



DEMOCRATIC POLICING

Exchange

In Russia, How Citizen Surveys Can Shape Policing *Francis James*

The effective use of surveys of citizens' views on crime, law enforcement, and their specific encounters with the police was the topic of the first in an ongoing series of transnational meetings sponsored by the Ford Foundation as part of its worldwide work on democratic police reform. Over three days in June 2001, participants from Brazil, Chile, China, India, Kenya, Nigeria, Poland, Russia, and the United States gathered in St. Petersburg, Russia, to discuss when and how citizen surveys can be used to promote police reform and accountability. As part of the investigation, the group also visited local police stations and met with rank-and-file police officers. Citizens Watch, a leading St. Petersburg-based human rights organization, co-hosted the meeting with the Vera Institute of Justice.

The meeting was especially informative because two people from each country—a police official and someone representing independent police oversight interests—were

invited to attend and make presentations from their diverse perspectives. In some cases, it was the first occasion that a scholar or nongovernmental organization leader and a senior police official from the same country had the opportunity to exchange views in a constructive and open setting.

In preparing for the meeting, Boris Pustintsev, chair of Citizens Watch, and Michail Rodionov, professor of the State Law Chair at the St. Petersburg University of the Russian Ministry of Interior traveled to New York in April 2001. Both men spent time with Vera staff and the New York Police Department to study how citizen surveys can be used and evaluated. They used this information to shape the discussion in St. Petersburg about how this important policing tool might be applied in different cultural and national contexts.

Citizen surveys were introduced in the United States in the late 1960s as a response to inner-city decay and deteriorating relations between police and the public. They gained new life in the latter part of the 1990s after well-publicized incidents of police misconduct galvanized certain communities to demand fair treatment by the police. Surveys of public attitudes toward the police are now being used to promote the process of police reform. United States police officials also use surveys to obtain continuous feedback that influences both the strategic advice given to stakeholders and mid-course changes in policing programs.

Internationally, in countries such

as Brazil and Nigeria, the movement toward democratization has led to improvements in policing practices. But as reformers continue to advance their agendas, they need to be able to monitor whether police agencies are protecting citizens and can be held accountable by them. One powerful way to assess progress in these areas is to conduct surveys that gauge citizens' experiences with and opinions of the police. For example, in 1999 members of the Russian Academy of Social Sciences, in partnership with Vera and the Ford Foundation, surveyed a sample of 2,400 residents in St. Petersburg. The results of the survey were discussed with local police administrators, researchers, and human rights activists. A year later, the survey was expanded to cover all districts in St. Petersburg, and it has been repeated each year since then.

The meeting in St. Petersburg showed that surveys can effectively assess the current state of relations between the police and the public. Participants learned, for example, that surveys can provide a snapshot of how police interact with citizens, measure citizen satisfaction, and assess whether police are doing their jobs well. It also showed participants how surveys can pinpoint police districts that are performing better or worse than others. Having highlighted many innovative ideas, the meeting in St. Petersburg was a promising step in expanding the international dialogue on democratic policing.

FRANCIS JAMES is the director of the International Programs Department.

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CRISP Director Reviews Global Meeting in Brazil on Crime Mapping

The Center for Crime and Public Safety Studies (*Centro De Estudos De Criminalidade E Segurança Pública*, or CRISP) is a research institute at the Federal University of Minas Gerais in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. It focuses on the development, implementation, and evaluation of public policies around criminal justice and is a pioneer in training police in crime mapping and data analysis to prevent crime. Created in 1999 with funding from the Ford Foundation, CRISP has a full-time staff of about thirty researchers, including sociologists, statisticians, and economists. In February 2002, the Vera Institute of Justice and CRISP co-hosted an international meeting in Belo Horizonte on crime mapping. Chitra Bhanu, senior program associate with Vera's International Programs Department, spoke with CRISP Director Claudio Beato about the meeting.

Chitra: The meeting in Belo Horizonte was the second in a series of transnational meetings on specific tools of democratic policing. You are one of the few people who also participated in the other two meetings, in St. Petersburg and Los Angeles. What surprised you most about the meetings in general and the meeting in Belo Horizonte in particular?

Claudio: At all three meetings I was struck by how similar the problems are in police organizations despite the significant cultural differences among countries. One problem they have in common pertains to the relationship between the police and the community. The relationship is usually tense, with little cooperation or communication between them. The problem, of course, differs from country to country. In African countries, it might be an issue of multiple ethnic and tribal groups, while in other

countries it may have to do with a post conflict situation. Another common problem is how to promote police accountability in the context of democratization. Similar problems do not of course mean a single solution.

At the meeting in Belo Horizonte, I was surprised by the level of interest in the technical aspects of crime mapping. It can be a complicated subject, but participants were interested in even the most detailed presentations by seasoned practitioners. For example, they were interested in statistically sophisticated methods for identifying clusters of crime (kernel density methods). Their keen interest in the subject suggests that the police officials and other participants recognized the potential that crime mapping has for improving public safety in their own countries.

Chitra: What would you say were some of the other highlights of the meeting on crime mapping?

The participants' keen interest in crime mapping suggests that they recognized the potential it has for improving public safety in their own countries.

Claudio: I was especially pleased to note that police officials and NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] from the same country, who prior to the meeting had limited contact with each other, forged new partnerships as a result of their joint participation at the meeting. This was true, for example, of the senior police official and NGO director

from Chile. They communicated and exchanged ideas in a way that they probably would not have done on their own in their home country.

The meeting clearly demonstrated the importance of academic institutions to the police. For historical and political reasons, each may be suspicious of the other. But a partnership could go a long way in helping professionalize the police. Universities may have expertise that is potentially useful to the police. In the case of my university, we have the methodology and software to analyze spatial crime data.

Chitra: Quite a few Brazilian policemen attended. What did they learn?

Claudio: They learned that having crime mapping technology is not the same as using it. Using the technology effectively in police activities requires sharing the information with local communities. They saw that other countries, as well as certain states in Brazil, sometimes have maps that are so "confidential" they serve no purpose. The point is that information should be shared with the public; this is what makes the technology useful, and the police accountable.

Chitra: At the meeting, and immediately after, participants were enthusiastic about learning more about policing in each other's country. Are you still in touch with other participants? Do you know if the discussion on crime mapping has continued among them?

Claudio: Yes, the discussion has continued. Since the meeting, Vera, the Chilean NGO [Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo], and my institute have discussed ways of working together in Latin America on crime mapping and other

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Police and Overseers Gather in Los Angeles

Robin Campbell and Jennifer Trone

The array of overseers that police in democratic societies must answer to—from their own supervisors to the courts to the media—can obscure the fact that, ultimately, they are accountable to the public they serve. The different ways that citizens can monitor and shape law enforcement practices was the subject of an international meeting in Los Angeles in May 2002.

The meeting, one in a series of gatherings intended to foster a global community of police reformers, was organized by the Vera Institute of Justice, the Los Angeles-based Police Assessment Resource Center (PARC), and the Ford Foundation. Police officials from Brazil, the Czech Republic, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Nigeria, Peru, Russia, South Africa, and the United States, along with those who oversee their work from elsewhere in government or from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), gathered to discuss how civilian oversight operates in their own countries and the challenges they face, and to learn from the experiences of their peers working in different political, legal, and cultural contexts.

As expected, the discussion illustrated the diversity of perspectives on civilian oversight and actual practices. Georgii Satarov, head of the Moscow-based INDEM Foundation, began his presentation by noting that many Russian officials still resist the idea of formal oversight. “While we are overseeing the police, we can’t call it ‘oversight,’ because our bureaucrats would become enraged,” Satarov said and then described a grassroots, effective response to *narkokorruptsiya* (narco-corruption) by police officers. Anger and frustration led a group of citizens in Russia’s third largest city to create a special foundation, A City Without Drugs, buy television cameras, and then drive through the streets film-

ing police officers in the process of selling drugs. The films eventually aired on national television, sparking demands for parliamentary hearings and focusing attention on the problem of narco-corruption in other cities. The homegrown campaign subsequently evolved into a formal mechanism that engages citizens across the country in holding officers accountable for their behavior. Hotlines in four regions, and several more in the works, give

The discussion illustrated the diversity of perspectives on civilian oversight and actual practices.

people a safe way to report officers who are selling drugs.

In contrast, South Africa’s Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) provides a more formal kind of oversight deeply embedded in government. The Interim Constitution that paved the way for South Africa’s transition to democracy required creating an independent mechanism under civilian control. While the ICD must investigate any deaths related to police action and can investigate other allegations of misconduct, limited resources force it to refer many less serious complaints back to the police for investigation. Karen McKenzie, who heads the ICD, ended her presentation by expressing the hope that within three years her young agency will be able to investigate every complaint, a duty she feels the ICD must fulfill at this point in South Africa’s history.

After years of military-style policing under the authoritarian government of President Alberto

Fujimori, Peru’s new government not only established an ombudsman to take citizens’ complaints about the police but also a separate ombudsman to handle officers’ grievances. The national government is also encouraging the development of local civilian security committees, groups that work closely with the police to diagnose and resolve problems. For General Enrique Yépez Dávalos of the national police and Hans Landolt who monitors the police from outside government, the goal is the same: to bridge the divide that still separates police from the public.

Learning about civilian oversight in different countries was valuable for David Bruce, senior researcher at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa, precisely because of the different ways that police and those who oversee them interact and the circumstances that influence those relationships. Equally important to him and others present, the discussions in Los Angeles revealed many shared dilemmas and challenges.

In each of these national contexts, for example, limited resources for civilian oversight require setting clear priorities. Should the focus be on responding to individual complaints or on monitoring trends in certain police behaviors, such as the use of force? As monitor of the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department, PARC Director Merrick Bobb has chosen the latter path. Following a high number of shootings by officers, Bobb led an investigation, working closely with the sheriff’s department, that uncovered a pattern of relatively inexperienced officers functioning in difficult situations with inadequate supervision. His findings and subsequent investigations resulted in new standards for pursuing suspects and changes in how recruits are trained.

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Active Policing-Related Ford Grants

Brazil

Brazilian Association for Post-Graduate Study in Collective Health

Cecilia de Souza Minayo

For a study on the causes of work- and health-related problems seen to influence police violence in Rio de Janeiro. *E. Leeds*

Brazilian Society for Instruction, Candido Mendes University

Julita Lemgruber

Support for a study of civilian oversight mechanisms of the police in five Brazilian states. The study will propose recommendations for improvements in oversight mechanisms. *E. Leeds*

Center for Training in Human Resource Development of the State of Amapá

Support for the Third National Forum for Education in Public Safety to examine police training in University and NGO settings. *E. Leeds*

Federal Fluminense University

Roberto Kant de Lima

Support for a year-long graduate-level course in social science and public policy for police and criminal justice personnel. *E. Leeds*

Federal University of Ceara

Cesar Barreira

Support for a study to evaluate changes in public security policy in the northeastern state of Ceara. *E. Leeds*

Federal University of Minas Gerais

Claudio Beato and Renato Assuncao

Core support for the Center for Criminology and Public Security. *E. Leeds*

Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul

Jose Vicente Tavares dos Santos

For an evaluative study on recently implanted innovative police policies in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in partnership with the police of that state. *E. Leeds*

Foundation for the Support of Development of the Federal University of Pernambuco

Ana Tereza Lemos-Nelson

For research on the role of the public prosecutor's office in the oversight of police activities. *E. Leeds*

Institute of Economic, Social and Political Studies

Maria Tereza Sadek

Support for research on the civil police in seven states in Brazil. *E. Leeds*

Legal Assistance Office for Popular Organizations

Research, documentation on, and human rights training of police in northeast Brazil. *E. Leeds*

Pará Society for the Defense of Human Rights

Rosa Marga Rothe

To study police misconduct in the state of Pará. *E. Leeds*

United Nations Latin-American Institute-Brazil

Tulio Kahn

For evaluative research on community policing in the municipality of Sao Paulo. *E. Leeds*

University of São Paulo

Sergio Adorno and Nancy Cardia

To support a translation series of international literature on policing in democratic societies. *E. Leeds*

University of São Paulo

Sergio Adorno and Nancy Cardia

Action-research on conflict mediation and the local administration of justice in greater São Paulo. *E. Leeds*

China

Peking University School of Law

Chen Xingliang, Chen Ruihua, and

Zhang Shaoyan

Support for research on reforming reeducation through labor and other forms of punishment of minor crimes. *T. Liu*

South Central University of Economics and Law

Wu Handong

For a pilot program providing criminal procedure training for local police chiefs in Hubei province. *T. Liu*

Egypt

United Nations Development Program

Hamed Mobarek

For a human rights training program for the judiciary, police, and other public officials in Egypt. *F. Azzam*

India

Institute for Development and Communication

Pramod Kumar

Support for community policing projects and awareness-raising activities toward improved law enforcement in Punjab. *A. McCutcheon*

Institute of Social Sciences

Sankar Sen

Support for a seminar series and research on topics of law enforcement reform in India involving the police, scholars, and civil society organizations. *A. McCutcheon*

Samarthan

Vivek Pandit

Support for promoting advocacy skills and police reform within poor communities in the state of Maharashtra. *A. McCutcheon*

South Asia Research Society (SARS)

Jayanta Kumar Ray and Arun Mukherjee

Support for law enforcement reform through research and a community-policing project in West Bengal.

A. McCutcheon

United Nations Development Fund for Women

Chandni Joshi

Support services at police stations in Mumbai for women survivors of violence. *A. McCutcheon*

Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

G.P. Joshi

Support for law enforcement reform and prison reform in India. *A. McCutcheon*

Penal Reform and Justice Association

Rani Shankardass

Support for research and public education to protect the rights of women prisoners. *A. McCutcheon*

Indonesia

University of Gadjah Mada

To organize an international meeting, and for action, research, and training to sensitize lawmakers and the police to women's reproductive rights. *M. Budiharsana*

Yayasan Indonesian Police Watch

Adnan Panduprja

Support for police oversight, dialogues on democratic policing, and a study tour. *H. Antlov*

Kenya

Kenya Human Rights Commission

Support for a project on community policing, human rights monitoring, and advocacy in Kenya. *J. Gitari*

Nairobi Central Business District Association

Philip Kisia

Support for a community policing program and related activities to improve public safety. *J. Gitari*

Nigeria

Center for Law Enforcement Education

Innocent Chukwuma

For advocacy and networking on behalf of community policing and police reform in Nigeria. *A. Odaga*

Civil Liberties Organization

Aye Obe

For media outreach on police reforms and capacity strengthening. *A. Odaga*

Russia

ANNA (Association No to Violence)

Marina Pisklakova

Support for developing an educational program on domestic violence for serving officers and police cadets in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Ekaterinburg. *S. Solnick*

Citizens' Watch

Boris Pustintsev

Core support for Community and Police in a Large City, a collaborative project on community-police relationships in St. Petersburg. *S. Solnick*

INDEM Foundation

Georgii A. Satarov

For the research activities of INDEM's new Center for Justice Assistance, which is focused on pretrial detention and police behavior in Russia. *S. Solnick*

South Africa

Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Graeme Simpson, Amanda Dissel

Support for the Centre's criminal justice policy unit for research and policy formulation on curbing human rights violations and abuses of power within the South African criminal justice system. *A. Brown*

University of Cape Town

Wilfried Schaerf

Partial support to the University's Institute of Criminology for its policing, gender, and criminal justice information projects. *A. Brown*

United States

NAACP Special Contribution Fund

Kweisi Mfume, John Johnson, Tammy Hawley, and Susan Sweitzer

Support for civil rights advocacy activities on behalf of African-Americans. *S. Rios*

Vera Institute of Justice, Inc.

Christopher Stone

Support for research, strategic planning, and consultation on issues of police accountability and police effectiveness internationally. *N. Kanem, E. Leeds, and A. McCutcheon*

Vera Institute of Justice, Inc.

Merrick Bobb and Christopher Stone

Start-up support to establish the Police Assessment Resource Center. *N. Kanem*

Regional

Center for Socio-Economic Studies of Development

Hugo Fruhling

To establish an international commission on police reform for the Andean region and Southern Cone. *M. Abregu and E. Leeds*

Claudio Fuentes

To complete a thesis on citizens' rights, advocacy networks, and police violence in democratic Argentina and Chile for a Ph.D. program in political science at the University of North Carolina. *M. Abregu*

Police and Overseers Gather in Los Angeles (continued)

Another challenge to any overseer of law enforcement is maintaining enough distance from the police to remain objective while forging the kind of collaborations that, like Bobb's work in Los Angeles, produce real reform. Pavel Břlek, deputy director of the Czech Helsinki Committee, described joint projects with police to develop policies and training programs that protect human rights—work that he believes not only has resulted in more respectful policing but also has opened police leaders to collaborations with other NGOs. The Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN) in Lagos, Nigeria, also partners with police to reform law enforcement practices. CLEEN's Police-Community Partnership Project, for example, provides a forum for regular interaction between residents and the police outside the familiar context of making an arrest. These collaborations, as Břlek and Innocent Chukwuma, CLEEN's director, reminded those present in Los Angeles, are themselves forms of oversight.

Having had the opportunity to learn more about civilian oversight in other countries, the participants wanted to track how these mechanisms evolve over time. To serve their interest and share information about civilian oversight more broadly, Vera is adding pages to its web site that briefly describe the state of civilian oversight in these ten countries, pages that will be updated to reflect new developments and insights. The pages also include links to the paper that framed the discussion in Los Angeles and the report summarizing the issues discussed. To view these pages, go to www.vera.org/civilianoversight.

ROBIN CAMPBELL and JENNIFER TRONE are writers and editors in the communications department.

Recent Publications

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Beck, Adrian and Yulia Chistyakova, "Crime and Policing in Post-Soviet Societies: Bridging the Police/Public Divide," *Policing and Society*, vol. 12 (2), 2002, pp. 123–137.

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Dammert, Lucía, *Participación Comunitaria en la Prevención del Delito en América Latina, ¿De qué Participación Hablamos?* (*Community Involvement in Crime Prevention in Latin America: What Kind of Involvement Are We Talking About?*), Centro de Estudios de Seguridad Ciudadana, Área Seguridad Ciudadana, 2002.

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CRISP Director on Brazil Crime Mapping Meeting (*continued*)

democratic policing techniques.

Also, interest in our training programs on crime mapping has increased since the meeting. Other states in Brazil and other countries in Latin America have contacted us about enrolling in our programs.

Chitra: What did hosting the meeting do for your organization?

Claudio: It put CRISP on the map. Today, CRISP is recognized as a resource center for crime mapping

and a place where crime analysts can receive training. This is important because we are a young organization, founded just a few years ago. Our goal is to promote the exchange of information between the Federal University of Minas Gerais and criminal justice organizations.

Chitra: As you may know, the Ford Foundation and Vera plan to continue the series of global meetings on policing. What advice do you have for other institutions that may host future meetings?

Claudio: Ensuring a mix of participants—including senior police officers, academics, representatives of nongovernmental organizations, and high-level government officials—makes for a good meeting. As for the logistics of the meeting, start planning early. We took three months to organize the meeting. It helped that we had one person who was responsible for coordinating the meeting and contacting the various participants. It was a huge task.

Upcoming Meetings and Conferences

October

Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology 16th Annual Conference: Preventing Crime and Doing Justice

1–3 October 2002

Brisbane, Australia

Sponsor: Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology

<http://www.gu.edu.au/school/ccj/ANZSOC2002/>

109th Annual International Association of Chiefs of Police Conference: Law Enforcement Education and Technology Exposition

5–9 October 2002

Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA

Sponsor: IACP

<http://www.theiacp.org/conference/>

International Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design Seventh Annual Conference: Inspiring Technologies—CPTED and Its Latest Tools

15–17 October 2002

Calgary, Canada

Sponsor: International Crime

Prevention Through Environmental Design Association

<http://www.cpted-2002.com/>

December

The Sixth Annual International Crime Mapping Research Conference

8–12 December 2002

Denver, Colorado

Sponsor: National Institute of Justice Crime Mapping Research Center

<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/cmrc/conferences/welcome.html>

January

Partnership against Corruption: ICAC–Interpol Conference

22–24 January 2003

Hong Kong, China

Sponsors: Independent Commission Against Corruption, Hong Kong and Interpol

<http://www.icac.org.hk/conference/AboutCF/Programme.html>

February

In Search of Security: An International Conference on

Policing and Security

19–22 February 2003

Montreal, Canada

Sponsor: National Institute of Justice and Law Commission of Canada

http://www.lcc.gc.ca/en/ress/conf/conf_flyer.asp

July

Eleventh International Symposium on Victimology: New Horizons in Victimology

13–18 July 2003

Stellenbosch, South Africa

Sponsor: World Society of Victimology

www.victimology.co.za

August

Ninth Regional European Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect: Promoting Interdisciplinary Approaches to Child Protection

29–31 August 2003

Warsaw, Poland

Sponsor: International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect

www.ispcan2003.info

DEMOCRATIC POLICING EXCHANGE is a semi-annual newsletter on public safety and police accountability. It is produced by the Vera Institute of Justice for the Ford Foundation in order to foster discussion about police reform issues among police officials and all those interested in policing in democratic societies.

The Vera Institute of Justice is a private nonprofit organization dedicated to making criminal justice fairer, more humane, and more efficient. Working in collaboration with public officials in New York and around the world, Vera designs, implements, and evaluates innovative programs that improve the administration of justice.

If you would like to submit articles, news, or conference or publication listings for inclusion in *Democratic Policing Exchange*, please send them to Chitra Bhanu, Vera Institute of Justice, 233 Broadway, 12th Floor, New York, New York, 10279. Email: cbhanu@vera.org.