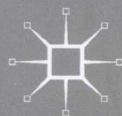


Globalization, Police Reform and Development

Doing it the Western Way?

Graham Ellison and Nathan W. Pino



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List of Abbreviations

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
ANBP-DDR	Afghan New Beginnings Programme's Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Project
ANA	Afghan National Army
ANC	African National Congress
ANP	Afghan National Police
APPF	Afghan Public Protection Force
AKP	Justice and Development Party (Turkey)
AUSAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BICC	Bonn International Centre for Conversion
CBOs	Community-based Organizations
CBP	Community-based Policing
CCA	Corrections Corporations of America
CENIS	Centre for International Studies
CEPOL	European Police College
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COMPSTAT	Computer Statistics
COP	Community Oriented Policing
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CPATT	Civilian Police Assistance Training Team
CRPS	Committee on the Restructuring of the Police Service
CSTC-A	Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DARE	Drug Abuse Resistance Education
DEA	Drug Enforcement Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
DIAG	Disarmament of Illegal Armed Groups
DOD	Department of Defence
DPPs	District Policing Partnerships
EU	European Union
EUJUST LEX	EU Integrated Rule of Law mission to Iraq
EUPOL	EU Police Mission
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office

FDD	Focus District Development
GAO	Governmental Accountability Office
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
HET	Historical Enquiries Team
ICA	International Cooperation Administration
ICDC	Iraqi Civil Defense Corps
ICITAP	International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Programme
ICP	Independent Commission on Policing
ICVS	International Crime Victimization Survey
IED	Improvised explosive devices
IFI	International Fund for Ireland
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGOs	International non-governmental organizations
INP	Iraqi National Police
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JIPTC	Joint International Police Training Center
JUSMMAT	Joint United States Military Mission to Turkey
KHAD	<i>Khedamat-e-Atlaat-e-Dawlati</i> (The Department of State Information Services)
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
NAR	National Alliance for Reconstruction
NCPS	National Crime Prevention Strategy
NIO	Northern Ireland Office
NISRA	Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency
NPTC	National Police Training Centre
NYPD	New York Police Department
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
OPONI	Office of the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland
OPS	Office of Public Safety
ORA	Office of Reconstruction Assistance
OSAC	US Bureau of Diplomatic Security
OSCE	Office for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PCA	Police Complaints Authority
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief
PFA	Private Finance Agreement
PFP	Policing for People
PKK	Kurdistan Workers Party
PNM	People's National Movement
PRTs	Provincial Reconstruction Team
PSCOs	Police Community Support Officers
PSNI	Police Service of Northern Ireland
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary
SADF	South African Defence Force
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAPRIN	Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network
SAPS	South African Police Service
SAPU	South African Police Union
SAUTT	Special Anti-Crime Unit of Trinidad and Tobago
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TAF	Turkish Armed Forces
TNC	Transnational Corporation
TNP	Turkish National Police
TTPS	Trinidad and Tobago Police Service
UDR	Ulster Defence Regiment
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHAS	United Nations Humanitarian Air Service
UNMIK	UN Mission in Kosovo
UNPOL	United Nations Police
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USC	Ulster Special Constabulary
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Introduction

In this book we wish to convince the reader that policing and police reform cannot be divorced from other forms of assistance, such as economic, military, and that relating to political development. Overseas development assistance is the larger umbrella under which police reform takes place. Development assistance, in turn, occurs within the context of globalization, characterized by an increased global interdependence among, economic, political and social institutions. Over the course of the past two decades development assistance programmes channelled to any number of transitional, conflicted and war-torn states have included police and Security Sector Reform (SSR) as integral components of democratization and peace-building. However, in spite of large budgets and the tendency to include police and security sector reform in reconstruction efforts, the phenomenon remains something of an under-researched area. Much of the existing literature is practitioner focused and as such lacks a solid theoretical and methodological backcloth. While there have been a number of academic analyses that are of relevance they tend to address specific issues e.g. the role of the UN in international peacekeeping missions or police reform in specific jurisdictions. As such there are few studies that seek to provide a holistic and conceptually grounded analysis of overseas assistance to police reform endeavours and their ultimate success or failure. It is also worth noting that practitioners must become much more reflexive than they have been to date about the effects of their interventions on recipient nations.

Police reform discourse usually includes the promotion of democratic policing; that is, policing that seeks to complement democratic institutions rather than to undermine them. Of course, outlining the contours of what democratic policing is supposed to look like is one thing. Translating these into practice on the ground is another matter entirely since

there very often exists a disjuncture between what the reform process is supposed to achieve in general terms and the specifics of what is actually achieved in regard to implementation. Democratic policing grounded in human rights is the preferred model championed by virtually all groups involved in police reform but these concepts are complex and there is little consensus on what they mean, particularly in the topsy-turvy world of post-conflict states and those transitioning from authoritarian to liberalized forms of governance. Anglo-American styles of policing such as community policing are often exported abroad, but this raises equally problematic questions about the appropriateness of what is being transferred and the power relations inherent in the dynamics of the export-import process.

Nevertheless, there is a growing literature and general agreement that reform of the structures of public policing in particular, and a democratization of the institutions of governance more generally, are key components of peace-building efforts in post-authoritarian and transitional societies (for examples see Goldsmith and Sheptycki 2007; Pino and Wiattowski 2006a; Stenning and Shearing 2005). Furthermore, there is also a general acceptance by numerous academics, international development agencies, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and 'transnational policing regimes' that reforms must not only establish structures of public policing that are 'culturally appropriate but also democratic and respectful of fundamental human rights' (Stenning and Shearing 2005: 169). A willingness to conform to the principles of democratic policing in post-authoritarian and transitional states (recently democratic states or those making the transition toward democracy) is important as an end in itself – to prevent human rights abuses, provide a minimal level of citizen security and so forth, but also more intangibly in that fair and effective policing contributes to the very foundations of political order that democratic freedoms so often depend.

There remain significant problems with the way that this vision of democratic policing is operationalized in practice, however. Outside of UN peacekeeping and humanitarian missions (which are not the principal focus of this book) there now exists a phenomenal outward flow of policing knowledges and expertise from the North and West, to any number of developing, post-authoritarian and transitional states, with enormous sums of money being spent by international development agencies and INGOs on police and Security Sector Reform (SSR). Police and SSR are now a global industry. This industry includes state sponsored initiatives, coercive interventions such as that necessary for EU membership or IMF austerity measures, private contracting and security consultancies,

and UNDP, USAID, and UNPOL (previously CIVPOL), as well as any number of initiatives undertaken by retired policing personnel who have branched out into security sector reform industry in their retirement.

The purpose of this book is to explore the phenomenon of police reform in transitional, post-authoritarian and conflicted states in the context of broader trends in international development assistance and globalization. It sets out to explore the reality of much donor assistance to international police reform efforts specifically, and security-sector reform efforts more generally; which is that in spite of a few localized pockets of success, the majority of such enterprises rarely meet their stated objectives and in many other cases fail completely. While some efforts create more positive outcomes than others, definitions of success and methodologies to assess programmes vary widely. Researchers are often quick to label their own projects as successful even though current methodologies for testing the efficacy of these programmes often lack rigour.

In spite of the huge global industry devoted to overseas police reform assistance the successes are few and far between and not particularly sustainable (similar to other forms of overseas development assistance). Indeed, in spite of this phenomenal level of activity we remain somewhat in the dark about how well particular reform efforts succeed, and under what conditions. The policing studies literature has not been particularly illuminating in respect of these questions. In part this is because the literature itself – particularly that on international police reform and development assistance – has become too fractured, which has hindered theorizing and harmed practice. As we describe below, some (but not all) reform endeavours assume the pre-existence of an empowered citizenry, stable democratic institutions, and economic independence within a globalized world economic system, that are rarely found within transitional democracies or conflicted states. Likewise, there is also a lack of strong comparative analysis to ascertain what works in various contexts and under what conditions. Academics and practitioners would benefit from examining the globalization and development literatures for conceptualizing global police reform assistance and to diagnose what is going wrong, and to plan more appropriate and sustainable forms of police and security sector reform. This book is not intended as a 'how to' manual but seeks to influence the debate and actions among development agencies, national governments, practitioners, NGOs, academics, and so on by examining the nature of police reform in a number of jurisdictions to identify what has been the most efficacious in each case.

Our argument is that donor assistance to police reform missions cannot be divorced from other patterns of development assistance since very often

it is governed by the same exigencies and imprimaturs. We propose a theoretical framework for our analysis that draws upon a number of precepts from earlier development sociology such as modernization theory (emphasizing economic growth based on the adoption of entrepreneurial Western values), dependency theory (emphasizing the underdevelopment and economic exploitation of the global South by developed countries) and the more recent globalization literature that highlights the interconnections between states. Development paradigms continue to be relevant to police reform, and while to some they may be seen as *passé* to our mind they continue to provide the best analytical framework for understanding why the majority of police and security sector reform endeavours fall short of their stated goals and objectives. Overseas police reform and development assistance reflect many of the same problems, but this has been largely overlooked in the policing literature and among practitioners (though see Brogden and Nijhar 2005; Ellison 2007a; Hills 2000; Pino and Wiatrowski 2006a). For example, both police reform and development assistance suffer from one-size-fits-all strategies, inappropriateness for the local context, the reliance on donors that stifles independent development and the implementation of strategies without paying enough attention to the broader structural context. Linking police reform to the political economy of aid and development assistance can go some considerable way to explaining why few police reform missions succeed, and why in spite of the huge global infrastructure devoted to instilling democratic policing in transitional and post-conflict states, policing in such jurisdictions is still characterized by high levels of human rights abuses and repression. The overemphasis on certain aspects of the security sector in recipient nations is often paralleled by the underemphasis of others. For example, certain aspects of the security sector are structured to meet the strategic imperatives of key Western states (e.g. around international terrorism and drugs) while ignoring local problems of crime, fear and disorder.

Whether propelled by international institutions, agreements with foreign consultants or states, or in order to gain political advantage, '...unrealistic police reform proposals are devised on a routine basis throughout the developing world' (Hinton and Newburn 2009: 1). Local and foreign governments and institutions will promise successful reform no matter how politicized and abusive the police currently are, how corrupt the government is, how neocolonial the process appears, or how high the crime rates are. Those pushing reform from abroad are often unaware of or care little about how the police actually operate in the political environments of emerging democracies in the developing world (Hinton and Newburn 2009). Police actions that enhance state power and deepen social inequal-

ities can be seen as contradicting the ideals of democracy (Hinton 2006), and while developing democracies lack many of the basic criteria for democratic policing, many well-established democracies also have police that resist accountability, oversight and reform, and abuse their power, particularly against marginalized groups while claiming to protect freedom (Hinton and Newburn 2009).

In developing countries, including developing democracies, we tend to find 'regimes' rather than 'governments' (Hills 2000). A 'regime' refers to elite groups that wield institutional power while 'government' implies the existence of established institutions that provide services that are often absent in these countries. In her analysis of policing in Africa, Alice Hills defines the police as a formal group that channels regime power or authority (Hills 2000). She characterizes the police as operating within a 'police system' that consists of groups of individuals brought together for a specific purpose to conduct structured behaviours within an identifiable territory. However, the police do not axiomatically support a regime or its policies. The police sometimes experience internal conflict, act in support of subordinate groups, or support their own interests even if they are not in line with the interests of the regime (Hills 2000). The police are relatively autonomous (Marenin 1982). They can violate state rules, act in their own perceived interest, and in some cases can pose a threat to regimes. Furthermore, policing is not just a statist function associated with the public police since in many transitional democracies it is difficult to point to the existence of a state in any kind of institutional sense (Hills 2000). Consequently, what we find are dense networks of groups and agencies providing broadly defined policing and ordering functions. The problem, however, is that donors tend to focus their attention almost exclusively on the public police even though they represent only one institution out of many that reforms should be directed towards.

In general terms academic policing studies has tended to ignore the developing world, foreign security sector assistance, or the effects of policing on those who are policed (Hills 2000; Hinton and Newburn 2009; Manning 2010; Brogden and Nijhar 2005), but there is an emerging literature that is helping address these relatively neglected issues on three different fronts. The first relates to transnational policing and the emergence of transnational policing regimes and global human rights discourse (see Andreas and Nadelmann 2006; Deflem 2002; Goldsmith and Sheptycki 2007; Hills 2009a; Loader and Walker 2007a; Marenin 1996). For example, Goldsmith and Sheptycki (2007) seek a universal ethical system for transnational policing based partially on global human rights discourse. The second front concerns police reform in failing, transnational, and

post-conflict states. Some scholars such as David Bayley (Bayley 2006; Bayley and Perito 2010) have published 'how-to' manuals and books on promoting democratic forms of police reform abroad while others have questioned Western orthodoxies and the conventional wisdom underpinning such efforts (e.g. Brogden 2005; Brogden and Nijhar 2005; Pino and Wiatrowski 2006a; Ellison 2007a; Goldsmith and Sheptycki 2007; Manning 2010). Third is the emerging field of transitional justice (see McEvoy and McGregor 2008a for an overview) that examines alternative, bottom-up strategies for providing security in post-conflict/failing states. It is suggested that conventional approaches to police and security sector reform tend to be too top-down and state-centred and often overlook important sources of local capacity (Brogden and Shearing 1993). The emphasis here is on establishing local structures for micro-governance that are more relevant and appropriate to the context in question.

We are bridging these three literatures by asking four sets of questions we seek to provide answers to in this book:

1. Under what conditions does successful police and security sector reform take place? What needs to be in place before this can be achieved?
2. How can we reform the police or security sector in those states that are governed by political elites and for whom democracy and democratic governance may be an anathema? Where does democratic policing sit with undemocratic state structures?
3. What are the motives of donors? Are police and security sector reform efforts geared more to suit the strategic interests and imperatives of key Western states? Are Northern/Western reform efforts antithetic to the notion of democratization in recipient nations? What are the contradictions in overseas development policy?
4. How can we cultivate the norms of a global civil society so as to make democratic governance, acceptance of human rights, and fair and accountable policing acceptable to recipient nations and the mainstay of reform endeavours?

Bowling (2009) has developed a five-tiered typology for categorizing various police organizations (local, national, regional, international, and global). However, in order to answer these questions we need to move beyond the police and consider the role of International Financial Institutions (IFIs), government aid and development agencies, INGOs and assorted policy entrepreneurs. We therefore consider it more helpful and parsimonious to conceptually develop a three-level tier of analysis (macro, meso and micro) to outline how each level impacts on the trajectory of police reform