comparatively common in deviance of juveniles. Smoking is usually seen as a sign of adult behavior, and juveniles want to show their maturity by smoking, which obviously shows the juveniles' misunderstanding toward the status of being an adult. Juveniles learn social experience and approaches from adults, and they believe that cigarettes and alcohol are important intermediaries for making friends and developing friendship. However, smoking and alcohol abuse are rather money-consuming, so it is common that juveniles are likely to commit theft or robbery because they do not have proper income. In 2006, Ou Yuanhua et al., the research group members of "Countermeasures on Crime Prevention for Constructing a 'Safe Fujian'", analyzed crime types among 1,407 juvenile delinquents in Fujian Provincial Juvenile Prison, finding that robbery and theft occupied 70.3% of all crimes. Criminal gains were

^[1] Office of Research in Ministry of Public Security. *Research on Contemporary Juvenile Delinquency Problems in China* [M]. Peking: Press of Chinese People's Public Security University, 2005:133.

mainly for smoking, drinking, Internet-surfing and visiting dance balls, and the rest expenditures are for making friends^[2]. Juveniles easily get addictive in smoking and drinking alcohol, and it is quite difficult to quit, therefore, smoking and alcohol abuse are also considered as bad juvenile behaviors in many countries. It is known from the questionnaire survey that among the 5,594 students investigated, 670 of them had ever smoked or consumed alcohol, which accounted for 12.11% of the all investigated students.

3. Puppy Love

Puppy love refers to the relationship between the juvenile male and female. Puppy love, smoking and cliquing are the three representative problems of juvenile behaviors. Nevertheless, in recent years, the behavioral problem of puppy love turns more prominent. Juveniles who deeply fall in puppy love may lose their interest in group activities and decrease their interaction with other group members. Juveniles are in the most important stage of their life to get influences from peers. Through group activities, schools intend to cultivate the students' spirit of solidarity and mutual assistance, enable them to experience group care, love and strength, share happiness with others, show good understanding toward others' feeling and learn the code of conducts, etc. Therefore, group activity is a very helpful way for socialization, while puppy love usually limits juveniles to a comparatively narrower scope when it comes to caring for others or interaction, which influences their knowledge acquisition and healthy character growth. The survey revealed that 508 students had love experiences, accounting for 9.3% of the interviewees, out of whom 2.34% had more than 3 times love experiences. Puppy love is the least stable since its foundation is very weak. It mainly results from curiosity toward the opposite gender, so it is

^[2] Ou Yuanhua, Chen Huoping, et. al. *Research on Repeated Crimes Committed by Released Criminals in Fujian Province* [J]. Journal of Fujian Public Security College, 2007(3):51.

high in split rate. Once lovers break up, their mood fluctuation greatly decreases their interest for study and badly influences their academic performances, which reversely, increases their psychological pressure and provokes behavioral problems that imposes great negative influences upon juveniles.

4. Watching and Listening to Pornographic Audio-visual Products and Reading Obscene Publications

Since pornographic, obscene publications and audio-visual products spread very fast, juveniles in their adolescence are more likely to be tempted, which imposes relatively great impact upon their mentality. It was showed in the questionnaires that 661 students had ever watch or read pornographic audio-visual products or publications, accounting for 12.28% of all interviewees. Comparing to those who were born in the 1970's and 1980's, the cultural environment for the younger generation born in the 1990's has changed a lot. Generally, they begin using the Internet and cell phone in an earlier age. Among 5,594 students investigated, 4,284 often surfed on the Internet, accounting for 76.58%, while cell phones and the Internet are convenient way to get access to pornographic and obscene publications and audio-visual products. In addition, some juveniles can also get access to pornographic and obscene products at home. Their parents are fond of reading pornographic publications or watching obscene CD's, but they do not take effective measures to prevent their children from reading or watching, which causes bad influence upon their children. In a certain individual interviews, some students revealed that their parents knew that they had watched pornographic audio-visual products or read obscene publications. Once Juveniles start doing so, their sex impulse is quite easily aroused. In August 2008, our research group interviewed 3 male students suspected of rape in a

certain detention center in Quanzhou City of Fujian Province. One criminal was Wang, who dropped out school when he was a junior high school student, and the other two were university students. The other day, at dusk, they raped a single woman by turns in a park. When being interviewed, they all admitted that they often watched pornographic and obscene videos, so they all had sex delusion before they conducted rape. Lin, one of the university students, said that when he saw Wang raping the woman, an impulse aroused inside him and he forgot all the possible consequences. Both the two university students had sex experiences with their girlfriends when in senior high school; one of them lived together with a female classmate when in the university. The phenomenon of cohabitation is not only a management problem in the universities, but also an extending problem in high school education and family education. In the survey, 252 students had ever had sex behaviors, accounting for 4.66% of the interviewees, out of whom 79 students, namely 1.46%, had sex behaviors for more than 3 times. As a result, watching pornographic audio-visual products and reading obscene publications is quite likely to weaken juveniles' moral concept for sex and sense of responsibilities, decrease their concentration on study, and increase their sex deviance or even lead to crimes.

5. Theft and Demanding for Property

Juveniles usually steal or demand for a small amount of money from others, so generally, the nature of their behaviors belongs to deviance instead of delinquency in legal sense. However, once they have initial experience, they may repeat their misconducts later, which may easily develop into criminal behavior. Both thefts and property-demanding get the victims involved in, in order to understand the actual circumstances, our project group proposed questions from the angle of victims as followed, "Have you ever had an experience of being demanded for property

by your classmates since you started your junior high school?" The survey results showed that 813 students claimed that they had this kind of experiences, accounting for 14.53% of the all interviewees, out of whom 151 students (2.7%) were demanded for more than 3 times. Thefts are usually committed by an individual secretly, whereas property-demanding is committed by a group. These two kinds of behaviors rarely interlap. Every time, when a theft is successfully committed, the doer's inner experience would be strengthened so that he may have a stronger motivation for another theft, and property-demanding has similar characteristics. Misconducts of theft and property-demanding are highly associated with those of crimes; our research group discovered after interviewing 50 juvenile delinquents under detention in Fujian Provincial Juvenile Prison that the percentage of their thefts and property-demanding in their adolescence reached as high as 70 percent. Property-demanding is usually committed by a group of juveniles who have been influenced by misconducts; moreover, some groups may develop into street gangs to commit robbery and fighting, etc. Chen Huoping et al., staff of Academy of Sciences of Fujian Normal University, investigated 902 cases of juvenile delinquency, out of which robberies and thefts respectively account for 61.7% and 8.6%^[3]. Although the judiciary agencies may eliminate the juveniles' criminal records for the purpose of reducing social discrimination toward them, however, the psychological impact upon the persons concerned would last long. Once being imposed criminal or administrative penalties, the juvenile criminals would be desperate and give themselves up due to the great impact that may negatively influence them for life long, and that would be possible to intensify the consequences of their crimes later on.

6. Fighting and Verbal Abuse

^[3] Liu Liting, Chen Huoping. *A Survey Report on Current Situation and Prevention Measures of Juvenile Delinquency in Fujian Province* [J]. *Journal of Hubei No. 2 Normal University*, 2010(1):65.

Fighting and verbal abuse falls into the third category of deviance in the *Law of the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*. Fighting and verbal abuse is closely related to the dramatic psychological, physical and social activity changes of the students in junior high schools. To be more objective, our research group asked the students such a question, “Have you ever been assaulted or verbally abused by your classmates since you entered junior high school?” The results showed that 1,658 students had ever been assaulted or verbally abused by others, accounting for 30.64% of the students answering the questionnaires. Fighting and abusing others is the most typical periodical deviance, which has the closest association with their age characteristics. With the age growth and the improvement of moral and legal socialization, fighting and abusing others decreases. However, there is one exception: group fighting is often encouraged by group members, and the comparatively “outstanding” figure would even become the one imitated by his peers, consequently, group fighting would further strengthen the arrogance of the group, encourage deviance, and significantly increase the likelihood of committing crimes that is what we need to concern about.

7. Carrying Controlled Knives

Carrying controlled knives falls into the second category of deviance in the *Law of the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*. It often leads to serious criminal cases with casualties because it is very dangerous deviance. Nevertheless, juveniles always have little knowledge about the danger of carrying controlled knives. Our research group conducted sample statistics upon 33 injury cases committed by juveniles, and controlled knives were used in 91% of the cases. Since juveniles are weak at controlling their emotion, in the event of conflicts, most of them would attack others with the knife they are carrying, often leading to occurrence of

casualties, but the actors always feel regretful eventually. Our research group interviewed 50 parties at Fujian Provincial Juvenile Prison, and all of them held that the outcomes were unpredictable to them in advance. Initial motive of juveniles for carrying controlled knives is to show their maturity and personality instead of committing crimes, moreover, they also intend to prove that they belong to a certain group to show their own character and abilities. Similar to tattoo, carrying controlled knives contains the significance of sub-culture. However, only when damage occurs do they realize the bad outcomes of carrying controlled knives. Viewing from age characteristics of juveniles, carrying controlled knives is particularly dangerous to them; therefore, parents and teachers should pay particular attention to this so as to prevent the happening of deviance as early as possible.

II. An Analysis on the Causes of Juvenile Deviance

Juvenile deviance is closely associated with environmental influences. The juveniles born after 1990s enjoy the great economic and social achievements on one hand, but also experience the pressure from higher education and employment. They are in a time when the Internet is so popular; they witness the colorful cultural entertainment, while also see some people live a decadent life with their eyes; they experience the conflicts between traditional and popular cultures. The environment where the younger generation grows up is quite different from the historic conditions with which we are familiar, as a result, the causes of their behavioral problems also have some prominent characteristics associated with the age.

1. Increase in Divorce Rate, Single-parent and Guardian Families

Parents, either in legal sense or traditional cultural concept, naturally are their children's guardians. They are both parents and guardians as well. However, the situation is changing. It is common that the roles of parents and guardian are getting separated. Our research group raised such a question to the students, "With whom do you live most of the time?" It was known from the valid questionnaires that totally 5,382 students answered this question. Among them, 4,473 students answered that they lived with their parents, accounting for 83.11%; 485 lived with a single parent, making up 9.01%; 192 stayed with their grandparents, accounting for 3.57%; still other 232 students (4.31%) lived with a relative or a friend of their parents authorized. To sum up, totally 83.11% of them lived in an intact family, while 16.89% did not. The latter ratio was not high, but the absolute number reached 909 persons in total. This circumstance resulted from the mounting divorce rates and numbers of single-parent families. Statistics of Ministry of Civil Affairs suggested that in the whole country, "There were 2.468 million couples that got divorced in 2009, an increase of 199,000 pairs or 8% comparing to those of the previous year. Viewing from the circumstance in recent five years, the number of divorces mounted year by year, with an average increase of 7.65%." ^[4](See Chart 1) Sing-parent families are confronting more difficulties in raising and educating children and more obstacles in emotional interaction, so their children are more easily to have behavioral problems.

^[4] Ministry of Civil Affairs. *An Annual Statistical Report on the Development of Civil Course in Ministry of Civil Affairs* [EB/OL]. (2010-06-10) [2010-11-20]. <http://cws.mca.gov.cn/article/tjbg/20100600081422.shtml>.

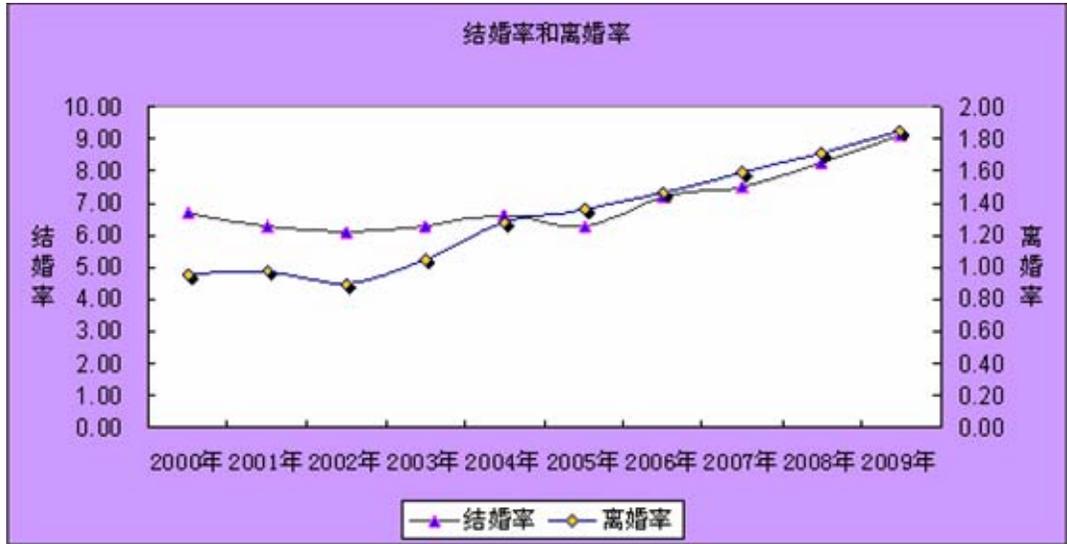


Chart 1 : Statistics of Marriage and Divorce Rates from 2000 to 2009

(Note: The Data Came from an Annual Statistical Report on the Development of Civil Cause in Ministry of Civil Affairs)

Some Juveniles whose parents are migrant workers or criminal parents, or some abandoned children are under guardianship by their grandparents, relatives or friends of their parents. Juveniles under one kind of those guardianships are more likely to have deviance 30% higher than those who live in a normal family. Our research group conducted a survey in Linbian Work-study School of Xiamen City, Fujian Province. We held a symposium there and found that 4 out of 10 students came from a single-parent family, a grandparent’s family or under guardianship of a relative or a friend of their parents. Juveniles from abnormal families are more likely to have deviance in an earlier age. Most of their social contacts are idle youth, however, their guardians are poor at educating them. These two adverse situations together enhance the possibilities of their deviance and criminal behaviors. There is a Shan’en Orphanage in Minhou County of Fujian Province, a shelter specific for homeless minors. Our research group found through

investigation that the minors there have very low expectation toward their future. Four of us respectively talked with 12 minors there, asking them whether they had some life goals. 75% of them wished to live with their parents but none had any life goals. The director told us that she had talked with hundreds of children since the orphanage was established, but only one child told her that his life goal was to be a bike repairer, that was the most decent life goal she had ever heard. From this, it is known that that a child who lacks of family love would almost lose his self-confidence. Our research group carried out a follow-up survey in Guxi Police Station of Fuzhou City, Fujian Province. Lee was sent there because he stole a bicycle. We got to know that Lee came from Jiangxi Province. He came to his aunt's for shelter after his parents abandoned him. According to the personal information provided by Lee himself, we found via the Network of Public Security Household Registration that Lee was only 16 years old. We advised the police in charge of this case not to impose public security penalty upon him, instead, educated him and then asked his aunt to take him home for further instruction. Five days later, we received a call from Guxi Police Station and was informed that Lee was arrested again for he stole an electric bicycle. Correction of deviance is usually achieved by combined efforts from organizations assisting to educate the persons with criminal records or deviance, and from schools and families, which together form interactive links. Nevertheless, if a child lacks family affection and care, the effect of his deviance correction would be disappointing. With the increasingly growing ratio of separated families, we are confronting a more severe problem. From the perspectives of historic documents of criminology, the incidence of juvenile deviance mounts owing to the family instability and parents' moral deterioration occurred in the process of industrialization and urbanization in the European countries such as France, Germany, Sweden, the Great Britain and the Netherlands, etc.

2. Weakening of Family Relations

Satisfaction of family love is an evaluation index for affection between parents and children. The satisfaction level of family love we surveyed was one-way, namely, its affection evaluation that juveniles have toward their parents. Our research group presented to the students a question, “What about your relationship with your parents?” In total, 4,399 students answered this question, out of whom 2,344 felt “quite satisfactory” about it, accounting for 53.28%; 1,188 felt “relatively satisfactory”, making up 27.01%; 625 students felt it “ordinary”, accounting for 14.21%; 56 believed it “relatively poor” and 43 said “poor”, respectively occupying for 1.27% and 0.98%; still 143 others were not clear-minded about it, making up 3.25%. Only slightly more than half of the students held that they were in rather good relationship with their parents. It’s confusing that the gap between the current situation and the parents’ material and emotional offering to them is very big. In the early stage of adolescence, a juvenile may have weak feeling toward his families, and most of parents may sense that their children are prominently rebellious. Recently, there is a widespread discussion about “All the parents are a Scourge” on the Internet, which is a mirror revealing the strong desire that the young attempt to get rid of their parents’ restriction. Of course, with age growing, juveniles’ affection for their family members would increase. However, emotional obstacles easily occur in the adolescence, which negatively influence the effect of parents’ education upon their children.

3. Students are Difficult to Make Friends with Their Teachers

Teachers are specially trained to impart knowledge and educate students. As far as the social responsibility concerned, teachers play a predominant role in passing down knowledge

and uncovering the mysteries for their students. They have lots of opportunities to communicate with their students and are a central figure in the children's social network. However, in our survey, we discovered that in the eyes of most students, teachers are not ideal friends for them. We raised such a question to the students, "If you encounter some difficulties in life, to whom you will first speak?" Among 4,324 students who answered this question, only 151 selected their teachers, accounting for 3.49%, which was the least ratio in the five optional answers. They first chose their parents, accounting for 34.52%; the second was their intimate companions, making up 30.52%; the third was classmates, accounting for 17.94%; other choices accounted for 10.68%. Outcome of the questionnaire survey was similar to what we knew from the student's symposium. We discussed similar questions in the symposium held in Fuzhou Xiufeng High School. Students were asked to raise their hands to show answers, consequently, though 11% selected teachers, it was still the least in number. We invited the students to tell us that in addition to their teachers, parents, companions and classmates, to whom they would pour their confusion. 16% selected to chat with network friends, most of them still chose to turn to their peers. Teachers make all-out efforts to educate their students, but only few of them are able to become their intimate friends. It seems that there is a wall between them in the psychological world.

4. Absence of Legal Education

Among the indicators of teaching evaluation in the primary and secondary schools, legal education is not important enough, and is not linked to entrance examination. Therefore, legal education is not included in the curricula of primary and secondary schools. Obviously, this situation is not good for the citizens to develop their law-abiding awareness. Legal socialization

in school education fails to meet the requirements for fostering qualified citizens. Schools devote to academic education, but leaving the responsibilities they fail to fulfill behind to society. For this reason, major causes of juvenile deviance and crimes can be tracked back to fundamental education. Legal education is included in the Moral Education course though, in all the Moral Education textbooks used in junior high schools of Fujian Province (also used nationwide), only in a chapter of Book VII does it introduce some knowledge of legal theory. There is only a little coverage about legal education in this textbook, much worse, it's not suitable for juveniles to learn basic legal knowledge. Legal Theory is a basic course designed for law students in a law school but not for juveniles in high schools. It's more appropriate for Juveniles to develop their law-abiding concepts and learn basic legal knowledge and they do not need to know why the provisions are regulated in such a way, which is a higher learning task. Therefore, the textbooks for juvenile legal education deviate from reality; what's more, legal education only occupies a small portion of Moral Education course, and is not linked to entrance examinations as well. So, it is considered an unimportant part with only a few class hours. The situation would cause relatively severe problem when cultivating a new generation of law-abiding citizens. It was shown in the survey that the students were quite lack of legal knowledge that they ought to know. We proposed to the students a question, "Do you know there is a *Law of the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency* in China?" Out of those 5,521 students who answered the question, 3,210 students replies "Yes" (accounting for 58.14%) whereas 2,311 said "No" (accounting for 41.86%). *Law of the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency* is specifically designed for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, it has a wide coverage on behavioral problems, education, management and legal responsibilities. If schools do not teach a most fundamental law like this,

how can they enable students to know what deviance and illegal behaviors are. An educational scheme like this is hard to cultivate qualified citizens.

5. Impact of Unhealthy Network Culture

Popularity of the Internet provides the younger generation a new way to get access to entertainment, making friends and learning. The convenience, high-speed and interaction of the Internet strongly attracts the younger generation, especially, high school students, to become the main users of the Internet. It was revealed in our survey that among 5,594 students, 79% of them surfed on the Internet for at least 2 hours every week. 60% of them did it at home, 18% in the school, 14% in the cybercafés; and 8% stayed in the neighbor's or other places. The primary purpose to surf on the Internet was study, accounting for 36%; 27% for playing games; 19% for making friends; 2% for pursuing funs and 16% for other purposes. We learned in the student's symposium that most of the students surfed on the Internet for dual-purposes of online study and games, making up the most majority and reaching to 71%. Traditionally speaking, knowledge acquisition is a positive behavior, and plays a positive role for the learners most of the time. However, the Internet alters this traditional viewpoint, for knowledge acquisition leads to negative impact as well. Since, cultural knowledge adapted to traditional books and newspaper is always published after strict editing and checking, so the contents are usually healthy. On the other hand, network writers or some websites have uploaded a great number of contents of non-mainstream culture, and sometimes there is even some coverage of violence and pornographic contents. Many juveniles are badly deteriorated accordingly.

III. Prevention of Juvenile Deviance

Juvenile period is a decisive time to develop outlook on life and moral qualities. Families, schools and society should coordinate to create a healthy environment for juvenile development. From what our research group surveyed, there were some weak links in the management of families, schools and society. How to make improvement has significantly practical meaning for the prevention of juvenile deviance.

1. School Prevention

The task of schools is to enable the students to have an overall development in moral, intellectual, physical and aesthetic aspects, to become a knowledgeable, physically and mentally healthy citizen. However, this goal is hard to be achieved under current educational system. A long-existing problem of basic education is its improper positioning. What on earth is a school's top priority? Is it to cultivate qualified citizens or to select academic talents? Many schools put the cart before the horse and esteem the latter as their top priority. With this in mind, schools' activities are always examination-oriented. In China, basic education refers to formal schooling up to Grade 9. Its task is to enhance the overall development of all the students in moral, intellectual, physical and aesthetic aspects so as to cultivate qualified citizens. Nevertheless, under the system of the senior high school entrance examination, basic education institutions (mainly the junior high schools) regard selection of students with excellent academic performances for senior high schools as their major task and top objective for work, consequently, basic education turns to be examination-oriented. As long as there is examination-oriented education, there are students to be weeded out. In reality, the problem of students with poor academic results is a product of school malfunction. Teachers, parents and society's

evaluation on a student primarily bases on his academic performances. Pressure of study that a student with poor academic results suffers may transfer to psychological and behavioral aspects. As a result, they usually commit more deviant behaviors, which are an outlet and externalization of their psychological pressure. Teachers are so busy with teaching and tutoring that they do not have time to exchange feelings with students and care about their psychological and behavioral problems. Fundamentally, all these derive from the system of senior high school entrance examination, which cannot be integrated to quality education, and much worse, could even be contradictory. Though quality education has been initiated for more than ten years, the achievements of basic education reforms have not been recognized by society. Experiments on curriculum reforms have been carried out in many places, but it is likely that there is a change in form but not in contents. Therefore, the implementation of quality education is mainly to change the concepts of school personnel, to have a proper positioning of basic education, that is to set up a goal of cultivating qualified citizens, establish a corresponding government-led scientific evaluation system for schools, teachers and students, and drive to achieve the goal of quality education. The top primary task for basic education should be education on law-abiding awareness, cultivation of good behaviors and habits, and education on how to be a qualified citizen, which is a very important issue related to the qualities of future nationality. Thus, in those areas where 12-year compulsory education has been implemented, entrance examination to enter senior high schools should be annulled, instead, students should enter a senior high school nearest to their home.

2. Family Prevention

Greatly influenced by examination-oriented system, parents evaluate their children based on their academic results. Students with poor academic results are always isolated at school, and frequently blamed at home. Such students without hope are more inclined to give up and commit more deviance, which reversely enhance the conflicts between parents and children, moreover, some children commit more to show their resistance. The prevention of juvenile transgressions, above all, requires building a mutual trust between parents and children. Parents should realize the differences in individual learning abilities, set up development objectives based on actual individual ability and condition, eliminate the pressure from unrealistic development goals and gaps between personal abilities, enable children to study with pleasure. Communication between parents and students is a basic pattern to develop mutual trust and guide students to have a healthy development. However, some parents are busy with work and social activities, and seldom arrange specific time to talk with children, so generation gap occurs. In a symposium, a student said, “Every evening, my dad does not come home earlier before I finish my homework, while every morning, he gets up later after I go to school.” Many students and their parents are busy with their own business instead of affective communication with each other, which results in psychological distance between them. In families with higher affective satisfaction, there is low occurrence of juvenile deviance, and even if that does happen, it can be corrected with less difficulty. Prevention of juvenile deviance also needs to strengthen the affective communication with family members to develop relationships based on mutual trust and understanding. Early in 1960s, the effects of affective family relationship upon children’s behaviors had attracted great attention in the circles of criminology. In 1969, Travis Hirschi proposed “Social Bonding Theory” in his book of *Causes of Delinquency*³⁴. He held that there are three types of social

³⁴ As American scholar Gao Huan commented, Social Bonding Theory of Travis Hirschi is also referred to “Social Control Theory”. Travis believes that four key elements constitute social bonding, namely the social

bonds – parents, schools and peers, but the bonding between parents and children is the most important one. If juveniles have very strong attachment to the above-mentioned relations, they may refrain themselves from committing crimes because they do not want to hurt the bonding between them. Children's attachment to their parents depends on their intimacy and communicative qualities. American criminologist Lye, in his Social Control Theory, also found that children in stable and harmonious environment would consider the possible suffering and disappointment that their crimes may bring to their parents. Thus, they may control themselves to reduce their deviant behaviors^[5]. Consequently, family prevention is to care about children, and parents should pay attention to affective interaction, and sharing of time.

3. Social Prevention

Social prevention is to create good conditions for the younger generation mainly through social administration and improvement of juvenile's growth environment. The emphasis is on management of culture, sports and entertainment places, establishment and exploring juvenile cultural consuming market with the instruction and supports from the government. Currently, frequently used means of social prevention is to restrict and ban the juveniles to take part in the activities that they are inappropriate to, while not enough has been done to exploit and develop places and products needed by juveniles. It is clearly stipulated in the legal documents that juveniles are not permitted to enter dance halls and game centers. For instance, in Article 33 of *Law of the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency* those commercial dance halls and other places that are not suitable for juveniles to enter should have conspicuous sign warning them not to

controls from four aspects –Attachment, Commitment, Involvement and Belief. Travis attributes the causes of juvenile delinquency to the weakening or breakdown of social bonds.

^[5] Cao Liqun, Ren Xin. *Science of Criminology* [J]. Peking: Press of Chinese People's Public Security University, 2008:131-139.

enter. Commercial electric games centers should not permit juveniles to enter into except for national holidays, and the same, conspicuous sign should be erected to warn juveniles not to enter. However, restrictions are not implemented well, still not a few juveniles succeed in entering entertainment places. The survey showed that there were still 14% students had ever visited cybercafés, 5.95% had ever been to dance halls, game centers and video halls. To juveniles, the more strictly the activities are prohibited, the stronger impulse juveniles would have to break through the forbidden areas. Some business operators without conscience open doors for juveniles for the purpose of profits, thus restrictions cannot be implemented successfully. Though some cultural products, such as violence, pornographic films and television works, games are all prohibited to be publicized to juveniles, the effect is relatively limited. Under the condition of market economy, business operators without conscience lure juveniles to be their consumers by fair means or foul. When there are not sufficient healthy places and cultural products to meet the needs of the younger generation, commercial behaviors would influence their concept of needs and consuming habits more, which would obviously do harm to their growth. From the age characteristics of juveniles, cultural and recreational activities are an important part in their life. Social management should not prohibit and ban the youth's activities, instead, it should do its utmost to develop more and better cultural and sports venues, provide various and rich "spiritual food" to meet their needs. Consequently, to strengthen social prevention is to manage abide by laws and further develop the cultural products for juveniles, build more cultural and sports venues, and improve activity environment in order to meet the needs for the juveniles' physical and mental development. Juveniles are the future of our country, so local governments should look at a bigger picture to push forward the development of cultural market and activity infrastructure for them, assist and support the development and

publicizing of their cultural products, impose overall consideration on the juveniles' public places for activities in the construction project of economic and social development, and positively guide the younger generation to live a healthy life based on fully satisfying their needs for physical and mental development.

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1. Dr. Hakkyong Kim, Dr. Chng-Ho Kim (Korea National Police University, Kyonggi University) *A Paradigm Shift in Disaster Preparedness: A Case Study into Simulation Exercises in Korea*

**Towards a Paradigm Shift in Disaster
Preparedness: A Case Study into Simulation
Exercises in Korea**

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ABSTRACT

This study is mainly associated with examining disaster exercises in Korea to prepare for, and improve the response of the emergency services to disruptive challenges. In order to practically evaluate whether or not simulation exercises in Korea are adequate to handle crisis situations of a highly uncertain nature, this paper conducted in-depth case studies into three representative simulation exercise in Korea, ‘Keungogae Subway Counter Terrorism Exercise 2009’, ‘Safe Korea Exercise 2010 Earthquake Exercise’, and ‘Safe Korea Exercise 2010 Subway Fire Exercise’. Through the case studies, it was discovered that the current practices of simulation exercises in Korea can be categorized into the four main themes: ‘Top-level Commitment and Support’, ‘Repeating Training through Rehearsals’, ‘Box Seats, Ill-structured Scenario Scripts, and a Lack of Adaptation’, and ‘Podium and Speech-based Debriefs’. In this study, it is argued that Korean simulation exercises need to allow adaptation and diversion to

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take place, encouraging communication and discussion between exercise players. Furthermore, ensuing after-action reviews (debriefs) in Korea should be transformed into a discussion-orientated style from the current evaluation-orientated one, in order to promote individual and organizational learning.

1. Introduction

Simulation exercises are increasingly recognized as an effective learning tool to train emergency services to deal with disasters throughout the world. This is mainly because they are the only viable way to vicariously test or train response organizations' ability in mock crisis or disaster situations (Kleiboer, 1997). The existence of written emergency plan documents is, of course, significant, but the documents alone are not sufficient to guarantee emergency or disaster preparedness (Quarantelli, 1981). The written emergency plans are likely to fail under the pressure of vast and complex crisis or disaster situations, and hence they might readily degenerate into little more than window-dressing, creating a false sense of preparedness, unless they are connected with regular training and exercise programs. In this context, emergency responding organizations need to build up their experience and confidence with simulation exercises, and this is the reason why they are viewed as the most effective and efficient way to validate emergency plans, test disaster capacity, and as a consequence, ensure an optima state of disaster preparedness.

In Korea, simulation exercises are also increasingly being employed to prepare for and improve the response of the emergency services to major incidents. However, it is criticized that each response agency in Korea separately runs simulation exercises primarily geared toward its own organizational objects, which are incongruent with other organizations' objects. In particular, the field of simulation exercises is not well researched, and accordingly has failed to draw the attention of academics as well as practitioners in the Korean context, despite their great importance in assuring resilience (MOPAS, 2008). Furthermore, there is a lack of theoretical and practical frameworks on organizing and validating simulation exercises and their subsequent debriefings. For this reason, there exists no official guidance on how to plan, organize, and conduct an exercise and its subsequent debriefing in Korea (NIDP, 2001), and a majority of exercise designers put too much emphasis on simply running simulations, regardless of their policy relevance. In this regard, this research attempts to empirically identify the general problems that Korean simulation exercises are facing, and then to make practical suggestions for the future of Korean simulation exercises.

2. Research Methodology

The nature of the research finally leads to the adoption of a qualitative case study. This is because the case study strategy emphasizes the holistic investigation of social and cultural phenomena under the investigation, and thus attempt to describe them comprehensively and thoroughly from the wider contexts to which those phenomena may be related (Jorgensen, 1989). Deciding upon a case study as a research strategy further involves decision-making into the

selection of data collection methods. The most commonly used methods are ‘interviews’, ‘documentary research’, and ‘observation’, with the balance between them being largely decided by the resources available, and the disciplinary and professional tradition in the field (Patton, 2002; Stark and Torrance, 2005). Similarly, Stake (1995) argues that participant observation, interview, and document review are traditionally considered as vital research methods in doing case studies. Many of the case studies in the researcher’s field, on the whole, followed this tradition (Borodzicz, 1997; Jones, 2003; Chen, 2007; Devitt, 2009), and in this regard, the research methods employed for this paper were also participant observation, qualitative interviews, and documentary research.

However, one of the main disadvantages in the case study strategy is that it is not feasible to generalize statistically from one or several cases to the total population, although case studies aim to expand and generalize their findings (Yin, 2003; Stark and Torrance, 2005). Put simply, internal generalizability is a key issue for case studies, and for this reason, investigators tend to select a representative case or representative set of cases. Nonetheless, multiple cases, no matter how many, cannot address perfectly the issue of internal generalizability. Instead, the investigator should try to generalize findings from case studies and transform them into a broad theory. It is because survey depends on *statistical* generalization but case study relies on *analytical* generalization (Yin, 2003). In addition, if a theory is tested by replicating the findings in a second and even a third case study, then it can be argued that the theory has specified that the same results are most likely to take place. Hence, the results can be acknowledged as upholding the theory, which is termed as ‘*replication logic*’ (Yin, 2003). For this reason, through

carrying out multiple case studies into simulation exercises, this study finally drew the four main themes by contextualizing and categorizing observation and interview findings.

In this research, a total of three ‘representative’ simulation exercises were observed in Korea, in order to create the aforementioned ‘replication logic’: ‘*Keungogae Subway Counter Terrorism Exercise 2009*’, ‘*Safe Korea Exercise 2010 Earthquake Exercise*’, and ‘*Safe Korea Exercise 2010 Subway Fire Exercise*’. Exercise planners and participants were also interviewed before, during, and after each exercise. In particular, each interview was recorded for both the natural flow of the interview and the safekeeping of interview data by a digital voice recorder. For the purpose of supporting observation and interview findings, official or governmental documents and records, such as exercise implementation and evaluation plans, exercise scenario scripts, post-exercise reports, etc., were reviewed respectively.

3. Overview of the Disaster Simulation Exercises Observed

3.1 The Keungogae Subway Counter Terrorism Exercise 2009

The Keungogae Subway Counter Terrorism Exercise (KSCTE) 2009 was a multi-agency counter terrorism live exercise, which took place at Keungogae station in Daegu, the fourth largest city in Korea, Subway Line 1 on the 14th of October 2009. The anti-terror exercise was implemented as part of ‘*Chungmu exercise*’, and lasted for no more than 40 minutes. The Keungogae exercise was planned and led by the Daegu Dongbu Fire Station and Daegu Subway

Metropolitan Subway together, involving more than 50 participants from other key responders, such as the emergency services, Daegu Dong-Gu Office, and the 501st Sustainment Brigade. Primarily geared toward testing and validating the Chungmu plan, the Chungmu exercise was an annual joint exercise scheme for preparing for both wartime emergencies and civilian disasters. The Chungmu plan was basically aimed at confirming if personnel and material could be mobilized smoothly so that government officials were able to support military operations in case of hostile attacks from an enemy.

The Chungmu exercise was concerned with the non-military function of government at the time of war, but it also involved several civilian disaster-response exercises to prepare for peacetime emergencies, such as fire and water contamination. The Chungmu Exercise 2009 was a four-day national exercise from 12 to 15 October 2009, and was comprised of a total of 32 exercise sessions across Korea. One of the exercise sessions was the KSCTE 2009 (MOPAS, 2009). For the exercise, all of the subway trains on Line 1 stopped for 3 minutes during the exercise. However, the area was not cordoned off, and so passengers were allowed to come in and out for the purpose of creating a degree of realism. The exercise was evaluated by a team, consisting of public officials from the office of Disaster and Safety of Ministry of Public Administration and Security (MOPAS), and a couple of military officers from the Ministry of National Defense (MND).

3.2 Safe Korea Exercise (SKX) 2010

Safe Korea Exercise (SKX), launched in 2005, is a three-day, full-scale disaster exercise at the national level, organized by the Korean National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA). Through developing comprehensive competence in disaster response, the SKX is ultimately aimed at realizing '*Safe Korea*' by building up the national civil protection mechanism of collaboration and information-sharing between key responding organizations (MOPAS, 2008). However, its aim and objectives are slightly varied on a yearly-basis. The SKX 2010 had three objectives: the first objective was to test the disaster management system, including the command and control system in the event of a large-scale disaster. The second one was to strengthen the country's abilities to cope with disasters through citizen participation and public-private sector cooperation. The final one was to reduce disaster response time by ten percent through establishing the system of rapid initial response, when a disaster occurred.

Including the armed forces, SKX 2010 involved a total of 398 emergency services, central, regional & metropolitan, and local governments, and also related civilian groups, such as the Red Cross, the Volunteer Fire Brigades, the Korea Disaster Safety Network, the Citizen Corps, etc. (NEMA, 2009). SKX 2010 consisted of a total of 30 training sessions, as part of a series of exercises across the country. Among them, two simulation exercises in Incheon, the third largest city in Korea, were selected and observed for this research. The first exercise was a simulated earthquake disaster, which occurred at Incheon Munhak World Cup Stadium. The earthquake exercise was planned and led by Incheon Nam-Gu Office in partnership with the Incheon Nambu Fire station. The second training session was a subway-fire exercise at Central Park Station of the Incheon Metropolitan Subway, located in Songdo City (southern Incheon). The subway fire

exercise was organized by Incheon Yeonsu-Gu Office in conjunction with Gongdan Fire Station and Yeonsu Police Station.

4. Major Findings

4.1 Top-level Commitment and Support

One of the advantages of Korean simulation exercises is the strong commitment and support of senior management. The KSCTE 2009, part of the Chungmu exercise, was assessed by an evaluation team from the central government level: the Office of Disaster and Safety of MOPAS in partnership with the MND. For this reason, the director of the Office and the CEO of Daegu Metropolitan Subway attended, and observed the exercises in person, showing a deep interest. When it came to the SKX 2010 Earthquake Exercise, the distinguished guests - such as the Minister of MOPAS, a Member of the National Assembly, Incheon's Vice Mayor, the NEMA Vice Administrator, the Commissioner of Incheon Metropolitan Police Agency, and the Head of Nam-Gu Office - observed the exercise in person as well. With regard to the SKX 2010 Subway Fire Exercise, the head of Yeonsu-Gu Office and the director of Incheon Fire & Safety Management Department (IFSMD) attended and observed the exercise.

The participation of high-ranking public officials can contribute to creating the impression that they are fully aware of the importance of emergency preparedness through simulation exercises, and thereby, can offer public reassurance to local communities that everything would

be under their control, when a major incident takes place. However, it appears that such strong commitment by senior management to the exercises might produce three (interwoven) side effects; firstly repeating rehearsals before a 'real' exercise for the purpose of making no mistakes in front of distinguished guests and observers, secondly, too much dependence on the so-called 'ill-structured' scenario scripts, and finally 'deficit' debriefing (after-action review) practices, which will be elucidated in the following sections.

4.2 Repeating 'Training' through Rehearsals

All of the exercises observed had undertaken a couple of rehearsals beforehand, in order to pursue 'perfection' in a real exercise. However, the perfection in the Korean context of exercising means that exercise players must be fully accustomed to every single line and movement of the scenario scripts so that no mistakes would occur during a real exercise, especially in front of the guests and observers who were invited to the occasions. Put another way, their primary concern was to eliminate mistakes in the real exercise by rehearsing repeatedly. This is mainly because exercise players need to appear highly competent, and must be successful in their enactment of real exercises, when performing in front of guests and observers. Hence, recognized as merely a warm-up to prepare for a 'real' exercise, a rehearsal is being used as a kind of preliminary test to ensure that the real exercise will be virtually mistake-free. However, the effectiveness of learning can be maximized, when simulation exercises balance failure and success experiences together, and in this context, it can be argued that the current practices of rehearsals (before a real exercise) can nullify the advantages of simulation exercises, such as a 'mistake-friendly' learning environment (Kriz, 2003; Smith, 2004). Serious

concerns about mistakes occurring during performance further give rise to the issue of ‘ill-structured’ scenario scripts in Korea, which will be discussed in more detail as below.

4.3 Box Seats, ‘Ill-structured’ Scenario Scripts, and a Lack of Adaptation

All of the exercises observed accommodated special guests and observers from central & regional government levels and their senior management. All of the guests were seated in the *box seats*, which were located just in front of the exercise venues. The special guests and observers were treated like VIPs, with the directing staff of the exercise displaying a high degree of hospitality. Much of the focus of the exercise arrangements was spent on ensuring that the guests had as much comfort and convenience as could be afforded to them. For example, the venue for the SKX 2010 subway fire exercise was a subway station, below ground, and thus, the place was viewed as inappropriate for accommodating the special guests, observers, and members of an evaluation group. Therefore, the box seats were instead arranged at ground level, where the special guests, observers and the CRP members were able to watch the exercise conveniently, on an outdoor TV screen, broadcast from the internals of the subway station. Under these circumstances, it was natural that the exercise players tried to appear competent in front of dignitaries, without making mistakes; after all, who would want to display weaknesses in front of MOPAS minister or NEMA Vice Administrator? The box seats, in the context of Korean simulation exercises, seem to be one of the exercise aims or objectives, which all of the exercise players must satisfy.

The exercises were constrained by fears of making blunders and hence losing scores, and under these circumstances, the so-called '*ill-structured*' scenario scripts seemed to be created as a necessary alternative. Noticeably, the scenario scripts used in the context of Korean simulation exercises can be described as 'ill-structured', since they have been constructed with some serious inherent flaws, typically misleading as to what an effective disaster response should be, when a real disaster strikes. The exercises employed a very detailed scenario script, in which every move that exercise players were expected to make was thoroughly written on nearly a per-minute basis. For instance, a three-page scenario script (the KSCTE 2009), a twenty-page scenario script (the SKX 2010 subway fire exercise), and a forty-nine-page scenario script (the SKX 2010 earthquake disaster) were respectively produced. Korean simulations resorted to a scenario script at the expense of the actual purposes for using a simulation, which means that a scenario itself was used as merely a target, not an instrument. Scenarios are, however, regarded as situations, through which the exercise aims and objectives can be tested – i.e. a scenario is an instrument, not a target (Cabinet Office, 2005).

Coupled with fears of making mistakes in real exercises, these very detailed scenario scripts gave rise to very controlled and rigid exercises, void of any flexibility or deviation. In this case, the only thing for exercise players to do was simply to memorize all of the scripts, and then replicate them mechanically in real exercises. This closed model of scenario scripts inevitably created lack of communication (during real exercises), and more importantly, adaptation, which was recognized as constituting effective disaster response in the western context (Kreps, 1991; Dyne, 1994; Turner 1994; Kendra and Wachtendorf, 2003). Exercise players in Korea were not used to interacting with the other groups, let alone other members of the same group. Exercise

players representing different response organizations were not even encouraged to talk to each other because they were busy memorizing, and simply following the scenario scripts.

4.4 Podium and Speech-based Debriefs

Debriefs or debriefings are considered one of the most important organizational learning methods from the perspective of transforming experience into concrete knowledge (Gillespie, 1973; Thiagarajan, 1994; Crookall and Saunder, 1989; Petranek, 1994, 2000; Boin *et al.*, 2004; Borodzicz, 2005). Without a debrief process, experience, obtained through participating in simulations, simply loses its learning potential very easily. The term, an After-Action Review (AAR) is preferred over the term, debrief or debriefing sessions, and the AARs were also being implemented in the Korean context, following each simulation exercise. However, organizational efforts to graft the debriefing method (AAR) on to Korean simulation exercises seem to have failed, because the dynamic and learning-orientated practice of debriefs has been reduced to a simple one-way and top-down speech in the Korean context.

During the Korean AARs, active discussion on what happened, what the participants learned, what can be done better in the future, and how this can relate to the real world, did not take place at all. Instead, a podium was installed in front of the box seats, where distinguished guests and observers were seated. One of the distinguished guests took the podium for his or her AAR, and delivered a speech by reading a prearranged manuscript. The speech was all about praising the efforts made by exercise planners, without giving any constructive feedback. As each 'so-called' AAR speech concluded, a big round of applause was given to the speaker in an

automated fashion. In the context of Korean exercises, a podium appeared to be a symbol of absolute authority. All of the exercise players, including volunteers, were required to assemble in formation, in front of the box seats. The entire procedure was the equivalent of a formal military inspection: saluting the speaker, acknowledging the salute, and signaling the assembly to be ease. All of the AARs were conducted mechanistically in rote fashion, without facilitating any dialogue between exercise players.

As mentioned before, strong commitment and support of senior management appeared to produce a fear of making mistakes, losing scores, and further compromising their reputation in front of other special guests and observers. These fears again seemed to produce rigidity and inflexibility in exercises, notably, too much dependence on a very detailed scenario script. Unrealistic rehearsals were repeatedly conducted in order to train exercise players to script-based perfection, until the rehearsals became virtually error-free. By reason of the scenario script, everything went well in accordance with their exercising plans, but, without allowing any degree of digression, and void of any active communication between exercise players. Additionally, the practice of AARs deprived exercise players of a window of opportunity to identify areas for improvements as well.

5. Discussion of the Findings

Simulation exercises are now considered as an integral part of the emergency preparedness in Korea. However, the current practices of Korean simulation exercises are still restricted to

training people to become familiar with necessary skills and locations, mechanistically in a rote fashion, namely, by adhering to a pre-arranged scenario script through repeating rehearsals. In other words, most of the Korean simulations are very controlled with no allowance for digression, applying a very detailed scenario script, for the purpose of an error-free exercise. Moreover, the exercise scenario scripts had been distributed to exercise players in advance so that they could become fully briefed about what would happen and what they were expected to do in exercises. However, the precise details of the incident should not be disclosed so that the exercise could be as realistic as possible for the exercise players taking part. Otherwise, learning may well be inhibited, because the participants are already aware of the expected outcomes (Freimuth *et al.*, 2008). In this sense, it is doubtful whether, or as to how, the current practices of Korean simulations can deal with actual unexpected situations, which are not part of exercise scenario scripts.

A couple of questions can be raised as to why current Korean simulation exercises might be deficient to deal with a crisis, where responders can be thrown into a concretely reality of a highly uncertain nature (Borodzicz, 2005); firstly, a crisis inevitably involves uncertainty, unfamiliarity, and complexity, and consequently, the '*planning paradox*' can take place whereby the more detailed an exercise scenario script is, the less it will be used in crisis situations, since the scenario script necessarily must focus on a narrow range of potential risks (Hart, 1997). Furthermore, it is nearly impossible to plan for every possible disaster scenario, and accordingly, to prescribe every corresponding disaster response, noticeably in rapidly changing circumstances (Kendra and Wachtendorf, 2003). Key responding agencies can successfully deal with some situations, e.g., similar to scenario scripts for which they are trained, but how can they tackle

unanticipated crisis situations, which they are not prepared or trained for? Besides, uncertainties and ambiguities about disasters responses themselves can be created by disagreements or different hazard constructions between the emergency services on the scene.

Secondly, prearranged scenario scripts in the Korean context compel exercises players to memorize all of the script, and then exactly imitate every move, which exercise players were expected to make by the scripts. In this case, exercise players simply repeat their motions without critical thinking during exercises, which can consequently produce ‘routinization and ritualization’ of a simulation exercise (t’ Hart, 1997). ‘Real’ crisis or disaster situations usually involve the unanticipated consequences of complex systemic failures, often combining technical, social, cultural and psychological factors, so that they are not subject to a priori predictable deconstruction (Turner, 1978). In other words, the characteristics of crises do not respect the routinized and ritualized simulation methodology, and further negate any necessary attempts to organize the actions, which exercise players are required to take, in neat, workable scenario scripts. Further, these attempts are able to produce ‘*open systems paradox*’ (Toft, 1996, p.105). A crisis or disaster can be portrayed as an ‘open system’, where there are numerous equally but different possible routes, by which a small incident can develop into a crisis or large-scale disaster. In contrast, a pre-arranged scenario script is a ‘closed system’, where every move and action is clearly prescribed and fixed, without allowing any diversion.

Thirdly, Korean simulation exercises, serving as a training tool to eliminate mistakes, might often create the cultural blind spots (Naevestad, 2008) around the processes of crisis response. One advantage of the simulations is that they can create a ‘mistake-friendly’ learning

environment, encouraging trial and error learning to take place (Kriz, 2003; Smith, 2004). However, who wants to make mistakes in simulation exercises if they are observed by high-ranking public officials and evaluation teams in the box seats? Mistakes would be regarded as failure, and exercise players may be under pressure to demonstrate their competency in the form of success - a phenomenon that would invalidate the beauty of trial and error learning. Exercises are settings where failure and mistakes should be allowed and even encouraged to a certain extent. Furthermore, these mistakes and errors should be fully debriefed and discussed during the AARs, involving active discussion between exercise players, rather than speeches from senior management. Otherwise, the exercise players can lose the opportunity to learn the limits of their own, and their organizations' capabilities.

Finally, exercise players are usually assessed for their strict application of scenario-scripts vis-à-vis the standard procedures in Korea, and accordingly, deviations from predetermined scenario scripts are usually assessed as a negative performance. However, when confronted with unanticipated accidents, people often improvise and adapt their response to tackle real events in progress. In this sense, a degree of adaptation is viewed as more critical in responding to crisis or disaster situations, rather than simply following conventionality (Wybo, 2008). Just repeating rehearsals mechanically in a rote-fashion, employing preset scenario scripts, can never allow the exploration and development of creative alternatives to occur, which may be needed to deal with a crisis or disaster. Therefore, scenarios should not be exact predictions of what will take place in an exercise, but rather create space for adaptation within a semblance of reality, and depending on their decisions made, it should be within this space that potential outcomes are likely to unfold along with the scenario.

The characteristics of a 'crisis', such as ill-structure, unexpectedness, uncertainty, and unfamiliarity, can create a different social order. Thus, responding organizations, including emergency services, might face a series of unpredictable and uncertain events in crisis situations (Dynes, 1994). Under these circumstances, 'adaptive expertise' (Ford and Schmidt, 2000) or 'second order techniques' (Rosenthal, 1994) might be needed to deal with a crisis successfully. However, the current practices of Korean simulation exercise prefer to employ fixed and militaristic simulation models, based on detailed and error-free scenario scripts. These types of simulations cannot be valid in a crisis situation involving uncertainty, complexity and unfamiliarity. Therefore, future Korean simulation exercises are required to transcend beyond the script-based scenarios towards scenarios and exercises that can allow for natural deviations - for example, by encouraging some adaptive responses to occur.

In summary, Korean simulation exercises resort to a fixed protocol too much, namely, a pre-arranged scenario, learning from mistakes cannot occur, and hence individual and organizational learning will not take place. Put simply, valid learning cannot take place in the context of rigid scenario scripts. Without the learning effects, it is indeed questionable if the Korean exercises with detailed scenario scripts can deal with the heterogeneity and unpredictability of a crisis, especially in the era of Risk Society, where uncertainty, complexity, and multiplicity of new risks are increasing at an unprecedented rate, and it is impossible to predict their potential consequences precisely (Beck, 1992). The current practices of Korean after-action reviews (AAR) also need to be changed into discussion-based debriefing processes in order to promote individual and organizational learning. However, Korean simulation exercises seem to fail to

implant the true meaning of AARs in their exercising practices, since the AARs are conducted in a top-down fashion, without involving active discussion between exercise players. One of the main purposes of simulation exercises is to identify challenges, and for this, exercise players should be provided a chance to reflect on their experience, feelings and emotions by way of the AARs.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

The current practices of the Korean simulation exercises can be characterized as ‘Top-level Commitment and Support’, ‘Repeating Training through Rehearsals’, ‘Box Seats, Ill-structured Scenarios and a Lack of Adaptation’, and ‘Podium and Speech-based Debriefs’. Too much dependence on predetermined scenario-scripts and procedures in Korean simulations ultimately can cause ‘open systems paradox’, where simulations cannot deal with crisis situations in a proper manner. Of course, it is not feasible to predict every single worst-case scenario, stipulate its response in a scenario script, and test it through simulations. Therefore, training or exercising for a crisis requires a level of adaptation or adaptability, which consequently, can contribute to filling the gap between a scenario script and the reality of a crisis.

An AAR also needs to present a chance for organizations to become more horizontal in structure, by involving all of the participants, from rank-and-file officers to high-ranking public officials, to interested outsiders and observers. In this light, everyone should be equal, irrespective of rank and position, and everyone feels free to comment on exercise player’s

performance in a friendly and nonthreatening way during AARs. So, what is needed for this two-way or bottom-up communication is a '*round table*', not a '*podium*' (the podium appears to signify absolute authority in Korea). Only when Korean AARs involve active discussion on experience, mistakes, feelings, and emotions, not one-way speeches from senior management, can individual and organizational learning through simulations finally take place.

To fill the gap between the rigidity of Korean simulation exercises and the actuality of a crisis, it is finally suggested that Korean simulation exercises should be changed into more flexible ones with two-way or bottom-up debriefings. Last but not least, it should be also acknowledged that the problems of the Korean simulation exercises, noticeably discovered in this paper, are inextricably linked and interact with one another, and that fixing just one facet of each problem is not sufficient to change the existing practices of Korean simulation exercises. They all go hand in hand.

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