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EDITORIAL:

RESEARCH AND SCIENCE IN CEPOL – A PERSONAL RETROSPECT



 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{y}$

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Looking Back

Over the last ten years I have had the opportunity to contribute to the development of CEPOL and, in particular, to the research and science activities of this young organisation. It was pioneering work starting from scratch. This article gives some information and personal impressions of this challenging period.

Thirty years ago, in the 1980s, when I started my police career after several years of being a research fellow at an international research institute, I published empirical police research findings from two European countries in a police journal of my home country. I was formally disciplined for this by the police director because it was perceived as troublemaking and spreading rebellious ideas against authority. This awkward reaction from a leading police officer, demonstrating a considerable lack of aplomb, had a significant effect on me and it influenced my successive efforts towards the professional acknowledgement of sound police research.

After major changes in the 1990s, particularly in Europe, international police cooperation has become more and more important. Not only did cooperation in operational policing gain a new dimension, but also cooperation in police training and research became increasingly important. This development gave me the ideal opportunity to use my international research background and my practical police experience to realise my vision of making police science and research accepted and respected within the police throughout Europe.

When CEPOL started its activities in 2001 as a network of national training institutes in EU Member States, its remit included the training of senior police officers, but police-related research was conducted only at some of these institutes. There was little regional cooperation between some of the training institutes in the field of police research. Police-related research has, however, been conducted at different universities, independent research institutes and research units of ministries or police forces in a couple of European countries or by individual researchers. Police science and research followed different approaches and was connected with different academic disciplines. The research topics were fairly diverse and often it was not clear which methods were actually used.

In some European countries the results of research with importance for police and policing were available. These were mainly from academic projects or programmes which

were completed outside the police training institutes and even outside the police organisations. They were pretty much scattered across different journals, brochures, reports and other papers, usually in the native language of the author(s). For researchers and trainers at police training institutes, who were not linked up to universities, it was not easy to make contact with colleagues in other countries and to receive relevant research findings or materials from abroad.

In several countries you could find – open or hidden – reservations or reluctance about empirical police research – only legal or historical research was acknowledged and accepted.

I could identify three main reasons for this reluctance:

- A lack of awareness of the need and added value of research for modern police training;
- the fear of severe criticism on police traditions, habits, culture or structures;
- it was an expression of uncertainty to new ideas and resistance to change.

This was the situation when CEPOL appeared on scene was created in 2001 and a small Research and Science Committee was established for dealing with matters of science and research. This group started from scratch: without a defined remit, without a predetermined programme and without a budget, but it did have a lot of good ideas and the goodwill of a handful of committed experts. This committee started its first research and science activities immediately (e.g. police research conferences, research and science information courses, surveys on the situation of police research

in the EU, preparations for a police research database).

In 2004 an important and supportive step was the appointment of a Research and Knowledge Management Officer at the CEPOL Secretariat. He took over not only administrative and secretarial tasks for research activities, but also served as an institutionalised guarantor of quality and an important link between training and research institutions and researchers in CEPOL's network and the Secretariat.

In 2005 after the enlargement of the European Union by ten new Member States, the Research Committee and the Committee on Learning were merged into the Training and Research Committee. After a short period, the members of this committee found that they could not fulfil the very specific and different tasks required in the field of police research and science with the necessary time, energy and engagement. As a result, in 2007 the Research and Science Working Group (RSWG) consisting of ten research experts and with a clear defined remit was established¹.

Now, ten years after the foundation of the European Police College, the first systematic and promising steps for future development have been completed (with very limited budgetary and human resources) to:

- bring research units/departments and researchers at police training institutions closer together and to strengthen their cooperation;
- disseminate research findings and transfer them to police training and policing;
- develop a European approach to police science as a basis for a common basic understanding (convergence of differences) and good cooperation.

During CEPOL's first ten years, diverse activities have been undertaken to create more awareness and openness for empirical research and acceptance of research findings by directors of police training institutions, programme managers, teachers, trainers, course managers, senior police officers and police experts. Some of these activities are mentioned in summary below.

CEPOL's Police Science and Research Activities

Activities for strengthening cooperation between research units and researchers at police training institutions

Survey on Police Science and Research in the European Union

In the beginning, it was necessary to get an overview of the police research situation in the Member States and in particular in their training institutes. In 2005 CEPOL published a report entitled Police Science and Research in the European Union.²

CEPOL Research and Science Conferences Since 2003, CEPOL has organised the annual CEPOL European Police Research and Science Conference in cooperation with a national po-

Venues and themes of CEPOL Annual European Police Research and Science Conferences		
2003 in Solna:	Interplay between Research – Education – Practice	
2004 in Prague:	Development of Police Sciences and Transfer of Knowledge into Police Education, Training and Prac- tice - Interconnections: Science – Training – Practice	
2005 in Lisbon:	Scientific Research and Assessment of Police Recruit- ing, Training, Learning and Evaluation Methodologies and Techniques	
2006 in Bramshill:	Policing Public Order	
2007 in Münster:	A European Approach to Police Science	
2008 in Vienna:	Comparative Policing Research from a European Perspective: with a focus on Organised Crime	
2009 in Badhoevedorp:	Future Policing in Europe: A Shared Agenda for Research	
2010 in Oslo:	Practical Research and Research Practice – Police Science into a new decade	

lice training institution for senior police officers. Each conference follows a main theme. Contributions and presentations from the 2003–2005 conferences are published in the CEPOL brochure Theory and Practice of Police Research in Europe.³ A volume with the most relevant contributions from the conferences 2006–2010 is being prepared and will be published during 2011.

Research and Science Information Courses

Police trainers and practitioners were invited in order to demonstrate to them the possibilities of using research findings in police training and policing. These courses were not very successful because of the wide range of different expectations of the participants to police-related research.

Symposia and Workshops Dedicated to Police Research and Science In 2009 CEPOL started organising research symposia with the aim of:

- strengthening the CEPOL network of scientific experts;
- exchanging and enhancing expert knowledge in a specific field of policing;
- encouraging and facilitating the exchange of research-related information;
- increasing understanding among participants of relevant issues of project planning and realisation;
- improving advice about implementing research results into police practice;
- identifying opportunities for future cooperation and mutual support.

A Navigable Map of Institutions Conducting Police Research on a Regular Level in Europe As policing and the knowledge about police matters is increasingly subject to crossborder exchanges, CEPOL has developed a list of institutions and departments engaged in police-related (scientific) research on a regular basis.

The results have been put on a map of Europe, to foster the further development of networks of researchers and police science. The map is published on CEPOL's homepage.⁴ Discussion Forums for Police Professionals and Experts

In the CEPOL e-Net the establishment of Discussion Forums is possible. These have the option of having specific topics closed and only visible to groups of police researchers or experts with special access rights (special users).

Activities for Dissemination of Research Findings and Good Practice E-Library

The e-Library⁵ is a knowledge repository and database used for police learning as well as police research purposes and police practice. In the e-Library material is collected as a reference or, in certain parts, with the full text attached. This is linked to the course topics covered by the CEPOL Annual Work Programmes or to those topics which are relevant to police education and training for senior police officers on a European level. *National Research and Science Correspondents*

The network of National Research and Science Correspondents (RSCs)⁶ develops channels of communication exchange and establishes closer cooperation between scientists and researchers on one side and trainers, lecturers and course organisers on the other.

CEPOL Science and Research Bulletin⁷

The electronic Bulletin is prepared and developed by alternating editorial teams formed by three members of the RSWG and supported by CEPOL's Research and Knowledge Management Officer. After a trial period of four issues, the Governing Board decided in December 2010 to publish the CEPOL Science and Research Bulletin as a permanent electronic periodical.⁸

Efforts for Developing a European Approach to Police Science

Project Group on a European Approach to Police Science (PGEAPS)

In 2007, after two years of intensive discussion and work, an interdisciplinary, international expert group presented the report Perspectives of Police Science in Europe.⁹

Present Situation

The initial stages were the most difficult, but now the new CEPOL Strategy (2010) and the CEPOL five-year external evaluation report (2011) provide clear evidence that the measures for developing CEPOL's research and science activities were in right direction and are accepted as essential elements of CEPOL's core business. CEPOL's recent promotional brochure presents Research and Science as one of the agency's main area of activity.¹⁰

The ambitious goal for police science in CEPOL's Strategy 2010 is clearly defined: "European Police Science cannot be left homeless; it needs a home and this home shall be the CEPOL house."¹¹

The present official role of research and science in CEPOL seems to be inconsistent with Goal 2 of CEPOL's new Strategy and the practical experience in the RSWG because the Council Decision establishing CEPOL¹² allows CEPOL only to disseminate best practice and research findings. It does not allow CEPOL to run its own research projects – even if they might be of common interest for many Member States. It might be possible to encourage research projects or give moral support to them, if CEPOL incurs no costs as a result of the support. However, CEPOL is not allowed to initiate comparative police/policing studies and take over a steering or leading function. This situation is unsatisfactory. The RSWG should try to implement the procedure for an urgent amendment of the Council Decision - otherwise European Police Science will be left homeless.

Lessons Learnt: Basis for Progress

After ten years' commitment in CEPOL in the field of research and science to:

 strengthen the cooperation between research units and

- researchers at police training institutions;
- disseminate research findings and good practice;
- try to develop a European approach to police science;

the following lessons learnt can be presented to all colleagues who will continue this work in and for CEPOL. However, based on our experience, more initiatives and new activities will be necessary to achieve these goals and a permanent and stable interplay between policing, police training and police science/research.

- It will not be possible to put new initiatives and activities into effect with a smaller budget and decreasing resources. According to the different and sometimes quite complicated EU regulations which CEPOL has to implement –many administrative and bureaucratic steps have to be carried out for all activities and, in particular, for the realisation of new ideas and projects as was also necessary in the early years of CEPOL. This administration is not only time-consuming, but also costly.
- The available budget for research and science activities clearly indicates the importance and value of research and science within CEPOL. The budget reduction for research and science in relation to previous years (2009: € 253,000; 2010: € 175,000; 2011: € 164,000)¹⁴ might be a warning signal for the continuation of ongoing research and science activities and implementation of new ideas (e.g. research award, cooperation with other agencies). However, the reduced budget figures for research activities in the CEPOL

- budget 2011 may mislead the unfamiliar reader about the actual relevance of research and science within CEPOL.
- All members of the RSWG representing CEPOL's network function fulfil their tasks for CEPOL in addition to their regular job in their countries. They spend their leisure time, weekends and even holidays for surveys and projects, for preparing publications and papers, for organising conferences and symposia, for supporting other CEPOL activities etc. They do the CEPOL tasks without extra money and without a reduction in their normal workload. Nevertheless, all of them show high motivation, full engagement and commitment within the expert group. More can not be expected of them. The support function of the CEPOL Secretariat must be improved in order to keep continuity for the ongoing activities (e.g. conferences, symposia, e-Library, Bulletin) and to enable the RSWG to concentrate on strategic matters and the development/implementation of new activities. A kind of a formal recognition (such as a financial reward) for the work done by the members of the RSWG should be considered.
- Science is more than ever a longterm process and it will be a long way to acceptance.¹⁵ There has not been one single research and science activity that did not have unexpected problems, difficulties and obstacles, interfering interests and presumptions in the realisation phase. Great patience, continuing flexibility, willingness for improvisation

- and compromises, persistence, and hardiness are essential qualities or skills for successful initiatives or projects. Further measures to improve acceptance of CEPOL's research initiatives or projects must be considered.
- The coordination between learning/ training activities (courses, seminars, common curricula, e-learning modules) and research activities in CEPOL has not been at its best during the last few years. A main reason for this was the need to concentrate on administration and the implementation of EU regulations. This meant that the intellectual capacities for CEPOL's core business were strained or taken elsewhere. An improvement in the coordination between different factors and protagonists in CEPOL will be essential for its success in future.
- A few efforts of the RSWG towards building a practical link between police research and security research – with benefits for both sides - have not been promising up to now. The then leadership of ESRIF for example, was obviously not interested in contacts or cooperation with CEPOL.¹⁶ Several of our attempts on different levels for becoming a partner or a police research consultant in the ESRIF project failed. The futility of our efforts was frustrating. However, frustration should not lead to resignation, passivity or giving up an idea. New considerations and initiatives for a mutual convergence between police research and security research seem to be necessary.

There is strong agreement in the Member States that:

- police education or training of senior police officers relies not only on experience;
- police learning, training and education in a modern society have to be based on scientific knowledge and research findings wherever possible;
- police experience, legal rules and political programmes are not enough for good police practice and policing;
- police science and research findings have to be respected in training programmes and curricula.

The CEPOL five-year external evaluation report says¹⁷: "Looking at the activity's relevance to Member State needs, GB survey feedback indicates strong support for 'Research and Science' with 64% of respondents (16 out of 25) noting high or very high relevance to Member State needs. Moreover, it is interesting to note that Member State survey feedback in the context of CEPOL's programming for 2011 clearly suggests that this activity remains very 'popular' (respondents propose intensifying or maintaining the activity)."

The realisation of the need and benefit of Research and Science in CEPOL raises reasonable expectations that the RSWG and the Member States will be able to convince the EU Commission that it is necessary, and that this will have an impact on the annual CEPOL budget for research activities in future. The lessons learnt in the RSWG should be the basis for progress in the future of CEPOL and in particular the conditions for research and science. CEPOL needs further pioneering work to be carried out by researchers, and CEPOL should be enabled to afford the use of more scientific knowledge and research findings.

Conclusion

The purpose of my contribution is to raise awareness, as I have done in previous years again and again with my firm conviction, about the need and benefit of science and research in CEPOL and the necessity of continuation and broadening of activities in this field.

I hope that I have been able to contribute to a movement for tolerance and acceptance of police science and research in my country and in Europe over the last decades. I also hope that I have played a modest part in bridging the gap between empirical (scientific) research and police training and practice in Europe.

It has been a great honour for me to be allowed to serve CEPOL in the field of police research since its inception and to promote and encourage the use of more knowledge and research findings in police training and policing. Working for CEPOL in this area and during this period gave me the opportunity to introduce initiatives for improving awareness of empirical research in police training institutions and for cooperation between such institutions throughout Europe. All my initiatives were based on my comparative research experience and knowledge on the one hand, and my long-term practical police experience as a senior officer on the other.

After leaving the RSWG, I will not just observe the further pioneering work of the RSWG from my armchair, but will continue to support its activities and to pass on my knowledge and experience to my younger colleagues.

References

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- 2 G. Hanak, V. Hofinger: Police Science and Research in the European Union. CEPOL 2005; published on CEPOL's homepage under the chapter "Knowledge & Research / Research and Science Publications"
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- 4 Published on CEPOL's homepage under the chapter "Knowledge & Research / European Police Research Institutions"
- 5 Available in the restricted area of CEPOL's homepage under the item "e-Library".
- 6 CEPOL Governing Board Decision 28/2008/GB "Establishing a Network of National Research and Science Correspondents" from 26 September 2008
- 7 Published on CEPOL's homepage under the chapter "Publications / Research & Science / European Police Science and Research Bulletin"
- 8 CEPOL Governing Board Decision XX/2010/GB "Approving the Continuation of the CEPOL European Police Science and Research Bulletin" from 10 December 2010
- 9 Project Group on a European Approach to Police Science (F. del Barrio Romero, T. Bjørgo, H.-G. Jaschke, C. Kwanten, R. I. Mawby, M. Pagon): Police Science Perspectives: Towards a European Approach, Extended Expert Report. Frankfurt/M. 2008
- 10 CEPOL, Contributing to European police cooperation through learning 2010, page 12
- 11 CEPOL Governing Board Decision 43/2010/GB "CEPOL Strategy and Balanced Scorecard" from 30 September 2010, Page 10, Goal 2.
- 12 Council Decision 2005/681/JHA of 20 September 2005.
- In 2011 the budget for research and science activities will be reduced remarkably as a consequence of the reduction of the overall CEPOL Budget 2011.
- 14 CEPOL Budget 2011 presented to the Governing Board on 23 February 2011.
- 15 H.-G. Jaschke: Police Science A European Approach. PGEAPS Summaries. Published on CEPOL's homepage under the chapter "Publications / Research & Science / PGEAPS Summaries".
- The European Security Research and Innovation Forum (ESRIF) published its final report with 324 pages in December 2009. Only WG 9 "Innovation Issues" recommends in its conclusions to build on existing experience and to establish links with existing networks for professional training like CEPOL on police training and education.
- 17 CEPOL Five-year external evaluation, final report: January 2011, page 54.

RESEARCH REPORT: DEVELOPMENT TRENDS OF ECONOMIC CRIMES IN FINLAND IN 2000–2009

By



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Keywords: police statistics, economic crime, financial crime

Abstract

The development trends of economic crimes in Finland in the twenty-first century are described in this article.¹ The area of economic crime involves a wide range of offences, a large number of authorities dealing with economic crimes and many types of serious crimes linked to economic criminality. The data for this article was obtained from the police statistic system (Polstat) as well as from annual reports and statistics from several authorities (tax and custom authorities, financial supervision, work protection authorities etc.). In addition, other national and international sources of information on economic crime issues (such as population surveys) were used. The research is related to the discussion on changes in the economic and security environment.

Aims of the Study

This article describes the development and content of economic crimes in Finland in the 2000s. It addresses economic crimes reported to the police and describes the activities of authorities linked to the police, who also deal with suspected economic crimes. Furthermore, the article features information on some forms of severe crimes related to economic crimes.

Results

Economic Crime Reported to the Police

The police define economic crimes according to the classification guidelines issued by the Finnish Ministry of the Interior.² These guidelines state that an economic crime usually

¹ This article is based on a report recently published by the Police College of Finland: Muttilainen, V. & Kankaanranta, T. (2011). Talousrikollisuuden kehityssuunnat ja toimintaympäristö vuosina 2000–2009. Tampere: Poliisiammattikorkeakoulun raportteja 91.

² SM-2006-02150/Ri-0. Talousrikollisuuteen liittyvä tutkimus. Sisäasiainministeriön kirje yliopistoille, korkeakouluille ja tutkimuslaitoksille 28.8.2006

³ See for example Sutherland, E.H.(1983). White Collar Crime - The Uncut Version. New Haven: Yale University Press.

involves an illegal act or negligence committed to gain significant economic advantage for the operations of a company or organisation.³ The guidelines also define the types of offences in the penal code that are considered to be economic crimes.

After decreasing for several years, the number of economic crime cases started to increase in 2009. Approximately 1,780 cases were reported to the police. Moreover, the number of open cases increased while the number of closed cases remained unchanged. This could lead to an overload in the processing of these matters in the next few years. In 2009 the average time of handling the closed economic crime cases was 296 days.⁴

The cost of the economic crimes reported to the police in 2009 reached a total of \in 109 million (about 1 per cent of the GNP). The financial damage calculated per case was \in 116,000. The costs increased at a rather steady rate in the first decade of the twenty-first century and represented only a minor part of the total damage caused to society by economic crimes. The value of property repossessed in economic crime cases reached a total of \in 37 million in 2009.

The economic crime cases investigated by the police in 2009 included approximately 3,380 crimes and 2,200 economic crimes. That translates into 2.2 and 1.4 crimes per case. The most common economic crimes in 2009 were accounting violations (740 cases), tax violations (550 cases) and debtors' fraudulent conveyances (480 cases).

Apart from the types of offence listed above, clearly the most common type of economic crime is fraud. In addition, there is a large number of other types of economic crime, such as business crimes, crimes against the public economy, employment-related offences, environmental crimes, data and communication crimes and copyright violations.

Activities of Authorities Linked to the Police

The prevention of economic crimes and processing of suspected cases of economic crimes involve a number of different authorities. For some of these authorities, the prevention of economic crimes is a major part of operations, whereas others are less closely linked to economic crimes.

Tax and custom authorities – the tax authority is the closest collaborating party for the police in the field of economic crime. In 2009 the tax authorities revealed more than 800 attempted cases of grey economy, and ordered € 69 million in taxes to be paid by those companies. The tax authority reported 590 crimes to the police in 2009.⁵ Finnish Customs investigated a total of 218 eco-

⁴ Economic crime statistics (2000–2009). Police's statistic system Polstat: cases reported to the police or to The Finnish Customs

⁵ Finnish Tax Administration (2004–2009). Annual reports

nomic crimes in 2009 such as intellectual property right violations related to illegal imports.⁶ Crimes within the remit of customs have increasingly shifted to the Internet.

Financial supervision – the Finnish Financial Supervisory Authority has an important role in investigating suspected stock market violations and in tracking cases of money laundering and "systemic risks" on the financial markets. The Finnish National Bureau of Investigation has one unit specialising in money laundering. The Bankruptcy Ombudsman runs public state-funded investigations into bankruptcy cases. In the field of debt recovery enforcement, special recovery has become an increasingly important means of tracking assets.

Other authorities – among other public authorities, labour protection and social insurance authorities oversee working conditions, occupational health and safety systems and the mandatory payment obligations in employment relationships. The Finnish Safety Technology Authority oversees technical safety and product safety. The National Product Control Agency for Welfare and Health focuses on risks in the living environment. There are also specialised authorities for the control of suspected crimes in competition, environmental issues and information security.

Cooperation – the police and other authorities have some forms of cooperation in the field of economic crime. The special unit of the tax authority coordinates the tasks of key authorities in the prevention of economic crimes and the grey economy. Cooperation between the police, customs and the border guard is particularly important in the prevention of serious, cross-border crime. The Finnish Prosecutor Service has prosecutors who specialise in economic crimes. In addition, various action plans for the prevention of economic crimes and the grey economy have provided important guidelines for collaboration between different public authorities since the 1990s.

Certain Serious Crime Phenomena

All aspects of economic crimes do not appear together when reviewing crimes classified as economic by the police or the activities of different authorities. We also have to pay attention to certain phenomena of serious crime related to economic crimes, such as organised crime, corruption and piracy.⁷

The Finnish National Bureau of Investigation regularly monitors activities classified as organised crime. At the end of 2009, there were 66 known criminal groups, with a total of some 950 members. Recently, there has been a reduction in these num-

⁶ Economic crime statistics (2000–2009). Police's statistic system Polstat: cases reported to the police or to The Finnish Customs.

⁷ See also The Stockholm Programme (2010). The Stockholm Programme – An Open and Secure Europe Serving and Protecting Citizens. Official Journal of the European Union, 2010/C 115/01, 4.5.2010.

bers.⁸ In 2009 approximately 540 crime cases were classified as organised crime. A little less than one-fifth of the cases in 2009 were related to economic crimes; this is clearly more than in the early years of the twenty-first century.⁹

In the field of corruption, bribery is the main form of crime. At the turn of the century, approximately 10 cases of bribery were reported to the police every year. In 2009 a total of 15 cases of bribery were reported and these cases involved 24 bribery crimes. Corruption can also encompass other types of offences, such as malfeasance and fraud. In an international comparison, corruption is estimated to be rare in Finland. However, recently there has been wide discussion on political corruption and the "old-boynetwork".

According to an international survey addressing computer software piracy (BSA-IDC), one in four computer programs used in Finland in 2009 was a pirate product.¹¹ On the international scale, piracy is a minor issue in Finland, and it has increased at a moderate rate. The Finnish Copyrights Barometer for 2009 indicates that every sixth Finnish household downloads unauthorised files from the Internet. There are more than 100,000 active Internet piracy practitioners in Finland.¹²

Discussion and Conclusions

The area of economic crimes featured in this article is a rather extensive one. It involves a wide range of types of offences, a large number of authorities dealing with economic crimes, as well as many forms of serious crimes that are linked to economic criminality. The plan is to update this information at regular intervals.

A point to note in the development of the most common types of economic crimes reported to police is the rapid growth of debtors' fraudulent conveyance cases in 2009. This is attributed to the global economic recession. An important longer-term trend is the increase in serious forms of offences in respect of most general types of offences. As authorities do not have enough time to address all violations, they have to concentrate on the serious cases.

⁸ National Bureau of Investigation (2009). Annual report 2009. http://www.poliisi.fi /krp. See also OCTA (2006–9) EU Organised Crime Threat Assessment. European Police Office, Europol.

⁹ Crime statistics (2000–2009). Police's statistic system Polstat: cases reported to the police..

¹⁰ Poliisin tietoon tullut rikollisuus (2000–2009). Poliisin tulostietojärjestelmän (Polstat) tietoja rikoksista eri vuosilta. See also Juslén J. & Muttilainen, V. (2009). Korruption ydinalueet 2000-luvun Suomessa. Havaintoja sääntelystä, piilorikollisuudesta ja poliisin tietoon tulleista rikoksista. Poliisiammattikorkeakoulun raportteja 84/2009.

¹¹ BSA (2009). Sixth Annual BSA-IDC Global Software 08 Piracy Study. Business Software Alliance and IDC Analyze the Future. May 2009.

¹² TTVK tiedote (25.5.2010). Nettipiratismin tappiot Suomessa 355 miljoonaa euroa vuodessa. See also http://www.antipiracy.fi.

RESEARCH REPORT: DIVERSITY WITHIN POLICE

FORCES – A FRAMEWORK FOR COMPREHEN-SIVE POLICY ANALYSIS¹



By

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Abstract

The police are a special public institution to study with regard to diversity. Although, in theory, every officer can become a police chief, empirical data on police forces in Europe shows that the level of diversity (in terms of gender, migrant background and sexual orientation) is not representative of society upon entry into the force, and diminishes as rank increases. Academic literature indicates internal factors as the cause, but also as the main obstacle to improving this situation. It is, therefore, important to study organisational diversity policies, but this field of study contains some serious omissions. First, comprehensive studies are scarce: most publications focus on only a few important policy areas (recruitment, promotion and retention). Second, comparative studies are rare, although these provide the necessary information to formulate new hypotheses. Therefore, in addition to diversity statistics for various police forces in Europe, this article presents a framework of policy areas, types and measures to study and compare diversity policies within police forces in a comprehensive way.

Key words: police, diversity, diversity policy, organisation.

Introduction

This article presents the police as a special organisation to study with respect to internal diversity. Although, in theory, any police officer can rise to the highest ranks, in practice the level of diversity within police forces in Europe is not representative of society to begin with and diminishes as ranks ascend. This is illustrated by empirical data on a variety of police forces in Europe, defining diversity as differences in gender, migrant background and sexual orientation. Unfortunately, not all desired data were available. Completing these data is beyond the scope of this article, although this observation is a plea for more attention for, and data-gathering on, these forms of diversity. Academic literature on the introduction of diversity within the police organisation always indicates internal factors as the root causes for this imbalance, as well as the most important obstacles for improving it. It is, therefore, important to study policies that aim to make the level of diversity within police forces more representative of society.

¹ This is an abridged version of a paper , which has been published earlier as an MMG Working Paper by the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (Göttingen, Germany, www.mmg.mpg.de). The full version with the complete references is also available from the CEPOL e-Library.

Academic literature on this specific topic presents many of these policies, which can be categorised in three organisational areas: recruitment, promotion and retention. However, no empirical study analyses policies in all of these areas at the same time, despite the fact that their effectiveness is likely to be influenced by the interaction between those areas. Furthermore, comparative research on the topic is scarce, although this would greatly enhance the possibility to formulate hypotheses, for example, on relations between contextual factors and types of policies, relations between policy areas, and so forth. Therefore, this article presents a framework that includes all three areas, summarising many of the policy measures mentioned in the literature in a comprehensive way. The article

strives to answer two main questions. First, what is the relationship between the level of diversity among police officers and the hierarchical level of police officers? Second, which policies regarding recruitment, retention and promotion can be formulated to make the level of diversity among police officers more representative of society?

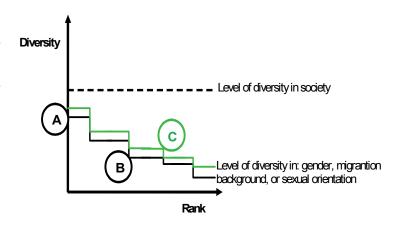


Figure 1. Relation between diversity and rank in the police organisation

1. Introducing diversity in the police as a public institution

In practice, at least in the European context, the level of diversity seems to be unrepresentative of the level of diversity in society upon entry into the organisation and this level diminishes as rank increases. This relationship is summarised in an abstract way in Figure 1 above, and is illustrated in three steps (A, B, C) with empirical data afterwards.

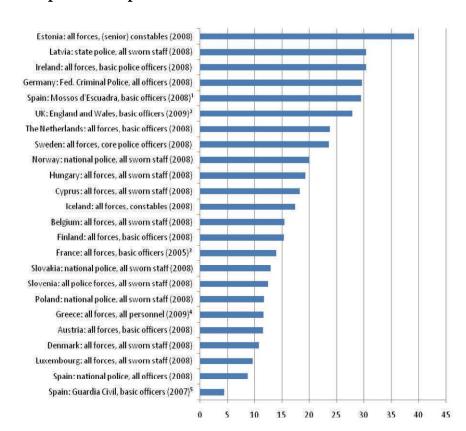


Figure 2. Percentage of female police officers in police forces in Europe

Observation A): Low level of diversity among police officers entering the organisation

There is considerably less data on police officers with a migrant background. In France, this information is officially unavailable, but the impression of politicians and academics is that the immigrant population is heavily underrepresented (Zauberman & Levy, 2003). The category only recently appeared in Catalonia (Spain), where in 2009 3.1 per cent of the new recruits in training for the Mossos d'Esquadra had at least one parent born abroad, of which 2.3 per cent had at least one parent born outside the European Union (ISPC, 2009). Despite the fact that the German government introduced a rule that allows non-nationals to become police officers when they are urgently needed, ethnic minorities made up around 1 per cent of the entire German police force in 1999 (Franzke, 1999). The United Kingdom and the Netherlands do offer recent statistics on ethnic minority representation within police forces. For example, in 2009, in police forces in England and Wales ethnic minority police officers at constable rank accounted for 4.8 per cent (Home Office, 2009); in the Netherlands in 2009, 6 per cent of the police officers had a migrant background (LECD, 2009). Figures on sexual orientation are almost non-existent, although gay police officer associations have been increasing in various countries since the 1990s.

Observation B) The level of diversity among police officers diminishes as rank increases

Police force—Relation diversity and rank

Greece—In 2003 3 per cent of the higher ranks (superintendent to lieutenant gen-

eral) were occupied by women, while the average percentage of women in the entire police organisation was 11.6 per cent.

Spain (Guardia Civil) — In 2007 0.2 per cent of the officials and 2.7 per cent of the superior officials (the highest rank) were women, versus around 4 per cent female police officers at the base.

Spain (Mossos d'Escuadra) — In 2008 none of the 9 commissioners was female, 10.3 per cent of the 'intendentes' (second highest rank) were female, and 7.6 per cent of the inspectors (third highest rank) were female, versus 29.5 per cent of female police officers in the police force in general.

Spain (Policia Nacional) — In 2008 8.7 per cent of the constables were female, and 11.4 per cent of the sub-inspectors were female, versus 1.6 per cent of the (chief) inspectors, and 1.9 per cent of the (chief) superintendents.

The Netherlands — In 2008 the percentage of women in the higher-ranking positions of all 26 Dutch police forces (from strategic leadership positions to direction) was 18.9 per cent, versus 22.1 per cent of female police officers in general. Also, the percentage of police officers with a migrant background was 4.1 per cent, versus 5.6 per cent at the base.

Austria — In 2008 11.5 per cent of the basic police officers were female, versus 3.1 per cent of the middle management and 2.1 per cent of the senior management positions.

Belgium—In 2008 15.5 per cent of the basic police officers were female, versus 7.5 per cent of the middle management and 6.8 per cent of the senior management positions.

Estonia — In 2008 although 39.2 per cent of the basic police officers were female, only 28.9 per cent of the management positions were occupied by women and only 4.5 per cent of the senior management positions.

Finland — In 2008 15.4 per cent of the basic police officers were female, versus 6.8 per cent of the senior police officers, 5.1 per cent of the commanding police officers and 2.8 per cent of the high command positions.

Iceland—In 2008 17.4 per cent of the constables were female, versus 0 per cent of the sergeants, 7.8 per cent of the (chief) inspectors and 2 per cent of the (chief) superintendents.

Sweden — In 2008 23.6 per cent of the core police officers were female, versus 13.9 per cent of the managerial officers.

UK (*England and Wales*) — In 2009 the proportion of women in the more senior ranks (chief inspector and above) was 13.0 per cent, versus 27.9 per cent of female police officers in general, while minority ethnic officers accounted for 2.8 per cent, versus 6.3 per cent of minority ethnic police officers at the base.

Denmark—In 2010 2 out of 12 police directors are female. None seem to have a migrant background, as their skin colour is white and their last names are Danish.

Policy area	Policy types	Policy measures
Recruitment	A. Publicity	 Target groups (Casey, 2000; Metz & Kulik, 2008), Media channels (Blay, 2008; EPPHR, 2001; Wilson & Grammich, 2009; Wrench, 2007), language (Bennet, 1995), Relation of content to diversity (EPPHR, 2001; Wrench, 2007), Job descriptions (Johnston, 2006)
	B. Preparation	 Preparatory programmes Target groups (Bennet, 1995; Bland <i>et al</i>, 1999; Blay, 2008; EPPHR, 2001; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Wrench, 2007)
	C. Selection process	 Selection criteria (Blay, 2008; Casey, 2002; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Wrench, 2007), Special criteria (Johnston, 2006), Value of special skills (Johnston, 2006), Tests (EPPHR, 2001), Positive discrimination (Blay, 2008; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007), Profile evaluators and professors (Martínez, 2007), Education and training of evaluators (Wrench, 2007)
	D. Profile new recruits (all levels)	 Monitoring/registration profiles students (EPPHR, 2001), Average profile (Jain & Agocs, 2008; Thériault, 2008), Recruitment targets (Blay, 2008; Johnston, 2006; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Phillips, 2005), Status recruitment targets (Van der Lippe <i>et al</i>, 2004)

Retention	A. Organisational structure	 Diversity in vision and strategy (Metz & Kulik, 2008), Diversity in organisational structure: diversity department or diversity manager (Casey, 2002; Dick & Cassell, 2002), Diversity budget (Van der Lippe et al, 2004; Wilson & Grammich, 2009), Complaint procedures/anti-discrimination institutions (Radford et al, 2006; Van der Lippe et al, 2004; Wrench, 2007)
	B. Internal communication	 Internal awareness campaigns (Dick & Cassell, 2002; Radford <i>et al</i>, 2006), Symbolic events (Metz & Kulik, 2008), Behavioural/language guides (Martínez, 2007)
	C. Working environment	 Neutral working environment (Coleman & Cheurprakobkit, 2009; EPPHR, 2001), Special physical arrangements (Jain & Agocs, 2008), Shift hours (Colvin, 2009; Martínez, 2007), Shift composition (Colvin, 2009; Martínez, 2007), Mentor/tutor/coach programme (Bennet, 1995), Flexibility in working experiences (Wilson & Grammich, 2009)
	D. Associations of minority police officers	Type of associations, organisational support, role (Holdaway, 1998; Phillips, 2005; Radford <i>et al</i> , 2006)
	E. Content of courses	 Themes in curriculum, all levels (Bennet, 1995; Coleman & Cheurprakobkit, 2009; EPPHR, 2001; Holdaway, 1998; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007; Metz & Kulik, 2008), Role (Ungerleider & McGregor, 2008), Objectives (Bennet, 1995), Role of civilians in design and implementation (EPPHR, 2001)
	F. Profile unnatural outflow	 Monitoring/registration profiles unnatural outflow (Blay, 2008; Casey, 2000), Average profile outflow (Bland <i>et al</i>, 1999), Exit interviews (Martínez, 2007), Motivational checks among those who stay (Wilson & Grammich, 2009)
Promotion	A. Publicity	 Media, channels (Bland et al, 1999; Metz & Kulik, 2008), Specific channels for specific groups (Martínez, 2007), Talent programmes (Bland et al, 1999)
	B. Evaluation job performance	• Evaluation criteria, profile evaluators (Johnston, 2006; Phillips, 2005; Thériault, 2008)
	C. Selection process	 Selection criteria (Blay, 2008; Casey, 2002; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Wrench, 2007), Special criteria (Johnston, 2006), Value of special skills (Johnston, 2006), Tests (EPPHR, 2001), Positive discrimination (Blay, 2008; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007), Profile evaluators and professors (Martínez, 2007), Education and training of evaluators (Wrench, 2007) Compatibility of working hours and other obligations (Van der Lippe et al, 2004; Martínez, 2007),
	D. Practical access to courses/ positions	Compatibility of new responsibilities and other obligations (Van der Lippe et al, 2004)
	E. Profile per level	 Monitoring/registration profiles per level (EPPHR, 2001), Average profile (Blay, 2008; Dick & Cassell, 2002; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007), Targets for specific groups (Blay, 2008), Status of targets (Van der Lippe et al, 2004)
		Status of targets (variate hippe et al, 2004)

Concluding remarks

Using the comprehensive view, by taking into account policies from all policy areas (recruitment, promotion and retention), will improve researchers' understanding of the internal dynamics of the police force in relation to diversity: they will then be better able to take all relevant variables into account when explaining or evaluating the effectiveness of certain policies. Using the comprehensive view will also assist practitioners to determine which successful policies can be incorporated into their organisational practices straight away, and which will require a more profound change in the organisation.

This article provides a framework to facilitate the study and comparison of diversity policies within police forces in a structured way. In conclusion it invites others to use it. After all, "reflecting upon institutional actions in specific contexts could deepen our understanding of the mechanics behind conceptual issues in a way that abstract discussion does not" (Weick, 1979: 164).

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ESSAY: EUROPEAN POLICE COOPERATION IN THE FUTURE –

REFLECTIONS FROM THE PRESENT



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Introduction

One of the topics of the 2010 edition of the European Police College course TOPSPOC was on European police leadership in the future. How senior police officers in the EU will deal with future certainties or uncertainties which will affect the European Union were discussed at length by two participating groups. Two main conclusions were arrived at:

(a) that Europe is facing and will continue to face growing common transnational risks or threats; and (b) no one is one hundred per cent sure on how European police cooperation can or will develop in order to respond to such risks or threats.

This article draws conclusions from the course and addresses the main risks or threats that will have to be considered and managed by senior police officers, as well as some of the allegedly main obstacles facing European police cooperation.

The first obstacle is related to judicial issues, the second to judicial-operational issues, and the third is related to the (apparent) irrelevance of international police cooperation results to a successful national police career. These three obstacles are briefly discussed and their effects on European police cooperation are considered.

Transnational Risks and Threats

Regardless of the on going financial and economic crisis, economic and social asymmetries between European Union Member States and **external** States will certainly remain for the next twenty years. Such asymmetries are so profound that most eastern European, Asian, African and Latin-American States will need, in an optimistic scenario, several decades to reach EU development levels. Transnational organised criminal groups will certainly keep profiting from such asymmetries, namely through the exploitation of all sorts of trafficking – from human beings, industrial goods and waste, arms, drugs, to rare raw materials.

The inevitable fossil energy shortage will curtail the **physical** flow of persons, goods and capital but not to the extent to significantly affect illegal trafficking. The subsequent growth of **virtual** capital and information flows will confirm cyberspace as a major organised crime environment.

Global inequities will also remain for many years, continuously feeding all kinds of extremism and terrorist activities aimed at the healthy and secular EU Member States. The convergence between transnational organised criminal groups, living on different types of trafficking, and terrorist groups is expected to grow, simply because the latter will try to finance themselves through the same illegal activities and within the same communities that support, or are **forced** to support, organised crime.

Failed States outside the European Union, facing political, economic and financial crises, will grow not only in number but also as sanctuaries for transnational organised criminal and terrorist groups. Growth in arms manufacturing, counterfeit goods and drugs will compete with money laundering, cyberspace illegal activities, from pornography to gambling, and cyber terrorism. Policing such States, either from the outside or from the inside, is expected to become a highly challenging task for EU Member States.

Finally, transnational risks – from natural disasters, industrial accidents, and pan epidemics, to the shortage of essential goods, energy and raw materials – will also increasingly affect European home security due to the emergence of more frequent civil unrest inside and outside European Union borders.

What is not so certain is how European police cooperation will develop in order to respond to such transnational risks and criminal and terrorist threats. It is generally accepted that national senior police officers are and will always be key players when it comes to European police cooperation. What is not so clear is if they are prepared, or motivated, to share policing or crime prevention and investigation on a transnational basis.

European Police Cooperation – the Judicial *Obstacle* Perspective

The first, and most obvious, answer is that most European senior police officers are prepared and motivated to effectively engage in the prevention and investigation of cross-border crimes or in international policing, but are unable to do so in optimal conditions because of different and/or conflicting national legislations. National legislations are frequently reported as one major obstacle to police cooperation because they affect, for example: pursuits, evidence seizure, controlled deliveries, extraditions or assets confiscation or recovery.

There are, however, several legally binding

instruments supporting, at least theoretically, international and European police cooperation. They not only provide harmonised legal definitions and sanctions for organised crime-related offences, but also legal proceedings. These cover, for example: jurisdiction, confiscation and seizure, controlled deliveries, witness protection, surveillance, undercover operations, extradition, mutual legal assistance, transference of criminal proceedings or freezing illegally obtained assets. More generally, they also include proceedings related to the collection, exchange and analysis of information, and to mutual technical assistance.

The first attempts to harmonise national legislation, prevention and investigation methods were related mostly to drug trafficking. International conventions, agreements or protocols go back to the beginning of the twentieth century. After the Second World War, the United Nations started playing a significant role through the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961 as amended by the 1972 Protocol; the Convention on Psychotropic Substances of 1971 and the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances of 1988, which is still in force.1

As for Europe, not only was the UN Convention approved by the European Economic Community in 1990, but also in 1999 the European Council adopted the EU General Strategy against drugs for 2000–2004, which was approved in 2000. In 2004 a new EU strategy on drugs (2005–2012) was ratified and the Horizontal Drugs Group (HDG) was reinforced to coordinate the EU actions with international organisations and other parties.

Terrorism was also an early subject of international conventions. Since the 1937 League of Nations Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism, thirteen more conventions or protocols have been signed under the auspices of the United Nations.² Besides approving and supporting UN Conventions and Protocols, in 2002 the Council of the European Union

adopted a framework decision providing for, among other issues, a common definition of terrorist offences. The European Union also developed, in 2005, an EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy and is currently preparing a directive on Attacks against Information Systems³.

Transnational organised crime activities were given international special attention in 2000, when the United Nations Convenagainst Transnational Organized Crime was adopted. This Convention, together with one of its two Protocols – the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children became effective in 2003. The Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air entered into force in 2004. A third Protocol - the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime entered into force in 20054.

The European Community attended this Convention and signed its three protocols. Before this, and at least since 1997, a strategy for combating organised crime had already been defined at EU level through the following:

- The 1997 and 1998 action plans to combat organised crime;
- The conclusions of the special European Council held in Tampere on 15 and 16 October 1999, concerning the creation of a freedom area, security and justice in the EU; and

The EU strategy of 27 March 2000, for the beginning of the new millennium, on the prevention and control of organised crime.

In 2002 the EU Council adopted a framework decision on trafficking in human beings to complement the UN Protocol. This is expected to be replaced soon by a directive on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, on Sexual Abuse, Sexual Exploitation of Children and Child Pornography.⁵ In 2005 the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings was approved and entered into force in 2008⁶. The European Union is currently preparing a directive on Criminal Measures Aimed at Ensuring the Enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights.

It must be noted, however, that in 2008 five EU Member States had still not ratified the United Nation's International Convention against Transnational Organized Crime; five Member States had not ratified its supplementary Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children; ten Member States had not ratified the UN Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography; and seventeen Member States had not ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (seven as of 15-12-2010).⁷

Still on the subject of transnational organised crime, it must be mentioned that the European Union has already issued three directives on Anti-Money Laundering, the last one being in 2005.8 It must also be noted that the European Council has already enhanced five EU legal instruments concerning asset confiscation or recovery. The problem, according implementation reports issued by the European Commission, is that not all provisions have been fully implemented and that most EU Member States are slow in putting in place measures to allow more widespread confiscation of the proceeds of crime.9 Extradition of criminals within EU Member States was also enhanced in 2002 by the European Arrest Warrant.

The old and persistent issue of mistrust among States and law enforcement agencies was, at least partially, addressed by the United States Convention against Corruption, which began to take effect in 2005 and was ratified by the European Union in 2008. This Convention concludes a long process that included the UN Declaration against Corruption and Bribery in Interna-

tional Commercial Relations (1996) and the UN International Code for Public Officials (1996), and addresses, measures to strengthen integrity and prevent corruption opportunities amongst members of the judiciary. However, by 2010 some EU Member States had not yet ratified this Convention. 11

From 2006 onwards, the EU Data Retention Directive requires providers of public electronic communications services and networks in Member States to retain communications traffic data for a minimum of six months and a maximum of two years. However, not all Member States have fully implemented the Directive. In 2010 an evaluation showed 'that the directive has not been implemented in a harmonized way and that significant discrepancies were found between the member states, especially regarding the retention periods which vary from six months to up to ten years, which largely exceeds the allowed maximum of 24 months'.12

It is obvious that international conventions or protocols, and EU directives or decisions, are not immediately and automatically included in the national legal frameworks and that they certainly do not enhance good police and judicial international cooperation practices. However, the existing judicial cooperation instruments provide, at least, an important platform on which to build such cooperation.

The extent to which existing legally binding international cooperation instruments are being used, and how quickly they are handled by national senior police officers is unknown. This is being evaluated and, until the results of such evaluation are made available, it is impossible to state whether European senior police officers are or are not **overestimating** the judicial obstacles in the field of European police cooperation.

A separate issue concerns police cooperation with non-EU States. According to the last EUROPOL Organised Crime Threat Assessment Report, most organised criminal groups operating within the EU have

roots, logistic support and sometimes a judicial sanctuary in non-EU States. According to senior police officers, in spite of the EU strategic partnerships with several States and the European Neighbourhood Policy, judicial cooperation with some of the States involved still has a long way to go. The same seems to apply to candidate or potential candidate States. Again, until an evaluation is completed no one can state that European senior police officers are **overestimating**, or not, judicial obstacles when police cooperation with non-EU States is at stake.

European Police Cooperation – the Judicial-Operational *Obstacle* Perspective

Different and/or conflicting national legislations are frequently reported as a major obstacle to international cooperation because they also affect the gathering, storage and exchange of information, the sharing of police intelligence and joint investigations or operations.

Exchange of police information and intelligence in almost real time has always been present in modern Europe – from the nineteenth and early twentieth century anarchists, to the sixties and seventies terrorist movements, to the eighties and nineties drug trafficking networks and hooligans. However, and in spite of the important contributions of INTERPOL, such exchanges involved only three or four States, and depended heavily on face-to-face or interpersonal communications. Joint investigations or operations also existed from the beginning of modern Europe, but again involved only a few 'interested' States.

A different scenario has existed since the end of the twentieth century. For the last two decades, the European Union has been active in trying to facilitate routine information and intelligence exchange, as well as the coordination of action in investigations and prosecutions covering the territory of more than one Member State. As a result, the following European instruments have been introduced.

- The first, designed to enhance faster and systematic operational cooperation among European national law enforcement agencies, was initiated in the nineties when, with the gradual abolition of internal physical borders, a major challenge to police cooperation within Europe emerged. The instrument designed to deal with such challenge was introduced in 1995, when the Schengen Information System (SIS) became operational. The SIS now holds information on persons who may have been involved in serious crimes or who may not be allowed to enter or stay in the EU, as well as missing persons, in particular children or other vulnerable individuals. Details of selected property are also recorded in the SIS, such as banknotes, cars, vans, firearms and identity documents that may have been stolen, misappropriated or lost. A more technologically advanced system (SIS II) is currently under development.¹⁴
- In 2000 the European Police Office (EUROPOL) became operational. Its purpose is to assist Member States to improve cooperation in the prevention and fight against the most serious forms of international crime. EUROPOL now offers national law enforcement services to facilitate the exchange of information, provide criminal analysis and help, and coordination of cross-border operations. However, EUROPOL does not have any autonomous (European -wide) investigative or coercive powers.¹⁵
- In 2002 the Council of the European Union set up EUROJUST to facilitate coordination for action in investigations and prosecutions. All the 27 Member States now have appointed national members to the EUROJUST College. In addition, EUROJUST maintains a network of contact points worldwide. Since 2005 EUROJUST has been active in working towards signing cooperation agreements allowing the exchange of judicial information and personal data.¹⁶
- FRONTEX was established in 2005 to enhance external border security by coordinating the operational cooperation of EU Member States, Schengen Associated States and other partners. FRONTEX now assists Member States in risk-analysis, proposing joint operations in the Union external land, sea and air borders, training, research and development and in joint operations to return foreigners. Of utmost importance was the creation of a pooled resource in the form of Rapid Border Intervention Teams (RABITs). These teams are kept in full readiness in case there is ever an unforeseen crisis situation at the external EU border.¹⁷
- In 2006 a rapid alert system (the ARGUS) was created to deal with crises with cross-border effects.¹⁸
- In 2006, under what is known as the "Swedish initiative", Member States are obliged, from 2009, to answer a request for information from another Member State within a limited time period. How effective the implementation of this initiative has been will not be known until it is evaluated by the European Commission at the beginning of 2011.¹⁹
- The Prum Treaty was introduced in 2008. However, in spite of this Treaty, the automated exchange of DNA, fingerprints and vehicle registration data has still not been implemented in all EU member states. IT systems interoperability is one major problem, but the European Commission is financing projects designed to facilitate the flow of information between Member States through its Programme for the Prevention of and Fight against Crime (ISEC). Also under the Prum Treaty, the supply and exchange of information, as well as the establishment of joint patrols, for the prevention of criminal offences at large sporting events and of terrorist offences was expected to be implemented by August 2009. Information on the effective implementation of the Prum Treaty is, unfortunately, still not available.²⁰
- In 2008 also, a European Border Surveillance System (EUROSUR) was proposed. Its main purpose being the prevention of unauthorised crossings at the EU's external borders, reducing the number of illegal immigrants losing their lives at sea and increasing the internal security of the EU as a whole by helping to prevent cross-border crime. The implementation of this system is under evaluation.²¹

- The ninth important instrument was introduced in 2009, when the Standing Committee on Operational Cooperation on Internal Security (COSI) was set up to facilitate and ensure effective operational cooperation and coordination in EU internal security; to evaluate the general direction and efficiency of operational cooperation; and to assist the Council in reacting to a terrorist attack or a natural or man-made disaster. COSI is not, however, involved in conducting operations or preparing legislative acts. Following the Stockholm Programme (2009), COSI's priority will be to develop, monitor and implement the Internal Security Strategy, covering the security aspects of an integrated border management and, where appropriate, judicial cooperation in criminal matters relevant to operational cooperation in the field of internal security.²²
- Finally, the European Commission is currently working on setting up a Visa Information System (VIS) that will allow the Schengen Member States to exchange data on short-stay and transit visas,²³ and on the feasibility, practical implications and impact of an Electronic System of Travel Authorization.²⁴

It is obvious that the existing cooperation instruments do not immediately and automatically become fully operational in all Member States. Some of them are, in fact, too recent and still experimental but they provide, or will provide in the near future, an important operational basis from which more frequent good practice cooperation from the European police is expected to emerge. However, as more and more EU Member States fully and successfully adopt these instruments into their national policing and crime prevention and investigation frameworks and proceedings, an evaluation will be required on the extent to which they are being used by national senior police officers while leading operational tasks. Until such an evaluation is carried out, it is impossible to state whether European senior police officers are overestimating, or not, obstacles in the field of European police cooperation.

European Police Cooperation – the Police Career Obstacle Perspective

International policing is considered to be highly important by almost every senior police officer, but unfortunately of little relevance for a successful national police career. Senior police officers state that few achieve a national police higher rank by being successful only in a European or international environment. If this is true, it may be an important obstacle to European police cooperation.

Law enforcement agencies all over Europe rely heavily on good and trustworthy national senior police officers. They are good and trustworthy because they know (almost) everything about the national police profession. They know how to deal with: national criminals and their modi operandi; national legal and administrative rules; national prosecutors and judges; and, most importantly, national bureaucrats and politicians.

In most cases, successful senior police officers are those who wisely wait for orders from their national superiors, never risking going against such orders and acting when facing political or judicial uncertainty. This happens simply because they prefer to use off-the-shelf solutions – and these solutions are only available when clear national superior orders are also available. Off-the-shelf solutions are preferred because they guarantee career success. Doing what is known to have worked in the past means that, nationally, no one will be able to honestly question a practical decision.

Good and trustworthy national senior police officers who reach the top also know (almost) everything there is to know about being a national police officer, and how to perform as a good national police chief. They know exactly how to deal with national pressures or criticisms – from magistrates, politically appointed police leaders, government bureaucrats, politicians, citizens, or from the communities or the media. They know

the rules of the national game and can play accordingly – benefiting not only the national interest but also their own career.

Mastering the national concepts of police performance and integrity is an important guarantee for success. Good and trustworthy national senior police officers who reach the top know that favourable national appraisal comes from following certain rules. Knowing – which is different from believing – which legal, organisational, moral or ethical rules have to be respected and enforced means knowing the rules of the national game and how to play accordingly.

Finally, good and trustworthy national senior police officers know how to use international cooperation for their nation's best interests – or, to put it another way, how to use international cooperation to show national results and, therefore, to be nationally appraised in a favourable light and rewarded.

European police cooperation appears to stand for the opposite. Few national senior police officers know how to deal effectively with issues posed by transnational criminals and their respective modi operandi, several national legal and administrative rules, several national prosecutors and judges, several national bureaucrats and politicians, and by several national interests. Off-the-shelf solutions to overcome such complex issues are simply not available and, as a result, the dismantling of the national activities (or some of them) of a transnational criminal group generally appears to be the best and only solution even if it results in a temporary geographical reallocation of the group activities and the creation of extra problems to another European State.

In addition, few national senior police officers know how to deal effectively with transnational risks or crises. The only off-the-shelf solution seems to be to propose closing all external borders – even if this results in postponing the solution of the problem. All that matters is that they do

the nationally accepted and favourably appraised right thing.

It must also be acknowledged that, when facing transnational threats or crises, senior police officers receive unclear orders from national superiors. This seems to be a common situation when working in a transnational crime scenario. Sometimes enough national resources are allocated, resulting in short-term national results, regardless of an eventual overall success in dismantling an international criminal group. Sometimes contributing to the sole success of another national police service is required even though not enough national resources are allocated for the purpose. At other times the dismantling of an international criminal group is required, regardless of who gets the prize, although some national results are still expected. In such scenarios senior police officers rarely have off-the-shelf solutions because of unclear orders from superiors or unexpected problems. Once again, the dismantling of (some) of the national activities of a transnational criminal group appears to be the best and only solution.

Building a successful national police career through strict obedience to superior national interests, by avoiding too many professional risks when facing unclear orders from superiors, and through the systematic use of egoistic national off-the-shelf solutions, cannot and should not be criticised as one of the obstacles to a better European police cooperation.

What should be questioned and discussed is the apparent irrelevance of a good international performance for a national police career. How many national police careers in Europe incorporate, as a strong and effective measure of performance and appraisal, non-national results obtained in a transnational crime investigation or in an international crisis management situation? In truth, nobody knows for sure. Research on this issue could highlight why senior police officers (almost) always put national interests first.

Certainly it cannot be just because senior police officers do not have a clear vision of the need to tackle the international causes, processes and effects of transnational crime, of terrorism or of other transnational risks. Senior police officers in Europe are not that limited. One reason may be that building a successful national career without making too much use of international conventions, agreements, databases or other intelligence tools, or joint investigation teams, is still possible and preferable to most European senior police officers. Assisting other's investigations, feeding international databases or getting involved in prospective analyses, like the ones developed by EUROPOL, or participating in policing missions in failed or almost failed States may also be something that is secondary for most national police careers.

If this is true, then European police cooperation will remain limited to what best serves national interests and, in some cases, the temporary interests of three or four States – but certainly not the interests of the 27 Member States.

A (provisional) Conclusion

Building a successful career is the legitimate aspiration of any senior police officer. If it is possible or even preferable to build such a career without taking into consideration the problems of other European States, then European police cooperation will, sooner or later, have to address and discuss this issue. Until such issues can be better researched and discussed, seminars, symposiums or courses to promote European police cooperation to senior police officers may well remain 'nice' but quite ineffective, and, despite all the EU efforts and important contributions that have been highlighted, European police cooperation will remain limited to what is best for national interests – even when a national interest is the worst outcome for other States or to the European Union as a

Senior police officers are and will remain key players, but until tackling transnational risks or threats becomes essential for winning national favourable appraisal and recognition, it is difficult to blame them for not doing this more often. Not understanding that senior police officers are, legitimately, concerned with their own careers means forgetting what appears to be a key variable after the reflection made possible in the last TOPSPOC Course.

When and how national States, or the European Union, will address this variable – by accepting a European police career or by incorporating into national police careers results obtained nationally and abroad – is something that requires urgent research and discussion.

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CONFERENCE REPORT:

NEWS FROM THE NORDIC POLICE RESEARCH SEMINAR 17.-19.11.2010



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VESA HUOTARI & MATTI VUORENSYRJÄ, THE POLICE COLLEGE OF FINLAND, TAMPERE, FINLAND

The third Nordic Police Research Seminar in Umeå, Sweden, brought together about eighty police researchers, mainly from the Nordic countries. The key objectives were the same as in the first two seminars which were held in Växjö, Sweden (2007; see http://lnu.se/polopoly_fs/1.22998!20085.pdf), and in Oslo, Norway (2009): to meet colleagues, both old and new, to discuss police research and practice, and, exchanging experiences, to learn from the work of others.

The key note speakers were Dilip Das, Gunno Gunnmo, Rick Sarre, Katarina Weinehall, Juha Kääriäinen and Gregory Anderson. Their insightful analyses of police leaders as thinkers, the changing role of the police over time, the future of policing and of the private providers of security, relations in-between victims, other citizens and police officers, trust on the police, and of the critical incident stress of police officers, respectively, caught the attention of the participants and provided for further analyses and debates.

There were three panel discussions on the following themes: police students, management information support, and trust on the police. In parallel sessions researchers and research groups introduced their current research projects and talked about their results. A selection of the conference papers are planned to be published in a special issue of the international journal *Police Practice and Research*, while a fair part of the other papers will be made available by publishing the seminar conference proceedings later on in 2011.

It was the first time for the police researchers from the Police College of Finland to participate in the seminar. The national systems and societal contexts of policing are very similar across the Nordic countries. This is why the findings from the other Nordic countries were interesting, and highly relevant, from the point of view of the Finnish participants. Closer future collaboration among the Nordic police researchers is bound to contribute significantly to the accumulation of knowledge and understanding within the field. This, for its part, is significant in view of the discussion of the Nordic model of policing and its possible role as an exemplar in the integrating Europe.

The Police College of Finland was given the opportunity to organise the next Nordic Police Research Seminar in 2012. We accepted the challenge and, quite obviously, our goal cannot be any other than that of beating our Nordic neighbours in organising the best event so far.

Upcoming Conferences, Meetings, Symposia, and Seminars

2011 Annual CEPOL European Police Research & Science Conference

"CYBERSECURITY, CYBERCRIME AND SOCIAL NETWORKS"

Date: 28-30 June 2011

Place: Madrid, Spain (open for external participants)

The 20th Annual Meeting of the International Police Executive Symposium

"Policing Violence, Crime, Disorder, & Discontent: International Perspectives"

Date: June 26-30, 2011 Place: Buenos Aires, Argentina

European Society of Criminology (ESC) 11th Annual Conference "Rethinking Crime and Punishment in Europe"

Dates: 21-24, September 2011
Place: Vilnius, Lithuania

The European Police Science and Research Bulletin will publizise announcements of events that are relevant for the development and advance of police research and police science from a European perspective. Please send all information in time to research.bulletin@cepol.europa.eu.

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