



URBAN SAFETY PROJECT URBAN POLICING IN MYANMAR

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Senior Rule of Law Advisor

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About The Asia Foundation and the Urban Safety Brief Series

The Asia Foundation is a nonprofit international development organization committed to improving lives across a dynamic and developing Asia. Informed by six decades of experience and deep local expertise, our programs address critical issues affecting Asia in the 21st century—governance and law, economic development, women’s empowerment, environment, and regional cooperation. In addition, our Books for Asia and professional exchanges are among the ways we encourage Asia’s continued development as a peaceful, just, and thriving region of the world. Headquartered in San Francisco, The Asia Foundation works through a network of offices in 18 Asian countries and in Washington, DC. Working with public and private partners, the Foundation receives funding from a diverse group of bilateral and multilateral development agencies, foundations, corporations, and individuals.

The ***Urban Safety Brief Series*** aims to provide Myanmar policymakers at national and local levels, and other interested stakeholders, with analysis and examples of policies and practices, which potentially could be applied or adapted to enhance people’s safety in urban areas in Myanmar. The Asia Foundation has a wider policy research agenda looking at urban governance and public financial management and the Urban Safety Brief Series is a complimentary body of work. The Urban Safety Brief Series is supported by the Government of the United Kingdom (UK). The views expressed in the series are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the UK Government or The Asia Foundation.

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About the author

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1. INTRODUCTION

In order to help the people of Myanmar benefit from peace and security, The Asia Foundation has established plans to achieve three outcomes in its Urban Safety Project. These are:

1. Township-level safety and security actors better understand urban safety challenges, and community priorities;
2. Safety and security-related actors improve their problem-solving skills as well as enhance collaboration and communication efforts;
3. Inter-agency and expert policy dialogue and practice on urban safety is strengthened among relevant actors at state/region and national levels.¹

In support of achieving these outcomes, The Asia Foundation commissioned its Senior Rule of Law Advisor to draw up this background paper about urban policing methods that have been shown, by academic research, to work effectively in low to middle income countries and how these could be tailored to the four townships participating in this project. Drawing heavily on the contents of the United Nations' excellent Introductory Handbook on *Policing Urban Space*,² this paper sets out practical policing methods that could be used to tackle the safety concerns which exist at township level in Myanmar.

This paper should be read in conjunction with The Asia Foundation's Urban Safety Project background paper on crime prevention which also sets out crime prevention approaches suitable for use in urban areas.

1. Urban Safety Project Master Inception Deliverables v20170214 Draft to FCO (Yangon: The Asia Foundation, 2017).
2. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook on Policing Urban Space (Vienna, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2011).

2. EXPLANATION OF MAIN CONCEPTS AND TERMS

2.1. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED IN THIS PAPER

Incident-based policing strategies. Strategies that focus on a regular police presence in well-off neighborhoods and business districts, and an intermittent police presence in other neighborhoods.

Community-oriented policing. A policing strategy focused on decentralizing policing responsibility in order to enable local commanders and front-line officers to work in conjunction with neighborhood populations on developing and implementing policing strategies.

Problem-oriented policing. A policing strategy that focuses on using evidence, research and community contacts to develop strategies to prevent crime and solve crime problems rather than focusing on responding to specific incidents after a crime has occurred.

2.2. POLICING CHALLENGES IN URBAN AREAS

This section examines what makes policing in urban areas different from other environments, and the specific challenges governments face in policing those areas.

Urban environments contribute to different types of policing challenges. The high level of inequality present in many urban areas creates competition and can contribute to collective violence. This inequality, with the very rich living next to areas of high poverty, also presents opportunities for acquisitive crime. The presence of banks and other sites for securing cash and valuables can lead to large- and small-scale robbery. In addition, the existence of substantial financial and commercial infrastructure make urban areas ideal places in which to commercialize illegal goods—ranging from controlled narcotics and illegal arms to stolen goods. The presence of ample road networks and port facilities can turn many urban areas into trans-shipment points for contraband.

Large nodes of desperation and poverty can generate conditions that support drug abuse and people trafficking. High population concentrations can also contribute to large-scale demonstrations and political violence, and, as cities are major centers of political life, protests can turn into riots during difficult times. Finally, the density of urban space and the proximity of urban space to media offices can create conditions attractive to those wanting to engage in acts of terrorism.

2.2.1. Low to middle income countries

In low to middle income countries such as Myanmar,³ urban areas face significant challenges in governance that do not exist in most high income countries today. At the most basic level, very large cities in low and middle income countries are growing at high rates that are well beyond the capacity of many governments to regulate. The problems associated with this are compounded by a lack of adequate government

3. Countries with a per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of between \$US 976 and \$US 3,855—UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook on Policing Urban Space. (Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2011).

resources for housing and the resulting emergence of irregular settlements that have informal street patterns, and that are unmapped and often unfamiliar to outsiders and public officials.

Such areas often lack basic services, which residents must provide for themselves. Transportation systems that were planned for much smaller cities or designed to reach only the wealthier areas of the city become wholly inadequate to meet the needs of large portions of the population, causing many to turn to informally organized and unregulated means of transportation. In cities across Asia, Africa and Latin America, insufficient formal sector employment opportunities drive many into informal work. Workers in the informal sector often find themselves exposed to a higher level of risk of crime, violence and harassment. For example, as a result of the itinerant nature of their work, market sellers working in unregulated spaces are more prone to being robbed or subjected to extortion at the hands of criminals or State officials. Also, the lack of regulation of informal markets often causes workers in the informal sector to turn to criminals for protection. Youth unemployment may also contribute to violence and other crime problems. Informal work and unemployment are especially significant issues facing women and young people.

Large cities, like Yangon, pose particular challenges for governance and policing. In some cases, there are no comprehensive street maps, making it difficult for local administrations to get a thorough knowledge of the urban terrain. This can be exacerbated by unconstrained growth and expansion, presenting planners and police with seemingly insurmountable obstacles to the delivery of services aimed at keeping them safe. In some cases, police face the challenge of policing a city where much of the population lives, by necessity, outside the law—e.g. in slums.

These high levels of urban growth and inadequate services coupled with recent political transitions sometimes lead to rising crime rates and calls from various groups for more repressive policing. All too often the police fall back on repressive policing strategies to allay demands from political leaders and/or the population. Although this may result in short-term reductions in crime, it acts to alienate the police from much of the population. This then reduces levels of trust in the police and erodes their legitimacy, which is the most important factor motivating people to cooperate with the police and not break the law.⁴ The relationship between police legitimacy and public cooperation is discussed in the Urban Safety Project's crime prevention paper.⁵

Building trust and legitimacy is central to any effective policing strategy—this often presents a challenge in low to middle income countries. Legacies of authoritarianism, colonialism and conflict have often created substantial rifts between the population and the police. The result is that the population is less likely to cooperate with and help the police, making it difficult to establish collaborative policing approaches, such as problem-oriented policing,⁶ which attempt to build on local knowledge to respond to residents' concerns—a central part of the Urban Safety Project.

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4. Andy Myhill and Paul Quinton, *It's a fair cop? Police legitimacy, public cooperation, and crime reduction. An interpretative evidence commentary* (London: National Policing Improvement Agency, 2011).
 5. Stephen Otter, *Urban Safety Project Crime Prevention Background Paper* (Yangon: The Asia Foundation, 2017).
 6. Herman Goldstein, *Problem-Oriented Policing* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990).

In summary, the challenges of policing urban areas in low to middle income countries like Myanmar include:

- Few accurate maps available; irregular and inconsistent streets; poor quality of infrastructure;
- Reluctance to work with police and vice versa; lack of mutual trust essential for building better public safety strategies;
- Domination of some areas by criminal elements;
- Lack of data on crime in many regions;
- Existence of gated communities and private protection services, which limit access by law-enforcement entities;
- Limited and inefficient road and transportation systems;
- Irregular transportation services (informal collective transportation services);
- Vigilantism;
- Poverty, and economic and social exclusion of large portions of the population; and
- Rich and poor resorting to self-management of neighborhoods in a governing system that is ill-functioning.

3. LESSONS FROM INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

This section examines policing strategies that are currently being used in urban areas across the world.

3.1. INCIDENT-ORIENTED POLICING

Often as a consequence of the legacies of authoritarianism, colonialism and conflict, many police forces in low and middle income countries, such as Myanmar, rely on incident-based policing strategies that focus on a regular police presence in well-off neighborhoods and business districts and an intermittent police presence in other neighborhoods.⁷ Very often, such efforts are reactive, with police on the street spending most of their time responding to specific crimes. In general, incident-oriented policing operates within the broad framework of the law, but when it is applied to less well-off populations, police often overstep the law. The investigations and court systems necessary to support such policing are typically absent. Incident-oriented policing, when led by underpaid and under-trained law enforcement officers, tends to fail; resulting in frustration among both the general population and public officials and leading to calls for improved policing.

Existing evidence across different regions identifies a range of policing strategies that help police to prevent crimes and work better with the population in dealing with crime issues.⁸ These strategies all apply social scientific knowledge to help control crime in urban areas.

Two related strategies that achieve this are problem-oriented policing and community-oriented policing.

3.2. PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING

This approach,⁹ identified originally by Herman Goldstein,¹⁰ is a structured approach to addressing specific problems. It has been shown to be an effective way of preventing crime.¹¹ It aims to apply rational and evidence-based analysis of problems and their solutions to a community safety context. Using this approach, police work with other agencies to solve crime problems by systematically identifying and analyzing crime and disorder problems, developing specific responses to individual problems, and subsequently assessing whether the response has been successful. The approach has been shown to work particularly effectively in urban areas and is one of the *key strategic actions* of Myanmar's National Crime Prevention Strategy 2017–2019 that relate to urban areas.¹²

This approach focuses on specific incidents and conditions that lead to crimes, rather than on notions of how wider social and economic conditions create criminals. The theory holds that three elements must converge in time and space for a crime to occur: a motivated offender; a suitable victim; and the absence of a capable guardian.¹³

7. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, *Introductory Handbook*, 2011.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Sometimes referred to as 'problem-solving policing'.

10. Goldstein, *Problem-Oriented Policing*, 1990.

11. David Weisburd et al., "Is problem-oriented policing effective in reducing crime and disorder?" *Criminology and Public Policy*, Volume 9, Issue 1, (February 2010): 139–172.

12. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime National Crime Prevention Strategy, The Republic of the Union of Myanmar. (Yangon: UNODC, 2017).

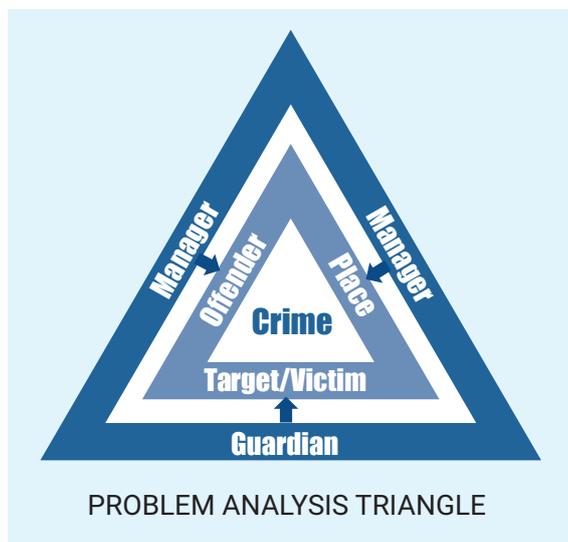
13. Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan and Robert Reiner (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

Underlying this approach is the idea that crime occurs fundamentally because it makes rational sense for it to occur. The factors that contribute to crime events are threefold:

1. There must be an object or victim that offers a criminal some level of pay-off for committing crime;
2. A place exists where a crime can occur and in which it is reasonable for a criminal to assume that they will not be apprehended; and
3. There must be a criminal motivated to commit a crime.

These factors come together to form the Problem Analysis Triangle which provides a framework for solving a crime problem.¹⁴ (See Figure 1.)

Figure 1. Problem Analysis Triangle



Using this approach, many of today's police forces in North America and Western Europe examine the ways in which crimes are concentrated in identifiable **hot spots**. Research has shown that urban areas experience crime foci in particular locations at particular times of day, making it possible to understand the crime problems affecting a city and across a population depending on demographic characteristics.¹⁵

The strategy divides the problem-solving approach into four stages, often referred to as 'SARA'. Each stage requires assessment on an ongoing basis to determine whether or not the response is effective—thereby enabling responses to be modified, if necessary, throughout the initiative.

The four SARA stages are:

1. **Scanning:** Identify and prioritize problems, in particular those relating to the safety of women and children.
2. **Analysis:** Gather information and intelligence to identify underlying causes of the problem and to narrow the scope of the problem as much as possible.
3. **Response:** Tailored activities designed to address the causes of the problem, as identified in the analysis phase.
4. **Assessment:** Measure if the response had the desired effect—make changes to the response if required.

Further explanation of this approach is available in the USP's crime prevention background paper,¹⁶ and on the US's Center for Problem-Oriented Policing website.¹⁷

14. (Also known as the crime triangle). Lawrence E. Chen and Marcus Felson, "Social change and crime rate trends: a routine activity approach," *American Sociological Review*, Volume 44, No. 4, (1979).

15. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, *Introductory Handbook*, 2011.

16. Otter, *Crime Prevention Background Paper*, 2017.

17. <http://www.popcenter.org/about/?p=sara>.

3.3. COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICING

Community-oriented policing¹⁸ seeks to decentralize the administration of the police by bringing it to neighborhood level, thereby providing local commanders with a high level of empowerment to work with community residents to address their concerns and prevent crime. This strategy is designed to change the relationship between police and the community, and through an ongoing dialogue to develop innovative and effective strategies to prevent crime. In the long-term, the effectiveness of community-oriented policing involves engaging citizens in solving their own crime problems by changing community norms and by creating a check on less effective police activities.

It is an approach which can be used effectively at the neighbourhood level to deploy the problem-oriented policing techniques discussed above. If successful, it builds close relations between the police and the community, providing the opportunity for problems to be solved through active dialogue between police officers and local people. While community-oriented policing takes a variety of forms, it is usually based on the creation of formal mechanisms such as community groups (sometimes called community councils or committees) and specially trained police units that work together to establish effective strategies, based on local knowledge, to prevent crime.¹⁹ The form that community policing takes in an area will be shaped by specific political, economic and social factors, such as the legacy of authoritarianism, colonialism and conflict present in many low to middle income countries in Asia.²⁰

Building close relations between the police and the community in a neighbourhood to prevent crime is intended to increase the public's trust in the police. This is an essential element of any crime prevention strategy as research has shown that the most important factor motivating people to cooperate with the police and not break the law is the legitimacy of the police. When people think the police are on the same side as them, they are significantly less likely to commit crime and more inclined to say they would help the police. This approach is sometimes referred to as procedural justice.²¹

Recent examples of the development of community-oriented policing in an Asian context are the programmes in Timor-Leste and Sri Lanka - both subject to joint case studies by The Asia Foundation and The Overseas Development Agency.

In Timor-Leste, the development of community policing was shaped by the different models advocated by a number of donors and NGO's working in the country.²² In its early stages of development in 2004, community policing adopted aspects of the Japanese *Koban* system. Kobans are small police posts located on streets which enable the police to maintain long-term interaction with area residents and cultivate knowledge of the area. They serve as local administrative centres where local residents can

18. Sometimes referred to as 'community policing'.

19. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook, 2011.

20. Todd Wassel, Institutionalising community policing in Timor-Leste (The Asia Foundation and Overseas Development Institute 2014)

21. Andy Myhill and Paul Quinton, It's a fair cop? Police legitimacy, public cooperation, and crime reduction. An interpretative evidence commentary (London: National Policing Improvement Agency, 2011).

22. Todd Wassel, Institutionalising community policing in Timor-Leste (The Asia Foundation and Overseas Development Institute 2014)

complain about local problems and resolve disputes. The idea is that the police become part of the community and develop knowledge that helps to control crime.²³

One year after the development of the Koban system, the focus of the Timor-Leste Government shifted away from community policing to that of establishing heavily armed specialist police units. This was followed by another attempt to introduce community policing in 2009, and this time based upon New Zealand's community policing model which incorporated the principles of public participation and problem solving (see 3.2 - problem-oriented policing).

This case study revealed an intense effort by the international community to contribute to the development of community-oriented policing. However, very different approaches were advocated and there was insufficient investment in getting political support for such a materially significant reform of policing. The only thing that was clearly articulated by the international community was what community policing should not be, i.e. a militarized police force. The study concluded that any attempt to introduce community-oriented policing requires a nuanced approach to developing: local ownership through dialogue; consensus building; and encouragement of key national actors to support it. Sustaining such a model of policing requires political support and local ownership - all of which take time.²⁴

The Sri Lankan authorities made a commitment to the development of a community policing model that was based upon the principles of community participation and problem solving. Unlike in the Timor-Leste example, the authorities in Sri Lanka invested in the development of this form of community policing over a sustained period of time.

This model of community policing consisted of trained community police officers working in local police units in rural villages and city wards to build relations with community members so that local problems of concern to the community could be identified and solved. Visible police patrols on bicycles played an important part in building trust between the police and community. Formal community policing forums, called civil security committees, were formed and these provided the mechanism through which community safety and security issues could be raised and resolved through joint police and community action.

The study found that community policing in Sri Lanka had: increased trust at the local level; made people feel safer; and enabled local problem solving to take place.²⁵

3.4. SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION

Underpinning the problem-oriented and community-oriented policing models is the idea that the principle aim of law enforcement is to prevent crime by decreasing the opportunities for crime to occur. The theory is that three elements must converge in time and space for a crime to occur.²⁶ These are a motivated offender, a suitable victim, and the absence of a suitable guardian (someone who is responsible for

23. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, *Introductory Handbook*, 2011.

24. Todd Wassel, *Institutionalising community policing in Timor-Leste* (The Asia Foundation and Overseas Development Institute 2014)

25. Victoria Chambers, Lisa Denny and Kanniya Pieris, *Community policing through bicycles patrolling in Sri Lanka: An incipient post-conflict strategy* (The Asia Foundation and Overseas Development Institute 2014)

26. *Routine activities and rational choice theories* in Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan and Robert Reiner (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

detering criminal activities by providing protection to victims, spaces or objects of criminal activities—e.g. a parent). By seeking to understand crimes in this way, the police are able to work with other agencies to tackle specific conditions that can lead to crimes, and thereby to prevent crimes from happening. An example would be to improve street lighting to protect vulnerable pedestrians.

Often called situational crime prevention, this idea of preventing crime by decreasing opportunities for it to occur has resulted in 25 techniques organized into the following five categories.²⁷

1. **Increase the effort** – making it harder to commit crimes;
2. **Increase the risk** – increasing the chance that an offender will be caught, thereby decreasing the chances that the offender will commit a crime;
3. **Reduce the rewards** – limiting how much a criminal can benefit from a specific act
4. Reduce provocations – eliminating possible conditions that can create the underlying reasons for crime; and
5. **Remove excuses** – creating conditions in which individuals are more likely to be observant of rules.

The full list of the 25 techniques can be found in Annex A.

3.5. URBAN PLANNING AND POLICING

This approach is about integrating law enforcement and planning practices in order to gain a shared understanding of how particular spaces are used so that effective crime prevention strategies can be deployed. The theory is that individuals maintain basic order and security in spaces about which they feel ownership. If individuals feel disconnected from a space they will let it fall into disrepair and crime may rise. This approach argues that people feel they have a right to and responsibility for a particular place if it is shared by many.

Building on this underlying theory, safety and security in a particular residential neighborhood can be achieved by taking the following action:

- Introduce some form of access control through collaborative management of space by bringing together: local residents and other users of that space; city planners; elected officials; and police;
- Promote a defensive space by introducing forms of natural surveillance so that individuals can watch the space during their normal routines (e.g. walking to work) and thus discourage crime; and
- Use mechanical devices to make crimes less likely (e.g. good street lighting) and create organizational structures such as community oversight boards to organize efforts to control crime and disorder.

3.6. CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN

Over time, urban design concepts, such as defensive space, have evolved into a more comprehensive planning approach to using building and design to control crime, known as crime prevention through environmental design. The approach enables government officials, police, architects, and managers of space to work together to build safety and security into the built environment. It follows six basic principles,

27. www.popcenter.org/25techniques/.

based in large part on the urban planning approach above.

1. **Natural surveillance.** Space needs to be built in such a way as to promote passive observation.
2. **Access management and natural access control.** Controlling access to space to limit the possibility of entrance by criminals.
3. **Territorial reinforcement.** Space is made safer by creating a sense of collective ownership by residents and other users of that space.
4. **Physical maintenance.** By maintaining the overall structure of the neighborhood, reducing litter and other sources of disorder, residents are encouraged to maintain the quality of their homes and other features that increase safety and security.
5. **Target hardening.** Residents and business owners proactively securing their homes and belongings to increase neighborhood security.
6. **Minimize disorder and establishing well-used space.** Police and partners should reduce the level of perceived disorder in the neighborhood and ensure ongoing use of the space to prevent opportunities for crime.

4. URBAN POLICING OPTIONS FOR MYANMAR

The urban context of: rapid population growth, scarce government resources, disordered urban development, and a lack of trust in the police and other state actors, are contributing factors to the expansion of crime problems in many low to middle income countries like Myanmar.²⁸ These need to be acknowledged and efforts made to address them in any successful strategy to improve community safety at a local level. Building trust between the public, police and other state actors will be critical to the success of any efforts to tackle the safety concerns identified in the urban safety review. Increasing levels of trust improves the legitimacy of the police, which is the most important factor motivating people to cooperate with the police and not break the law.²⁹

The urban policing strategy that is most likely to achieve the Urban Safety Project outcomes (see 3.2) is that of problem-oriented policing. It employs analysis techniques to help the township-level police and other security actors to understand the urban safety challenges and community priorities in their locality. It is an approach which requires different actors and stakeholders to collaborate to find solutions to the urban safety challenges and to take action in a coordinated way.

It is also an approach which relies on the public trusting the police, and cooperating with them to solve problems. As community-oriented policing helps to build trust in the police, it is an approach which can be combined with problem-oriented policing to make it easier to successfully solve urban safety problems (see 3.3).

Problem-oriented policing also allows state actors to respond to urban safety challenges by using situational crime prevention and urban planning techniques to prevent crime. These techniques are underpinned by good science and evidence from their practical application in North America and Western Europe, and more recently from South America and Asia (see the case studies in the UN's Introductory Handbook on Policing Urban Space).

The different township localities participating in the Urban Safety Project will have different types of urban safety challenges and the problem-oriented approach is designed to make sure that any response is tailored specifically to the underlying problems in that area. But this presents a challenge in a country where there is little good quality data relating to the concerns the public have about their safety. It will be necessary to find practical ways of understanding the safety challenges that do not rely solely on pre-existing data.

4.1. RECOMMENDED NEXT STEPS

Based upon the evidence set out above, this section sets out some steps that could be taken at a township level to respond to urban safety challenges. For narcotics-related challenges, please also see The Asia Foundation's background paper on countering narcotics.

- (1) Building on the existing committee structures at township and ward levels, establish 'community safety partnership groups' of representatives from relevant organizations and the public in each township. These groups should focus on specific safety problems as identified in the Urban Safety Reviews. They should use a problem-oriented approach, working through the four 'SARA' stages of: scanning, analysis, response and assessment to tackle the problems.

28. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook, 2011.

29. Myhill and Quinton, It's a fair cop?, 2011.

- (2) Membership of these groups will depend on the problem to be solved, but is likely to include: township and ward administrators; representatives from the relevant development committees and development affairs offices; township police officers; planning officers; Township Health Officers; representatives from the Department of Social Welfare; and representatives from NGOs with expert knowledge of the problems to be solved.
- (3) Training and coaching in problem-oriented and situational crime prevention techniques should be provided to members of the partnership groups.
- (4) Establish advisory groups to support the township-level partnership groups (above). Each advisory group should have a range of expert knowledge, including: the collection, analysis and mapping of data; public opinion survey methods; problem-oriented policing methods; specific safety issues such as narcotics; and situational crime prevention techniques. There is the potential to use digital technology to form this group as a virtual forum of international academics and practitioners.
- (5) The township community safety partnership group should, with help from the Urban Safety Project team and the advisory groups, draw up a local profile of the urban safety challenges. This should include 'hot-spot' maps showing information such as crime foci in particular locations at particular times of day, making it possible to understand the crime problems affecting an area and across a population depending on demographic characteristics.
- (6) The community safety partnership groups should then draw up a plan to respond to the urban safety challenges. The plan should clearly set out the actions to be taken, by whom and by when. It should:
 - be based on evidence of what works;
 - promote a collaborative approach to solving the problem;
 - include methods for engaging the public throughout the project; and
 - set an explicit objective to improve levels of public trust in the institutions involved in the project.
- (7) Methods for assessing the success of the plan should be agreed before its implementation begins. This would be an important area for the advisory group to help with. Consideration should be given to inviting local universities to assist in the evaluation of each plan in order to establish a body of research in Myanmar for the future.

4.2. IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES

Community-oriented policing and problem-oriented policing both face implementation challenges. Both depart substantially from existing police practice in many places and face resistance. Implementing such types of programs requires substantial support from police at a variety of levels, which is often difficult to achieve. At the same time, citizens in high crime areas who live in the wake of the effects of authoritarianism, colonialism and conflict often do not have positive relations with police. It can be extremely challenging to implement either of these types of program without those relationships.

The approaches create levels of fatigue within policing institutions and society and will continue to exist only as long as senior public officials stand behind them (as illustrated by the Timor-Leste case study³⁰). Finally, community policing programs can degenerate into forms of vigilantism if taken over by certain segments of society. While such programs can be implemented with relative ease, it takes substantial investment on the part of police and community residents for them to succeed. Although difficult to establish in the Myanmar context, these efforts when properly implemented hold out significant possibilities for improved community safety.³¹

30. Todd Wassel, Institutionalising community policing in Timor-Leste (The Asia Foundation and Overseas Development Institute 2014)

31. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook, 2011.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In Myanmar, the police are currently pursuing incident-based approaches to crime control that focus on arresting offenders after a crime has been committed in order to diminish the possibility that the offenders will commit crimes in the future. The theories and approaches discussed in this paper suggest that by using analytic, localized and evidence-based approaches to crime control, police, working with partner agencies, can more effectively prevent crime. Analyzing existing data, engaging with community members, collaborating with partner agencies, and pursuing other sources of information can help to develop efficient crime control strategies that deal more effectively with the problems facing growing cities and other urban areas. The insights offered by the strategies reflect tested approaches to crime control and are consistent with United Nations standards and norms in crime prevention and criminal justice.

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ANNEX A

SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION TECHNIQUES

Category 1: Increase the effort

The techniques in this category are aimed at preventing crime by making it harder to commit crimes:

- (a) **Harden targets.** Stakeholders seek to reduce crime by making it harder to commit a crime in a particular place by, for example, installing effective locks or using computer codes that prevent a device from functioning without the proper input;
- (b) **Control access.** Crime can be controlled by making access to a site more complicated. This can involve installing an intercom system to verify entrants to a building or, more effectively, ensuring that visitors do not bring in weapons;
- (c) **Screen exits.** Controlling crime, especially theft, involves ensuring that individuals are thoroughly checked before exiting premises. This can involve checking bags containing merchandise upon exit;
- (d) **Deflect offenders.** Potential offenders can be deterred by being directed away from places where it is easy to commit crimes. Thus, crime can be controlled by separating supporters at sports events or by providing separate locker rooms for children;
- (e) **Control access to tools/weapons.** This strategy aims to increase the difficulty criminals experience in gaining access to tools to commit crimes. Governments can support such efforts by, for example, restricting the ability of criminals to gain access to guns.

Category 2: Increase the risk

Efforts in this category seek to augment the chances that an offender will be caught, thereby decreasing the chances that a potential offender will commit a crime:

- (a) **Extend guardianship.** This technique involves individuals in their own security by advising them to travel in groups and carry cellular phones to call for help. It engages local residents in efforts to report crimes;
- (b) **Assist natural surveillance.** This approach suggests that stakeholders should seek to augment observation activity in the neighborhood through architecture designed to promote security and through the removal of foliage that may provide cover for illegal activities;
- (c) **Reduce anonymity.** By providing information to the public, State officials seek to create conditions in which it is unlikely that potential offenders will commit crimes. This can include requiring taxi drivers to clearly display their carriage licence so as to discourage them from charging excess fares;
- (d) **Utilize place managers.** Another technique for reducing crime is to hire individuals to ensure that spaces are used properly, including having attendants on public transit systems or doormen in apartment buildings;
- (e) **Strengthen formal surveillance.** The final effort involves using observational technology such as closed-circuit television and car alarms.

Category 3: Reduce the rewards

The techniques in this category focus on limiting how much a criminal can benefit from a specific act:

- (a) **Conceal targets.** Crime can be reduced if offenders have trouble identifying targets. This can include moving expensive goods in unmarked trucks and bags and shipping credit cards in envelopes without the name of the credit card issuer;

- (b) **Remove targets.** This takes the technique of concealing targets one step further by actually eliminating the possibility of a crime being committed, by removing the object of the crime from circulation. Examples of this include carrying travelers' checks instead of cash and taking jewelry out of store windows after hours;
- (c) **Identify property.** This classic strategy makes it more difficult to steal something by clearly identifying the owner. Libraries, for example, often stamp their name on the outward-facing sides of book pages and individuals engaged in animal husbandry brand or tag the ears of their animals. Similarly, the owners of expensive musical instruments often maintain records to identify their instruments if they are stolen;
- (d) **Disrupt markets.** Once goods have been stolen they must often be fenced for criminals to gain value from them. Limiting the value of goods robbed involves working to reduce secondary criminal markets by having police regularly check pawn shops and label car parts to prevent resale if a car is stolen;
- (e) **Deny benefits.** Finally, even if goods are stolen, stakeholders should seek to ensure that criminals will not benefit from those goods. This can be accomplished, for example, by building a radio that will not run in any car other than the one in which it was originally installed.

Category 4: Reduce provocations

This strategy seeks to reduce the number of crimes by eliminating possible conditions that can create the underlying reasons for crime:

- (a) **Reduce frustration and stress.** Certain situations, such as long lines, tend to result in higher levels of tension. These problems can be handled through efforts to control the tensions arising in normal social settings by creating adequate spaces wherein people might congregate and by informing people of how long they may have to wait in line;
- (b) **Avoid disputes.** Some social situations lead to higher levels of conflict. Among these are tensions that result from the proximity of groups with different political orientations or from situations where there might be a disagreement about a fee for a service rendered. These problems can be resolved through efforts to reduce those conflicts, such as by keeping different groups of protesters apart, or by setting fixed taxi fares to reduce disputes about meters;
- (c) **Reduce emotional arousal.** Certain types of activities and events create greater degrees of tension. Thus it is illegal to utter phrases that incite violence, and schools may make efforts to separate rival groups in order to prevent the outbreak of conflict;
- (d) **Neutralize peer pressure.** Many crimes occur because of relationships within small social groups. Possible responses include breaking up groups of troublemakers at schools, establishing programs to support individuals in conforming to non-criminal behaviors, such as anti-narcotics abuse programs for children and adolescents, or implementing programs that alert workers in the finance industry to the possible ways in which they might be drawn into money-laundering;
- (e) **Discourage imitation.** This technique suggests that stakeholders need to make efforts to limit information that could enable groups to engage in future crimes.

Category 5: Remove excuses

This category contains techniques that seek to reduce crime by creating conditions in which individuals are more likely to be conscious and observant of rules;

- (a) **Set rules.** This technique suggests that crime and disorder can be controlled if building owners and transit companies publicly post rules to make expected behavior clear;
- (b) **Post instructions.** In certain situations, this technique involves simply posting clear signs such as signs instructing drivers not to sound their horns in certain areas;
- (c) **Promote and alert conscience.** This technique focuses on showing why it is important for the public to invest in adhering to certain rules. Thus, public awareness campaigns may provide information on why it is wrong to ride in an unlicensed taxi or to put electronic waste in household refuse;
- (d) **Assist compliance.** Governments can aid promoting compliance with laws by making such compliance easy, for example by making rubbish bins easily available;
- (e) **Control alcohol and drugs.** Finally, controlling crime often involves limiting access to alcohol and illicit drugs, especially under conditions that will promote crime.³²

32. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook, 2011.



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