Policing the World

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The Practice of International and Transnational Policing

SECOND EDITION

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To those serving in the many forms of policing around the world.

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Acknowledgments

It is often said of police officers in longstanding agencies that there are two things they don't like: change and the way things are. Of course, this could be said of any established entity, but the point remains that as difficult as it is for a single organization to confront changing tides, the adjustments required for an international policing community to adapt their structures and relationships are even more arduous. As this second edition shows, while changes in individual departments can quickly cause international policing to regress to the status quo, substantial progress at the international level takes time.

The first edition of this book succinctly and thoroughly described the landscape of international and transnational policing. Drawing from the history of global policing arrangements and relevant current events, the first edition situated global policing within its 160-year history and formed important themes for thinking about the practice of policing at the global level.

The world has changed substantially since *Policing the World* was first published in 2010. This second edition considers moves in international and transnational police practice and in the updated case studies of policing in Belize, Norway, and Uganda in light of shifting ideologies related to globalization, security, and democratic policing. As such, this edition serves as a catalyst for those contemplating the nature of global policing in a connected and evolving environment. It is as much a primer on the foundation and current practice of international policing as it is a template for planning and imagining how to meet future challenges.

This second edition encourages readers to reflect on the seven intervening years since the first edition was published. How drastically has the world changed and how much (or how little) have global police structures? In comparing the three departments included in the Chapter 2 case studies, note the non-linear trajectory of departments. Fluctuations in social, political, eco-

nomic, and cultural scenes often mean equally sporadic changes in policing arrangements. Lasting change takes time—progress is too easily substituted with the old way of doing things.

The second edition brings together our perspectives based in international policing, comparative criminal justice, and policing in Western, industrialized countries. We have updated many of the callout boxes to highlight the most recent ideas and practices in policing the globe. We have incorporated the newest research on topics such as police legitimacy, police militarisation, police diversity, and community policing. Crime numbers, police personnel levels, and other statistics now include the most recently available figures. Throughout this book, we offer observations on developments in the field and assess what they might mean for the future. Our postscript is updated with a continued call for reforms that institutionalize the practice of global policing. It also includes more information for persons thinking about serving in an international police capacity.

We are indebted to numerous people who have assisted us and supported the final manuscript. We extend our thanks to those who offered their insightful feedback, research assistance, and editing on the first edition. In the second edition, we add our thanks to Ms. Kimberly Kispert for her careful research assistance and to Ms. Beth Hall for her gentle and persistent guidance throughout this process. To our families, who by now are well-versed in the time and energy it takes to produce a book—our gratitude.

Our book is better because of them. Any shortcomings, however, remain our own.

John Casey
Michael J. Jenkins
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2018

Introduction

Until relatively recently, policing operated primarily in a local dimension. While there were always exceptions, crime tended to be generated from within a limited area, most police officers rarely came into contact with colleagues from distant jurisdictions, and knowledge about policing was generally based on local experiences. The extent of "local" has always depended on a range of geographic, cultural, and legal factors, but for most policing issues it was certainly delimited by national borders. The police of any one country had only minor interest in criminal acts in other countries, or assisting other national law enforcement authorities in bringing offenders to justice, or collecting evidence for foreign criminal proceedings (UN 2005a).

Now, however, the average police officer's operating environment encompasses much wider horizons: crime threats are increasingly global, and most officers find themselves routinely dealing with international and transnational issues such as terrorism, e-crime, and human trafficking; communication technologies allow many criminal acts to be perpetrated remotely, bestowing new international dimensions on previously local matters. Suspects and offenders move more freely around the globe and must be dealt with, both where they commit their crimes and in the places to which they flee. Officers occasionally find themselves operating on foreign soil, either as part of international investigations or assigned to one of the increasing number of police contingents working abroad, and they host colleagues from overseas working on investigations or visiting on study tours. Police agencies are now measured by international standards of good practice, as knowledge about policing flows more freely between countries. Policing has witnessed the same compression of space and time that the current wave of globalization has imposed on other aspects of society. At a minimum, online networking opportunities mean that most police can access written commentary and real-time video of fellow police prac-

titioners around the world. As Broadhurst (2002) notes, every police officer's mental patch is now the world, even though their physical beat may be New York, Bangkok, Johannesburg, or Beirut.

Three examples illustrate the new dimensions of contemporary crime:

- In 2010, Toronto police started an online child pornography investigation—called Project Spade—that resulted in the arrest of over 300 people. The 386 child victims were rescued in the United States, Australia, and Canada. In addition to the 348 people police arrested there, authorities in Spain, England, Greece, Sweden, and Mexico implicated dozens of others. The dealing and live-streaming of child pornography is an increasing trend in the cybercrime underworld. The Darknet, characterized by end-to-end encrypted platforms and anonymous payment systems, enables sexual predators to share and pay for child pornography across the globe. It also shields perpetrators from detection and makes retroactive investigations of the behavior more difficult.
- Port Harcourt, Nigeria, is considered a hotbed of online fraud. In 2016, it was home to a $60 million scam that targeted email accounts of small businesses in the U.S., Australia, India, South Africa, and Thailand, and was perpetrated by a network of criminals representing Nigeria, Malaysia, South Africa, Europe, and the U.S. A joint effort between Interpol and the Nigerian Economic and Financial Crime Commission uncovered the scheme in which malware and phishing techniques were used to obtain access to business email accounts. Fraudulent emails were sent to buyers requesting they deposit money into the criminal's account. Other fake emails were sent from CEOs' accounts to their employees with instructions on how to transfer money within the designated (criminal) bank account. Conspirators in the U.S., China, and Europe provided bank accounts that were used to launder the stolen money.
- In October 2008, the Mexican police arrested a gang of suspected Colombian drug smugglers linked to Mexican trafficking clans. The traffickers were accused of shipping cocaine to Mexico to sell in the U.S. The leader of the gang had fled Colombia in 1997 and Mexican police had been on his trail for a decade. In 2008, Mexican police arrested a number of other high-profile leaders of drug cartels, but violence over smuggling routes threatened to spiral out of control, so President Felipe Calderon sent 36,000 army troops across Mexico to fight drug gangs alongside the police. The U.S. also increased its

involvement in the fight against organized crime and drug smuggling in Mexico through the 2007 U.S.-Central America Security Cooperation Agreement, known as the Mérida Initiative, which sought to overcome a long history of mistrust between the law enforcement agencies of both countries.

This book will provide readers with a better understanding of the policing responses to these new dimensions of crime. Since the late 1980s, the world has experienced a new wave of globalization resulting from a combination of economic and political integration, the widespread use of new communication technologies, and cheaper means of transportation. Whether the current globalization is in fact unprecedented in its level of economic integration and what its impact will ultimately be is still widely debated. While some authors claim that the new globalization signals the death knell for sovereign countries, others note that they have survived earlier globalization processes and that they continue to be the strongest political entities (Firth 2005). National authority may be under siege from global market forces and supranational structures, but it has also been enhanced by concerns for control over sovereignty, the continued strength of national identities, and the failure to produce global institutions that can deliver the same effectiveness, decisiveness, and accountability as national-level governments (Bislev 2004; Loader 2004). Similarly, there are competing claims regarding any economic benefits for countries, regions, and even individuals.

Since the first edition of this book was published, nationalistic political and economic developments across the globe have called into question the assumption that human institutions are ever-globalizing. Examples include the election of Hindu nationalist Narendra Modi as India's prime minister in 2014; the popularity of France's Marine Le Pen, who made dismantling France's relationship with the European Union a priority in her 2017 presidential bid; the decision of a majority of British voters to end their membership in the EU (i.e., Brexit); and the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States, after he ran a campaign strongly touting his America-first beliefs and his rhetoric of international divestiture. Nonetheless, as is often the case, the basic need to be safe from all forms of criminal offending will likely mean that national self-interest will drive continued cross-border cooperation for the investigation and prevention of crimes of international consequence.

Notwithstanding such debates about political and economic impacts, there is little doubt that the current wave of globalization has resulted in new cross-border flows and networks, some of which have had criminogenic consequences that have generated new security concerns (Loader 2004). The mobility

of people, money, ideas, and commodities has provided new opportunity for crime, and any benefits gained by legal economies are matched by those in illegal economies, criminal enterprises, and terrorist networks, as the world is moving towards a single market for crime and disorder. Sovereign countries are finding that their capacity to deliver order and security is increasingly undermined by global forces (Grabosky 1998; Loader 2004).

In Western industrialized democracies, the new security environment has developed concurrently with pressures to reduce the size of the State and pluralize service delivery. Globalization has also facilitated the spread of ideas such as New Public Management and Integrated Governance, which have led to the profound transformation of how governments conduct all public services, at the same time that aspirations for greater private security have transformed how important sectors of society are policed (Bislev 2004). Industrialized democracies were characterized in the post-Second World War period as welfare states that sought to secure the well-being of their citizens, but increasingly they are now also conceptualized through a framework of risk. Well-being in itself is no longer sufficient, and the governments of these countries must now also guarantee security for their citizens and construct a bulwark against external threats.

An integral part of the reduction of the State has been the increasing privatization of public goods and services, and in policing there has been an explosion in the use of private security, both locally and on the international scene. National governments are ceding their authority over policing both upward and downward as policing is being restructured by multilateralization within countries and supranationalization among countries (Bayley and Shearing 2001). National law enforcement agencies strengthen relations with their counterparts in other countries, undertake common operations, exchange information, and share facilities through police-specific institutions such as Interpol, at the same time as international institutions such as the European Union and the United Nations are assuming continually greater policing responsibilities. Moreover, development and funding agencies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and United Nations Development Program are now requiring recipient countries to reform policing as a condition for receiving assistance.

For as long as there have been groups of people interacting with each other, there has been a need for methods of policing behavior. The structure and function of police over time coincide with the sophistication and complexity of the society in need of policing. The need to construct security at more encompassing levels is driving the move to create supranational structures for

policing for much the same reasons that existing nation-states were created out of previously sovereign principalities, estates, kingdoms, cities, and small countries (Bayley and Shearing 2001). There is an unmistakable evolutionary process: the origins of policing were local and private, then with industrialization it became more public and national, and now with twenty-first century globalization, policing is becoming international and interdependent (Neyroud and Beckley 2001).

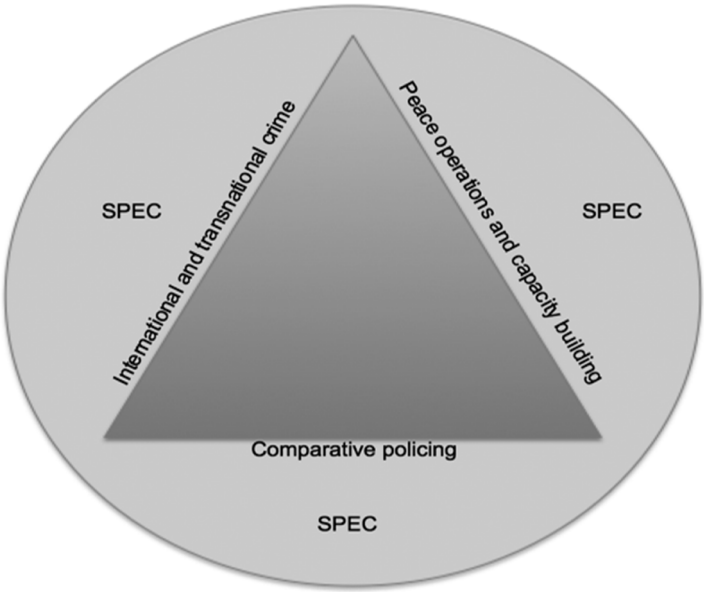
Despite this widening of the horizons, our current understanding of policing still tends to be bound to our own jurisdiction or country, and criminal justice education generally reflects a certain provincialism (Winslow and Zhang 2007). In the mid-1990s, Ross (1995) noted that comparative policing was marginalized in typical American criminal justice departments, and, although the intervening years have seen important changes in the international policing landscape, there continue to be significant knowledge gaps at all levels in police education around the world. Das and Kratcoski (2001) surveyed attendees at an International Police Executive Symposium, which brought together some 200 senior officers, and found that a significant number did not know much about international police cooperation or about the involvement of nongovernmental organizations. Yet, as the Interpol Secretary-General recently noted (Interpol 2008c, 1), "21st Century policing calls for a new approach that moves international policing from the sidelines to front and center, psychologically and operationally. Effective [international policing] will require new experts in evolving specialties who can be called to assist countries around the world in responding to urgent situations."

This book explores three key areas of the international dimension of policing:

1. Comparative policing and the creation of international "good practice" (Chapters 1, 2, and 3).
2. Cooperative efforts to respond to emerging international and transnational crime threats (Chapters 4 and 5).
3. Peace operations and capacity building in post-conflict and transitional societies (Chapter 6).

These three issues, embedded in the inherent social, political, economic, and cultural (i.e., SPEC) perspectives of the country studied or of the reader's location, form the interconnected and circumscribed triangle of contemporary international policing (Figure 1):

Figure 1 The Circumscribed Triangle of International Policing



Source: Authors.

The triangle sits on the base of the discipline of comparative policing, the study of and comparison between policing in different national and cultural contexts. Without some familiarity with the operating environment and institutional structures of policing in foreign countries it is all but impossible to enter into a meaningful and effective dialogue with counterparts from other countries. One side of the triangle is an analysis of the current context of the rise in international and transnational crime and of the international policing strategies that are emerging to respond to the new threats. These are the key issues in understanding the criminogenic consequences of globalization and of the institutional responses to them. The final side of the triangle is an analysis of the work of police in peace operations and capacity-building work being done in conflict zones and developing countries. None of the sides of the triangle can be understood without at least some context of the SPEC factors. Certainly, in each of our case studies, and in every chapter, we situate examples of police operations within their appropriate SPEC domain.

At first sight, a discussion of peace operations and capacity building may seem less directly relevant to international policing. While many other books that address the topic tend to give it only a passing mention, it is an essential

third element in a discussion of the globalization of law enforcement. First, there is the fact that as one consequence of the greater interconnectedness between police agencies and increasingly international political agreements, many officers will find themselves assigned to (or volunteering for) an international policing contingent in a developing country. Equally important, international and transnational crime flourishes in areas of instability and where there is a lack of governmental law enforcement capacity (Gros 2003). Weak economies and failing States are victims of international and transnational crime, but they are also the staging ground for crimes committed around the world. They are unable to control activities within their border or regulate cross-border activities, and so they become magnets for international syndicates aware that they constitute a weak link in international enforcement. The coffers of these countries can be looted, and they can be relatively secure byways for the movement drugs, arms, and human trafficking, as well as for money laundering.

It is important to note that this book focuses primarily on the globalization of policing and not on the globalization of crime. Crime is engendered and committed in new international dimensions, and new structures and operating processes are being established to respond, but policing is also globalizing through a range of processes that aren't necessarily a direct response to international and transnational crime. Broader globalization dynamics have an impact on policing in a range of ways: police cooperation can be a corollary of other political and economic cooperation between countries; the Internet and other communication technologies create international best practice; and increasing educational research and educational exchanges have resulted in the growing presence of serving officers at international criminal justice conferences.

This book is unapologetic in taking a normative approach that seeks to foster the less coercive and more transparent manifestation of law enforcement commonly referred to as *democratic policing* (OSCE 2008; Bayley 2001). Democratic policing fulfills the institutional responsibilities of enforcing law and ensuring public and social order while following four key principles:

- Police must be accountable to the law rather than to the government.
- Police must give top operational priority to servicing the needs of individual citizens and private groups.
- Police must protect human rights, especially those that are required for the sort of unfettered political activity that is the hallmark of democracy.
- Police should be transparent in their activities (Bayley 2001).

Democratic policing is most commonly associated with Western industrialized democracies, and although it could be argued that it is simply the law enforcement manifestation of the right to not be subjected to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, as expressed in Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948), many attempts at exporting its principles to authoritarian and developing countries are often treated with suspicion as contemporary manifestations of political and cultural imperialism (for example, see the work of Brogden and Nijhar 2005, on community policing cited in Chapter 3). Perhaps an approach less fraught with imperialist tendencies, is to instead focus on police reform as "strengthening peaceful yet weak security providers whilst taming the most powerful yet brutal ones" (Wood and Font 2006, 332).

The question that arises when writing a book based on such a normative approach is how to convey the realities of policing in countries where the law enforcement agencies do not operate with complete regard for democratic principles. There is a difficult balance to strike between a respectful discussion that acknowledges the strengths in policing in any country and one that still recognizes the pressing need for reform. Policing in developing and transitional countries can be dismissively stereotyped as corrupt, repressive, and inefficient, but we have to wonder what the reality is from the inside looking out. It is easy to scorn, but is it possible for the authors, or the readers, of this book from industrialized countries to "walk in the shoes" of an officer in a developing country?

All police officers around the world see the worst in the society they live in and work under the ever-present threat of violence, but anyone living and working in a relatively stable and rich country must surely pause and reflect when reading Goldsmith's description of the Colombia National Police as "among the most reviled and persecuted civilian police force in the world" (2000, 172), who are killed at the rate of some 400 per year (in a country of 44 million people) in the continuing battles between government, guerrillas, and drug cartels. In other countries, the police may not be facing such levels of violence, but they are commonly under-paid, under-resourced, and often living far from home in crowded barracks. What if being a police officer is one of the few paying jobs available (and by taking bribes you can actually make a decent wage)? (For example, see Box 4.8.) What if the police officers and political and administrative systems they work in are so corrupted that you have to pay a bribe just to get into the police?

Moreover, such a critical eye should not be cast only on policing in authoritarian and developing countries. It is also important to look at the problems with policing in the countries that export police reform. Industrialized

countries cannot provide expertise and training to the developing world in community policing, race relations, or democratic reforms without acknowledging the challenges facing their own domestic police agencies. Nothing is gained by glossing over the difficulties of policing in industrialized countries or ignoring the reality that policing everywhere is undergoing continuing processes of reform.

While this book is based on a comparative framework, and there are notes on comparative methodology in Chapters 1 and 2, it does not aspire to be a textbook on comparative policing. The comparative method covers a much wider range of techniques and circumstances than those covered by the international and cross-cultural comparisons used in this book. This book will most likely end up being used in elective courses that have the words *comparative*, *international*, or *global* in the title, but it is also hoped that it becomes staple reading for the increasing number of core courses in policing and criminal justice programs that are being designed as inherently international and comparative as these issues are mainstreamed (Winslow and Zhang 2007).

Finally, it should be noted that this book reflects the linguistic and cultural biases that are intrinsic in any attempts at researching and writing international reviews and comparative studies. The book is based overwhelmingly on English-language materials. Moreover, the political-cultural reality is that only the more democratic and transparent of the national and international policing institutions open themselves to the scrutiny of researchers, and so they are the ones that tend to generate more analysis and commentary. Although this book has pretentions of providing a global perspective on policing, the coverage of different continents and countries is uneven and the perspectives on policing primarily reflect those authors who write in English.

Definitions

The key concepts in this book are analyzed in depth throughout the text, but in this introductory chapter some preliminary observations should be made about their usage.

The terms *police* and *policing* refer to work of the public, civilian (non-military) institution that is empowered by the government to enforce the law and ensure public order through the legitimized use of force (Newburn 2008; Mawby 2008). In various chapters there is discussion about the blurring of lines between public and private, between civilian and military, and between the different entities that are empowered by governments to enforce the law and ensure public order, but the focus will always come to back to those uni-

formed and plain-clothed officers that in almost every country are recognized by the population as the public police. At times, for primarily stylistic reasons, the term *law enforcement*—a more general term that can cover a wider range of agencies—will be used as a substitute for police and policing. The book focuses on public, above-ground policing, with the consequent neglect of secret and clandestine policing groups—whether they are political commissars or death squads—that play a significant role in some countries (see Box 2.4).

Police *agency* is used as the generic name for the public policing institution, although at times it will be referred to as the *department*. The term police *force* is generally not used, given the debates in many countries about whether policing should be considered a *force* or a *service* (see Box 3.2). The senior executive of the police agency is generally referred to as the *Chief of Police*, however other titles such *Commissioner*, *Director*, and *Inspector General* are also used to identify specific executives from countries that use those honorifics.

Almost every term identified in these previous two paragraphs is contested and the debates about them will unfold throughout the book. For example, the book focuses on the public police, yet it is also noted that a community policing approach, which involves a range of public and private actors, is the most widely disseminated policing philosophy (see Chapter 3) and that informal, non-institutional policing continues to be the means of maintaining social order in many developing countries (see Chapter 2). Similarly, the book focuses on civilian policing, but it is also acknowledged that there is a blurring of civilian and military in both common vernacular and in operational action—when the U.S. is described as "policing the world" it is usually a reference to military actions—while in some domestic situations the military forces of that country also patrol the streets and pursue criminals or political opponents (see Chapters 1, 2, and 6).

The terms *international* and *transnational* are used to describe criminal activities, and the policing responses to them, which breach national borders and have an impact on more than one country. Other terms such as *global* and *cross-border* also appear occasionally, particularly when quoting authors and reports. Despite attempts to parse such terms depending on the number of countries involved and the nature of the relationships between them, the terms can generally be used interchangeably, and there are significant variations in how they are used by different authors (see Chapter 4). This book uses the twin terms of international and transnational purposely to avoid these definitional debates, but we do offer distinguishing characteristics of each in Chapter 4.

Moreover, given that the practice of international and transnational policing is undergoing a rapid transformation, the language used to describe different cooperative processes is still evolving. In the military doctrine of many coun-

tries, there is a strict distinction between *joint* operations (between the different branches of the military of one country) and *common* operations (between the military of different countries), and while the same use of these two terms is gradually being adopted in policing they still tend to be used interchangeably.

International and transnational are contrasted with *domestic* crime and responses, which occur within national borders. The word *country* is used to refer to a sovereign political territory bound by these borders. Occasionally the generally equivalent term *State* (with a capital S) is used where the emphasis is more on the political entity than on the territorial identity, although it is generally avoided to minimize any confusion with a *state* (lower-case) in a federal system such as the United States. Similarly, *nation* is generally avoided because it technically refers to a community of a common culture that is not necessarily bound by political borders (e.g., the Kurd or Catalan nations). However, as many countries, even multicultural countries, also consider themselves to be a nation, that term occasionally slips in and it is certainly used in the adjectival form *national* as there is no equivalent adjective for country or State. Also at times the word *jurisdiction* is used if the emphasis is more on the legal nature of territory.

The differences in the use of terms such as country, State, state, and nation are an excellent example of the challenges of writing a book such as this, which seeks to create a common understanding of the profound political, social, and linguistic differences that impact policing in different countries. Ask someone from the U.S. to describe the political structure of the country and they are likely to say that it is a nation of 50 states; ask someone from Spain to do the same about their own country and they most likely will say it is an *Estado de naciones* (a State of nations) in recognition of the national identities of the Basques, Castilians, Catalans, and Galicians.

Organization of the Book

While the book is not formally divided into separate parts, the flow of chapters reflects the sequence of topics identified earlier as the triangle of contemporary international issues.

The first three chapters are the comparative policing base of the triangle and focus on the international environment in which contemporary policing operates. Chapter 1 compares policing models throughout the world; Chapter 2 highlights the case study approach to comparative policing; and Chapter 3 focuses on cross-national comparisons of policing strategies and the challenges of transferring operational approaches from one country to another.

The next two chapters examine the new frontiers of crime and the factors that facilitate, and limit, police cooperation. Chapter 4 analyzes the growth of international and transnational crime and the operational responses that seek to address it. Chapter 5 focuses on the international arrangements that strengthen the capacities of police agencies to work at a more global level.

As the last side of the triangle of issues, Chapter 6 focuses on the role of police in international peace operations and capacity-building projects and on the implications of the military-police-civilian interface in such engagements.

These six chapters all focus on the institutional-level work of police agencies and the cooperation between them. But ultimately it is individuals, not institutions, who work cooperatively, so the book concludes with a postscript that focuses on the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that police officers need to work more effectively in a globalized world. It also includes guidance for future researchers interested in advancing the academic study of global policing.

Throughout the book there are numerous boxes with short case studies and other practical examples of international and transnational policing, which are based on a variety of sources, as well as on the authors' personal experiences. When the source is a report, press article, or other personal testimony, the adaptation used in the box attempts to stay faithful to the voice of the original source whenever possible.