

# Oversight of policing in urban areas

From police institute to police process

22<sup>th</sup> November 2012

Elke Devroe – associate professor in criminology



Universiteit Leiden

The Netherlands

# 1. Societal changes

## Complexity in society had increased

### ❑ Globalisation:

➤ Linking of activities that occur with great distance from one another (Terpstra, 2010)

### ❑ Mondialisation:

➤ 'Global' cities arise: cities where the social-economical structure and development is more determined by their role in the world economy than by the dynamics of their own region or country (Kesteloot, 2002).

### ❑ Individualisation

### ❑ Fragmentation

### ❑ Privatisation

### ❑ Social dualism

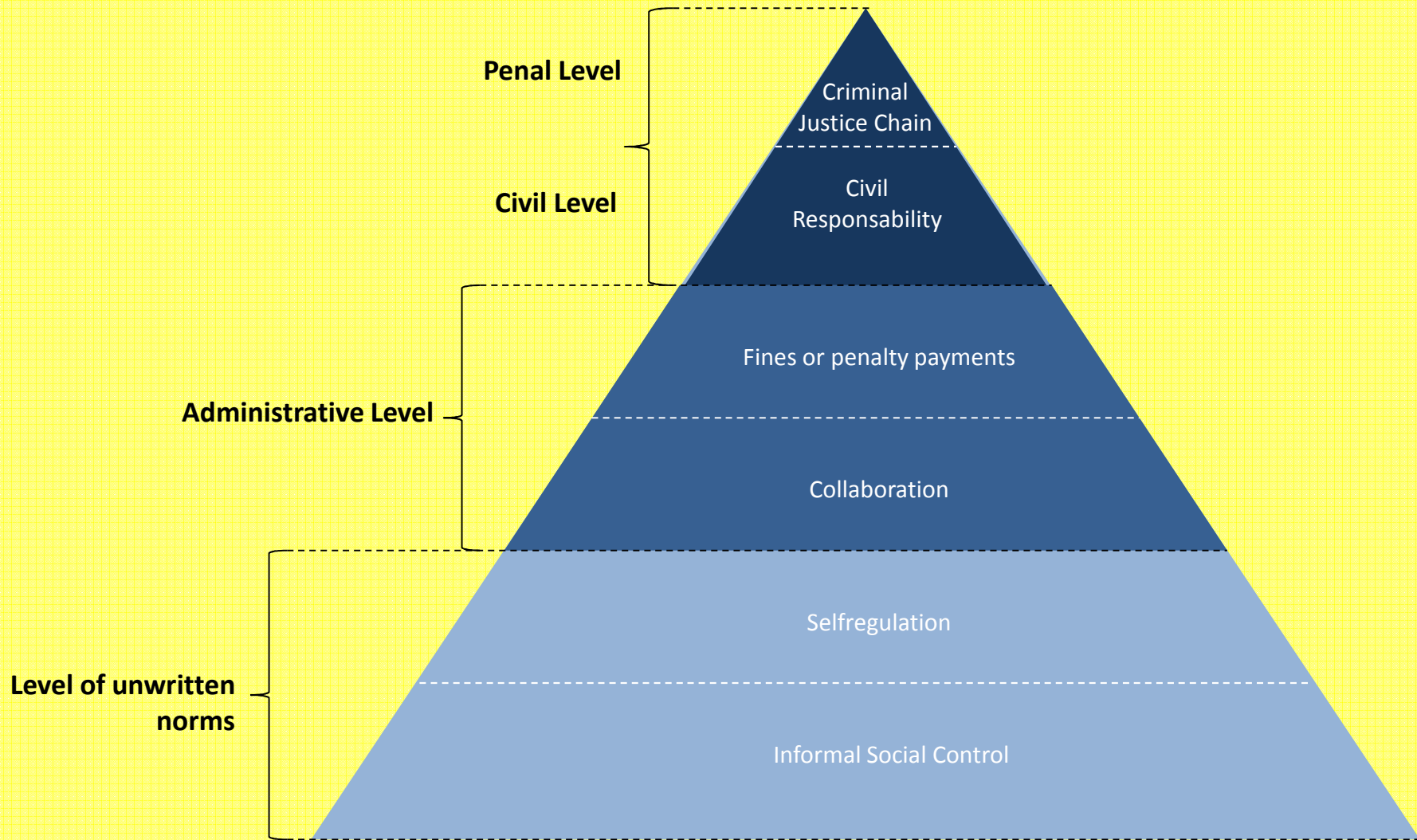
➤ Government has to please multinationals in order to obtain an economic growth, so those who can't follow stay behind and become poorer

### ❑ Rising crime rates and feelings of insecurity

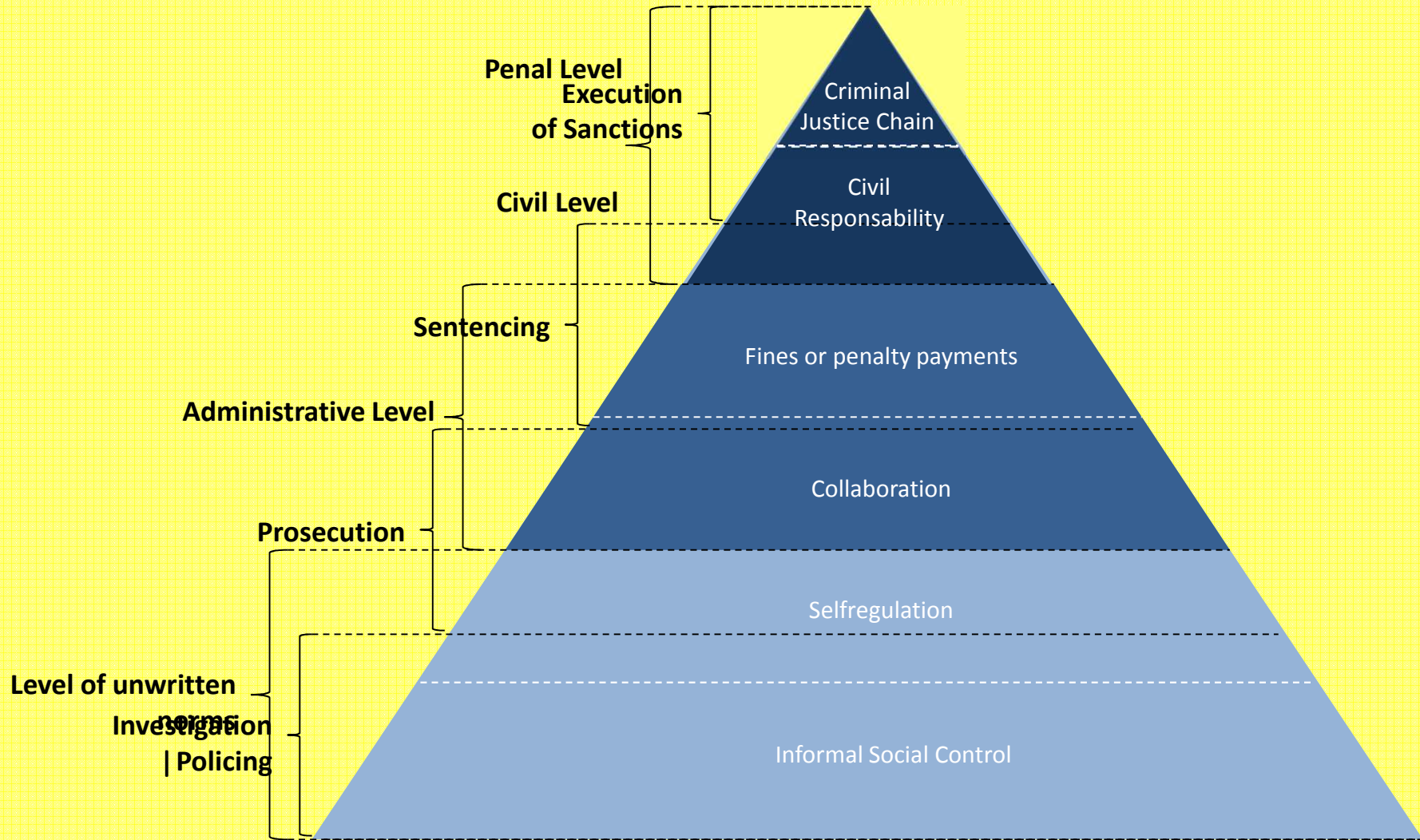
## 2. Changes in law enforcement: from government to governance

- ❑ This concept alerts us to the exercise of authority *beyond* the nation state (Edwards & Hughes, 2005)
- ❑ In criminological thought governance has been associated with the *preventive turn* in crime control strategies in Europe that acknowledge the limits of criminal justice (Crawford, 2008)
- ❑ Governance invokes the direct participation of other statutory as well as commercial and voluntary sector actors working together or next to the police (Devroe, 2012)
- ❑ Liberal democratic policy becomes increasingly differentiated as public administrative systems expand to encompass more competencies and as they respond to pressures for greater intervention in civil society (Rhodes, 1997)
- ❑ Through expansion these systems become more complex involving greater functional and institutional specialisation around particular problems of government, such as education, health, housing, crime, public disorder
- ❑ This specialisation produces policy networks of intergovernmental relations between elected representatives and administrators organized at different territorial levels
- ❑ The shift from law enforcement to preventive actions, broadens the spectrum of actors police has to collaborate with

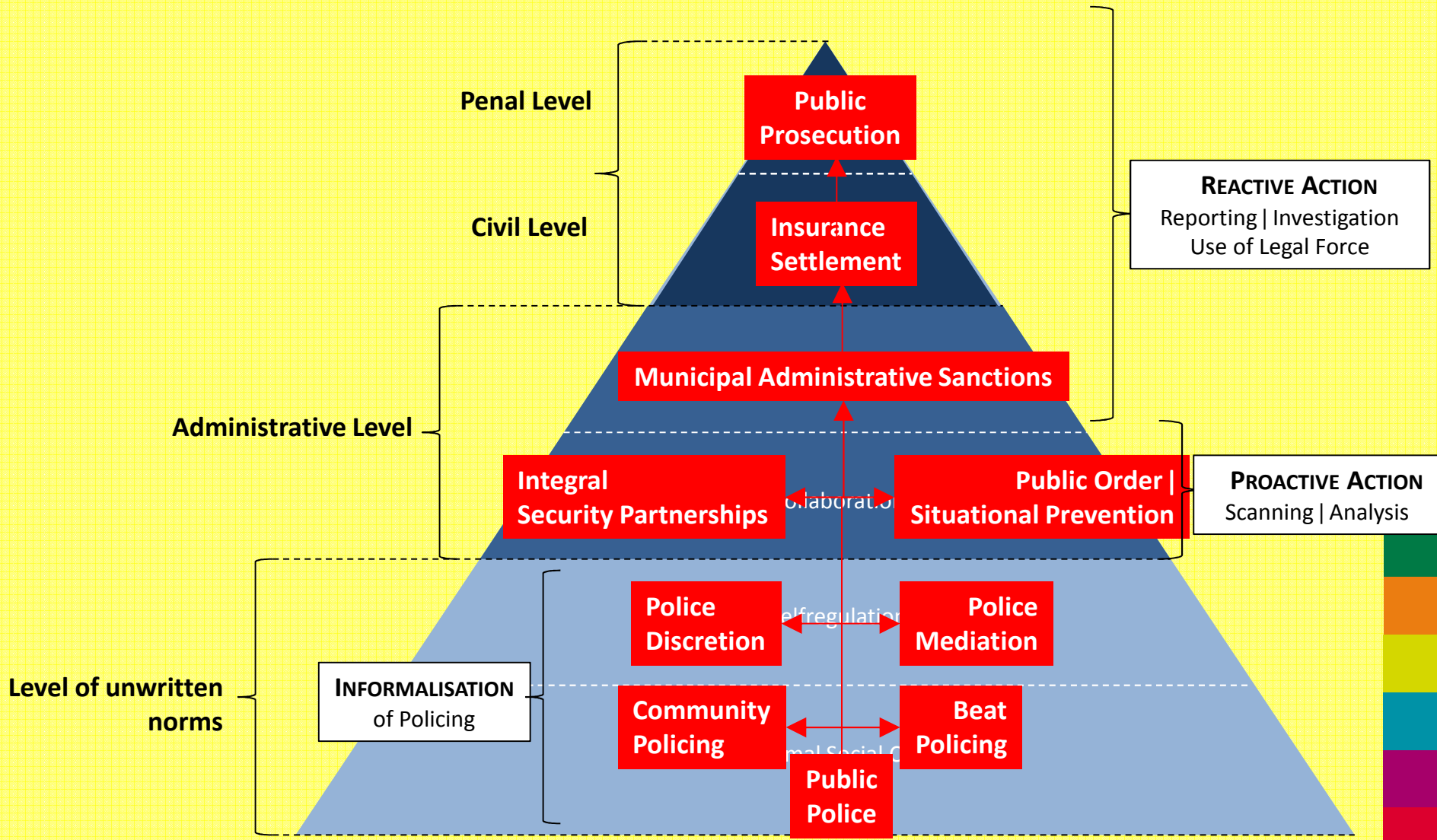
# The regulatory pyramid of Van den Heuvel (2008)



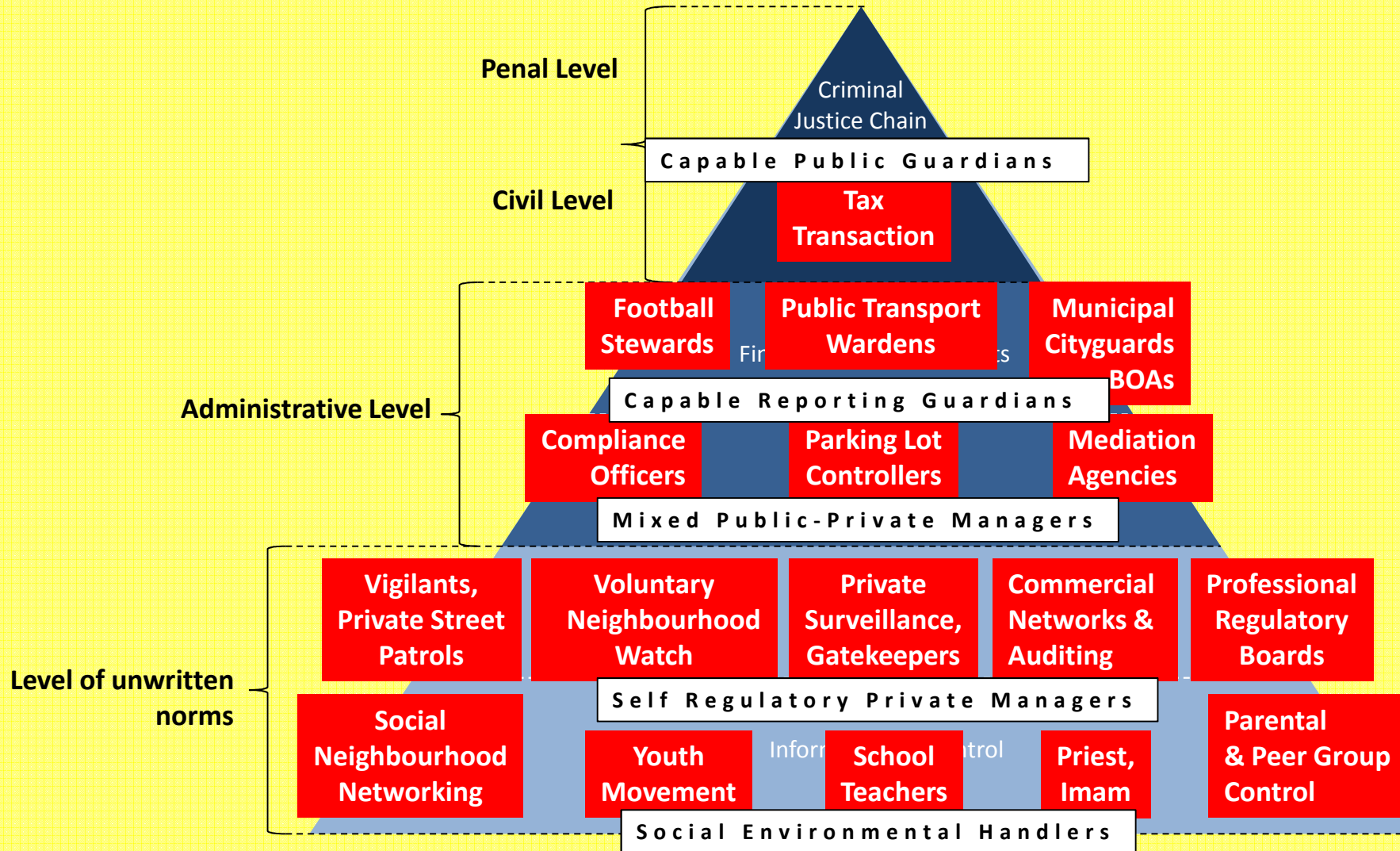
# The regulatory pyramid of Van den Heuvel (2)



# The different roles of Public Police



# Other actors of regulation



## Conclusion: Consequences of shift to governance

- ❑ Police is interweaven with other forms of private and administrative surveillance, maintenance and investigation on a daily basis
- ❑ This evolution of multiple actors in the field of prevention and law enforcement is called the 'police complex' (Meershoek & Hoogenboom, 2012)
- ❑ It is unclear what the future relations between all these actors will be and how this tendency will influence police work and control on policing in urban areas
- ❑ "Blurring boundaries" between the '*police work* of the Mayor and city Council' (administrative surveillance, city guards, BOA's, private security, stewards, city coaches, street corner workers, etc...) and the public police
- ❑ Fragmentation and blurring boundaries between departments, layers of administration, policy domains, security actors and societal problems
  - Unclear in urban areas who does what for who with what goal and who's responsible and accountable?
- ❑ Consequence: weak political administrative control, deficient accountability, decreasing democratic control with as a result a fragile legitimacy of the police work
- ❑ The reference to classic concepts as 'blue on the street', 'neighborhood police' 'democratic accountability & control' are no longer fit for multidisciplinary police performance as it exists today



- ❑ In the current situation of the 'police complex' with its many blurring boundaries authors refer to 'democratic gaps' (Meershoek & Hoogenboom, 2012)
- ❑ An effective performance in law enforcement starts with recognition of the existence of the differentiated police complex: called '*grey policing*'
- ❑ Police as '*institute*' refers to the public police and its legal tasks of maintenance of order, peace keeping, investigation , intervention & neighborhood policing
- ❑ Police as '*process*' refers to all kinds of surveillance, order maintenance & investigation. This broader definition of 'police' reveals that many former tasks of public police are now executed by (semi) public organisations.
- ❑ Surveillance, maintenance and investigation became part of administrative & governmental processes: city surveillance, BOA's, special investigators, inspectorates (from health to labour conditions), private surveillance, transnational arrangements.
- ❑ Concepts as '*control*' and '*democratic accountability*' can no longer exclusively be used in the limited context of the police system and the public function
- ❑ Instead of developing a criminal policy only by the nation state , efforts should be done to create order and control over all these new forms of policing in urban cities (the new '*grey*' fields) (police complex)

- ❑ When recognising police not as an 'institute' but as a '*process*' we notice last decades a tremendous migration of police work towards a fragmented, divers unclear complex hybrid network of actors
- ❑ "*The blue police uniform is in the DNA of politics and society, while police in practice exists of 53 shades of grey*" (Jones & Newburn, 2006)
- ❑ Order and control over this new police reality can be provided by policy makers and by the rule of law, but also by scientific research outputs answering the following questions:
  - Where and in which way do we notice an increasing collaboration between which (semi) public and private organisations?
  - Who is responsible and accountable and what are the (side) consequences?
  - What are the consequences for the steering of security policy of these multiple interlocking (verknoping) police processes
- ✓ Last but not least: the question of public accountability and democratic control
  - The public police function became on different levels and for different tasks interweaven with other forms of 'police', a process of integration that will go on the decades to come
  - To maintain democratic control on police work, the classic concepts belonging to a classic police system need to be adjusted

*Thank you for your attention!*