

Community Traffic Policing Scoping Study: Final Report

by Amy Aeron-Thomas

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Final Report**

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Community Traffic Policing Scoping study report

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ii
Glossary	ii
Executive Summary	iii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Problem statement	1
1.2 Study background	1
1.3 Research objectives	2
1.4 Report structure	2
1.5 Methodology	3
2 Literature review	4
2.1 Introduction	4
2.2 Community Policing	4
2.3 Safety, Security and Access to Justice	7
3 Policing with the Community	8
3.1 Accountability	8
3.2 Participation and partnership	11
4 Traffic law enforcement	16
4.1 Traffic Police	16
4.2 Community participation	22
5 Access to Justice	28
5.1 Courts and traffic offences	29
5.2 Victim support	34
6 Summary and Recommendations	38
6.1 Summary	37
6.2 Recommendations	39
7 References	43
Appendix A Local counterpart organisations	
Appendix B Literature Review (full version)	
Appendix C Draft Community Participation in Traffic Policing training course outline	
Annex A	Compendium of local counterparts' reports (separate report)
	Eldorado Park, South Africa
	Bangladesh
	Delhi
	Bangalore

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This report is based on the individual contributions of the counterparts. The literature review was produced by Ian Clegg and Jim Whetton of the Centre for Development Studies, University of Wales. The situation reviews were produced by Rohit Baluja of the Institute for Road Traffic and Education (India), AN Hussain of BRAC (Bangladesh), Farzana Sader of the Centre for Peace Action (South Africa), and Paul Manning of TRL (UK). Their assistance in developing the methodology, providing local information, and reviewing draft copies of this report is acknowledged and appreciated, whereas all faults remain those of the author alone.

Glossary

ACPO	Association of Chief of Police Officers
BATF	Bangalore Agenda for Transport Foundation
BRAC	formerly known as Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CADD	Campaign Against Drink Driving
CARRS	Centre for Analysis and Road Safety
CBO	Community based organisations
CDS	Centre for Development Studies (UK)
CPA	Centre for Peace Action (South Africa)
CRSIP	Community Road Safety Initiatives Programme
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DMP	Dhaka Metropolitan Police
DfT	Department for Transport
FLO	Family Liaison Officers
FEVR	European Association of Road Traffic Victims
GRSP	Global Road Safety Partnership
HIC	High income countries
ICBC	Insurance Corporation of British Columbia
IRTE	Institute of Road Traffic Education
LIC	Low income countries
MADD	Mothers Against Drink Driving
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
MVA	Motor Vehicle Act
NGO	Non governmental organisation
NMV	Non motorised vehicle
NOC	No Objection Certificate
PA	Police Authority
PACTS	Parliamentary Advisory Committee on Traffic Safety
PCA	Police Complaints Authority
PCCG	Police Community Consultative Group
RAF	Road Accident Fund
RDIM	Road Death Investigation Manual
RTMC	Road Transport Management Corporation
SA	South Africa
SAFE	Safety of Automobile Fitness and Environment
SAPS	South Africa Police Service
SSAJ	Safety, Security and Access to Justice
SI	Sub Inspector
TI	Traffic Inspector
TOR	Terms of reference
TSR	Three seater raksha (India)
UNICEF	United Nations Institute for Children Education Fund
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation

Executive Summary

Worldwide, road traffic crashes are estimated to kill approximately one million people a year and by 2020, they are expected to be the second leading cause of lost life years (WHO, 2002). Along with Engineering and Education, Enforcement has been one of the key ways of reducing this toll. However, traffic safety is rarely a very high police priority but for many local communities, it can be a major concern in their daily lives.

A problem of priorities

The problem of road safety being the shared responsibility of many and the priority of none has been previously documented (TRL and Babbie Ross Silcock, 2001). Of all the organisations involved, the police will have their role most clearly, and often legally, defined as they will be responsible for enforcing traffic regulations as well as reporting and investigating road traffic crashes. Yet road traffic crashes and casualties have not been a key concern for the police or the justice sector in general. It is believed that this is due, in part, to the default assumption that crashes are 'accidents' and thus not a priority for police or the courts, organisations involved in the prevention and control of crime.

Local concerns

Traffic safety will be a priority for the roadside communities who are regularly exposed to the threat of road crashes. Local concern over road danger can be seen in the construction of unauthorised speed humps, which if not signed or built properly, can increase rather than reduce the risk of a road crash. Local residents are seen as having a vested interest in providing the traffic police with information about local problems, assisting the police by volunteering or working in partnership on specific projects, and campaigning for increased resources to be given to improving traffic safety, especially in their local area. They are also believed to be interested in seeing offenders punished appropriately for the sake of general deterrence and in ensuring adequate support is given to bereaved families and the injured, who have traditionally had to rely virtually entirely on family and friends for assistance.

Scoping study

This scoping study is based on the belief that increased collaboration between the police and community could reduce the risk and consequences of road crashes. It is based on the following three premises:

1. Community participation, whilst promoted for crime prevention in general policing, is not similarly encouraged in traffic policing.
2. Traffic policing is rarely a priority for the police, although road deaths outnumber homicides in most countries.
3. Improvements in the treatment of victims and the handling of offenders have yet to be extended to those involved in road crashes, despite many crashes involving culpable, if not criminal, acts, and families, especially the poor, in need of reparation and support more than retribution.

The study involved an extensive literature review and a summary of community participation in both general policing and traffic law enforcement, as well as the treatment of victims and offenders by the justice sector in Bangladesh, South Africa and the Indian cities of Bangalore and Delhi. Comparison was made to the UK, a country known for its commitment to community policing and road casualty reductions. The literature review summarised and updated previous research on policing in low income countries, with special emphasis given to community policing. International traffic safety consultant reports and research documents were also reviewed and while traffic law enforcement is a key sector in national action plans, there was found to be a lack of priority given to the importance of traffic law enforcement in international reviews and strategy documents, including WHO's recent 5 Year Strategy for Road Traffic Injury Prevention.

Efforts are being made by the police in low-income countries to foster public relations and improve public consultation. In Delhi, the police organise 'open house' days at police stations, mobile offices, and internet addresses for complaints; while Bangalore City Police are an active partner working with companies and civil society on the Bangalore Agenda Task Force. There has been much investment in community policing in South Africa where community relations and trust between the public and the police were very low. In the UK, where the police have made much effort to consult and work with the community, new efforts involve introducing community support officers and local beat officers, a long-standing community request.

Traffic Policing

These efforts have not extended to traffic policing where there has been little involvement of the community so far, with the traffic police often focused on facilitating vehicle flows rather than the safety of pedestrians and other vulnerable road users. Traffic police are rotated frequently between locations and are often only posted to traffic duties for a few years, too short a time to justify specialist or even basic training for many traffic police. In the LICs reviewed, the responsibility for casualty collision investigation was given to general police who are not held responsible for traffic safety and are likely to give greater priority to investigations of violent or property crime.

While LIC police experience a lack of resources in general, the situation is particularly acute for traffic police who are expected to target the most risky movements, i.e. moving violations, but often without the aid of motor vehicles. Traffic police tend to have low status within the police service and in most countries, they are included within the general police, a situation which is believed to lend itself to tension, if not conflict, between the aims of traffic law enforcement and those of crime prevention and control. South Africa, where it was reported that officers could specialise in traffic policing and the traffic police had a good working relationship with local communities, the traffic police have recently been transferred to the control of the road transport department.

Lack of confidence in the justice system is believed to contribute to the extensive under-reporting and the threat of mob justice after a crash found in a number of countries. Collision investigation skills are limited, few drivers are prosecuted or victims compensated, and the involvement of the authorities will often only delay the process. As many crashes are believed to be due to culpable, rather than criminal, acts, there would seem to be much potential for community sentences and restorative justice systems whereby the focus is more on reparation than punishment.

Access to Justice

Traffic casualties are believed to be further victimised by the lack of information and legal assistance with compensation rights and support in general. Improvements made in the treatment of female and child sexual and domestic violence victims are rarely extended to road traffic victims. With the poor believed to account for many of the victims, especially pedestrian casualties, there is an even greater need for assistance with the post crash legal procedures and support services.

Community participation in traffic law enforcement

Community participation in traffic law enforcement has been classified into four main types: consultation, volunteering, partnership, and advocacy. The amount of effort and independence of these methods vary. Consultation is limited to helping the traffic police do a better job by providing them with information. (Even this would be a major step in traffic safety as it would allow police to be pro-active and not wait for crashes to occur before a location was deemed to be hazardous). Volunteering and partnership efforts involve more time and commitment from the community but are still largely guided by the police. Advocacy includes campaigning for a wide range of actions from those which the police support fully, e.g. anti drink driving campaigns, to others which are not always appreciated by the police, especially senior officers who have to balance limited resources among competing needs.

Examples of community participation in traffic law enforcement have been identified by the local counterparts. Some Indian cities have local traffic action committees, community volunteers assisting children to cross the road, as well as high-technology patrol vehicles ('Interceptors') manned by both civilian employees and traffic police. Bangladesh has promoted community traffic policing projects whereby local wardens help maintain traffic order and discourage crime. In South Africa, community traffic safety forums are being promoted by the Department of Transport and Drive Alive had produced information booklets for road crash victims.

Next step

Suggestions for pilot projects in a subsequent implementation project have been made. These include community traffic policing forums and projects, Interceptor programmes, student traffic warden volunteers, collision investigation and research centre, road traffic victim advocacy and support centre, and an

evaluation and research programme. These proposals are at the preliminary stage and deserve additional effort in being developed and organised into an implementation project which meets local priorities, but is also practical to manage. Accordingly, a brief linking phase has been proposed whereby the counterparts are visited and in-depth discussions will be undertaken with the associated police, NGOs, and justice sector organisations in order to define the terms of references for the pilot projects. This would facilitate the proposals being coordinated with existing related programmes, such as South Africa's Victim Empowerment Programme, which will be a key factor in their sustainability.

Further recommendations include a request for traffic safety to be approached as a cross-disciplinary subject and thus included in justice and public health sector policies, as well as the transport sector. This would particularly benefit the victims who have often been overlooked in prevention focused transport sector road safety projects and who, by all accounts, are expected to continue to increase in numbers for years to come.

Community traffic policing Scoping study report

1 Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

In theory, with the protection of life and property being the basic objective of policing, traffic safety should qualify as a key priority. Worldwide, road traffic crashes are estimated to kill approximately one million people a year and by 2020, they are expected to be the second leading cause of lost life years (WHO, 2002). Moreover, for every person killed, there are several times the number of people seriously injured. Many of the casualties are pedestrians and bus passengers and are assumed to involve a disproportional share of the poor. Road crashes will also affect the more wealthy as they will travel more and by faster modes. Road crashes are also a leading cause of destruction of motor vehicles, a rare possession and highly valued property in low-income countries (LIC).

Along with Engineering and Education, Enforcement has been one of the key ways of reducing this toll. However, as few road crashes involve criminal intent, they have been traditionally viewed as 'accidents', and traffic safety is rarely a police priority.

"For most police, traffic regulation is ... trivial and resented by the public. Accounting for a large proportion of police-citizen contacts, traffic regulation rarely makes friends for the police." (Bayley, 1994).

Traffic police often have little status (over 80% of Bangladesh traffic police are not authorised to cite violations) and limited resources, with the vast majority of LIC traffic police lacking access to a vehicle. Even in high income countries (HIC), they are usually the first in the police to experience cutbacks, e.g. in 2002, the number of traffic police in London was halved in an attempt to combat street crime and the threat of terrorism despite road deaths consistently outnumbering homicides, i.e. 299 road deaths to 171 homicides in 2001.

LIC traffic police are often used to check documents or control vehicle flows, with little priority given to assisting the vulnerable road users. Traffic police work in shift patterns which means new traffic police are regularly being assigned to localities for relatively short periods and few forces allow career specialisation within the traffic police. They have little, if any, contact with the local community and often suffer from a lack of familiarity with the local road usage and travel patterns.

Traffic safety is a priority in many roadside villages and urban communities (as evidenced by the illegal speed humps often constructed) who cannot escape the threat of traffic. As traffic safety programmes have often been national in focus, local demand for traffic safety has been overlooked. The benefits of community participation in road safety have been described as

- Accurate understanding of the public's priorities and needs, especially at the local level
- Increasing public support for government's efforts
- Promoting effective service delivery
- Serving as a 'watchdog' or advocate for road safety.

Examples of how the community has promoted traffic law enforcement are presented in the report.

1.2 Study background

This research is funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) under its Engineering Knowledge and Research programme. DFID is the UK government department responsible for promoting development and the reduction of poverty in LICs. The central focus of the Government's policy, set out in the 1997 White Paper on International Development, is a commitment to the internationally agreed target to halve the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. The second White Paper on International Development, published in December 2000, reaffirmed this commitment, while focusing specifically on how to manage the process of globalisation to alleviate poverty.

DFID seeks to work in partnership with governments that are committed to these international targets, as well as with business, civil society and the research community to this end. DFID has been a lead supporter of the Global Road Safety Partnership (GRSP), an international non-profit association that promotes road safety, especially in LICs, by improved collaboration between civil society, government and the business sector. The GRSP website highlights the importance of community participation and GRSP support was obtained for this study, which includes the production of a draft Information Note on Community Participation and Traffic Policing for the GRSP.

1.3 Research objectives

The basic objective of the scoping study is to identify the potential for reducing the risk and consequences of road crashes, especially those involving the poor, through increased collaboration between traffic police and local communities. It is based on the following three premises:

1. Community participation has been promoted in general policing more than in traffic policing.
2. Traffic policing is rarely viewed as a priority within the police.
3. Priority has begun to be given to promoting the access to justice by both victims of crime and offenders, but this has not been extended to those involved in road crashes.

The study approach has focused on the following four areas:

- Identifying the lessons learnt from previous LIC policing and community participation initiatives.
- Reviewing how community participation is promoted in traffic policing and the justice sector in the UK.
- Summarising the current situation in the LIC case studies regarding community participation in policing and the justice system, with special emphasis given to traffic safety and the poor.
- Developing recommendations for a Phase Two implementation project.

1.3.1 Key issues

The key issues identified in the Inception Report included how to:

- Increase public confidence in the police and their accountability
- Obtain senior police commitment (essential for real reform)
- Ensure that police feel supported rather than threatened.
- Improve collaboration between police and other agencies in the community
- Ensure the most vulnerable groups, i.e. poor and women, are consulted.
- Identify practical role for community organisations
- Improve the lack of social capital and limited resources of communities, especially low income communities

These issues were targeted in the literature review and in the local situational reviews.

1.4 Report structure

Chapter 2 includes a summary of the literature review while the complete review is included in Appendix B. The summary highlights the research findings in two key areas: DFID's recent Safety Security and Access to Justice Policy and human rights; and the experience of community policing, including lessons for traffic policing. Additional research findings have been incorporated into the other chapters.

The findings from the situational reviews are summarised in Chapters 3-5. Chapter 3, Policing with the Community, reviews the central issues of accountability, corruption, and consultation, and includes examples of community policing and partnerships at the local level. Traffic law enforcement is the focus of Chapter 4, which reviews how traffic policing is organised and resourced, as well as the extent to which the community assists the police in promoting safe road user behaviour.

Chapter 5, Access to Justice, tackles the areas of investigation and prosecution, and that of victim support. Prosecution covers not only the possible charges and number of convictions but also non-formal justice systems and restorative justice systems. Support services for road traffic victims includes both those provided by statutory agencies and by the voluntary sector, as the latter has often led in the area of victim support.

Chapter 6 presents the Summary and Recommendations. This includes suggestions from the local counterparts for pilot projects to be considered in a subsequent implementation project. A linking phase is recommended as the 'next step' and would involve visits to the local counterparts to develop the implementation project proposal. A general recommendation is also made to undertake a coordinated cross-disciplinary approach to road safety and promote community participation in traffic policing in the justice and health sectors as well as that of transport/engineering sector. Key references are listed in Chapter 7. Additional information on the local counterpart organisations is presented in Appendix A while copies of their situational reviews are provided in Annex A. Appendix B includes the draft outline of a proposed police training course on Community Participation in Traffic Policing.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Literature review

The aim of the literature review was to summarise lessons to be learned from research on policing in LICs relevant to improving community participation in traffic law enforcement. It was based on consultation with a wide range of potential informants and on reviewing literature especially on policing and the poor, community policing and accessible justice in developing countries, and on selected material on prevention of road traffic injury in these countries.

The literature review was conducted by the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), University of Wales Swansea. With a primary focus on social and institutional development, CDS has been DFID's resource centre in social development since 1990. CDS recently undertook an evaluation of UK support for the police in developing countries and has contributed to the development of DFID's Access to Justice policy.

1.5.2 Local reviews

Local counterparts were engaged to summarise the current situation with regard to community participation and policing, especially traffic policing, and present the findings, including proposals for practical implementation projects, at a local workshop. Questionnaires were provided to guide the data collection of the local counterparts .

The three local counterpart organisations were:

1. Institute for Road Traffic Education (IRTE), New Delhi, India
2. BRAC (formerly Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee), Dhaka
3. Centre for Peace Action (CPA), Johannesburg, South Africa

IRTE is a traffic safety non governmental organisation (NGO); BRAC is the largest NGO in Bangladesh (if not all LICs) and it also has a University (which caters for but is not restricted to NGOs); and CPA is a community-based organisation which is part of the WHO Safe Community Network. The counterparts were involved in the development of the study methodology. While all the local counterparts are in a good position to disseminate the lessons learned, another shared attribute is the emphasis given to research and evaluation. Further background details on the counterparts are provided in Appendix A.

2 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This research examines the concern that more has been done to promote community participation in general policing and assist victims of crime than has been done for traffic law enforcement and road crash victims, and that a research programme should be initiated to address this problem. The full literature review conducted by CDS is presented in Appendix B and includes a detailed analysis of community policing efforts, including a discussion of obtaining both community support and police commitment. Practical guidelines on Accountability, Community Policing, Community Programmes/Partnerships, and Human Rights are also provided which show basic, intermediate and advanced programme levels with suggested performance indicators. The review also discusses the implications of community policing for traffic law enforcement and provides examples of possible community participation initiatives in both reducing the risk of road crashes as well as improving society's response to those crashes and casualties unavoids, through such programmes as victim support and restorative justice.

The literature review involved a two-step process. First, the following three groups were contacted for relevant information:

- (a) participants in the April 2001 workshop which developed the World Health Organisation's (WHO) '5-Year Strategy for Road Traffic Injury Prevention',
- (b) GRSP advisers, and
- (c) DFID police, governance and social advisers in their local development divisions who might have information on the subject.

A stark reflection of the dearth of knowledge of traffic policing and the absence of community involvement in this field is the fact that few of these potential informants were able to provide relevant information – although many of them noted that the project was very desirable and necessary. An earlier review of road safety management had highlighted how the police took the lead role in road safety in a few countries; it was traditionally a second priority for the organisations involved, including the police (TRL and Babbie Ross Silcock and TRL, 2001).

Secondly, CDS re-examined and updated a previous literature review, and analysed their reports on policing for DFID in 1999 and 2000 (*Evaluation of ODA/DFID Support to the Police in Developing Countries*, (Biddle et al, 1999) and *Policy Guidance on Support to Policing in Developing Countries*, (Clegg et al, 2000). In particular, material on policing and the poor, community policing and accessible justice were particularly relevant.

The literature review summary presented here focuses on two main areas:

1. Lessons from community policing
2. DFID's Safety Security and Access to Justice (SSAJ) policy, including human rights

2.2 Community Policing

2.2.1 Policing aims and the role of the police

Before discussing community policing, the role of the police and the difference between 'police' and 'policing' should be clarified. The orthodox view of police aims has included "preventing crime; pursuing and bringing to justice those who break the law; keeping the Queen's peace; and protecting, helping and reassuring the community" (Sheehy, 1993). Police experts have responded that :

"The police do not prevent crime. This is one of the best kept secrets of modern life. Experts know it, the police know it, but the public does not know it. ... repeated analysis has consistently failed to find any connection between the number of police officers and crime rates. Second, the primary strategies adopted by modern police have been shown to have little or no effect on crime" (Bayley, 1994).

Instead, law breaking in general is believed to be best regulated by a comprehensive approach in which policing, by the police and others, is underpinned by strengthening of society's value systems. Morgan and Newburn sum this up later in their analysis, concluding:

"The legitimacy of the law is not something primarily inculcated by the police: it is part of a value system into which we are progressively socialised by all the institutions with which we have contact and of which we are a part - family, school, church, neighbourhood club or association, workplace and civic network" (Morgan and Newburn, 1997).

Likewise, it should be noted that "policing" is not just a matter for the police force - indeed, most policing is not carried out by the police:

"The 'police' are a particular institution, whilst 'policing' implies a set of processes with specific social functions. 'Police' are not found in every society, but 'policing' is arguably a universal requirement of any social order, which may be carried out by a variety of different processes and institutional arrangements" (Reiner, 1997).

2.2.2 Community policing in theory

One of the key objectives of this scoping study was to review the experience of community policing, the popularity of which is argued to be due in part to the vagueness about what it means and in part because the idea of "community" is strongly associated with morality and goodness. The central premise of community policing has been defined as:

"the public should play a more active part in enhancing public safety. Neither the police nor the criminal justice system can bear the responsibility alone. In an apt phrase, the public should be seen along with the police as "co-producers" of safety and order. Community policing thus imposes a new responsibility on the police to devise appropriate ways for associating the public with law enforcement and the maintenance of order" (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988).

The development of "community policing" was an expressed objective of all the aid-to-policing projects reviewed in a recent synthesis evaluation for DFID (Biddle, Clegg and Whetton, 1999). DFID's concept of community policing, while emphasising service and partnership, refers specifically to providing a service to those who need it most, to police respect for human rights and to giving particular attention to crimes against women and children (DFID, 2000).

2.2.3 Community policing in practice

The literature review highlighted two common problems with community policing in practice, including the police viewing the community as no more than a potential source of information. While such tokenism has been found in HICs, it is more likely to occur in LICs where too often the police are grossly under-resourced and there is a long history of oppressive policing and public mistrust. Examples include the early community policing efforts in Namibia where the role of the community was very soon seen as "assisting and co-operating with members of the Force, especially in terms of information gathering". One-way communication flows were also found in Uganda where community policing was interpreted as "a means of instructing local populations, rather than listening to them" (Biddle, Clegg and Whetton, 1999).

Secondly, more serious and genuine efforts at community policing may well be undermined by the fact that there are pressures on the police to respond to the demands of more dominant and vocal sectors of communities, which can result in a 'spray on solution' as it glosses over the enormous variation and conflicts of interest found in communities. Members of poor and disadvantaged groups are likely to be excluded from the community policing consultative forums. At worst, this model may intensify community divisions rather than reduce them.

The review also highlighted the practical experience of introducing community policing in South Africa and Northern Ireland which are summarised below.

South African experience

In South Africa, the intention was to mainstream community policing, making it a core function underpinning all policing. South Africa's Department of Safety and Security produced a Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines which defined the five core elements of community policing as:

1. Service orientation –the provision of a professional policing service, responsive to community needs and accountable for addressing these needs,
2. Partnership – the facilitation of a co-operative, consultative process of problem-solving,
3. Problem solving – the joint identification and analysis of the causes of crime and conflict and the development of innovative measures to address these,
4. Empowerment – the creation of joint responsibility and capacity for addressing crime,
5. Accountability – the creation of a culture of accountability for addressing the needs and concerns of communities. (Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000).

Pelser asks: " ... is it plausible to assume that the personnel of the SAPS (South African Police Service), developed in a disempowering, extremely centralised, hierarchical, and still largely insular organisational culture, have been equipped to deliver the decentralised, informed, innovative and proactive responses required by community policing? Clearly not" (Pelser, 2000). This would have required highly committed leadership and management, implying a great deal more than the "retraining" of the police as has been done elsewhere, beginning with the most senior leadership. In practice, however, the responsibility was devolved to a 'National Community Policing Desk', managed by a Superintendent. The result was that community policing was restricted to no more than the establishment and maintenance of community policing fora and was never fully integrated into the SAPS.

Northern Ireland experience:

In a context of severe communal conflict and mistrust of the police, the Patten Report on policing in Northern Ireland placed great stress on "policing with the community" (a term preferred to the more ambiguous 'community policing'), seeing as "the core function of the police service and the core function of every police station"(Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000). The report talks in terms of neighbourhood policing and sees devolution of police work to this level as essential. It seeks to break away from the difficulties of a nebulous 'community' concept, asking the police from a local station to work with the relatively homogeneous local neighbourhood.

"What we do mean is: the police working in partnership with the community; the community thereby participating in its own policing; and the two working together, mobilising resources to solve problems affecting public safety over the longer term rather than the police, alone, reacting short term to incidents as they occur Partnership is a matter of policing style, but it is also an attitude of mind, both for police officers and for the public. It is at least as much a matter of philosophy as it is one of method, and it amounts to a profound shift in police thinking and community thinking". (Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000).

2.2.4 Effectiveness of community policing

While there is no evidence of the kind of mainstreaming aspired to in Northern Ireland and South Africa, or the "co-production" of safety and order by the police and public as in the classic definitions of community policing, there has been some local success in the UK, South Africa and Northern Ireland. However, the majority of evaluations that have been undertaken in the UK have found few positive effects in terms of crime prevention or reduction, but in many cases the waters have been muddied by problems of *implementation*. Considerable resistance has been found within police forces to the types of organisational restructuring and changes in working practices demanded by such a new philosophy of policing. Indeed, it has been argued that the majority of problems that have been identified have stemmed from programme failure rather than with fundamental flaws in the philosophy that underpins them (Jones and Maguire, Annex D, p 134, in Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000).

It is also useful to remember the caveat expressed by Skolnick and Bayley, over decade ago, that community policing should not be expected to be a crime control panacea:

"The classic social and economic correlates of crime – high rates of youth unemployment, family breakdown, social dislocation, violence, gangs, drugs, illiteracy, and historical patterns of racial discrimination – will not be removed by community policing. Community policing is no substitute for social and economic change. As a crime-control measure, it must be understood in a limited perspective, not as a long-run or keystone feature of a successful anti-crime policy" (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988).

2.2.5 Lessons for traffic policing

The literature review concluded that it was “very difficult but not impossible to implement the full model of community policing, in poorer developing societies in particular, even though these may be seen as needing it most. The lesson is that implementation must be slow and patient and supported by resources (though not necessarily by increased allocations of very scarce government funding to the police). It also needs, initially at least, to be targeted at selected poor neighbourhoods rather than seeking national “mainstreaming”.

However, in the field of injury prevention, involving the community is believed to bring benefits far more readily and quickly than it has in the field of community policing more generally. Yet relatively little attention has been paid to traffic law enforcement in recent international debates on road injury prevention in developing countries, which have principally involved specialists from engineering, health and education. It seems clear that many obvious improvements in traffic policing are likely to be very cost effective, with the interests of more vulnerable road users, protected by giving heavy emphasis to community traffic policing. This should be interpreted in its widest sense of involving the general public and NGOs as fully as possible in injury prevention methods, in genuine partnership with local police forces and other government agencies.

2.3 Safety, Security and Access to Justice (SSAJ)

2.3.1 Objectives

DFID has recently introduced their SSAJ policy (See Box 2.1). The poor were a priority consideration in the development of DFID’s SSAJ policy, as access to justice has been found to be a priority to people in LICs, especially the poor who are more vulnerable to crime and its impacts.

Box 2.1 DFID’s SSAJ policy objectives

- To make all people safe from violence and intimidation in their communities, homes, work and schools;
- To make people’s property secure from theft and damage; and
- To ensure that everybody has access to systems which dispense justice fairly, speedily and without discrimination (DFID, 2000).

Low-income families without access to effective justice systems are believed to suffer from four types of justice-related impoverishment:

- The justice system fails to fulfil its stated objectives - of protecting people from theft, violence and official abuse - or to enforce legitimate entitlements and legal rights (e.g. to wages or inheritance).
- The prevalence of police extortion, unjust imprisonment and courtroom bribery may inflict further costs: the justice system may seem like 'organised theft'.
- Living in a state of lawlessness undermines confidence, deters investment and contributes to costly risk-avoiding behaviour within a culture of fear.
- Vulnerable households may use scarce disposable income for self-protection (e.g. bribes and weapons) to shield themselves from both state and private plundering (Anderson, 2002).

Human rights are a basic component of the SSAJ policy and apply to both victims and offenders. Minimum components of a sound human rights policy include the following:

- prisoners have access to legal advice which is free or very low cost
- a police strategy developed and published for giving practical support to the victims of *all* crimes, especially repeat victims, liaising with non-policing bodies where appropriate.
- strict rules, such as those contained in the UK Police and Criminal Evidence Act, in place and training of officers given;
- a system of independent access, such as a 'lay visitor scheme', to police stations;
- reduced reliance on confessions as the main evidence tendered to a court;
- increased use of forensic evidence or other corroboration of eye-witness evidence;
- an independent (volunteer) Victim Support Scheme in place, actively supported by police and working closely with them (Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000).

3 Policing with the Community

The previous chapter summarised the available literature and in this chapter, the findings from the local counterpart reviews (Bangladesh, South Africa and India) are highlighted. Before focusing on traffic law enforcement, the general approach to community participation in policing is summarised in order to provide the background context and review the extent to which the community is a 'co-producer' of safety. First, the extent to which the police must report to the community, whether for senior appointments, approval of plans or budgets, and response to complaints and corruption charges, is reviewed. Secondly, the perceived value of community participation is highlighted with a summary of consultation efforts, volunteer programmes, and partnership projects currently underway in the four countries reviewed.

3.1 Accountability

3.1.1 Power structure

UK

With 51 quasi-independent police forces (which correlate closely to local government boundaries) headed by Chief Constables, the UK has an unusually devolved policing system. Outside of London, Chief Constables are appointed by the local Police Authority from a short list provided by the Home Office. In London, the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) Commissioner and his Deputies, who currently are in charge of over 28,000 officers, are appointed by the Queen through a Royal Warrant.

Chief constables are accountable to both the local appointed Police Authority and central government, i.e. the Home Office. The local Police Authority includes magistrates, local councillors and independent members. The latter are first short-listed by the police and then selected by the rest of the Police Authority. This is a voluntary position but expenses are paid.

While the Police Authority can remove a Chief Constable, the Home Office provides the majority of a police force's budget (over 75%). The Home Office maintains the Inspectorate of Constabulary which undertakes regular reviews of all forces (maximum interim of 3 years) and issues a certificate of efficiency, without which central funding could be, and has on rare occasions, been withheld.

Bangladesh

In Bangladesh control over the police is much more centralised. At the national level, there is a Standing Committee of Parliament for Police, which oversees police activities. At the district level, a Ministry of Home Affairs Order defines the membership and terms of reference (TOR) of the District Law and Order Committee. With the Minister in Charge of the district as Chair and Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police as Vice Chairs, other committee members include police officers in charge of circles, Chairmen of Municipalities, Presidents of Bar Association, Chamber of Commerce and Industries, and Press Club, Principals of colleges in district HQs, District Education Officer, District Adjutant of Ansar and representatives of National Security Intelligence, National Women Organisation, Department of Women Affairs, Social Welfare Department and Additional District Commissioner as Member Secretary. District Members of Parliament usually attend the meeting. Police report on the incidence of crime, progress of investigation and prosecutions to a separate committee, chaired by the district magistrate.

South Africa

The South African Police Act of 1995 established a single national police force, which is currently organised into 43 police areas within nine provinces, with a police to population ratio of 1:450. According to a recent Annual Report, SAPS aims to provide impartial, transparent, and accountable policing that holds and protects the rights of all people (SAPS, 2002). The SAPS Act also included provision for municipal and metropolitan police forces with the local authority having the key role in their being established. The advantage of a municipal police service is that it is directly accountable to the people it serves, unlike the SAPS where accountability lies not with the community but with Pretoria (Schonteich, 1998).

India

The Delhi Police is governed by the national Ministry of Home Affairs, through the Lt. Governor of Delhi. The Commissioner of Police is of the level of Director General of Police and is assisted by 3 Special

Commissioners of Police of the rank of Additional Director General, 17 Joint Commissioners of Police, and 7 Addl. Commissioners of Police, 74 Deputy Commissioners of Police, and other police officers._

With a current staff of over 57,000, Delhi Police is believed to be the largest metropolitan police service in the world and is organised into 3 ranges, 9 districts and 123 police stations. Specialised units include the Armed Police Battalion (10), Crime Branch, Crime against Women Cell, Police Training College, Delhi Railway and Metro Railway Police, Licensing and Vigilance, Traffic Police, Security and Provisioning and Lines.

In Bangalore City, the Commissioner of Police is of the rank of Additional Director General of Police and he is assisted by two Joint Commissioners of police of the rank of Inspector General of Police and two Additional Commissioners of Police of the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police and 15 Deputy Commissioners of police of the rank of Superintendents of Police. There are jurisdictional Deputy Commissioners of Police in charge of specified zones and functional Deputy Commissioners of Police in charge of specialized functions such as Administration, Crime, Security, Intelligence etc.

3.1.2 Plans

UK

Each force is required to produce an annual policing plan. In England and Wales, police forces are required to adopt certain National Key Performance Indicators, set by the Home Office and monitored by the Audit Commission, Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary and in a less formalised way by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO).

The police authority, following consultation with the chief constable, will issue the annual policing plan, which will include specific performance indicators reflecting both the national standards and local priorities. At the end of each planning year the chief constable will issue a public report detailing how successful, or otherwise, the force has been. Many forces also have a strategic plan of how they will develop over the longer term.

Traffic police and road safety organisations believed a major step was achieved in 2002 when the UK National Policing Plan (2003-2006) stated that "Forces and authorities should include in their local policing plans targeted and intelligence led strategies for reducing deaths and injuries on the roads and achieving a safe environment for all road users" (Home Office, 2002).

Bangladesh

Although strategic plans had been developed for both Bangladesh Police and Dhaka Metropolitan Police Service (DMP), these plans have expired and have yet to be updated or replaced. There is a Planning and Research section within the Bangladesh Police Headquarters but national priorities are currently determined by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Police Headquarters without any public consultation.

India

Annual reviews are undertaken by the Police organisations at the end of each year and Action Plans are drawn up for the next year (The Delhi Traffic Police Action Plan is summarised in a later section). However, there are no long-term strategic plans developed. In Delhi there is one post of Joint Commissioner of Police (rank of Inspector General) for planning, implementation and coordination. There is another officer of the same level who deals with provisioning and logistics. These officers are responsible for making plans for procurement of equipment and modernization of systems.

South Africa

The SAPS' strategic plan (2000-2003) has four priorities, including improved service delivery and community interaction, combating organised crime, combating serious and violent crime and, reducing crimes against women and children. The Service Delivery Improvement Programme targets the interaction at the local level within police stations.

There are also local plans, which the local police commissioner is responsible for developing. A local traffic policing plan would include monthly targets for enforcement, i.e. the number of convictions for driving under influence, driving without a licence, driving without a seat belt, speeding, etc.

3.1.3 Corruption and complaints

UK

A key step in tackling corruption was the adoption of fair wages, which removed any tolerance for corruption. This was a gradual development over several decades. On-the-spot fines have not been widely used, with one of the reasons being the desire to avoid temptation of abuse of power. The UK police also invested much effort into eliminating corruption from Hong Kong where they established an anti-corruption unit in the 1960s.

The Home Office has recently completed a review of corruption in the police services, which included estimating between 0.5 per cent and 1 per cent of all police officers and administrative staff were potentially (though not necessarily) corrupt with two main kinds of corruption identified: individual and internally networked. While a higher share of the latter was reported in London, the study concluded this could have been due to increased priority and improved reporting and accountability within the MPS (Miller, 2003).

The Police Complaints Authority (PCA) is an independent body, established by the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984. It is staffed by lay members (who are not allowed to have served as police officers) and supervises the investigation of complaints made against the police by a member of the public. The PCA has also recently begun investigating all fatal crashes that involved a police pursuit. The police complaints system is currently being reformed and its funding has been increased by £1 million. A new independent oversight body, the Independent Police Complaints Commission is to be established. Led by a civilian, it will have independent investigation teams, which will be a mix of civilians and police officers. Previously the PCA had to rely on the police to do much of the investigation work.

Bangladesh

At present, the Security Cell in Police Headquarters is responsible for investigating allegations against police personnel. In addition, the police unit chiefs and the Home Ministry also initiate enquiries against police personnel. The Bureau of Anti-Corruption is an independent organisation which reports to the Prime Minister's Office. It is based in Dhaka but has offices in Divisional and District headquarters.

Despite these efforts, Transparency International was reported to have concluded the police and the lower court magistracy were the two most corrupt departments in the country. This has resulted in the discussion, at least in the media, of the need for a police force intelligence unit for internal investigations.

India

In Delhi, there are various anti-corruption initiatives being undertaken within the police as well as within the state administration, including the Anti-Corruption Unit which functions under the Director of Vigilance of the Government of Delhi. A Delhi Deputy Commissioner of Police works in this Anti-Corruption Unit for effective coordination. The Govt of Delhi also has a Public Grievances Commission that is headed by a retired Bureaucrat.

The Delhi Police Vigilance Branch is empowered to conduct raids and check police stations for unauthorised or undesirable activities of police personnel and violations of human rights etc. It functions under the Joint Commissioner of Police of the rank of Inspector General of Police. Each unit of the branch has an Assistant Commissioner of Police who is in charge of the Public Grievance Cell. Other bodies which support the Vigilance are :

- National Human Rights Commission
- National and Delhi Women's Commission
- Minorities Commission
- Central Vigilance Commission
- Schedule Tribes and Schedule Caste Commission

The Public Relations Grievance Unit of the Delhi Traffic Police, which is headed by an Assistant Commissioner, was strengthened to take action on the complaints/suggestions of the public for better traffic management. Complaints can be lodged in person, in post or by e-mail. There is also a Flying Squad which functions round the clock in Vigilance Branch. Members of the public can ring up a dedicated telephone number for emergency help in the case of harassment by police. As many as 1900

police personnel were punished which included: dismissal, reduction in rank/pay, withholding of increment and censure.

South Africa

The Independent Complaints Directorate is a national organisation where the public reports complaints or corruption within government departments, including the police. While few statistics exist, evidence suggests that the level of corruption in some traffic departments is unacceptably high, which is partly a result of the use of spot fines thus introducing the possibility of a trade-off with the issuing officer (Shaw, 1996; Rauch, Shaw & Louw, 2001). Corruption with licensing and everyday affairs was one reason given for the recent high holiday road death toll. Over 70 officers were arrested for corruption and fraud in 2002, and an internal affairs investigation unit is to be established in 2003.

3.2 Participation and partnership

'Community participation is often key to effective policing. The people who live and work in an area are best placed to identify the problems facing them and possible solutions to those problems' (DFID, 2000)

3.2.1 Consultation

UK

Consultation has been a long-term priority for the UK police. Three key methods of consulting the community include the Police Community Consultative Groups (PCCG), Crime and Disorder Audits, and local beat officers. PCCGs were established by the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 which requires each police area to make arrangements for obtaining the views of local people about matters concerning the policing and for obtaining their co-operation with the police in preventing crime in the area. This initiative followed the Brixton riots in 1981. The subsequent inquiry found a deterioration in police-public relations had contributed to the inner city disturbances and identified the need for the establishment of formal public consultation and feedback systems.

The first pilot Consultative Group was set up in Lambeth, the London borough where the Brixton riots occurred. In London, the PCCGs operate at the Borough level and meet on a monthly basis. The MPS provide the PCCGs with crime statistics for the previous month and thus the public is informed of the latest crime incidence, i.e. robbery, rape, grievous bodily harm, domestic violence assaults, pick pocketing and car and bicycle theft, which has occurred within the local borough. Unfortunately, the MPS does not include road crash or casualty statistics, although a few of the PCCGs are believed to collect this data separately and include it in their presentations.

Greater emphasis was given to public consultation by the Crime and Disorder Act (1998), which requires the police and local authority to undertake an audit of the crime and disorder issues. The local authority is required to demonstrate that in undertaking the consultation they have reflected the views of all sections of the community, including 'hard to reach groups' e.g. disabled, poor, women, etc. This is achieved through representative organisations, public advertisement, the Internet, public meetings in relevant strategic locations, etc. The plans are reviewed annually and a comprehensive audit is undertaken every three years.

Despite the priority given to PCCGs and audits, senior MPS police officers have recently admitted that they need 'to listen to the public and put officers back on the street' (Hopkins, The Guardian, February 28, 2003). The MPS Commissioner stated that officers had been withdrawn from beat duties after academic research questioned the effectiveness of local beat officers. However, this policy failed to realise the importance of providing public reassurance and how the deterrence of minor crimes such as graffiti were 'quality of life' issues for the community. Accordingly, the MPS now plans to establish dedicated teams of neighbourhood police in each of London's 758 council wards. These teams are expected to be based in the community, i.e. libraries, doctors' surgeries or shops (Taylor, 2003) and to supplement the recent introduction of community support officers nationwide.

Bangladesh

Community policing began to be introduced in Dhaka and Mymensingh in the early nineties. Over 50 community policing programmes were introduced in Dhaka and included such activities as anticrime campaigns, dispute resolutions, preventive patrolling, community support in cost sharing etc. These

programmes suffered from the lack of an institutional framework and policy guidelines and were dependent on individual officers. Some activities are still ongoing in a few districts (Thakurgaon, Pabna, Chandpur, Naotore). A Community Policing cell has been recently established within Police Headquarters and while it is currently headed by an Assistant Inspector General, it is not (yet) a sanctioned post.

The government is also currently working with DFID to improve policing at the local level and to introduce strategic reforms within the Bangladesh Police Service to make it more service oriented. Activities underway include:

- undertaking public attitude and user surveys to increase public awareness and improve accountability;
- joint police-public problem solving (i.e. victim support needs)
- police/community forums
- use of 'report cards' to measure community satisfaction
- improving police skills in data collection, research and policy analysis with training and technical assistance (DFID, 2002).

Greater consideration is beginning to be shown to the vulnerable. In a recent week-long DMP training programme for Sub Inspectors, presentations were given on the rights of women and the poor by renowned human activists. DMP has also established three women investigating centres that are staffed by female officers.

South Africa

In his opening address to Parliament in 1999, President Mbeki committed government to take measures to 'strengthen the community policing forums to improve their capacity to mobilise the people against crime and to improve co-operation between the people and law enforcement agencies' (Pelser, 2001). However, eight years after community policing forums were first introduced, their impact appears limited. A recent survey conducted by the Institute for Security Studies found that in general, community police forums had been unable to get support from local organisations. A survey of over 17,000 people found less than half had even heard of community policing forums and approximately one in fifteen had participated in one (Pelser, 2001).

Four general factors have been identified as critical to the successful implementation of community policing in SA, with commitment the key issue:

1. Level of activism in the community – refers to the degree to which members of the community are able and willing to engage with issues of safety and security,
2. Leadership style and commitment - refers to both that at police stations and in their communities, particularly at the Community Policing Forums,
3. Relevant education and training - refers to the level of basic education and training in the police and in the community,
4. Commitment of junior members of the SAPS - refers to the willingness of these members of the SAPS to engage with the requirements of the policy. (Pelser, 2000).

A critical mass needs to be achieved "that is, the mobilisation of all or most other relevant role-players - like other government departments and non-government and community-based organisations – to engage with social crime prevention programmes" (Pelser, 2000).

India

The Delhi Police do promote public participation and consultation. Each of the nine Police Districts of Delhi has a District level Committee headed by a Member of Parliament. There is also a Police Station Level Committee, which is headed by a Member of Legislative Assembly. Citizens from all walks of life are invited to be the members of these committees which hold bi-monthly meetings.

There is also Thana Diwas (Police Station Day), which is observed monthly on a Saturday where Senior Police Officers are present to hear the grievances of the general public. The police also organise get-togethers for members of different religions in an endeavour to maintain communal harmony.

The concept of "Bhagidari", the Citizen's Partnership in Governance, has been a long standing government priority, that has seen recent initiatives such as the 'Area Action Plan' and Neighbourhood Watch programmes which are discussed in the next section.

In 1998, the Bangalore City Police launched the Mobile Office of the Commissioner, which allowed direct interaction of senior officers with community members. There is also an Open House System whereby the public are invited to visit their local police station one Sunday a month. The Bangalore City police were also a key partner in the Bangalore Agenda Task Force (BATF) which has adopted a citizen centred approach and intends to help transform Bangalore through a private public partnership. Several improvements to the road environment have already been undertaken by BATF. Other community based initiatives undertaken in Bangalore included traffic action committees and helplines.

3.2.2 Volunteers

UK

Civilian volunteers who work with the police are called Special Constables. They must be between the ages of 18 and 50, undergo a weekend training programme that lasts approximately 14-20 weeks, and commit to a minimum of 200 hours a year. Special constables have the same powers as the full time constable and are likely to be engaged in their local community. Whilst they can perform any task, because of the limited on-the-job experience they receive, the 'special' is likely to be deployed on uniform patrol, or in some other highly visible way. At present, there are approximately 13,000 specials working in the UK of which one-third are women and three per cent are from ethnic minorities (www.policecouldyou.co.uk/specials).

Volunteers also participate in Neighbourhood Watch programmes, which were originally established as an initiative against house burglary. Based on a street, or collection of streets, the residents will nominate an organiser who is responsible for keeping the other members of the watch informed of security and crime issues and all members are encouraged to report suspected or witnessed crimes. The police normally have a local liaison officer who attends meetings and ensures that all relevant information is given to the group. There is a national umbrella organisation which supports the local programmes.

India

Many of the UK initiatives are also found in India. For instance, the Commissioner of Police can appoint males of 18 years or older to be a Special Police Officer for the purpose of assisting the Delhi Police. India's Neighbourhood Watch Scheme is also similar to the UK's and based on the belief that the law can be better enforced and crime can be better prevented with the cooperation of the people. Basic objectives are to:

1. reduce property crime;
2. foster police-community relations;
3. increase community spirit;
4. reduce juvenile crime by getting the youths also involved in the Scheme.

Under the Scheme, the police will first identify a neighbourhood and then contact its citizens in order to motivate them to together keep their eyes and ears open in their own neighbourhood in order to prevent crime.

The Scheme is to be introduced gradually and, initially in two or three crime-prone residential areas in each of the nine police districts. Property crimes are to be targeted, i.e. robberies, burglaries, thefts, vehicle thefts, and snatchings. If interested, the community will choose a Neighbourhood Watch Committee which will include representatives of the police, local bodies, residents' associations, local voluntary organisations and the residents. Ideally the area should not cover more than 500 houses or it could be chosen to coincide with the area of the local Beat Constable.

Delhi's partnership scheme, TIKHRIPAHRA, involves local volunteers assisting the police with night patrolling in 360 villages. In Bangalore, there are reported to be a total of 4760 community members belonging to Neighbourhood Watch and another 385 who have volunteered as Special Police Officers.

South Africa

Peace keepers undertake such activities as 'mediating domestic conflict, reporting crime to the Police, conducting general foot patrol and giving lectures at local schools on domestic and sexual abuse and crime prevention' (DFID, 2002). They serve for a period of six months and receive a small monthly wage and vocational training to help their employment prospects.

The South African Anti-Crime Committees involve communities electing 10 volunteers to engage in crime prevention and investigation. The volunteers are unarmed and pursue the solution of crime in the community or outside by eliciting the co-operation of residents. In Eldorado Park, some members from church groups also visit police stations to pray with the prisoners and preach against domestic violence.

CPA's Neighbourhood-based Safety Promotion Programme is a women's volunteer-led initiative with five key objectives:

- Facilitate a decrease in the incidence of injuries due to violence, traffic, burns and other factors
- Enhance the capacity of residents, and especially high risk groupings, i.e. women, children and youth, to promote safety and prevent violence and injury
- Promote the capacity of community representatives and leaders to advocate for the implementation of safety policies, laws and environments
- Develop the capacity of crisis and support agencies to assist residents in the prevention and containment of crime, violence and injuries and the various physical, psycho-social and economic factors
- Facilitate the utilisation of resilient and protective behaviours among vulnerable groups in participation neighbourhoods.

3.2.3 Partnerships

Police are not able to instil order and prevent crime on their own and partnerships with other formal organisations are essential. In Jamaica, an Urban Poverty Project sought the participation of organisations outside the criminal justice sector to help reduce crime. Results have included improved street lighting in crime-vulnerable areas and the installation of street signs to allow police to respond more quickly (both these measures would also help with road crashes both in terms of response and geographical referencing). Local perception surveys showed women and children feeling safer to walk the streets again (DFID, 2000).

UK

The Crime and Disorder Act encouraged multi-agency partnerships and Box 1 shows the tips included in Police Review article on partnerships. Recent examples include a housing trust which pays for 24 hours a week of the local community police constable's time. A three-year pilot project, costing £25,000 a year, it is paid for by the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust and would amount to a 40p weekly rent rise if tenants were to pay. It is worth noting that while the initiative is intended to reduce the fear of crime, it is not to be judged by the number of criminals caught (Benjamin, 2001).

Box 3.1: Police Partnership tips:

- Plan in detail the aims/objectives of the scheme before the project starts
 - Encourage the partners to work together from the outset. Make sure they are 'on board' and prepared to commit themselves.
 - Meet and work closely with community leaders, residents' association members and other pillars of the community
 - Appoint a project manager whose role is solely that, not someone who fits in the project alongside their day job
 - Use the media to publicise the good work regularly; it helps gain public confidence, while telling them what's happening in the area. Put in place an agreed media strategy
 - Move the project manager out of their everyday environment to another partner's offices for 60-70 per cent of the time to ensure they are not pulled back into their normal everyday roles.
- (Fulcher, 2000)

Another partnership example is in Manchester where the costs of policing licensed premises is being shared. Between 1997 and 1999, the number of licensed premises and the number of assaults tripled in the Peter Street area of Manchester. Police could not afford to dedicate more patrol time to the area so a compromise was arranged whereby the bar owners paid for one extra officer and the police paid for another. There have been difficulties getting all the bar owners to pay and some see this as unfair to the drinks industry which already pays £12 billion a year in tax and duty (Watt and Carter, 2003).

India

A new scheme with special emphasis on “**Area Action Plan**” has been launched. In Delhi’s south district, the “Community Liaison Group Scheme” involved 18 local groups meeting at a police station to ensure public participation in policing. Complaints and calls are to be attended immediately with a higher degree of sensitivity. Citizen’s involvement is coordinated at Division levels giving it a much wider base. Citizens of the area, Special Police Officers, Civil Defence representatives etc. are being involved. IRTE, Rape Crisis Intelligence Centre, Empowerment of Road Accidents Victims, and other NGOs are also involved. There are also Resident and Trade Welfare Associations who partner with the police in various activities to control crime and maintain law and order.

In Delhi, the realisation that half of all criminals being charged were drug offenders led the Deputy Police Commissioner of North Delhi District (who was also the first woman police officer in India who is now head of police training), to establish Navjyoti (‘new light’ in Hindi), an NGO which helps drug offenders and reduces re-offending. Drug de-addiction centres exist in many police stations and there is also a stitching centre established for women in one of Delhi’s largest slums.

An initiative of the Bangalore City Police to attend to the problems of children, was established in the premises of the office of the Commissioner of Police. Makkala Sahaya van offers immediate support to children in crisis, including medical care, legal aid, and counselling for children. Staffed by women police constables and volunteers, its services include a child helpline (first in the country) and a transit crisis shelter. In collaboration with United Nations Institute for Children’s Education Fund (UNICEF), several training courses have been organised for police officers to sensitise them to the rights and needs of children. It has received much support from corporations, community groups and individuals.

In Bangalore, the BATF approach has including the following:

- Identify citizen concerns for prioritisation.
- Public articulation of vision for accountability.
- Build Public-Private partnership models & facilitate pilot projects - involving Corporations, Government & Citizens.
- Scalable Pilot projects for learnings.
- Adopt best in class practices.
- Identify internal champions per project.
- Strategic financial intervention.
- Documentation to enable shared learnings across cities in Karnataka.

The BATF have organised several road improvements, promoted the development of community volunteers and helplines, and are trying to reform the trade license scheme.

Bangladesh

Information was provided on four community policing projects, but three involve traffic policing and are discussed in the next chapter. Thakurgaon Road Community Policing project was started by the local residents and the police out of concern with the local crime problem, especially drug related offences. Twelve uniformed patrolmen are paid Taka 1000 per month (US\$16) from contributions from the residents, and donations from the local sugar mill and husking factories. The Police coordinate the central committee and six urban village committees. In recognition of his leadership, the Thakurgaon District Superintendent of Police was awarded the President’s Police Medal 2002 by the Prime Minister.

South Africa

The SAPS 2002 Annual Report mentioned the need for partnerships with private sector organisations in crime prevention. In some of the more affluent areas, community police forums have been able to help raise funds for police services.

Within Eldorado Park, there is a community-policing forum with a police officer assigned to co-ordinate its activities. The community-policing forum comprises community members, business owners, community-based organisations, the Metro police and the SAPS. Community members report environmental engineering defects and suspicious activity within the community. A school monitoring team also has been established to liaise with schools and advise students on such issues as substance abuse, child abuse and traffic safety. The Eldorado Park SAPS offices are centrally located within the community and easily accessible. While the SAPS are the only policing authority operating in Eldorado Park, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Service dispatches three vehicles daily for patrolling Eldorado Park.

4 Traffic law enforcement

Road deaths in many countries, including the UK and India, greatly outnumber murders (See Table 4.1). While the numbers are comparable in Bangladesh, those killed in the state of Karnataka and in Delhi outnumber murders by a factor of 3-4, which is similar to the national situation in the UK.

Table 4.1 Road deaths vs murder

	Year	Road deaths	Murders
UK	2000	3409	761
London	2001	299	171
Bangladesh	2000	3058	3386
Dhaka	2000	301	325
Delhi	2002	1696	511
Karnataka	2002	6366	1627

Source: TRL, 2003

As with policing in general, while the traffic police will have a key role, traffic law enforcement can be promoted by other groups. Traffic police cannot achieve order on the roads through enforcement alone and compliance through education has always been a high priority. The 1988 North Report acknowledged this situation in the UK with:

- a) a recognition of the impossibility of the police in dealing with any more than a minute proportion of traffic offenders.
- b) an acceptance of the fact that the present court system would have difficulty handling all the cases if every offender were prosecuted
- c) a reflection of concern about the quality of police/public relationships
- d) a recognition that driver attitudes are the basis of good or bad driving behaviour.

Accordingly, this chapter first reviews the relationship of the traffic police in the police service, the responsibilities assigned and the resources allocated to traffic law enforcement. The role of the community is then reviewed with examples given from a wide range of involvement, starting with consultation which is intended to help the police do a better job. Greater involvement of the public is seen in volunteer programmes and partnership projects. Lastly, community groups and NGOs can have an important advocacy role, although these efforts may not always be appreciated by the police, especially senior officers with other responsibilities.

4.1 Traffic Police

Too often, traffic police are viewed as the 'cinderella' of the police service when a more accurate perspective would reflect how:

"A nation's roads are a crucial part of public space; they are probably the public space shared by the largest proportion of the population. If a key ingredient of crime prevention is demonstrating that a moral order exists that people should pay attention to, then it might be short-sighted to exclude the behaviour of people on streets and roads. ... Traffic regulation sends messages about order, lawfulness, and civility, sensitising people to the presence of rules that serve the community.(Traffic offences) may have the same effect on criminal risk taking, the fear of crime, and the public's sense of well-being as graffiti, broken windows, raucous music, and rude teenagers" (Bayley, 1994).

4.1.1 Organisational structure

UK

Traffic police are included within the individual forces although the benefits of a separate police force have been discussed. In 1995 the Home Office reviewed traffic policing as part of its 'Review of Police Core and Ancillary Tasks'. Despite early indications that the inquiry might suggest such a move, it recommended the status quo. The inquiry felt that much of the work of traffic officers was identical to that performed by other officers, and to separate them would reduce the crime-fighting capacity of the police.

Bangladesh

The Traffic Police do not have representation at national level as do the Criminal Investigation Department and the Special Branch. Instead, traffic policing is an additional responsibility for the Assistant Inspector General of Crime and is included within the remits of the administrative units, i.e. Metropolitan (4) and District Forces (64). Within the metropolitan areas, traffic policing is controlled by a division (2 in Dhaka), under the supervision of a Deputy Commissioner. In the districts, traffic policing is

one of the many responsibilities of the Superintendent of the Police and while all district police services have separate traffic police, their strengths vary and traffic policing is often a low priority.

South Africa

The Traffic Police are currently located under the recently established Road Traffic Management Corporation (RTMC), which is under the Department of Transport. The RTMC's basic aim is to overcome the fragmentation of traffic management functions across hundreds of provincial and local jurisdictions, as well as to improve professionalism and morale in the sector. This followed much debate on the structure and role of the traffic police. In the late 1980s, municipal traffic departments began to be transferred from the South African Police Service to the local authorities, but their role was increased to include crime prevention activities. The Green Paper on Metropolitan Policing and Municipal Policing, published by the Gauteng Provincial Ministry of Safety and Security in March 1996, proposed that the core personnel of municipal policing departments should be drawn from the traffic policing agencies (Rauch, Shaw & Louw, 2001). This was opposed by traffic officials who believed a focus on crime would detract from their core traffic duties.

India

The Delhi Police Traffic Unit functions under the overall supervision of Joint Commissioner of Police/Traffic, assisted by four Deputy Commissioners of Police. Three of them are responsible for traffic management in three police ranges while the fourth is in charge of important activities like the movement of VIPs, computerization of records, issue of violation notices, grant of special permission to vehicles to ply in restricted areas, etc. Each District has an Assistant Commissioner of traffic police. Each subdivision has 3-5 police stations which is headed by Inspector of Traffic.

A similar situation exists in Bangalore where the Joint Commissioner of Police is responsible for the traffic management, including the Traffic Training Institute, traffic warden organisations and the Students Association for Road Safety, as well as publicity, planning, ambulances and towing vehicles.

In Bangalore, the Traffic Police are organised into 6 Sub-Divisions, 22 Traffic Zones, 54 Sub-zones and 30 Accident Investigation Squads. Each traffic sub-division is headed by an Assistant Commissioner of Police, Traffic Zone by a Inspector of Police, Traffic Sub Zone and Accident Investigation Squad by a Sub Inspector of Police.

4.1.2 Role and resources

UK

The balance and/or tension between traffic law enforcement and crime prevention can be seen in the different definitions of traffic policing. According to the Home Office, traffic policing is:

"To protect, help and reassure the community by the promotion of road safety and the free flow of traffic and to provide a rapid mobile response in support of the broader objectives of detecting and combating crime, upholding the law and bringing offenders to justice.

To those ends, traffic aims include particularly: the reduction of road accidents and consequent casualties, the safe and efficient control of traffic movement and the provision of specialist driving and traffic skills in support of general policing".

In comparison, ACPO's National Road Policing Strategy focused more on traffic safety and stated the police role was *'to secure an environment where the individual can use the roads with confidence, free from death, injury, damage or fear'* (ACPO, 2000).

Likewise, for a number of years there has been concern that the National Key Performance Indicators have not fully reflected the police role in relation to the roads. The indicators have been chiefly crime focused, including house burglary, street robbery and lately, counter terrorism. With the focus on street crime, chief constables have moved their resources to concentrate on these functions and this has led to a severe reduction in the numbers of officers available to police the road network. It is very much the adage that *'what gets counted – gets done'*.

Concern over the lack of priority given to traffic policing by senior police is also apparent in the staffing numbers. Whereas it had been common previously for traffic police to account for between 10-12 per cent of police staff, this is no longer the case. For example, in London, which has approximately 28,000 police officers, only some 600 are dedicated to traffic policing. With shift working, etc, it is not unrealistic to expect that, at any time of the day, there are likely to be less than 120 traffic officers on duty, to cover a working population in excess of 10 million. As previously mentioned, in early 2002 after much publicity about the increase in street crime, traffic police were halved in London and assigned to beat patrols. This was temporary but at present, approximately half the traffic police have been assigned to the main bus routes in London in an effort to reduce street crime and to improve traffic flows of buses by deterring the misuse of bus lanes by car drivers.

The lack of priority given to traffic policing by the Home Office and senior police officers led the Mayor of London's Road Safety Ambassador to comment:

There is one enormous omission from the Government's latest campaign against street crime and anti-social behaviour, announced in the Queen's Speech. And it is a puzzling one. Last year 170 people were murdered in London, but 299 died on the roads. So why doesn't speeding warrant inclusion in (Home Office Minister) David Blunkett's campaign to reduce street crime? Why do street crime statistics omit any mention of the number of people killed or injured by drunk, speeding or maliciously neglectful drivers? Why has the number of traffic police in London been halved while many of the remainder are constantly borrowed for higher-profile duties? Why do the Metropolitan Police Authority and the Home Office see car thefts as a priority and not road deaths? (Jones, 2003).

Bangladesh

In Dhaka, the traffic division accounts for 12 per cent (2265) of the total 19,992 DMP police personnel. However, Head Constables and Constables, who comprise about 90 per cent of the traffic police, have no power to prosecute offenders. If they witness a violation, they can only note the details and report it to a Sergeant but the latter are already overburdened with traffic management duties. This is due to the Motor Vehicles Ordinance (1983), which restricts citation powers to senior officers only and does not refer to non-motorised vehicles (NMV), even though rickshaws are the most predominant vehicle type in the country. Under the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, police are allowed to fine rickshaw pullers up to Taka 10 (less than £0.15) but this must be collected by the court.

Traffic police are assigned to point duties on a shift schedule and have little contact with the local community. They do not live in the area and are transported to and from their assigned areas by police vans. Most traffic police shifts finish at 11 pm but there are a few locations, such as the Airport Road, where traffic police work around the clock. The Deputy Commissioner Traffic determines the shift patterns but traffic sergeants and constables tend to be rotated on a weekly basis. At major junctions, traffic sergeants may be assigned for a six-month period. Almost all point duty locations are at junctions, including all signalised junctions. At present, the police direct traffic flows irrespective of the traffic signal phase, which has led to concerns over the promotion of non-compliance with traffic signals.

Traffic policing is not seen as a career in the Bangladesh police and the tenure is limited to three years. Lack of training is a problem throughout the police and officers are frequently transferred into traffic policing without receiving any previous traffic training. At present, the Traffic Training School offers a six-week introductory course in traffic control, but the weaknesses of the school in terms of infrastructure, equipment, and instructors have been well documented in previous road safety reports.

In addition to their limited powers and responsibilities, traffic police are also very poorly equipped. They do not have any speed or alcohol detectors or pursuit vehicles. There is no separate fund for traffic police, although in some metropolitan areas, the DC Traffic maintains a welfare fund, which is allocated for such items as medical treatment and the purchase of low cost urgent traffic equipment. Traffic police are continually exposed to air pollution and the threat of motor vehicles. It should be noted that of the 44 Bangladeshi police officers killed in 2002 in the line of duty, two thirds involved road deaths. The welfare fund comes from income earned from police being hired for private functions. For example, the DMP recently received permission from the Home Ministry to be paid for car park and security management services for the month-long Dhaka Fair.

South Africa

Despite additional efforts being made in busy times, the 2002 holiday period resulted in a 25 per cent increase in road deaths from the previous year, and traffic safety in South Africa received much negative publicity. The Director of the Government's Arrive Alive campaign, a R200 million effort, attributed the increased death toll to there only being 5,000 traffic officers in the country (Padayachee & Schmidt, 2003), Arrive Alive's business plan for 2000-2004 includes plans for year-round enforcement and publicity campaigns, especially on high-risk routes with 24 hour enforcement.

The functions of a municipal police service currently include:

- Traffic policing, subject to any legislation relating to road traffic
- The policing of municipal by-laws and regulations which are the responsibility of the municipality in question
- The prevention of crime (SAPS Act, 1995)

There are currently two types of traffic officers, provincial traffic officers who have the option of working within any provincial region and Metropolitan/ Municipal Police Officers who are bound to the municipal region. There is career tenure within the Traffic Police and officers may remain in traffic until retirement. Traffic police are rotated on a monthly basis while municipal police services operate on a 24-hour basis. Traffic officers have access to Metropolitan Police vehicles for their duties and their responsibilities are limited to traffic law enforcement, enforcement of municipal by-laws and crime prevention. The city police agencies are relatively small – for example, Johannesburg launched its Metro Police Department with seven hundred personnel, whereas the SAPS deploy approximately 10,000 personnel in greater Johannesburg (Pelser & Rauch, 2001).

Traffic Police are reported to often maintain strong community links, including ties with local taxi associations, schools, scholar patrols and old-age homes. In addition to traffic safety, they impart information on general safety, substance abuse and child abuse. While private sector sponsorship is not a common occurrence, high profile companies occasionally provide funds as part of a social responsibility initiative, for community-oriented activities such as scholar patrols.

India

As in Bangladesh, there is no Road Traffic Act and the laws of the road in India are defined under Motor Vehicles Act. Responsibility of non motorised road users is not defined while the Municipal Authority has a control over cycle rickshaws and animal drawn, man pulled vehicles. There is confusion in traffic management and a lack of uniformity in safety norms. An example – Traffic Police has no powers to endorse or punch a driver licence as it rests with the Transport Dept or Court.

There are approximately 4000 officers in Delhi Traffic Police. As there is no career specialisation within the Delhi Police, the Traffic Police do not benefit from extensive experience. The police have a fixed tenure of three years after which they are transferred to another unit within Delhi Police. Within the Delhi Traffic Police, constables are rotated between traffic signals every six months and they are empowered to issue traffic violations to both drivers and vulnerable road users. The situation is slightly different in Bangalore where officers are supposed to rotate on a five year basis but it is possible to remain in traffic throughout a career. In Bangalore, the junior traffic police officers have limited powers as in Bangladesh. They are able to report but not arrest or fine an offender.

Table 4.2 Delhi Traffic Police charges (2001-2002)

	2001	2002	Increase	2002 daily rate
Total amount (million Rps)	293.8	317.5	8%	0.87
Charges (challans), including:	2,768,904	3,374,118	22%	9,244
a. Heavy Goods Vehicle	1,445,122	1,661,993	15%	4,553
b. Red light	336,782	462,806	37%	1,268
c. Seat belt		193,467	n/a	530
d. Speeding	163,726	153,885	-6%	422
e. Reckless driving	48,013	46,891	-2%	128
f. Motorcycle riders w/o helmet	200,132	168,187	-16%	461
g. M/c. pillion passengers w/o helmet	43,652	78,174	79%	214
h. Triple riding on m/c	53,494	63,255	18%	173
i. Pedestrian crossing		7,818	N/a	21

j. Mobile phone	2,538	6,212	145%	17
k. Drunken driving	1,373	2,118	54%	6

In addition to traffic law enforcement, Delhi's traffic police are also active in traffic management and road safety education promotion. Their 2003 Action Plan included reducing the number of road crashes by 10 to 15 percent. Actions included targeting the following problems: parking discipline, speeding, drunken driving, red light jumping, removal of tinted windscreens, defective registration number plates, driving without helmet, driving without a seat belt, misuse of horns, removal of beggars/ hawkers, and misbehaviour by TSR/Taxi drivers, including overcharging and meter tampering. In terms of actual charges, Table 4.2 above shows the recent priorities. As part of a modernisation programme, the public can pay traffic fines at cheque depository machines at Notice Branch counters.

The traffic police have introduced traffic management schemes, closed gaps in central verges, imposed peak hour and parking restrictions, and hired 59 cranes in addition to the 25 government cranes. They are also responsible for hazardous location identification. Every year the Accident Research Cell of the Delhi Traffic Police identifies the ten most accident-prone spots in Delhi, using the geographical information system based accident analysis package developed by the Computer Centre of the Traffic Unit.

The Delhi traffic police are also involved in promoting road safety education. The road safety staff of traffic police visited 1437 schools (1290 in 2001) and organized 1597 film shows (2493 in 2001), organised 383 mobile exhibition displays (344 in 2001) and distributed 1,195,000 road safety pamphlets (619,000 in 2001). During the 202 India International Trade Fair, the Delhi Traffic Police organised a road safety exhibition. The quality of road safety education imparted is of concern as there is a lack of training for the police officers responsible for conducting road safety education.

Within the Delhi Traffic Police, constables are rotated between traffic signals circles every six months and they are empowered to issue traffic notices for violations to both drivers of vehicles and vulnerable road users. The vulnerable road users –pedestrians and cyclists are not penalised because of the omission in the Motor Vehicle Act.

Police staff are well equipped as far as mobility is concerned. Every officer of the level of an Inspector and above are provided with a car/jeep (Gypsy). All other officers are provided with a motorcycle. The Constables however are not provided with any vehicles. Their equipment includes 96 speed radar guns, 23 alcometers, 3 red light cameras and two patrol vehicles equipped with video cameras similar to the Interceptors of IRTE. The 2003 Action Plan included purchasing a helicopter for traffic surveillance and breath analysers, speed cameras, laser radar guns, and more Interceptors.

The Traffic Police in Bangalore are also well equipped. There are 54 Hoysalas (traffic/emergency vehicles) providing 24 hour patrolling of the cities roads. All Inspectors have a 4-wheeled motor vehicle and all Sub-inspectors have motorbikes. However many of these vehicles are old and in need of replacement. Police stationed at intersections have a radio linked to a control room with a dedicated channel for traffic. Bangalore Traffic Police enforce traffic regulations through a variety of methods including traffic violation reports by video team, traffic violation reports by staff on duty, violation reported on wireless / telephone calls by offices, parking violation tags by staff on duty, public complaint cards, Traffic warden complaint cards, and spot fining by officers. Additional information on Bangalore Traffic Police charges is included in Annex B.

4.1.3 Collision investigation

Road crashes tend to involve many contributory factors and a thorough investigation is required to determine both culpability and an accurate understanding of how to prevent future crashes (The difference in police and engineering investigation should be noted. Police investigation focuses on criminal liability and prosecution whereas the engineering analysis will seek to identify contributory factors and remedial measures to prevent future collisions). Yet the quality of the police collision investigation is hampered by several factors, including a

Box 4.1 European Convention on Human Rights, Article 13

'When an individual dies in suspicious circumstances' the police are required to conduct a 'thorough and effective investigation capable of leading to the identification and punishment of those responsible and including effective access for the relatives to the investigation procedure' (Kurt v Turkey (1999)), (ACPO, 2001).

too often default assumption that it was an unfortunate accident, largely inevitable due to the incompatible mixed road use by road users of disparate vulnerability, and not an intentional crime worthy of scarce police resources. This is especially the case with collisions involving pedestrians and cyclists, seen traditionally as second class road users in the eyes of the engineers, police and drivers.

Collision investigation is also hindered by the lack of training, transport, and proper equipment, including gloves to minimise the risk of infection as this will affect the desirability of attending a collision scene. Corruption is also acknowledged to be a problem in many countries. For example, in Dar es Salaam, corruption is reported to be rampant amongst the police and results in low priority being given such office tasks as collision data entry and analysis 'as it removes the chance to supplement the officer's take home pay' (World Bank, 2002). Lack of confidence in the police investigation is assumed to be a major factor in under-reporting, which in turn has allowed the severity of the road safety situation to be under-estimated.

UK

Collision investigation, at least that of fatal crashes, has recently received a needed boost with the December 2001 launch of ACPO's Road Death Investigation Manual (RDIM). The recent Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions report 'Dangerous Driving and the law' quoted a police officer as describing collision investigation practice as an 'unprofessional disgrace' (DfT, 2002). London's Road Safety Ambassador voiced a common opinion when she stated:

As senior policemen have said to me, only stupid people kill with a gun or a knife, and risk pursuit from a whole team of detectives; if they kill with a car, they are unlikely to get more than an overstretched traffic sergeant looking at the case (Jones, 2003).

Specific criticisms had included the lack of specialist training and the use of junior officers in investigating road deaths. RDIM is intended to promote a standardised approach, including greater priority, to fatal road crash investigation. RDIM advises treating a fatal collision scene like a murder scene until proved otherwise, which is a major difference from the traditional 'accident' approach.

At present, the official estimate of the cost of police resources in a fatal road crash investigation is £1900 which, while 50 per cent greater than the previous year, is much less than the £22,000 estimated spent on the criminal justice system per female domestic homicide victim (DfT 2002, Waltby 2002).

While the RDIM is also recommended for life threatening collisions, its high standards will not be applied to the vast majority of serious injury collisions. In London, fatal and 'near fatal' collisions are the responsibility of the collision investigators who are based at traffic garages and separate from the borough police. The majority of injury collisions, including those which involve hospitalisation, are investigated by the local borough police. At a February 2002 road safety workshop organised for the Metropolitan Police Authority, the introduction of minimum standards in serious injury investigation was identified as the key priority by RoadPeace, the national charity for road traffic victims.

Improving the quality of collision investigation is expected to lead to an increase in prosecutions which will help victims obtain civil compensation. Hospitals, which are able to claim for medical expenses in those crashes where an insurance company has accepted liability, are also expected to benefit from more thorough collision investigations. It should also be noted that under a programme funded by the Department for Transport, after the investigation is completed, the full police fatal crash investigation files are sent to TRL where additional analysis can be undertaken.

Bangladesh

The first National Road Safety Strategic Action Plan included improving collision investigation procedures as a key priority (National Road Safety Council, 1997). While Traffic Police are held accountable for controlling traffic, they are not given the responsibility for investigating casualty crashes. Sub Inspectors in the general police are responsible for reporting and investigating collisions involving personal injury, including death, or government property damage. Traffic Sergeants are only authorised to investigate property damage-only collisions.

There is evidence of a severe lack of confidence in the police investigation of road collisions. Although the introduction of a computerised system increased the number of reported casualties by 50 percent in one year, few casualty crashes are reported to the police. In its crash costing calculations, the Bangladesh Roads and Highways Economics Unit estimate there to be twice as many road deaths as reported

(Roads and Highways Department, 2001). The situation is much worse with injuries as official statistics report only one serious injury for every two road deaths. Preliminary findings from a DFID funded crash costing project estimated road deaths to be over four times that being reported by the police, while the number of victims hospitalised from road crashes was thought to be over 70 times that shown in police statistics (Babtie Ross Silcock, 2002).

South Africa

The SAPS, not the traffic police, are responsible for investigating injury road traffic crashes. Injury surveys have estimated the actual incidence of road traffic injury to be twice that reported by the police and corruption, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is an acknowledged problem. Depending on the location of the crash and the injury severity, some drivers do not stop at the crash scene owing to fear for their own safety, although they are still expected to report the collision at the nearest police station. The Road Accident Fund (RAF), which is financed from fuel levies and intended to compensate for medical expenses of road casualties, would suggest there is incentive to officially report a crash.

India

As in Bangladesh, casualty collision investigation is not a responsibility of the Traffic Police, and the general law and order police investigate fatal and injury road crashes. The police records show less than four injury crashes being reported for every fatal road crash, and while this is consistent with the national situation, it indicates a severe under-reporting problem. Hit and run collisions are a major problem and account for as high as 25 per cent of road crashes in Delhi.

In determining liability, police are supposed to determine if either road user violated a traffic regulation and is at fault. However, the traditional approach to collision investigation assumed that:

- Victim is always innocent
- Driver of the motor vehicle is always at fault
- Driver of the bigger vehicle is at fault

On a recent visit under their twinning programme with IRTE, the Warwickshire Police identified the comprehensive investigation of all fatal accidents as a key priority need. IRTE is currently seeking financial and technical assistance with improving the collision investigation skills within its own organisation to avoid the problem with trained police officers being transferred and taking the specialist knowledge with them.

Traffic police in Bangalore have been very actively involved in compiling collision data, including backcoding data from as far back as 1990, and identifying hazardous locations. They are reported to have the most developed collision recording system in the country, with over 50,000 casualty collisions coded. Thus, while neither Bangalore City nor Delhi Traffic Police are involved in investigating or prosecuting drivers involved in road crashes, they both are very involved in using the available collision data to identify problem areas.

4.2 Community participation in traffic policing

As with general policing, the range of possible community participation options is wide with varying levels of effort and independence. At a minimum, local communities can assist their police by providing them with information on road crashes or problem areas through consultation processes. More active involvement is required by volunteers and partnerships who help the traffic police. Community groups and often NGOs serve as watchdogs and advocates for road safety, a role which is not always appreciated by the authorities who are responsible for balancing society's needs.

4.2.1 Consultation

UK

Despite the scale of the problem, i.e. more than four times as many people are killed on the roads than are murdered, traffic policing was excluded from many of the initial local Crime and Disorder audit and consultation discussions. At ACPO request, the Government confirmed in writing that the definition of crime and disorder did include traffic related issues, including safety matters. Research taken on behalf of ACPO showed that of the 161 authorities which included collision/casualty statistics within their crime and disorder audits, 65 per cent subsequently developed local strategies to reduce road casualties,

compared to the 209 authorities which did not include road casualty statistics, where only 14 per cent developed road safety strategies.

Table 4.3: Havering Borough Police Performance targets

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Arrive at urgent incidents within 12 minutes 80% of the time2. Reduce the number of police accidents in 1999-2000 by 10%3. Reduce the number of fatal and serious road casualties4. Respond to letters from the public within 10 working days 90% of the time.5. Assist callers at police stations without delay 75% of the time6. Leave police station callers with a good impression of the service received in at least 80% of cases.7. Leave accident victims with a good impression of the service received in at least 90% of cases.8. Leave crime victims with a good impression of the service received in at least 90% of cases. |
|---|

Source: Havering Borough police website (1/2/01)

The Borough of Havering is one of the four London boroughs, which included traffic safety in their local police performance targets (see Table 4.3). It has included both prevention and response related targets, including ensuring collision victims are satisfied with the treatment received by the police. While this is a common indicator for other victims, i.e. rape, domestic violence, racism, it is rarely used with road crash victims.

India

Traffic advisory bodies exist at both the Central and District level while Area Traffic Inspectors organise meetings with local resident associations. No special efforts are made to consult with women or the poor on traffic safety matters. Much priority is given to working with women in rape cases (see Access to Justice chapter). The public have also been encouraged to report any traffic related complaints on complaint cards of which approximately five lakh (500,000) have been distributed in public places.

Local Traffic Management Committees are aimed at more public participation in solving the problems pertaining to ensuring safe and smooth flow of traffic in Bangalore City. There are 22 Traffic Zones in Bangalore City each headed by a Police Inspector. Local Traffic Management Committees have been formed in all the 22 Traffic Zones of Bangalore City. These committees include: Local Traffic Police Sub Inspectors, Traffic Wardens staying in the area, Retired or serving Police Officer staying in the area, and retired or serving government civil servant residing in the area, at least 10 shop-keepers of the area and any traffic engineer or person useful for traffic improvement and traffic management in the area.

The committee members meet every 15 days, inspect their local area, identify the traffic problems, discuss among themselves and find out the solution. The committee members will alone implement the solutions with the help of local citizens of the area. These committees will also identify ways and means to erect necessary sign-boards, blinkers, footpath railings, centre medians and also take up traffic and road safety education measures. The committee must choose at least one area/road to be developed as model area/road from traffic management point of view. The committee can also address bigger issues of their respective area with the utility corporations. The committees can also come up with innovative schemes for ensuring safe and smooth flow of traffic in their area.

South Africa

The government's road safety programme Arrive Alive's business plan (2002-2004) included consulting with the community in hazard identification and infrastructure planning. Community traffic safety forums are being promoted by the Department for Transport and metropolitan authorities, i.e. those responsible for the transport sector, rather than the police sector. CSIR has also promoted the involvement of community members in local traffic safety programmes.

Bangladesh

Within the metropolitan areas, the Police Commissioner chairs a Regional Transport Committee, which is responsible for the traffic and transport related area policies. In the districts, the committee is chaired by the District Magistrate. Committee members include traffic police, transport association officials, and private individuals, but no one is thought to represent the poor on the committee. Traffic law enforcement is discussed both within the District Law and Order Committees as well as in the District Road Safety Committees, the latter includes traffic law enforcement and is usually coordinated by the regional Road Transport Authority.

4.2.2 Partnerships

UK

ACPO's Effective Road Policing 2000 included a chapter on Partnership in its Management Handbook, Volume 2. Examples included:

- Cleveland's Casualty Reduction Group includes representatives from the four territorial police areas, Traffic Branch, Road Safety Officers from the four borough councils, the Automobile Association, the Institute of Advanced Motorists, the Tees Health Authority, the Highways Agency and the Department of Environment Transport and the Regions North East Office. Its first three priorities were a) coordination of effort, b) supply of accurate information and data, and c) 12 month programme of initiatives.
- Greater Manchester Police and the Rees Jeffreys Road Fund produced a booklet 'Helpful hints for Safer Motorway Driving'.
- Lancashire Constabulary obtained sponsorship for in car video cameras, sponsored by film production company who wanted to carry out a fly on the wall type of programme. Their schools programme is sponsored by banks and the Automobile Association.
- Leicestershire Constabulary benefited from the secondment of a bank manager by Barclays Bank for a period of 13 months to help coordinate their casualty reduction strategy (ACPO, 2000).

While the traditional neighbourhood watch programmes had not included any traffic safety concerns, the Avon and Somerset Constabulary have introduced a Community Speed Watch whereby local residents are trained in the use of state of the art speed detection devices. Volunteers, who wear reflective jackets clearly marked 'Community Speed Watch', monitor the speeds of motor vehicles passing through their villages. Warning letters are sent to the drivers exceeding the limit.

Box 4.2 SpeedWatch

Since 1992, the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia (ICBC) has promoted SpeedWatch, whereby the police trained local volunteers in the operation of radar guns and electronic speed reader boards, which were purchased by ICBC. There is currently 2,400 Speed Watch volunteers in British Columbia that check the speeds of some 700,000 motor vehicles each year (ICBC, 2002).

Another UK example of partnership work on the roads is 'BikeSafe'. This scheme brings together the police, local authority and health authority to provide free advice and experience to two wheeler riders, in order to reduce the casualty level. Powered two wheeler riders form a disproportionately large number of road casualties: at less than 2 per cent of road traffic, they account for 18 per cent of deaths and serious injuries in London. In addition to covering practical riding skills, the course includes information on protective clothing, first aid and the maintenance of machines.

Public recognition of the work of the traffic police appears to be rare. The only award known given to collision investigators is the annual presentation of the Livia Gali-Atkinson Award, in honour of a 16 year old who was killed as she walked on the pavement near her home in London. Her parents established the award in 2000 as a way of acknowledging their gratitude for the thorough and professional investigation undertaken by the MPS. The award is open to all MPS traffic police. It is given on an annual basis with the winners chosen by a panel, which includes Livia's parents, their local Member of Parliament, a senior police officer from the Traffic Operations Command Unit and journalists.

Bangladesh

Community input has been encouraged in road safety seminars, which have included the discussion of traffic law enforcement, and in 1996, a conference on the role of NGOs in promoting road safety was organised in Dhaka. A subsequent World Bank project, Community Road Safety Initiatives Project (CRSIP) promoted community road safety participation at three hazardous locations and included:

- Identification of a group of committed individuals
- Mobilisation of the community
- Training
- Identification of the problem and countermeasures
- Recording of accident information

Local participants included the heads of civil and police administration of the districts, film and TV celebrities, transport association leaders, local NGOs and CBOs, teachers, students, scouts girl guides etc.

The pilot projects were cut short by the World Bank's sudden withdrawal of funding. There were several efforts by local NGOs to find alternative funding but this has yet to prove successful. The pilots were successful in increasing the local road user awareness that baseline surveys had shown to be minimal. Some engineering measures identified by the community were eventually implemented and the neighbouring affected communities were interested in participating in similar programmes. Key lessons learned included:

- Party politics can hamper group solidarity unless committees are formed with caution and care.
- An active District Road Safety Committee is helpful but not a must.
- Initial funding assistance is necessary. Government funding has not been forthcoming, and asking for donations from locals at the outset is not practical.
- A full time member of staff is needed for co-ordination and for sustainability.

A few community traffic policing programmes in Dhaka are currently being undertaken. Gabtali, the main bus terminal for connections to the northern half of the country, has suffered from traffic jams as well as pickpockets, robberies, drink and drug abuse and harassment of women. To ensure traffic discipline and prevent crime in the area, the local transport owners and workers association collaborated with the police in developing a programme of community policing. There is currently 30 volunteers and 2 supervisors who work in two shifts between 6 am and 9 pm. Emoluments for volunteers and supervisors are Tk 80 and Tk 100 day respectively, and they also receive uniforms. All is paid by subscriptions from the vehicle owners using the terminal facilities.

Another example is the Dhaka Metro Bus Service Policing scheme, initiated by the Dhaka Road Transport Owners Association and the DMP Traffic Police. This is intended to improve the driving standard behaviour of buses and traffic management. Four hundred volunteers were organised to regulate bus traffic at 36 of the busiest locations between 8 am and 7 pm. Each volunteer is paid Tk 100 per day for food and transport and the monthly costs are met from a Tk 500 subscription by each bus owner of the association.

Sponsorship attempts have been hindered by police restrictions. The DMP Corporate Plan included sponsorship related targets but these were not achieved. There have been donations of vehicle and motorcycles from such organisations as Pharmaceutical Industries Association, Garment Industries Association, Nitol Motors, and Taxi Cab association.

South Africa

Arrive Alive's plan includes joint campaigning with pressure groups. Eldorado Park's Community Police Forum has participated in the national Arrive Alive campaign. Four community road safety workshops were organised at a local stadium last year. While the workshops were intended to raise awareness of road safety amongst both motorised and vulnerable road users, they were not considered very effective due to lack of follow-up activity.

India

Partnership activity with traffic police has been led by IRTE, the only road safety specialist NGO believed operating in Delhi and Goa. Three key programmes are discussed below.

Interceptors. Launched in 1995, the Interceptor is a high technology vehicle equipped with enforcement and surveillance equipment including multiple cameras, with optional laser-based speed measuring devices, alcohol and pollution gas analysers. The Interceptor's cameras film driving violations which are then shown to the offending motorist. Interceptors are staffed by IRTE officers and Delhi Traffic Police and who can issue computer generated penalty tickets to offenders. Interceptors operate in several states and cities, including Bangalore.

Centre for Analysis & Research in Road Safety (CARRS). Established in 1996, CARRS operates on a non-profit basis and is involved in the survey, planning and design of transportation facilities and proposing traffic engineering and management measures. It is organised into three cells: Audit in Road Safety, Traffic Engineering Cell, and Accident Analysis and Research Cell. CARRS has prepared over 250 road safety audits and is seeking to develop its collision investigation capacity.

Volunteer Traffic Wardens. The Delhi Traffic Police have initiated a Traffic Warden System whereby traffic wardens must be 18 years or older and have good road safety knowledge to assist the Delhi Traffic

Police. Traffic wardens are appointed for one year and do not have any statutory powers. They volunteer to regulate traffic at the main crossings at least four days per week for 3 hours at peak hours and a work appraisal report is completed on a monthly basis.

In 1999, IRTE initiated the Student Traffic Volunteers Scholarship Scheme, whereby the student volunteers received a stipend of Rs 1000 (US\$20) for assisting the Traffic Police. College traffic wardens focus on ensuring buses and traffic children are properly regulated and controlled. Each intersection has a minimum of two traffic wardens.

Additional IRTE activities. Other efforts include organizing road safety weeks and competitions involving school children, bus drivers, police constables and wardens in Delhi, Bangalore, Chennai etc. IRTE's Road Safety Cell's training programme during the year has focused on professional and Government drivers. Regular training programmes were undertaken to impart training to professional drivers, Govt. Department drivers and other motorists. They were given lectures and training on safe driving, lane discipline, effects of drunken driving and other important aspects of road safety. The Road Safety Cell also trained a large number of traffic policemen (both fresh inductees and through refresher courses). IRTE also presents awards to traffic police. The other organisations who assist the Delhi Traffic police are Central Road Research Institute, School of Planning and Architecture), Society of Indian Automobile Manufacturers (SIAM) and the Indian Institute of Technology Delhi.

In Bangalore, volunteer programmes include the Traffic Wardens Organisation, Students Association for Road Safety, Neighbourhood Watch Scheme and Special Police Officer Scheme. The Traffic Warden organisation conducts road safety awareness classes to schoolchildren. Under this scheme a group of traffic wardens will visit the schools and speak to the children about the basic Road Safety aspects such as crossing of roads, cycling, walking on roads, boarding of buses etc. The Students Association for Road Safety is a long standing organisation in which children voluntarily participate in learning road safety related matters. NGOs like Suraksha also are involved in educating school children and promoting road safety sense.

Bangalore is one of the GRSP focus areas and key local partners include the Bangalore Metropolitan Transport Corporation, Bangalore Police and the BATF. Ashok Leyland, one of the leading manufacturers of heavy commercial vehicles, sponsored a project involving the Bangalore City Traffic Police and the Transport Advisory Forum to develop an 'Immediate Action Plan for Bangalore Traffic'. The project began with a workshop with over 120 representatives. Four expert groups developed the workshop's suggestions on pedestrian movement, traffic management, road intersections and road improvement. The recommendations are to be presented to the Government of Karnataka. Ashok Leyland has undertaken similar projects in other areas in India.

In 2002, SIAM and the Society for Automotive Fitness and Environment (SAFE), in association with the Bangalore City Police and Transport Departments and the Government of Karnataka organised a three day Road Safety Awareness Programme in February 2002. Similar programmes have been organised by SIAM and SAFE in other Indian cities.

4.2.3 Advocacy and NGOs

The WHO 5 Year Strategy for Road Traffic Injury Prevention is organised into three main areas: epidemiology, prevention and advocacy. NGO involvement was proposed for both the advocacy and the prevention areas (WHO, 2002). Advocacy efforts are not limited to but tend to be more associated with NGOs than local community based organisations. This is partly explained by the need to represent a large constituency in order to be heard. While this scoping study has focused on participation at the local community level, the role NGOs can have on traffic law enforcement and regulations should not be forgotten. One well-known example is MADD (Mothers against Drink Driving), which was started in the late 1970s by mothers who were devastated by the loss of their children to alcohol-impaired drivers and outraged at the injustice of the United States (US) court system. Within two years, a Presidential Task Force on drunk driving was established with MADD representation. Since their formation, over 2400 drunk driving laws and victim rights laws have been enacted in the US. There are over 600 chapters in the US with associate organisations in Guam and Puerto Rico. While the drink driving fatalities have decreased, they still account for some 40 per cent of all fatalities, which indicates the extent of the drink driving challenge (www.madd.org).

Community participation is not limited to those areas or activities approved by the police. One of the key functions of community groups and NGOs is to act as a watchdog, a role not always appreciated by the authorities. There are many examples of where community organisations have challenged the central government and police on traffic law enforcement policies. One of MADD's routine tasks is to rank the states in terms of how pro-active they are about drink driving.

UK

There are numerous road safety organisations which campaign for greater priority to be given to traffic law enforcement. In 1999, the well respected Parliamentary Advisory Council for Traffic Safety (PACTS) published a report on 'Road traffic law and enforcement: a driving force for casualty reduction', which reviewed the progress made in the previous decade and concluded that:

" Failures by the police, CPS and the magistrates to take road traffic law enforcement seriously enough are sending a faulty signal to all drivers about the risks and seriousness of road traffic offending. This in turn may already have begun to affect Government efforts to reduce road casualties and is likely to impair the delivery of the proposed future casualty reduction targets" (PACTS, 1999).

Speed control is another controversial area where feelings run strong among a wide range of organisations. Transport 2000, a national environmental transport campaign organisation, has challenged ACPO on the enforcement of speed limits, i.e. the excess speed at which a driver would be prosecuted. It has also challenged the government over its speed camera policy guidelines, claiming the requirement for speed cameras to be painted yellow was not based on scientific evidence that visible cameras were more effective than hidden cameras. In February 2003, concern over the Government's speed management policy led 25 national coalitions to form the Safer Streets Coalition, in order to ensure that the views of people who are often ignored in national media coverage, e.g. older or disabled people, children, pedestrians, cyclists, are heard. One of the key priorities stated is for enforcement of speed limits to be given much higher priority (Safer Streets Coalition Manifesto, 2003).

South Africa

One key pressure group is Drive Alive, a road safety charity and campaign which was founded by parents who had lost children in road crashes and had pledged themselves to bringing about safer driving and better road policing. Drive Alive has been actively involved in promoting awareness of safe road user behaviour, including increasing the conspicuity of schoolchildren. Drive Alive has also campaigned for greater priority to be given to traffic policing and organised a conference on the 'Impact of Road Crashes'.

Bangladesh

BRAC has recently established an independent Advocacy Unit with the mandate to work at all levels. At the community and regional level, the unit works to protect the human rights of disadvantaged groups. To date, it has focused on raising the awareness of community based organisations and roadside villages of the dangers of road crashes. This work is about to be expanded with its involvement in a DFID funded research study on community safety education.

India

IRTE's advocacy efforts include the production of road safety films. One five minute film, 'Alcohol kills—Drinking & Driving Don't Mix, deals with the consequences of a drink driver who causes a crash, and is produced in English and Tamil. The STVS promote safety ethics amongst the most vulnerable road users in Delhi which are pedestrians, cyclists and other non-motorised road users whose responsibility is not defined in the Motor Vehicles Act. IRTE has also produced a 10 minute film entitled 'A United Traffic Police—IRTE Vision' which discusses the problem of variation in traffic law enforcement between cities and states and the need for a uniform traffic police service.

In Bangalore, Friends for Life is a public interest advocacy association which has launched a campaign promoting the use of motorcycle helmets. The campaign, 'Keep your head, wear your helmet, uses the internet as its medium and targets communications and human resource managers of companies who can run this campaign on their respective corporate Intranet and reach employees. The campaign is currently hosted on line at www.geocities.com/acampaigner and offers relevant information and resources for initiating a helmet safety campaign. The downloadable Communikit contains poster designs, stickers,

logos and wallpapers, SMS text, survey documents, and instructions on how to run your own campaign. Friends for Life plans to take the same message to other cities.

5 Access to Justice

Four types of justice related impoverishment were discussed earlier (Section 2.3) and included the lack of protection, corruption within the justice sector, living in a state of lawlessness, paying for self-protection. These same obstacles apply to road crash victims:

- With traffic police focused on maintaining vehicle flows, the poor suffer from a lack of priority given to protecting pedestrians from injury from motor vehicles.
- Investigation of road collisions is not a police priority with most being accepted as accidents and not criminal acts.
- The threat of corruption discourages the poor from reporting collisions to the police as the legal process can postpone compensation for years and the poor may have to share their compensation with the agents of the state.
- The poor will seek to settle compensation privately with victims accepting low but timely settlement offers.
- Lack of confidence in the justice system leads to lawlessness, including the threat of mob justice with drivers being beaten and vehicles burned after a crash.

Motor vehicle owners may benefit from the advice or assistance of insurance companies or be able to afford to pay for legal advice but this is generally not the case for pedestrians, cyclists or bus passengers.

As the widows and carers of the mainly male victims, women will need assistance in understanding the legal procedures and identifying any support available as they are assumed to have limited exposure to the legal system. The poor will need post crash assistance as they will not have any savings for medical treatment, funeral expenses or be able to absorb the shock of losing an income. Box 5.1 discusses the findings of a recent costing study.

Box 5.1 Impacts of road crashes on Bangladeshi poor

Almost one-third of poor households lost their head of household or spouse (50% greater than the non-poor households) which resulted in economic as well as emotional consequences. Three-quarters of poor households that had suffered a road death reported a decrease in living standard, with over 70 per cent claiming their household income, food consumption and food production had decreased. The poor were more likely to arrange a loan after a road death (61%) than were the non-poor households (34%), and over a third of poor bereaved households sold an asset in the aftermath of a road death. Poor households were more likely to receive compensation with approximately one-quarter of poor bereaved households receiving compensation, compared to 14 per cent of non-poor. Compensation was from the other parties involved with only 1 per cent of bereaved households reporting receiving compensation from insurance companies. Compensation will be a key concern for all households as state provided medical care and support systems will be lacking in most LICs and the burden of coping and caring will fall on the extended family (Babtie and TRL 2003).

It should be noted that while estimates of the current global death toll have varied, they have all been in agreement in estimating the situation will worsen over the next few decades (WHO 2002, TRL 2000, Cropper and Koppits 2002). With global road deaths feared to exceed one million, many millions more will be injured, if not disabled (one recent British Medical Journal article estimated 10 permanently injured for every road death) and will need assistance with their recovery. However, most LIC traffic safety programmes focus on prevention and often neglect the post crash stage. While 'prevention is cheaper than cure' is a general axiom, other public health approaches, including those towards homelessness and substance abuse, are much better at incorporating treatment concerns and identifying opportunities to ameliorate the consequences of those casualties not prevented.

This chapter reviews the justice sector related issues of prosecution, sentencing, and victim support. The possible charges for causing death and/or injury on the road are presented, as are the available data on conviction rates and sentences. In addition to the traditional court system, restorative justice system and community sentencing are discussed as these alternatives are potentially very relevant to road crash cases, many of which will be caused by carelessness or ignorance rather than premeditated criminal intent. There will also be potential benefits for the victims, as after being injured or bereaved in a road crash, the need for reparation could be great, especially if the casualty involves a household earner. A

discussion of the practical and emotional support available for road traffic victims, from both government and NGOs, concludes this chapter.

5.1 Courts and traffic offences

5.1.1 Charges and convictions

LIC criminal courts deal with relatively few traffic offences at present, as the police are able to prosecute only a small proportion of offenders. Fines are the most common penalty type and there is a common problem of fines being too low, often because they are outdated. Despite traffic regulations being updated in Dar es Salaam as recently as 1995, the maximum fine allowed is T\$ 20,000 (US\$20), which is too low to have any deterrent effect (World Bank, 2002).

UK

The Government's recent road safety strategy acknowledged the problem of society not regarding road traffic offences with the same degree of condemnation as other crimes and 'Better Enforcement' was one of its ten main themes (DETR, 2000). Since that time, the Government has undertaken a review, with a consultation process, on road traffic penalties, and researched the prosecution of dangerous and careless driving.

Less than 10 per cent of the drivers involved in fatal road crashes are charged with causing a death. In 2000, this included 185 charged with causing death by dangerous driving, 53 with causing death by careless driving while under the influence of alcohol or drugs, and 9 with aggravated vehicle taking causing death (Sentencing Advisory Panel, July 2002). These charges are heard by a jury in the Crown Court and the average prison sentence is 26 months (TRL, 2002). The Government has recently announced that drivers convicted of causing death by dangerous driving will be given a minimum sentence of 12-18 months (Guardian, 2003).

It is not possible to determine the total number of drivers involved in a fatal or injury road crash who were prosecuted for an offence as the most common charge laid against a driver in a casualty collision is 'careless driving', which does not mention any resulting death or injury. (Until 2000, road deaths were not to even be mentioned in careless driving court hearings (DfT, 2002)). According to the Charging Standards, which are agreed between the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and the Police, this charge applies to 'acts of driving caused by more than momentary inattention and where the safety of road users is affected. Examples include driving through a red traffic light, emerging from a side road into the path of another vehicle, turning into a minor road and colliding with a pedestrian as well as using a hand held mobile, reading a map, fatigue, or the driver's leg/arm in plaster' (HM CPS Inspectorate, 2002).

Careless driving cases are heard in the Magistrates Court and the maximum penalty is £2500, although the government is proposing to double it. Magistrates include lay volunteers from the community and are reported to include equal numbers of men and women, and a good representation of ethnic minorities (Mawdsley, 2001). Magistrates are given basic legal and sentencing training but there is no required training in road traffic regulations.

The HM CPS Inspectorate has recently finished a review of CPS handling of fatal road death cases and recommended developing specialist CPS prosecutors for road death cases (a similar recommendation has been made for domestic violence cases). Better control of case files was another recommendation which is similar to that suggested by the DFID sponsored 'Chain Linked' programme in Uganda which is intended to reduce delays in court trials.

With prison populations at record levels, community sentences are being promoted for many charges, including motoring offences. The recent Road Traffic Penalties review consultation paper included a proposal for decoupled community penalties, which was reported to be positively welcomed. The Criminal Justice White Paper 'Justice for All', published in July 2002, also promoted community sentences (Home Office et

Box 5.2 US Young Drink Driver Programme

In California, convicted first time teen drink drivers visit a morgue, spend 5 hours in an emergency centre of a hospital, a day at a neurological centre and 4 hours with a panel from Mothers Against Drunk Drivers, and write a 1000 word essay on what they have learned (www.madd.org).

al, 2002).

Over the past decade, many police forces have allowed drivers to pay for a retraining course in order to avoid prosecution. These Driver Improvement Schemes cost approximately £130 for a one and a half day driver retraining course. Attending these courses allows drivers to avoid having points added to their driver's license. With so many motorists being caught speeding by the increased use of speed cameras, the Government has recently proposed to extend this option to drivers caught speeding. Box 5.2 discusses an approach taken with young drink drivers whereas in the UK, drink drive offenders who attend an eight session rehabilitation course, organised by the National Probation Service can have their license disqualification period reduced by 25 per cent.

South Africa

Drivers who are involved in fatal or serious injury road crashes are charged with either culpable homicide or reckless and negligent driving. These cases are tried at the Criminal Court where sentencing may be imprisonment, a fine, community service or a combination of these. The Government's 2001 Road to Safety Strategy recommended further consideration be given to community services for certain offences.

In 2001 the South African Department of Transport proposed the Administrative Adjudication of Road Traffic Offences Act and the establishment of the Road Traffic Infringement Agency. This Act was intended to remove minor traffic offences from the court system and allow for more dedicated and mobile traffic courts to try the more serious offences quickly and efficiently.

Traffic Courts address traffic offences only. At present, should a driver be stopped at a traffic checkpoint and found to have overdue fines, a warrant will be issued for his arrest and he will be placed in police custody immediately. The prosecuting magistrate has an average daily caseload of 500 drivers who are in contempt of court. Individuals who appear in traffic court are not handed community service sentences; they either pay their fines or they are imprisoned until their fine is settled. Fines are administered based on a sliding scale for each speed limit zone and range between R100 and R1500. If the driver's speed is in excess of 60 kilometres above the speed limit, they are supposed to be arrested immediately and the fine set by the magistrate.

Bangladesh

Drivers believed responsible for fatal crashes are charged with causing death by rash and negligent driving, with imprisonment up to three years or a fine, or both. For those collisions involving grievous injury, the maximum prison sentence is two years.

Magistrates and police officers are responsible for trial and prosecution respectively in the lower courts. Judges, magistrates and police prosecutors receive basic training after recruitment and in-service training which includes the Motor Vehicle Act. Public prosecutors and Attorneys in the High Court are appointed on a contract basis and are not required to attend in-service training courses. There is no separate court for traffic violations and no lay magistrates or members of the public are involved in the sentencing.

According to the limited data available on convictions for Dhaka shown in Table 5.1, charges are brought in over half of fatal cases and three-quarters of injury cases. However, after five years, only 6 per cent of those charged in a fatal crash and 20 per cent of those charged with an injury crash had been convicted. Fatal conviction punishments ranged from Taka 500 to imprisonment of three years, and fines were imposed in 90 per cent of the injury cases.

Table 5.1 Dhaka road traffic collision convictions (1996)

	Total cases	Number Charged	Number Convicted	% Charged convicted
Fatal	352	191	12	6
Injury	761	571	115	20
Total	1113	762	127	17

Fines for motoring offences are also quite low. The first offence for speeding can incur a fine up to Taka 300 (US\$5) and/or imprisonment of one month. Traffic light violations can incur a fine up to taka 500 and/or imprisonment of one month. In 2001, the traffic signal violations (19,147) greatly outnumbered those for speeding (438) in Dhaka. An on the spot fine of Taka 5 applies for motor vehicles not stopping for pedestrians at a crosswalk as well as for pedestrians crossing away from designated locations.

It is very common for drivers not to stop after a crash out of fear of mob justice. Furthermore, many commercial drivers do not have a valid driving license and so will not want to be interviewed by the police. Delay and lack of transparency and accountability in administration of criminal justice system causes frustration, if not lack of confidence. Inadequate evidence and the unwillingness of the witnesses to appear before the court are hindrances to speedy trials. Accordingly, unless the collision causes death, severe injury or huge property damage, people prefer to have a private settlement and often request the assistance of the police in negotiating the settlement rather than pursuing a criminal prosecution.

India

Under the Indian Penal Code, drivers convicted of causing a fatal or grievous injury crash can be imprisoned for up to two years and/or fined, with the maximum fine in a grievous injury case of Rs 1000 (US\$20). For causing a simple injury, drivers can receive up to six months in prison and/or be fined. Under the Motor Vehicle Act (MVA), driving dangerously can incur a fine up to Rs 1000 or imprisonment up to 6 months.

Fatal and grievous injury crash charges are heard by Magistrates in the Criminal Court, instead of the 21 separate traffic courts where MVA cases are heard. In Delhi, drivers involved in fatal or injury collision are automatically arrested and in 2002, there were 1052 drivers arrested for fatal crashes and 5526 for injury crashes.

The fine for speeding is Rs 400 (Rs 1000 for subsequent speeding offences), much higher than the Rs 100 fines for traffic light violations and not wearing a motorcycle helmet. However, relatively few speeding offences are given, as seen in the previous chapter.

5.2 Non formal justice systems

Concern over the extent to which the formal justice system meets the needs of the victim has led to the consideration and encouragement of more informal systems of resolution, allowing the possibility of restitution, compensation and reconciliation. This would also help keep minor offenders out of a justice system that is too often characterised by long delays and over-harsh punishments. This will apply to LIC road crashes, the majority of which are assumed caused by driver errors rather than intentional violations or wilful risk-taking.

However, as highlighted in the literature review, in looking at the various forms of traditional, non-formal, popular, and community-based systems of justice, it is important to be cautious and avoid making a facile antithesis between 'bad' state and 'good' community. It is also necessary not to adopt the romantic myth of simple natural consensual communities with justice systems based on ideas of mediation and restorative justice.

"Many of such institutions and processes of dispute settlement are coercive and controlled by local elites. Research on forms of customary dispute settlement in regions like Sub-Saharan Africa and the Pacific indicates that more powerful members of the community construct and use tradition, custom and non-state justice institutions to maintain or reinforce hierarchy based on wealth, gender and age, to the disadvantage of the poor, women and children" (Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000, p 55).

5.2.1 Restorative justice

A valuable alternative to criminal prosecution which has been introduced, especially in the last decade, in many countries is the restorative justice process. Miers *et al* define restorative justice as:

"..those measures that are designed to give victims of crime an opportunity to tell the offender about the impact of the offending on them and their families, and to encourage offenders to accept responsibility for, and to repair, the harm they caused. Its general aims are to reduce re-offending, to restore the relationship between the victim and the offender that was disturbed by the offence, and to improve victims' experiences with the criminal justice system". (Miers et al, 2001, p 8)

In practice 'restorative justice' is implemented in a great variety of ways in different countries. There is normally, but not always, a mediator, who may be provided by the State; restorative justice may be a part of a court order or agreement, and linked to other processes, such as community service or some form of counselling. It may also be linked to requiring the offender to make reparation, either to the community generally or to the victim. It may give more weight to reforming the offender, or to the rights and well-being of the victim.

UK

There appears to be little inclusion of road traffic cases in restorative justice projects. A review of the articles on the UK Restorative Justice Consortium website could find no reference to cases involving road traffic death or injury. Previous programmes have focused on youth offenders but there has also been interest by the Police Complaints Authority. In a report reviewing the potential relevance with the police complaints process, an example is given which highlights the perceived benefits of Restorative Justice. An officer was dismissed for making a racist comment to a youth but was later re-instated. The youth's mother, who had not wanted the officer to be dismissed and was reported to have welcomed his re-instatement, explained:

'If he was really racist, sacking him wouldn't solve the problem. It wouldn't help me or my son. Just sacking them (police officers) breeds hate. You have to make those kind of police realise why they can't say and do these things' (Dobry, 2001)

The Restorative Justice Consortium has expressed interest in the potential of extending restorative justice to road traffic crashes and examples were found where restorative justice was applied in fatal drink driving collisions in the United States.

Bangladesh

Approximately two-thirds of disputes in Bangladesh do not enter the formal court process; instead, they are either settled at the local level, through informal settlement by local leaders or a village court. Local disputes-resolution mechanisms cover both civil and criminal cases, and no formal study of this system has been undertaken to date. Existing laws define alternate dispute resolution procedures and the Ministry of Law has an ongoing major project titled "Judicial Capacity Building Project" which includes alternate dispute resolution. At present, the Village Court, which is headed by the elected Chairman of Union Parishad (lowest local government institution), has power to adjudicate upon many kinds of criminal and civil suits.

Officially, the community justice system and the alternative dispute resolution system do not exist for resolving cases of ordinary crime and traffic violations. However, the family court system, established under the Family Court Ordinance of 1985, introduced the informal method of "shalish (mediation)" in adjudicating disputes. The success rate of mediation judges of these courts has been reported to be more than 70 percent. A DFID sponsored project has recently increased the role of women in shalish and has worked with the Madaripur Legal Aid Association, which started facilitating mediation between parties in 1983. Now around 80 percent of the cases are resolved without going to court. The task has been possible only by organising local mediation committees, positively affecting the knowledge and attitudes of the influential community members who voluntarily serve on those committees (Islam, 2003).

India

It has been reported that there are no non-formal justice systems that apply to road traffic crashes in India, except for Lok Adalat (public court) where the judge initiates quick disposal of cases in a more informal manner. More effort has been made to rehabilitate criminals who are drug users. The first female Police Officer in India, (Mrs) Kiran Bedi, established Navjyoti in 1987. The name means 'new light' in Hindi, and implies that those lost in drug addiction and crime can be guided from darkness into light. Naviyoti's vision also includes redefining the role of the police and transforming them into change agents.

South Africa

In addition to the need for tough, uniform penalties for serious road traffic violations such as drinking and driving, jumping traffic lights and ignoring barrier lines, the Government's Road to Safety (2001) recommended further investigation into licence suspensions and community services sentences for certain categories of offences. At present, the SA justice system does not allow for non-formal justice proceedings.

5.3 Victim support

The needs of bereaved families will be great as road deaths are sudden and violent events, aggravated by their occurrence in public. Families, especially poor families, will not be prepared for such a major shock and the associated loss of both human and financial capital. Bereaved families will need assistance in understanding the legal system, including any rights of compensation. In a recent study of motor insurance, Karnataka reported the problem of lack of awareness of victim's rights and responsibilities. In Botswana, the Road Accident Fund reported the number of claims received doubled after they began publicising compensation rights (Botswana Road Accident Fund, 2001). As discussed previously, few road traffic victims received compensation in Bangladesh.

Under DFID's Access to Justice sector, actions improving the legal environment for poor people include paralegal schemes, assistance and advice along with practical, problem-based, legal rights education which helps poor people to protect their livelihoods (DFID, 2000). In Jordan, a key aim of DFID's Family Protection Project has been to improve police treatment of victims. This has included joint-agency training, the establishment of a model Family Protection Unit within the Police, and monitoring to ensure victims are treated fairly and sensitively, all of which are believed to have led to increased reporting of domestic violence (DFID, 2000). A report produced recently for the Asian Development Bank highlighted how provision of free (voluntary) legal services to the poor could assist in poverty reduction (Golub and McQuay, 2001).

Victim support services can be provided by both the voluntary sector and the government. The UK National Audit Office recently reviewed the support available to victims in other countries (Maltby, 2002). Many were found to have umbrella organisations, with the more specialised services provided by voluntary groups. Road traffic was mentioned in only two countries, the Netherlands and the US. In the Netherlands, the umbrella organisation (National Victim Organisation) is financed by the Ministry of Justice, while local schemes are paid by local councils, and the Victim Support Fund, a charitable fund established by traffic organisations, pays for most of the costs of volunteers. In the US, the Office for Victims of Crime, within the Department of Justice, awards annual compensation and assistance grants to the States. Organisations receiving assistance grants are required to give priority effort to specified key areas, which includes victims of drink-driving.

This section reviews the effort made with assisting victims, including informing them of the legal procedures involved and their rights, by both statutory agencies and voluntary sector.

5.3.1 Government services

UK

Until recently road victims were not a priority of the Home Office. They were not included in the Victim's Charter, which states what sort of service victims of crime should expect from the criminal justice system:

1. A crime you have reported to be investigated and to receive information about what happens.
2. the chance to explain how the crime has affected you, and your interests to be taken into account.
3. if you have to go to court as a witness you will be treated with respect and sensitivity.
4. to be offered emotional and practical support (Home Office, 1996).

Unfortunately the first Victim's Charter and the updated version excluded road traffic victims, even the bereaved families of road deaths. This meant that Victim Support, the government financed organisation assisting victims of crime, was not responsible for road crash victims, although local groups could choose to undertake this responsibility voluntarily.

The Government's Road Safety Strategy did include the recommendation to 'Improve victim support systems'. The Home Office currently provides a booklet for families bereaved from road crashes, which is produced by Brake, a road safety organisation. The Police, and as promoted by the RDIM, are also assigning Family Liaison Officers (FLOs) to bereaved families. While FLOs are part of the investigation team, their role is to assist families with understanding the investigation process and legal procedures.

A recent consultation process on the Victim's Charter contained the proposal to include road traffic victims. The Home Office has since established a Road Death and Injuries Working Group to advise what

support services should be provided to victims of road crashes and the most practical service delivery structure.

South Africa

In recent years, the criminal justice agencies have given greater priority to the provision of better treatment and support for victims of crime. After the importance of assisting victims was emphasised in the government's 1996 National Crime Prevention Strategy, a Victim's Empowerment Programme was initiated in September 1998, Under the Department of Social Development, this programme will assist victims of crime and violence, especially women, children and victims of sexual violence. It is expected to include the establishment of 'one stop service centres' for victims, and the training of police at all police stations.

Research has shown that while many victims turn to the police for assistance, they are unaware of the other services available. A key service is providing victims with information about the impact of crime, the services that are available to them and their potential benefits, as well as details of the process and kind of support they should expect from the criminal justice system. Information for victims has been suggested to include:

- directory of services available to victims of crime
- pamphlets in police stations, clinics, hospitals and churches which aim at preventing further victimisation and describing the process that should be followed by the authorities and by victims once a case is reported
- community based support (both formal and informal networks) (Shaw, 1998).

The SAPS station in Eldorado Park has a Crisis Centre attached where trauma victims (including violence and road injury) are referred for further interventions. The Centre provides medical (mainly for victims of sexual assault), psychological and social assistance. Medical assistance is primarily for victims of sexual assault, both adult and child. The police are not believed to give any information to families about the criminal investigation or civil prosecution in cases of road crashes.

Traffic victims are supposed to be assisted by the RAF. After a crash is reported, the RAF will contact the victim and a caseworker will be assigned. Compensation is based on an agreed scale and some require medico-legal evaluations. The RAF has been criticised for taking years to provide compensation and for not treating road victims with consideration.

Bangladesh

No government agency is responsible for assisting the families of road deaths, although the Government has recently pledged to assist victims of road crashes and other incidents such as acid attacks with grants. The police are not believed to have any agreed standards for treatment of families of homicide victims, rape victims or road deaths. Families are not contacted by the police nor kept informed of the prosecution case unless they are involved as witnesses and then they will be summoned.

Rape victims are beginning to receive better treatment. The Social Welfare Department has a centre in Dhaka for limited counselling and legal assistance and a small shelter for rape victims.

DFID is currently funding the development of a Public Access to Justice Project for Bangladesh Police which comprises components such as surveys on public attitudes and service providers (police); participatory research, learning and actions; technical assistance to pilot new approaches, strategies and reform programme for improving policing at thana level; and finally establishment of an Accessible Justice Fund open to applications from government and NGOs to implement initiatives arising out of research. The project proposal is currently awaiting approval of the Planning Commission.

India

Road traffic victim cells have been formed in each district. The job of the cell is to provide all sort of documentary help needed in claiming the insurance, etc. from the court/Road Accident Tribunals. Lessons can be learned from the Delhi Police's efforts in response to crime against women which included the following measures:

- Responsive rape crisis management centres working in association with NGOs.
- Appointment of women public prosecutors in the courts to assist during trial.
- Request for social courts for crime against women has been made.

- Toll free woman help line and new women post box have been started for receiving complaints on crime against women.
- Woman police mobile team to attend serious cases of crime against women round the clock
- Investigation of rape cases by women police officers only, under close supervision of senior officers.
- Special security arrangements inside and outside the girl colleges/hostels/campuses.
- Deployment of vans with women officers around selected women colleges.
- Complaints/ Suggestion box for the convenience of girl students placed at university complexes.
- Special plain clothes trap teams as a measure against eve teasing (i.e. female harassment).
- Training in self defence at women colleges

The Bangalore City Police have also been very pro-active about supporting the vulnerable. They were the first force in the country to establish an exclusive helpline for children and since 1999, they have also offered a helpline for women named Vanitha Sahaya Vani . Any person can dial to telephone No.1091 in respect of any women in crisis situation. Vanitha Sahaya Vani is provided with a vehicle fitted with wireless communication. The volunteers and women police personnel work from 8 am to 8 pm on this helpline and provide the following services:

- Telephone counselling
- Immediate rescue of women in crisis through trained volunteers and police
- Short stay home
- Family counselling
- Rehabilitation

Parihar is a centre for research, training and development of women and children, with an objective to improve the welfare of women and children, to help mentally and physically handicapped, unemployed and distressed women, and abandoned / street / run away children by counselling and training. The Commissioner of Police, Bangalore City is the Ex-Officio President of the Governing Body.

5.3.2 NGO support

UK

With the belated recognition of road victims' needs, voluntary groups have had to fill the gap. RoadPeace, a national charity for road traffic victims, was founded by a bereaved mother in response to the lack of information and support given when her son was killed motorcycling. Established in 1992, RoadPeace provides a national helpline and information guides for road traffic victims that are written from the perspective of victims and vetted by the legal and technical specialists. Topics include Inquests, Criminal Prosecutions, What to Do When Your Case Goes Wrong, Finding a Solicitor, etc. RoadPeace also campaigns for reform as discussed in Box 5.3.

Box 5.3 Campaign for Justice for Road Traffic Victims.

In 1998, RoadPeace launched an education and awareness campaign, that was backed by an All Party Parliamentary Group for Justice for Road Traffic Victims and focused on six key areas:

1. Victims' right to information and consultation.
2. Criminal proceedings to bring justice
3. Road crash investigations to national standards
4. Civil proceedings reform to achieve fairness and justice.
5. Medical (physical and psychological) care to national standards.
6. Strategic approach by all relevant government departments, to address this major public health and human rights issue in partnership (RoadPeace, 1998).

In Liverpool, the local RoadPeace branch and the Merseyside Police offer bi-monthly meetings for road traffic victims and those concerned about danger on the road. These meetings are held in the Police Headquarters and victims are allowed the opportunity to meet with others in similar positions or to discuss matters with the police or other professionals, including solicitors, who also attend the meeting.

Two British road victim charities, RoadPeace and CADD (Campaign Against Drink Driving) are members of the European Federation of Road Traffic Victim (FEVR), an umbrella organisation of national road traffic victim organisations, which includes several LIC members, including Drive Alive from South Africa, and has observer status on the UN Working Group on Road Safety.

The annual European Day of Remembrance for Road Traffic Victims was started by RoadPeace, but now has services in countries outside Europe as well, including South Africa and Israel. In addition to highlighting the loss and suffering of the victims' families, the service is also for acknowledging the efforts of the police and rescue squads. In association with the local RoadPeace group, the Lancashire Police has just launched a local memorial to road traffic victims.

India

While there are many NGOs which help other victims of crime or disease, there was only believed to be one little known NGO, known as "Empowerment of Road Accident Victim", which has helped road victims. In Goa, ITRE's programme includes a post-crash care component, which involves establishing an efficient road crash relief service.

Bangladesh

A few NGOs such as Centre for Rehabilitation of the Paralysed and Centre for Development of Disabled provide limited medical treatment and rehabilitation services but no NGO is believed to be providing road traffic victims with information on the legal procedures or their rights. Some NGO's have rape and acid burn victim support programmes.

BRAC has recently set up an Advocacy Unit, which is working at the community and regional level, to ensure the poor and disadvantaged groups have access to their resources and their human rights are protected. Where needed, this Unit will also campaign to highlight the awareness of any policy or law which is unfair to the poor. While this Unit has not yet addressed the needs of road crash victims, it has been involved in promoting road safety within BRAC and amongst the other NGOs, especially the smaller community based organisations. BRAC has also developed a community road safety programme proposal which includes strengthening this unit so that road crash victims are assisted.

South Africa

As part of Drive Alive's victim empowerment initiatives, an information booklet has been compiled as a one-stop guide to mobilisation during the aftermath of a road crash. It contains information ranging from what information needs to be obtained from the police for potential claims to call-centres who can assist the victim with basic information and psychological assistance. These booklets are available countrywide at NETCARE (Private Emergency Medical Service Provider) Trauma Units and at state hospital emergency service units. In addition they should be available nationwide at the SAPS, however, this does not occur consistently. The motivation for this pamphlet stems from the personal experiences of the founder of Drive Alive regarding the lack of information available for victims and their families regarding the police investigation and civil compensation.

The CPA provides assistance to domestic violence victims with information, legal assistance and providing a safe shelter. In addition, since 2001, a small CPA team of five volunteers have visited households in an informal settlement south of Eldorado Park on a weekly basis. While the initial focus was on tuberculosis and home cleanliness, it is being expanded to include injury and violence after care, and will include the development of a registry to record injury details as well as support and care information. CPA is also planning to develop a model of psycho social care for victims of violence and injury.

6 Summary and Recommendations

6.1 Summary

This scoping study has highlighted the weaknesses with the current approach to traffic law enforcement. These have included the low status too often associated with traffic policing by the police and the justice sector in general, and the limited participation by the community. Road safety efforts have been often promoted at the national level, where political support and legal reform were sought but which overlooked local needs. There have been missed opportunities as traffic safety and law enforcement will be a priority for roadside villages who are regularly exposed to traffic and suffer the consequences.

6.1.1 Policing and community participation

Community participation has been promoted more in general policing but this has not been shown to produce quick or easy benefits. Public accountability, including local consultation, is being increased in many areas but key obstacles often include a starting point of distrust between the community and the police, and a lack of resources on both sides. Even in the UK where community consultation has been given much priority by the police, additional effort is being made, as seen with the introduction of community safety officers and the promised return of beat officers to London.

The literature review concluded that it was “very difficult but not impossible to implement the full model of community policing, in poorer developing societies in particular, even though these may be seen as needing it most. The lesson is that implementation must be **slow and patient and supported by resources** (though not necessarily by increased allocations of very scarce government funding to the police). It also needs, initially at least, to be targeted at selected poor neighbourhoods rather than seeking national “mainstreaming”. The recommendations in the following section follow this advice and are to be tailored to local priorities.

The review also estimated that many of the problems found in community policing would be less of a concern to the area of traffic safety. For instance, many concerns about the successfulness of community participation have been raised (See *Participation: the new tyranny?*, ed Cooke and Kothari, 2002), including the key concerns as who is the community and why should they want to participate. Roadside communities are more likely to be united in their concern about the threat from fast traffic moving through their neighbourhoods. Bereaved families often feel that campaigning for improvements in road safety or the justice sector is the last thing they can do for their loved one and helps avoid their having died in vain.

The extent to which the community is able to participate, and the efficiency (efficacy???) of this approach, is less certain. Perceptions of road danger may vary widely and be based on isolated incidents rather than regular and predictable risks. However it is argued that the perspective of the road users is still required, especially given the lack of familiarity with the local area by the police and the limited information available from reported road crashes.

6.1.2 Traffic law enforcement

Despite the numbers of casualties and scale of property damage involved, traffic law enforcement is not seen as a police priority. It does not usually involve premeditated criminal intent, and the under-resourced traffic police are often focused on the needs of the motorised vehicle owners/occupants than those of vulnerable road users, many of whom will be poor and will have little influence. While traffic law enforcement is a standard priority within national road safety plans, a review of international road safety reports and strategies also found insufficient reference to the importance of traffic policing. Likewise, apart from a few countries like South Africa, traffic police are included within the general police. While this is considered to be the norm, it is also believed to result in tension between the competing objectives of property and violent crime prevention and those of traffic law enforcement.

From the information available, the approach to traffic policing has varied considerably between countries. In the UK, there has been a move towards devolution with a reduction in traffic police and increased reliance on general police and automated technology. In Bangladesh, traffic police have very

limited capability and their main function seems to be supplementing (critics might say duplicating) traffic signals, thus serving traffic management function rather than law enforcement. Traffic police in India are active in promoting education and engineering interventions as well as enforcement, and appear to take a lead, if not key, role in promoting road safety. Both India and Bangladesh have restricted their police resources by not allowing junior officers, who account for the majority in the police service, to cite traffic violations. Only in South Africa, where traffic police have career tenure and where they previously resisted being assigned additional crime prevention responsibilities, were the traffic police reported to have often close working relationships with local communities.

There has been little investment in traffic law enforcement, except for officers, and even these are transferred frequently in India and Bangladesh, and their effectiveness will be reduced by the limited training available. While Bangladesh reported no pursuit vehicles available for traffic police, the motor vehicles provided to the Delhi Traffic police are generally used for transportation rather than for detecting moving violations.

There also appears to be a lack of appreciation for the specialist skills involved in collision investigation. It is often assigned to general police who undertake all criminal investigations, and who have been given no specialist training in collision investigation.

6.1.3 Access to Justice

Additional consideration is also needed with the post-crash stage as the number of bereaved families and injured is expected to increase before it decreases. Road crashes are sudden shocks and affected families will face additional financial burdens from either funeral expenses or medical treatment. Victim families need information on the legal procedures involved in the criminal investigation and the civil claims as well as the circumstances of the crash for their peace of mind. Unfortunately, traffic safety programmes have traditionally focused on crash prevention and have often forgotten about ameliorating the consequences of those casualties not avoided.

Few drivers are prosecuted for motoring violations. For those drivers held liable for causing a death or injury on the road, the penalties often appear inappropriate varying from fines to imprisonment. The fines are often very low, with charges not always even mentioning the loss of life. Despite the vast majority of crashes being the result of road user error rather than criminal intent/negligence, there has been little use of restorative justice system procedures, although there appears to be much to be gained by the victim, offender and even the community.

Road crash victims are often seen as second-class victims in the eyes of the police, perhaps because few are the result of an obvious crime, unlike victims of assault or sexual violence. Even in the UK, where road deaths greatly outnumber homicides, road crash victims have yet to be included under the Victim's Charter. It has been left to the charities, many of which were formed after personal tragedy such as MADD, RoadPeace and Drive Alive, to offer practical support to other road crash victims. Lessons can be learnt from the support programmes governments have introduced for victims of sexual and domestic violence.

6.1.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, **the common thread appears to be one of omission**; community participation has not been encouraged by the traffic police, traffic policing has not been a priority within the police, and traffic law enforcement has not been given sufficient attention in international road safety strategic plans. The situation is even worse for road crash victims who have not been a priority for the justice sector with its focus on the prevention and control of crime. Nor has this gap been filled by the health sector as seen by the recent WHO 5 year Road Traffic Injury Prevention Action Plan whose recommendations stop at the pre-hospital stage and do not involve any victim support services, acute care or longer-term rehabilitation issues.

The omissions highlighted above offer many opportunities for improvement. While this scoping study has focused on documenting the current situation in a few LICs, it has also been able to develop two basic recommendations. These include a follow-up implementation project and a multi-disciplinary approach to road safety which involves the justice and health sectors and is not limited to prevention activities.

6.2 Recommendations

6.2.1 Implementation project

Preliminary proposals

As requested in their TORs, the local counterparts included preliminary proposals for implementation projects. These proposals were prepared separately and were obviously influenced by the different states of development and local activity in their respective areas. The suggested projects initially proposed by the local counterparts are shown below in Table 6.1, including additional suggestions from TRL.

Table 6.1 Pilot project preliminary proposals

	Pilot project preliminary proposals	Proposed by
1	Community traffic policing forums/committees	CPA & BRAC
2	Community traffic policing of bus terminals, stands and stop	BRAC
3	Traffic enforcement support services/Interceptor programme	BRAC & IRTE
4	Collision Analysis and Research Centre	IRTE
5	Student Traffic Volunteer Scheme	IRTE
6	Road traffic victim advocacy and support centre	TRL
7	Evaluation and research programme	TRL

The local counterparts were consulted on the additional suggested recommendations by TRL and have supported them. While CPA is already involved in assisting victims, BRAC and IRTE acknowledged the need to include support and advocacy services for road traffic victims. BRAC has suggested the research programme include the problem of police corruption, including the extent, public perception and impact of corruption, as well as how to reduce corruption. IRTE has also highlighted the need to boost the public confidence in the police so they will be more likely to transport the injured to hospitals without fearing being blamed by the police. The individual proposals are summarised below and additional information, including preliminary cost estimates, is included in Annex A.

Community Traffic Policing Forums

The development of community traffic safety forums/committees was requested by the South African and Bangladeshi local counterparts. CPA has stressed this would involve assessing current police and community partnerships and clarifying current and future roles of the stakeholders. The community's attitude towards the traffic police would be surveyed, and a needs assessment/safety audit be undertaken using participatory methods. A community traffic policing task team would be established and a local traffic safety action plan developed. Local knowledge is expected to supplement the existing limited reported crash data and help promote a common understanding of the local traffic safety needs, without having to wait for crashes to occur. This should also help ensure the perspective of pedestrians is considered.

As indicated by both the UK and Bangladesh experience, these forums need to be supported and the pilot projects will include resources (i.e. funding and training) for a local coordinator. While local residents are well qualified to report their traffic safety fears, it is unlikely they will know the relevant responsibilities of the various organisations involved, i.e. general police, traffic police, relevant road authority. Road safety workshops will need to be organised for both community members and any police committees, which influence traffic policing decisions. It is important that these forums be seen both as an opportunity to learn from the local community and to teach them, e.g. how planning and access control can affect road safety. There needs to be a specialist advisor, like a magistrate's clerk, as well as a facilitator.

The BRAC proposal proposed the objective of the community traffic policing forums as the implementation of bus and enforcement support services initiatives, as discussed in the next two pilot proposals.

Community traffic policing of bus terminals, stands and stop

Building on the experience summarised in Chapter 4, the BRAC proposal suggested either employing civilians or ansars to promote order at the main bus terminals and stops. These traffic wardens would not be allowed to fine or caution drivers but they would be able to pass on the details of a driver violating the law to the Neighbourhood or Executive Committee who would then take action. BRAC would be

responsible for training the wardens and monitoring their programmes while the management would be left to the Neighbourhood/Executive Committee.

Traffic Enforcement Support Services/Interceptor

Mobile patrol vehicles are in short supply in LICs as is public confidence in police collecting monetary fines. Based on the Interceptor programme in India, this pilot project would tackle both problems by introducing joint mobile patrols with both civilian and police officers. Motor vehicles would be equipped with modern equipment including video camera, speed measuring device, breath analyser, and pollution gas analyser. A minimum of two vehicles and patrol teams are proposed for a pilot project area for a one year duration. IRTE has provided the preliminary costings for an Interceptor Programme organised into vehicle capital costs, operating costs and engineering support services.

Collision Analysis and Research Centre

The role of collision statistics in identifying safety priorities and appropriate interventions cannot be over-emphasised. However, collision investigation has not been a key police priority. It is often assigned to general police who are responsible for investigating property theft and violent crime and who will not be trained properly in reconstructing a crash or determining the contributory factors, especially when so many will involve a pedestrian and road user priority is unclear.

IRTE has proposed that such a centre be developed to assist with the recording, analysis, reconstruction and documentation of collisions. This would expand IRTE's current CARRS programme and is expected to impart training to traffic police nationwide. As in the UK, it is recommended that after a fatal investigation is completed, the files are stored at an independent academic institution where additional research can be undertaken. This would also allow the quality of collision investigation to be monitored.

Student Traffic Volunteer Scheme

IRTE has had ten years promoting the involvement of University students in traffic management, especially assisting the vulnerable (rather than motorised traffic who are the priority of the police). They have already developed a training programme and a selection process which involves an oral, written and field test. IRTE is proposing to standardise the scheme so it can be replicated more easily elsewhere.

Road traffic victim advocacy and support centre

It is unlikely that the status of road crash victims in the justice sector will change and priority can be assumed to continue to go to victims of crime rather than those of 'accidents'. Accordingly, an independent advocacy and support unit is needed to assist road traffic victims and improve their awareness of their legal rights and the post crash procedures. The first step will be to interview a sample of both bereaved families and injured victims to determine their informational, legal and practical needs and the support services available. Background data collection will include a review of the support being offered to other victims, and information, including published literature, from other countries for road traffic victims.

In addition to the surveys, the support centre is expected to monitor fatal and grievous injury cases so as to document common problems in order to identify priority needs and opportunities for improvements. Treatment by the police, adequacy of the investigation process, and information on compensation rights will be key areas of investigation.

With males accounting for the vast majority of road casualties, women will be involved as the widows, bereaved mothers, sisters and carers. They will need assistance in understanding the legal procedures and their legal rights (both inheritance and compensation) and the support centre should seek to work with any women's legal aid organisations.

Evaluation and research programme

Evaluation. The effectiveness of the pilot projects will be evaluated by a collaboration between the local implementing organisation and an outside research organisation with experience in road safety, i.e. Central Road Research Institute in Delhi, University of Bangalore, Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology's Accident Research Centre (established as one of the new Prime Minister's 100 top priorities). The participating research organisations will be defined in the implementation project proposal. They will be involved at the early stage in order to agree appropriate performance indicators and monitoring procedures. Appropriate performance indicators are important as the success of traffic policing

should not be measured solely on the quantum of fines collected or in collision reduction. Developing a road user culture where the right of way is respected and where the threat of a crash is reduced, i.e. reduction in average speeds, the provision and use of safe pedestrian crossing facilities, etc. should also be reflected in the performance indicators.

Research. In addition to the evaluation programme, several research studies are proposed for consideration:

- **Corruption**

Research would investigate the public perception of the extent of corruption, its impact, and practical methods of reducing level of corruption. Background research would also identify what had been tried and found to be ineffective.

- **Victim support**

As mentioned above, research will also be conducted on a sample of road traffic victims to determine what support they received after a crash as well as what support (legal, practical, emotional) they needed after a crash. Police must create the confidence in the general public so that people are encouraged to bring injured persons to hospitals for treatment without loss of time.

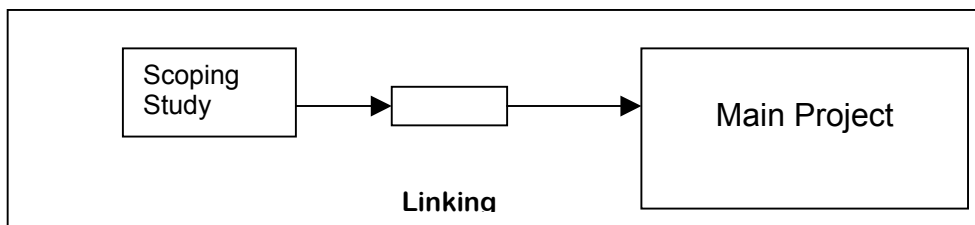
- **Restorative Justice**

A separate review is needed to identify any opportunities to introduce or increase restorative justice systems and the chance of reparation for road traffic victims. This could involve working in collaboration with a local legal aid or lawyers group and undertaking a few pilot projects.

Implementation Project Linking Phase

As could be expected in a small scoping study, more information has been produced on the problem than on the solution. The pilot project proposals described above need to be developed and additional effort is required in order to ensure a practical implementation project proposal is designed which still reflects local considerations. Accordingly, it is proposed that **a linking phase** be funded, in which in-depth discussion is held in the three countries to define the scope and objectives of the main project in each country,. In addition to clarifying the objectives, means, indicators and inputs required, the local visit would also allow opportunity to:

- Obtain both local and central support from the police
- Clarify related organisations and programmes to promote complimentary efforts (i.e. SA's Victim Empowerment Programme and Bangladesh's
- Discuss proposal with local donor representatives and proposed research partner



It is suggested the linking phase begin in India and IRTE and if possible, the IRTE director would also visit South Africa and Bangladesh in order to discuss the potential of exchange or twinning programmes. It is envisioned that the implementation project would involve an annual workshop which was organised by the local counterparts. Consideration will also be given to involving a second African country, perhaps Uganda where much effort is being made to improve both road safety and the justice sector. CPA has also previously collaborated with the Uganda Injury Control Centre and helped establish a road safety promotion centre.

6.2.2 Multi-disciplinary approach

Traffic safety programmes have traditionally been included within the engineering sector, which has contributed to less priority being given to traffic law enforcement, community participation and justice concerns. Despite the numbers of casualties/victims involved, traffic safety has not been a standard component within either the health or the justice sector. A multi-disciplinary approach is believed required to ensure that in addition to preventing road traffic casualties, traffic safety programmes also involve the health and justice sector to help ameliorate the consequences of casualties, who by all accounts, are expected to increase in number for the next two decades at least.

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Appendix A: Local counterpart organisations

These summaries are based on the descriptions provided in the local counterpart reports presented in Annex A.

IRTE

Institute of Road Traffic Education is a non-government organization. This non-profit organization was formed in December 1991 by an interdisciplinary group of members drawn from amongst police, doctors, journalists, engineers, ex-servicemen, architects, automobile experts etc. The vision of IRTE was born from a necessity to create a positive attitude of road culture in society. This vision has translated itself into an organization, which has embarked on its mission to strengthening the infrastructure of driver training, traffic enforcement, traffic engineering and road traffic education in India.

IRTE is working with institutions and governments with the single focus aim of developing a positive road culture in India through several programmes and activities such as:

- Developing innovative traffic enforcement technology
- Introducing voluntary schemes for public participation in traffic management
- Imparting traffic education through various programmes aimed at different target groups like villagers, school children, pedestrians etc.
- Imparting training to traffic police personnel
- Undertaking research on various facets of traffic and transportation
- Preparing road improvement and traffic engineering plans
- Conducting workshops, seminars, conferences, debates and discussions on matters concerning road safety and road laws
- Creating standardized driver-training systems

As a result of its several successful programs towards enhancing road safety in India, IRTE has been conferred the National Road Safety Award for the year 2000-2001, instituted by the Ministry of Road Transport & Highways, Government of India.

Through the President, Mr. Rohit Baluja, IRTE is a member of

- A) National Road Safety Council
- B) Convenor, Road Safety Task Force of Confederation of Indian Industries (Delhi Chapter)
- C) Working Group constituted by Planning Commission, Government of India, on Road Accident Injury Prevention & Control
- D) Advisory Committee to Delhi Traffic Police
- E) Planning Commission Working Group on Road Transport for Tenth Five Year Plan
- F) SAFE- Society for Automotive Fitness & Environment

In view of the outstanding work undertaken by him in the field of road safety in India, IRTE President Mr. Rohit Baluja has also been elected as a Fellow of Ashoka- the Global Association of Leading Social Entrepreneurs.

Institute of Road Traffic Education has been actively involved in road safety programmes for the last ten years. The IRTE website at irte.com gives more details about our activities. **IRTE** has 62 non paid members and a paid staff of 26. There are three offices of IRTE in India. The main office is in Delhi and the other two in Goa and Chennai. Regular teaching and research activities are however held in Delhi and Goa. IRTE is working across the country through member organizations including Traffic Police and Transport Departments.

IRTE has made many **landmark achievements**, several of which are discussed in the main text. Other examples include:

Road Laws and Suggestive Policies. IRTE initiated in 1995 the first step into defining suggestive policy for Safety in Transporting School Children. By various workshops and involving over 60 schools, parents, Central & State Government, IIT, CRRRI and other bodies, IRTE produced the "Recommended Policy on Safety in Transporting School Children". The policy was adopted by Delhi and the Delhi Motor Vehicle Rules were amended on the recommendations.

The Driver Training Manual. President IRTE authored the first Driving Manual in the Country, which was interactive and is an equivalent to the Highway Code of UK.

BRAC

Started in February 1972 with a relief project, BRAC is one of the largest NGOs in the world, with over 26,000 full – and 34,000 part-time staff, and a projected budget of US \$ 174 million for the year 2003. Over 80 percent of the budget is generated from its own sources. BRAC works with the people whose lives are dominated by extreme poverty, illiteracy, disease and malnutrition. Their economic and social empowerment is the primary focus of all BRAC activities.

BRAC's three core programmes in poverty alleviation, education and health have reached all parts of the country. The poverty alleviation programme covers 4.2 million poor women with as many households. Its micro-credit component has disbursed US \$ 1.5 billion as collateral free loan. BRAC runs around 34,000 non-formal primary schools for 1.2 million children (67% girls). BRAC's health and population programme covers around 31 million people and provides essential health services to villagers using voluntary health workers supported by trained doctors. BRAC has developed several important support service divisions including 12 Training and Resource Centres, and one Research and Evaluation Division. Recently one Advocacy Unit has been set up to carry on advocacy at the community, thana, district, national and international level.

BRAC runs several commercial enterprises, a Bank for small and medium entrepreneurs, and a University. In June 2002, BRAC started activities in Afghanistan to assist in rehabilitation and development.

BRAC Research. Research and Evaluation Division (RED) was established in 1975 as an independent multidisciplinary research unit within BRAC. RED has evolved as the largest NGO-based research facility in Bangladesh. With 45 full-time professional researchers, RED provides research support to BRAC programmes and also conducts studies on development issues on request from other organizations. As of December 2002, RED has produced nearly 1000 reports and papers on various aspects namely poverty alleviation, health, education, nutrition, environment, gender and socio-economic development. RED also undertakes collaborative studies with national and international organizations at home and abroad.

Some of the important research conducted in recent years on issues of national importance include three impact assessment studies on BRAC's poverty alleviation programme, sustainable livelihoods, problems and situation of primary education, reproductive and child health, nutrition, arsenic mitigation and environmental issues.

In recent years RED has conducted several big surveys followed by action projects for rehabilitating the persons who lost their land and income due to the construction of the Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge and construction of Mohakhali flyover in Dhaka. Based on research, RED also planned and implemented a large project for compensating the people affected due to river erosion in the JMBP area in Tangail and Sirajganj district.

Road Safety and BRAC: Background Information. Bangladesh has a very unsatisfactory road safety record as some current statistics reveal: 5000 killed annually, 73 death per 10,000 vehicle, pedestrian fatality 60%, children fatality 30%, and female casualty 16%. BRAC has recently initiated a road safety programme in consideration of the present road safety scenario and emerging needs of the country.

A survey carried out by BRAC on its workers and programme participants in the year 2000 reveals the following road accident record. About 25% of BRAC workers and programme participants was brought under the survey.

Casualty: Killed 41 (male- 69%), and Injured 383 (female- 30.3%)

Road user type and occupation of casualties: Motor cyclist 24%, Workers 48%, Cyclist 9.1%, Teachers 1.6%, Driver 6%, Student 13.4%, Passenger 34%, Program participants 37%, Pedestrian 27%.

BRAC Initiatives for Road Safety. BRAC has initiated a variety of steps including a pilot project to address the issue of road safety. These include:

Review of Road Safety lessons in the curriculum for NFPE non-formal to update and include appropriate road safety lessons in the books of non-formal primary education school (34000 schools and 1.1 mil students).

Road Safety Training of Staff: Twenty three trainers have undergone a TOT on road safety. They have been assigned the task to conduct road safety training of all BRAC field staff. "Driving Plus", a short training course, was piloted in February 2002, based on the needs of drivers, passengers and supervisors of BRAC's transport department. Guest speakers were drawn from BRTA and Traffic Police Training School for the course.

Gono Natok (popular theatre): A Gono Natok named "Ashotorko" has been produced on road safety and piloted. Twenty four shows have been staged already. The programme will be implemented at 113 Upazilas (sub-district).

Road Safety NGO Network: Community Road Safety Awareness sessions were held with local NGOs at BRAC's 5 training centres. 218 NGOs so far attended the awareness sessions. Together they formed a Community Road Safety NGO Network with BRAC.

Articles on road safety awareness are being published in BRAC's Bangla magazine "Shetu," "Ganokendro" and English journal "Access". BTV and ETV covered BRAC's road safety activities.

Baro Bidhi (12 Rules): A set of 12 Dos and Don'ts have been prepared for BRAC's motorcycle and bicycle riding field workers (over 19,000).

In the mean time, several organization including Grameen Bank, Concern, networked NGOs and Bangladesh Taxi Owners Association have approached BRAC for organising road safety and drivers training for them.

BRAC has been awarded the Prince Michael International Road Safety Award, UK 2002 in recognition to its commitment and innovative interventions for improving road safety in Bangladesh.

BRAC Advocacy Unit. BRAC has recently set up one Advocacy Unit (AU) which works independently within BRAC. The mandate of AU is to carry out advocacy work at the community, thana, district, national and international level. BRAC's advocacy at the community and regional level, is directed to ensure that the poor and disadvantaged groups such as women, ethnic and religious minorities have access to the resources and that their human rights are protected.

In some cases, existing laws and policies might not serve the interests of the poor. In such cases, the AU will develop campaigns to try and influence the formulation of national policies and the manner in which they are implemented.

BRAC is already linked with many international networks and alliances that try to influence international policies with regards to development issues. BRAC envisions to strengthening its participation in such networks.

CPA

The UNISA Institute for Social and Health Sciences (hereafter the Institute or ISHS) was formed in mid-1997 following a senate decision to combine the University's Institute for Behavioural Sciences and its Health Psychology Unit (HPU or Unit), including the Centre for Peace Action.

The Health Psychology Unit was founded by UNISA's Psychology Department following two epidemiological studies of injury: a 1986-1988 study of neurotrauma in Johannesburg, and a 1989-1990 examination of all injuries in Johannesburg. From inception, the Unit focussed on the primary prevention of injuries due to violence and accidents. Since 1991, the Unit applied its epidemiological findings to the design and delivery of community-oriented safety promotion activities from its Centre for Peace Action (hereafter CPA) in the southwest Johannesburg townships of Eldorado Park, Lenasia, and Soweto and in the Strand/Helderberg region of the Western Cape. The range of interventions delivered by the Centre provided a setting for much of the Unit's injury and violence research, and a test-bed for its contributions

to the development of national health, injury and violence prevention policy and practices. In 1994 the Unit was recognised as one of 19 WHO Collaborating Centres for Injury and Violence Prevention around the world, and in 1997 its Centre for Peace Action in partnership with the Johannesburg South East Metropolitan Council became the twenty first member of WHO's global network of safe community demonstration programmes. In 2001, the CPA was redesignated as a WHO Safe Communities Affiliate Support Centre by virtue of its efforts in promoting good practices for safety nationally and across the continent. CPA has already collaborated with the Uganda Injury Control Centre in establishing injury surveillance and a road safety promotion centre and has helped set up safe community partnerships in other South African provinces.

Towards the end of 1998, an external evaluation of the ISHS and the CPA made specific recommendations to realign its programmatic and project foci so that these reflected greater consolidation and synergistic relationships between its research and service delivery. Consequently, 1999 saw the streamlining of project and programmatic foci through the completion and closure of several projects and a re-focus on specific strategic areas. Within the ISHS, the CPA continues to be the single largest service delivery orientated demonstration component, but increasingly since 1999, research and service delivery functions have become more integrated into its evidence-based interventions. Subsequent evaluations have commended ISHS for its focused research and associated outputs. In April 2001, the ISHS also submitted a successful application to the Medical Research Council (MRC) to co-direct its National Crime, Violence and Injury Lead Programme (hereafter CVI or Lead Programme).

Fundamental to the Institute's and CPA's public health vision is the recognition of illness and suffering as produced by the micro- and macro-environments into which people are born, develop and die, and its activities are intended to stimulate individual and social responses aimed at changing the social, behavioural and environmental factors that cause suffering and illness. Accordingly, the Centre's focus is upon the individual not as the pre-given origin or end-point of pathological processes and actions, but on the behavioural tendencies of individuals and groups as an outcome of causal relationships to people (e.g. parents, peers), to products (e.g. guns, alcohol, pornography, media violence), and to environments (both physical and socio-cultural). Suffering and illness are thus cast in relational terms, and through research these risk factors can be identified and then acted on to prevent disability and contain injuries, death and associated determinants.

At the level of praxis, this vision is encapsulated in projects ranging from injury surveillance at multiple sites, to risk factor analysis and the development of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention initiatives that can all be utilised to influence policy and resource allocation. In particular, several of these projects focus on violence prevention at schools and within communities, childhood injury prevention strategies, neighbourhood-based safety initiatives and traffic safety promotion.

It is within this broad institutional context that this case study highlights the extent, challenges and possibilities related to community traffic policing in a low-income community in the south of Johannesburg, South Africa.

Table 1 summarises CPA's approach to traffic safety and domestic violence with the engineering interventions dominating traffic safety, in comparison to the focus on development, training and support for domestic violence victims.

Table 1: CPA current activities

	Traffic safety programme	Domestic violence programme
Prevention	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. traffic calming 2. pedestrian crossings 3. recreation facilities for pedestrian safety campaign 4. lobbying local government for environmental upgrade. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. community police forum and training 2. women's leadership development programme 3. lobbying local government for environmental upgrade 4. counselling services for at risk families and individuals 5. small business development to reduce unemployment 6. shelter facility for domestic violence victims

Source. [www. Phs.ki.se/csp/safecom/eldorado_park.htm](http://www.Phs.ki.se/csp/safecom/eldorado_park.htm)

Appendix B

Community Traffic Policing Scoping Study A Literature Review

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Contents

1	Approach and context	7
2	Policing and Traffic Policing	10
3	The Experience of Community Policing	13
3.1	What is community policing and why is it so popular ?	13
3.2	In Practice: a Variety of Models	14
3.3	How effective is community policing ?	16
3.4	Confronting the key problems of community policing	18
3.5	Obtaining community support	18
3.6	Obtaining police commitment	19
3.7	In conclusion	19
4	Lessons for Community Traffic Policing	20
4.1	A 'Trojan horse'	20
4.2	Varieties of community traffic policing	20
4.3	Police Accountability	21
4.4	Control of Corruption	22
4.5	Traffic Policing Forums: organisation and tasks	23
4.6	Law reform and public education	24
4.7	Victim support	24
4.8	Criminal Courts	27
4.9	Restorative Justice	27
5	Further Research	28
6	Conclusions	29
Annex A:	Literature Consulted	27
Annex B:	Terms of Reference	32
Annex C:	Persons Consulted	33
Annex D:	Illustrative guidelines on Community Policing	34

Executive Summary

Approach and Context

The aim of this review is to summarise lessons to be learned from research on policing in low income countries that are relevant to improving community participation in traffic law enforcement. It is based on consultation with a wide range of potential informants and on reviewing literature especially on policing and the poor, community policing and accessible justice in developing countries, and on selected material on prevention of road traffic accidents in these countries.

The principles underpinning the recent focus on 'safety, security and accessible justice' (SSAJ) in developing countries provide an important framework. Our aim is to develop an approach to traffic law enforcement which will give similar emphasis to the rights and interests of poor and disadvantaged groups, the main victims of traffic accidents.

It is notable that victims of traffic accidents are not included in these new policies, despite the striking evidence on growth of accidents in developing countries and the fact that poor people are the main accident victims. Furthermore, there is relatively little emphasis on the role of policing and traffic law enforcement in international policy statements on accident prevention. It is suggested that the neglect of traffic policing in these two areas of policy development, and indeed in texts on general policing, is an important limitation.

Policing and Traffic Policing

Traffic policing is a very low priority for police forces everywhere. In developing countries the main focus is on traffic management and there is very limited investigation or follow up of incidents, accidents and injuries. These are simply very low priorities of over- burdened forces. It is suggested, however, that traffic law enforcement is important and it is normally important for the general police to have responsibility for this. However, in poorer countries in particular much of this responsibility needs to be delegated in practice to other agencies and groups, as discussed more fully in later sections.

The Experience of Community Policing

Over the last 20 years many countries around the world have sought to introduce 'community policing', the central premise of which is that the public should play a more active part in enhancing public safety. In practice what is meant by 'community policing' is obscure and there are a variety of models including: tokenism, essentially providing information to and supporting the police; exclusion, in which members of poor and disadvantaged groups are largely excluded from consultative forums; and partnerships, in which some countries, (for example, South Africa, Northern Ireland), make serious efforts to replace oppressive policing by 'mainstreaming' community policing, making it a core function underpinning all policing.

How effective is community policing ? The majority of evaluations that have been undertaken in the UK have found few positive effects in terms of crime prevention or reduction, but in many cases the waters have been muddied by problems of implementation. In South Africa, it has been suggested that the development of community policing policy has been largely symbolic. However, there have been some limited, positive conclusions, and researchers have suggested that in some local areas, in the UK, South Africa and Northern Ireland, community policing aims have been successfully applied.

The key problems of community policing, it is argued, are the failure to involve all sectors of the community and gain public trust, especially that of members of poorer groups, and the problem of obtaining police commitment, given that there is widespread police reluctance to engage in community policing. Successful implementation will inevitably be extremely slow and needs to be well supported by resources.

Executive Summary

However, in many respects 'community traffic policing' is likely to be more feasible than 'community policing' generally. The obstacles it faces are not so formidable, while the opportunities for community involvement in practical methods of preventing and reducing the damage of traffic accidents are considerable. Indeed, it is suggested that the experiment of working successfully together in partnership, in the common interest of traffic law enforcement, could provide a lesson for both police and public.

Lessons for community traffic policing (CTP)

- A variety of different approaches to community traffic policing are explored. It is not envisaged that there will be national 'mainstreaming' of community traffic policing, but that many different kinds of local experiment might be tried.
- Issues of accountability and corruption are important and approaches to dealing with them are suggested.
- Implementation of CTP through creation of national and local forums and partnerships is suggested, with responsibilities for:
 - improving information flows, planning and monitoring local accident prevention strategies and accident investigation
 - seeking ways of improving resources available for traffic accident prevention
- at a national level, exploring the need for traffic law reform
- both nationally and locally, disseminating knowledge of traffic law and causes of accidents in the community at large.
- providing support to accident victims and their families.

- Other potential means of providing community inputs explored include:
 - traditional dispute settlement, private policing and self-policing, local partnerships of statutory, voluntary and commercial agencies.
 - Ways of improving use of criminal courts and of introducing 'restorative justice'.

Ideas outlined are simply illustrations of different kinds of community involvement in policing. It would be the responsibility of forums for community traffic policing to consider whether these and similar approaches might provide the basis for promising experiments on a local basis.

Further research

It is suggested that priority needs to be given to three kinds of study: in depth studies of small samples of accident victims identified through hospitals and clinics; participatory assessments, emphasising the participation of community members in defining problems and priorities and devising and implementing solutions to them; monitoring and evaluation of policy experiments, (including those which are currently being tried), examining their approaches and methods and impact on the lives of victims and their families.

Conclusions

There is real potential for cost effective approaches to road accident prevention through improved traffic law enforcement. This will be best achieved by giving heavy emphasis to "community traffic policing", interpreting this in its widest sense of involving the general public and NGOs as fully as possible in accident prevention methods, in partnership with local police forces.

1 Approach and context

The aim of this review is to summarise lessons to be learned from research on policing in low income countries that are relevant to improving community participation in traffic law enforcement.¹ Our approach to the task was, first, to write to a wide range of potential informants who might be able to provide us with evidence about current practice. These are shown in Annex C.

They fall into three groups, (a) participants in the 'Proceedings of the WHO Meeting to Develop a 5-Year Strategy for Road Traffic Injury Prevention', April 2001, (b) participants in the Global Road Safety Partnership and (b) DFID police, governance and social advisers in their local development divisions who might have information on the subject. A stark reflection of the dearth of knowledge of traffic policing and the absence of community involvement in this field is the fact that few of these potential informants were able to provide relevant information – although many of them noted that the project was very desirable and necessary.

Secondly, we re-examined and updated literature analysed for our reports on policing for DFID in 1999 and 2000.² In particular, material on policing and the poor, community policing and accessible justice was particularly relevant. Literature consulted is shown in Annex A.

DFID has recently developed a programme giving priority to strengthening Safety, Security and Accessible Justice in developing countries, (SSAJ), after Participatory Poverty Assessments showed that poor people themselves see this as a major problem area. (DFID, 2000, Anderson, 2002). The principles underpinning these projects provide an important framework for developing an approach to traffic law enforcement which will give emphasis to the rights and interests of poor and disadvantaged groups, the main victims of traffic accidents.

Anderson asks, "Is access to justice as important as access to health or education?" He points out that:

"A core government function is to provide an effective system of justice for its citizens. Yet many governments fail to deliver on the basic services of protecting physical safety, securing personal property and settling disputes quickly and fairly. Recent studies have highlighted the fact that for poor people, access to justice may be as important as access to healthcare or education. How can justice be made more accessible?"

Poor people typically lack access to courts or even police protection. When they do have contact with the justice system, it is most frequently as victims of crime, or as targets of harassment or corruption. The idea that the justice system is available to vindicate legal rights, settle disputes and safeguard citizens is supported in theory, but seldom realised in practice. Low-income families without access to effective justice systems suffer from four types of justice-related impoverishment:

- The justice system fails to fulfil its stated objectives - of protecting people from theft, violence and official abuse - or to enforce legitimate entitlements and legal rights (e.g. to wages or inheritance).
- The prevalence of police extortion, unjust imprisonment and courtroom bribery may inflict further costs: the justice system may seem like 'organised theft'.
- Living in a state of lawlessness undermines confidence, deters investment and contributes to costly risk-avoiding behaviour within a culture of fear.

¹ Terms of reference are attached as Annex B.

² *Evaluation of ODA/DFID Support to the Police in Developing Countries*, (1999) and *Policy Guidance on Support to Policing in Developing Countries*, (2000).

- Vulnerable households may use scarce disposable income for self-protection (e.g. bribes and weapons) to shield themselves from both state and private plundering". (Anderson, 2002, pp 1-2).

The issues and research findings on the poor as victims of crime are summarised in Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, (2000, pp 3-7). UN studies of Victims of Crime in the Developing World (Alvazzi del Frate, 1998), show that crime of all kinds, and especially inter-personal violence, is more prevalent in sampled African and Latin American cities, (but not Asian), than in Western Europe and the New World. In their detailed analysis of data on crime and the poor in South Africa, Shaw and Louw (1998) emphasise that:

"Two issues are of critical significance in relation to the impact of crime on the poor:

- the poor are almost exclusively the victims of crimes of violence.
- the poor suffer more heavily from the **effects** of all forms of crime, given that they have fewer resources with which to cushion themselves once victimised". (pp 14-16).

"...Importantly, the actual losses sustained by the wealthy when victimised by either violent crimes or property crimes are likely to be less than for the poor who have fewer available mechanisms - such as insurance or alternative means of transport - to cushion the effects of being victimised. This introduced the concept of vulnerability - a crucial component of conceptualising poverty, whereby poverty is not only about being poor, but also about the risk of becoming poor or poorer in the face of change. The 'shock' of being victimised by crime makes the poor more vulnerable by eroding the means available to withstand its effects, and to recover afterwards".

The more recent Participatory Poverty Assessments, as noted above, show that these findings from South Africa apply with great consistency in other poor countries. Perceptions of violence, lack of security and lack of access to justice are consistent themes running through most of the studies and appears to be integrally bound up with the experience of poverty. In addition to recognising the ways in which the safety and security of the poor are damaged by crime, it is important to emphasise that they are less protected, not only through their own resources but also by the state. An obvious point is that the massive growth in private policing offers them little or no protection.

However, the poor and vulnerable are also likely to receive inferior protection from the state police, especially in countries in which the problems of colonial policing have been replaced by those of divided and highly stratified societies. There are very strong pressures on the police to give priority to protection of commercial interests and those of more prosperous suburbs as well as, in some cases, to political and ethnic interests. This is especially so as, on a case by case basis, the actual value of the financial losses incurred by poor victims is much less than for wealthier victims.

In contexts of a general lack of concern for life, physical safety and the welfare of others, it would not be surprising if the poor were also especially likely to be victims of traffic accidents, and lack of justice in obtaining redress. Yet it is notable that victims of traffic accidents are not included in these new policies, despite the striking evidence on growth of accidents in developing countries, where poor people are indeed the main accident victims.

In worldwide estimates for causes of "life years lost", road accidents are ninth at present, but predicted to rise to second by 2020. For adult males aged 15-44 years, (the most economically active population group), RTIs already rank second to HIV/AIDS as the leading cause of ill health and premature death worldwide. (Jacobs, Aeron-Thomas and Astrop, 2000; Norton, Hyder and Peden, 2001).

One of the major differences between highly motorised countries (HMCs) and less motorised countries (LMCs) is that over the last ten years or so the number of deaths taking place actually fell in the former, rose in the latter. Road deaths fell by about 10 per cent in HMCs over this period, whilst in the Africa, Asia/Pacific and Latin America regions they continued to rise. Moreover, fatality rates (i.e deaths per 10,000 vehicles) were lowest in HMCs whilst the highest were found in African countries, particularly

Ethiopia, Uganda and Tanzania. Fatality *risk* (i.e. deaths per 100,000 population) was highest in a disparate group of countries including Thailand, Malaysia, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia.

Assum's survey of five African countries provides estimates of road accident fatalities ranging from 4.0 to 11.1 per 100,000 population. (Assum, 1998). Fatalities are only a part of the problem, in that he also estimates that casualties of road accidents are anything from eight to 90 times as frequent as fatalities, (the 90 being found in Britain). A comparative perspective is provided by the WHO, who present data on intentional violence worldwide, providing estimates of 8.8 homicides per 100,000 population, 14.5 suicides and 5.2 war-related deaths. (WHO)

Though there are wide variations between countries, especially in urban areas pedestrians are most commonly victims of road accidents. In Asian countries a wide variation was found with, for example, almost 70 per cent of those killed being pedestrians in Hong Kong and about 50 per cent in Korea. In China, Malaysia and Thailand, however, pedestrian deaths were surprisingly low at around 10-15 per cent of the total. (This is the kind of deviant finding which merits priority investigation). In African countries, pedestrians were again one of the main classes of road users involved in fatal crashes. Pedestrian deaths also featured strongly in Middle Eastern countries (usually over 30 per cent of all deaths).

Other especially vulnerable road users all over the developing world are passengers in public road transport, including lorries over loaded with passengers. Two wheeled vehicles are also frequently involved in traffic crashes. In Singapore, Taiwan and Malaysia over 50 per cent of deaths were motorcyclists.

While women in less motorised countries currently have a low accident risk, the crash consequences are often more severe for women as there is often less investment in their medical treatment and recovery. Furthermore, their legal status as widows is often very unfavourable and the loss of a husband can mean the break up of a family.

Finally, it may be noted that the economic costs of road traffic accidents are very severe, estimated as amounting to at least 1% of GNP in developing countries. Moreover, crash victims account for 30-80 % of trauma admissions to hospital and, as noted above, are very often members of the most economically active population. Finally, it is striking that the estimated cost of road accidents for developing countries is greater than the total of official development aid which they receive from OECD countries.

Despite this startling picture, we have noted earlier that road traffic accidents are largely ignored in recent policy analysis on safety, security and accessible justice. Moreover, there is little emphasis on the role of policing and traffic law enforcement in international policy statements on accident prevention. The WHO recently completed a major review and policy statement after a great deal of prominence had been given to the data summarised above on the growth of road accidents in developing countries. In an otherwise thorough analysis, it makes only the briefest mentions of legal agencies, none of the police. In promoting an inter-sectoral approach to road accident prevention it proposes to "target Ministries of Health and Transport and others such as Finance". (Peden et al, 2001, p 13). The World Bank too has recently completed a review in which "enforcement" is identified as a priority issue, but is not then given emphasis in proposed "ways forward". (TRL and Silcock, 2000).

In effect, the problem of road traffic law enforcement is relatively neglected on all sides. In part, this stems from the widespread perception in developing countries of police incompetence and corruption, (Alvazzi del Frate, 1998, Cole, 1999, Ahire, 1990). A further reason is that, in a focus on prevention, including engineering and educational solutions, the police are seen by others (and themselves) as having little role. It may, too, be yet another example of "trained incapacity", the professional's tendency to focus on the solutions of his/her own profession while showing little awareness of other approaches, especially those which community members themselves might suggest. (Chambers, 1993). This is shown clearly in a report of a survey of seven African countries, covering local reactions to consultants' proposals on transport planning, in which generally favourable reactions were tempered by criticism of a lack of concern with road safety. (Pinard and Kaombwe, 2001).

It is suggested that the role of the police, policing and law enforcement in traffic accident prevention needs more prominent attention. The need for a real, multi-sectoral approach is becoming recognised and the police have an important part to play in it. (This is normally recognised in production local traffic plans, but not in international debates). As a footnote to this section, it may be pointed out that traffic policing receives very limited recognition in texts on general policing, although it accounts for over 10% of policing costs. It is not mentioned in the index of Morgan and Newburn's authoritative UK text, (1997), though the similarly authoritative US author David Bayley does devote four pages to it; (1994, pp 29-30 and 135-36).

2 Policing and Traffic Policing

It has often been argued that the general police force should not be responsible for traffic policing, that another agency should be created to carry out these specialist responsibilities. This is usually raised as a potential means of cutting the cost of the police force and allowing it to focus its resources more effectively on crime fighting. In addition it is unpopular and low status to the police themselves:

"For most police, traffic regulation is 'chicken shit work' - trivial and resented by the public. Accounting for a large proportion of police-citizen contacts, traffic regulation rarely makes friends for the police." (Bayley, p 135).

In practice, however, almost all countries continue to see traffic policing as primarily the responsibility of the general police force. In practice there would not be overall cost savings. (Home Office, 1993, p 56, Morgan and Newburn, 1997). In addition, Bayley argues that traffic policing is a necessary part of general crime control:

"A nation's roads are a crucial part of public space; they are probably the public space shared by the largest proportion of the population. If a key ingredient of crime prevention is demonstrating that a moral order exists that people should pay attention to, then it might be short-sighted to exclude the behaviour of people on streets and roads. ... Traffic regulation sends messages about order, lawfulness, and civility, sensitising people to the presence of rules that serve the community. (Traffic offences) may have the same effect on criminal risk taking, the fear of crime, and the public's sense of well-being as graffiti, broken windows, raucous music, and rude teenagers". (Bayley, p 136).

Although this is written in a developed country context, the principles expressed seem to be clearly relevant and appropriate in the context of poorer countries: traffic law enforcement is important and it is usually seen as important for the general police to have responsibility for this. This is not universally accepted, however, and it may be argued that traffic policing could be more effective and more highly regarded in a separate, specialist organisation. Whatever choice is made, however, in poorer countries in particular much of this responsibility needs to be delegated in practice to other agencies and groups, as discussed more fully in later sections.

In poorer countries greatly over-burdened and grossly under-resourced police forces are able to pay very little attention to traffic policing; it is necessarily a very low priority. As one of our informants pointed out in India, "It is unfair to load the LIC policemen with responsibilities they cannot perform in realistic time and space". Evaluations of UK aid to policing in Uganda and Zimbabwe showed that the police saw aid in acquiring vehicles as an urgent priority, though these vehicles would then be used for general policing rather than traffic policing. (Biddle, Clegg and Whetton, 1999).

A Home Office analysis of traffic policing in the UK, (Ogilvie-Smith et al, 1994), identifies the following common objectives of traffic policing:

Appendix B: Community Traffic Policing Scoping Study: a Literature Review

- to support divisional policing & divisional objectives, both criminal & traffic
- to reduce road traffic accidents (RTAs) by encouraging safer driving
- to secure compliance with traffic law
- to provide a rapid response to incidents of all kinds;
- to maintain the free flow of traffic
- to provide specialist expertise e.g. accident investigation, incident management
- to detect and investigate vehicle related crime
- to provide advice and assistance to the motoring public
- to prevent/detect excessive speed on roads, where possible by advice/education
- to foster effective traffic management
- to participate in and support specific divisional operations.

In contrast, traffic policing in developing countries focuses heavily on traffic management and includes very limited investigation or follow up of incidents, accidents and injuries. These are simply very low priorities of over- burdened forces.

Is there anything to learn from studies of policing generally, dealing with crime prevention, for traffic policing specifically, dealing with accident prevention ? There are obvious differences in offenders dealt with, in particular, in motives and intentions. This is discussed later as an important factor leading to potentially greater public support for traffic policing, when ordinary policing typically lacks public support.

On the other hand, there are many similarities between ordinary policing and traffic policing. First, both are concerned primarily with preventing harmful behaviour, secondly with catching deviants. The orthodox view of police aims, (eg Sheehy, 1993), is that these are: "preventing crime; pursuing and bringing to justice those who break the law; keeping the Queen's peace; and protecting, helping and reassuring the community".

Indeed, the fact that both are concerned with preventing harmful behaviour means that, for both, the police often need to intervene in situations some way removed from actual harm. In preventing traffic accidents, this means that the police may need to be involved, for example, in planning or education about road safety. In this review, we interpret our brief as covering all kind of potentially useful involvement by the police, not only actual or imminent law breaking.

Against the widely accepted view presented by Sheehy, Morgan and Newburn note that the UK Home Secretary presented a different focus in his White Paper on Police Reform, also published in 1993, that the principal task for the police was to control crime. (Morgan and Newburn, 1997, p 6). It has also been noted in developing countries that political demands shape police priorities away from crime prevention., when they are expected to give high priority to controlling disorder and political unrest. (Hills, 2000, p 121). Thus in many contexts prevention becomes a low priority aim. Despite this, it may be seen as conventionally the primary function of policing even though it is often difficult to carry out in practice.

Second, it should be emphasised that "policing" is not just a matter for the police force - indeed, most policing is not carried out by the police: it is important to distinguish between the ideas of 'police' and 'policing':

"The 'police' are a particular institution, whilst 'policing' implies a set of processes with specific social functions. 'Police' are not found in every society, but 'policing' is arguably a universal requirement of any social order, which may be carried out by a variety of different processes and institutional arrangements".
(Reiner, 1997, p 1004).

Policing can be carried out by different people using different techniques. It may be carried out by professionals employed by the state with a general mandate (the classic modern idea of the police), by specialist private policing companies, by citizens in a voluntary capacity acting within or alongside the

state or public police or as vigilantes. Studies in the UK show that the informally a great deal of policing is carried out by the public generally. (Shapland, 1987).

In the following section we consider policing by a variety of organisations and systems other than national, state police forces, namely: non-formal justice systems; specialist NGOs; self-policing; private (for profit) policing and other public or quasi-public bodies. In considering these alternative approaches, we need to examine both advantages and disadvantages as compared with state police. It is also important to recognise the need for very different approaches in different contexts. In particular, some alternatives may be particularly cost effective in very poor countries, which cannot afford the kind of fully professionalised service which consumes such an enormous share of recurrent budgets. Furthermore the requirements of urban and rural areas may be very different. For example, whereas reliance on non-formal systems may be valuable in rural areas, it is likely to be less so in urban areas, where crime is far more prevalent. In the latter cases, however, it may be possible to construct alternatives which retain some of the advantages of non-formal systems.

To conclude this section, it is important to recognise that there is widespread scepticism that the police can control crime, even if their effectiveness were enormously improved. In our view this scepticism about control of crime generally is equally applicable to traffic offences. David Bayley introduces his book on policing in the USA with a discussion of "The Myth of the Police", saying:

"The police do not prevent crime. This is one of the best kept secrets of modern life. Experts know it, the police know it, but the public does not know it. ... repeated analysis has consistently failed to find any connection between the number of police officers and crime rates. Second, the primary strategies adopted by modern police have been shown to have little or no effect on crime". (1994, p 3).

Similarly Morgan and Newburn, comparable authorities in the UK, objecting specifically to the Home Secretary's bullish view noted above, say:

"There is little evidence that anything the police do has much more than a very marginal impact on crime levels. ... to the extent that the Audit Commission, like the government, is suggesting that a significant switch in emphasis by the police towards crime fighting, as opposed to other functions the police perform, will in the long term be more effective in preventing crime this is, we think, a dangerous illusion". (1997, p 9).

Both Bayley and Morgan and Newburn are emphasising that, in the long run, law breaking of all kinds will be best regulated by a comprehensive approach in which policing of all kinds, by the police and others, is underpinned by strengthening of society's value systems. Morgan and Newburn sum this up later in their analysis, concluding:

"The legitimacy of the law is not something primarily inculcated by the police: it is part of a value system into which we are progressively socialised by all the institutions with which we have contact and of which we are a part - family, school, church, neighbourhood club or association, workplace and civic network .." (p 179).

This perspective leads us directly into consideration of the development of "community policing" and ways in which this might hold lessons for traffic policing.

3 The Experience of Community Policing

Before considering lessons which may be drawn from community policing generally for traffic policing, it is necessary to examine what is meant by community policing, how effective is it and what problems of implementation have arisen. From its origins in the USA and Britain, (both countries lay claim to it), community policing has become extraordinarily popular around the world, even though at best it has had extremely limited success.

3.1 What is community policing and why is it so popular ?

It has been frequently pointed out that the popularity of community policing lies in part in vagueness about what it means – many different approaches may be presented as “community policing” – and in part because the idea of “community” is strongly associated with morality and goodness. Cohen points out:

“Not only is this word rich in symbolic power, but it lacks any negative connotations. ... The form it takes in crime-control ideology is a look back to a real or imagined past community as providing the ideal and desirable form of social control. ... community continued in classical social theory both as fact and as value. It was not just a neutral concept, but a moral quest, not just a classificatory term to designate how life is led in a particular geographical or social pace, but how life should be led”. (Cohen, 1985, pp 117-8)

A classic definition of community policing as the co-production of safety and order by the police and the public was provided by Skolnick and Bayley:

“The central premise of community policing is that the public should play a more active part in enhancing public safety. Neither the police nor the criminal justice system can bear the responsibility alone. In an apt phrase, the public should be seen along with the police as “co-producers” of safety and order. Community policing thus imposes a new responsibility on the police to devise appropriate ways for associating the public with law enforcement and the maintenance of order”. (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988, pp 4-5).

Its underlying philosophy is that it is essentially based on public consent, the police should be “tied organisationally into civil life so that whatever it is they want to do, they have actively to carry the public with them”. (Morgan and Newburn, p 203). Community policing will achieve success by drawing on the capacity of the community to exert informal social control in the process of crime prevention. As Pelser explains:

“Informal social control may here be read to refer to the ability of “communities” to generate a coherent set of norms and values, which when realised in every-day interaction, function to regulate individual activities for the common good. In other words, the logic of community policing assumes the availability of inherent community resources –social capital – which may be tapped and enhanced to produce social order”. (Pelser, 2000, p 108).

In describing community policing more fully, some core components of community policing were suggested by the Department of Safety and Security in South Africa in 1997, in its *Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines*. (Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000, p 41). The five core elements of community policing were defined as:

- *Service orientation* –the provision of a professional policing service, responsive to community needs and accountable for addressing these needs
- *Partnership* – the facilitation of a co-operative, consultative process of problem-solving

- *Problem solving* – the joint identification and analysis of the causes of crime and conflict and the development of innovative measures to address these
- *Empowerment* – the creation of joint responsibility and capacity for addressing crime
- *Accountability* – the creation of a culture of accountability for addressing the needs and concerns of communities.

DFID's concept of community policing has a very similar definition, emphasising service and partnership. In addition, it refers specifically to providing a service to those who need it most, to police respect for human rights and to giving particular attention to crimes against women and children. (DFID, 2000).

3.2 In Practice: a Variety of Models

In practice, because communities do not fit the stereotype of homogeneity, co-operation and harmony, a number of different models of community policing may be distinguished.

1) Providing information to the police:

It is difficult to obtain full and genuine support of police forces for community policing. In the context of high rates of crime, senior police management, whilst recognising that community policing may be useful in image terms, frequently perceive it as a soft style of policing that detracts from other priority areas such as crime busting and internal security. Community policing is interpreted as providing information to the police, co-operating with them and treating them with respect. There are token efforts at best by the police to engage foster and support community organisations, provide information and listen to the public.

This tokenism may be found in developed countries, but, of course, it is even more likely in situations where the police are grossly under-resourced where there is a long history of oppressive policing and public mistrust. Evaluative study of aid to the police showed that early efforts to develop community policing in Namibia were very soon transformed into "assisting and co-operating with members of the Force", especially in terms of information gathering". Likewise, in Uganda, community policing was interpreted as "... a means of instructing local populations, rather than listening to them". (Biddle, Clegg and Whetton, 1999, Annex F).

3.2.1 Exclusion and the "spray on solution":

A critical analysis of community policing refers to it as the "spray on solution", which glosses over the enormous variations and conflicts found in practice in communities.

"use of the term signified a selective historical memory where 'gross inequalities, rigid status groups ... persecution, intolerance ... are carefully forgotten, so that the "real" community is seen only in terms of co-operation and harmony". (Bryson and Mowbray, Quoted in Findlay and Zvekic, 1993, pp 32-33).

Serious and genuine efforts at community policing may well be undermined by the fact that there are pressures on the police to respond to demands of more dominant and vocal sectors of communities. Pelser sees this as indicating the practical importance of the absence of a clear definition of "community," quoting South African colleagues' observations:

"... if one measure of the effectiveness of safety and security strategies is to be their acceptability among the 'community', the result could be approaches which are sensitive to the needs of particular interests, but not all or even most citizens."

"... South Africa's community policing model, because it does not define "community", provides legitimacy to a form of 'partnership policing' in which the police engage with defined private interest groups – non-government organisations, business organisations and other interest groups". (Pelser, 2000, p 108)

Members of poor and disadvantaged groups are, of course, likely to be excluded and to exclude themselves from the consultative forums intended to give expression to community policing. At worst, this model may intensify community divisions rather than helping to reduce them.

3.2.2 The Northern Ireland model:

The Patten Report on policing in Northern Ireland places great stress on "policing with the community", (a term preferred to the more ambiguous 'community policing'). In a context of long standing communal violence, together with distrust of the police, especially by the Catholic community, the report says, "We recommend that policing with the community should be the core function of the police service and the core function of every police station". (Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000, Annex H).

The report talks in terms of **neighbourhood** policing and sees devolution of police work to this level as essential. It is seeking to break away from the difficulties of a nebulous 'community' concept, asking the police from a local station to work with the relatively homogeneous local neighbourhood. It is also explicit on what it means by 'partnership' between the police and the community: working together to solve problems in the long term on the basis of shifts in attitudes in both the police and the community.

"What we do mean is: the police working in partnership with the community; the community thereby participating in its own policing; and the two working together, mobilising resources to solve problems affecting public safety over the longer term rather than the police, alone, reacting short term to incidents as they occur Partnership is a matter of policing style, but it is also an attitude of mind, both for police officers and for the public. It is at least as much a matter of philosophy as it is one of method, and it amounts to a profound shift in police thinking and community thinking". (Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000, Annex H, p 183-4).

3.2.3 The South African model:

In South Africa too the intention is to 'mainstream' community policing, making it a core function underpinning all policing. Again, the context is one of long-standing conflict, hostility to and distrust of the police, this time by the majority community. The community policing effort has a longer history than that of Northern Ireland and more evaluative information is available about it. Pelsler asks:

" ... is it plausible to assume that the personnel of the SAPS (South African Police Service), developed in a disempowering, extremely centralised, hierarchical, and still largely insular organisational culture, have been equipped to deliver the decentralised, informed, innovative and proactive responses required by community policing? Clearly not". (p 110).

He sees this as requiring highly committed leadership and management, implying a great deal more than the "retraining" of the police as has been done elsewhere, beginning with the most senior leadership. In practice, however, he notes that responsibility was devolved to a 'National Community Policing Desk', managed by a Superintendent. The responsibility of this Desk was described as "guiding and facilitating the institutionalisation of Community Policing in South Africa." He concludes:

"It is apparent from the above, that community policing has been generally viewed as the "responsibility" of particular functions within the SAPS and that this responsibility is interpreted, at various levels, primarily in terms of the establishment and maintenance of the CPFs (Community Policing Fora). ... The CPFs have thus often become seen as more than a vehicle for community participation – rather, a trend has developed, within and outside the SAPS, in which community policing is seen as synonymous with the functions of the CPFs". (p 112).

He concludes that community policing has been interpreted as an "add on" function to the "other responsibilities" of the police. Generally, therefore, it is unable to achieve the ideal of community policing:

"a 'full partnership' which describes a situation in which the police and the CPFs are able to develop an active relationship with other role-players aimed at joint crime reduction. The distinguishing element, Pelser suggests, appears to be the critical mass achieved, that is, the mobilisation of all or most other relevant role-players - like other government departments and non-government and community-based organisations – to engage with social crime prevention programmes". (p 116).

3.3 How effective is community policing ?

The development of "community policing" was an expressed objective of all the aid-to-policing projects which we considered in our synthesis evaluation for DFID. (Biddle, Clegg and Whetton, 1999). Nowhere, however, was there evidence of the kind of mainstreaming aspired to in Northern Ireland and South Africa, or the "co-production" of safety and order by police and public aspired to in the classic definitions of community policing.

To some observers this is not at all surprising, especially for developing country contexts. Thus, for example, one of our informants from India argues forcefully that, if the public were invited to help in law enforcement, we should not expect those who respond to behave with justice and restraint. Even further, he suggests that it is unrealistic to expect under-resourced and over-burdened police to find the time to work with the public, whether in crime prevention generally or in traffic law enforcement. It could be added that the problems of implementing community policy are immensely greater in countries which have a long history of oppressive and corrupt policing, where the police are still largely isolated from the public and have little confidence in them. This situation is widely described in the literature. (Alvazzi del Frate, 1998; Ahire, 1990; Cole, 1999).

Strictly speaking, of course, it is not yet possible to evaluate community policing in that, if it has not been fully implemented, we cannot say to what extent it would be successful in longer term goals such as crime prevention or creating a wider sense of justice. This is the conclusion of Jones and Maguire, who have reviewed evaluative studies in the UK.

They conclude that the majority of evaluations that have been undertaken in the UK have found few positive effects in terms of crime prevention or reduction, but in many cases the waters have been muddied by problems of *implementation*. Considerable resistance has been found within police forces to the types of organisational restructuring and changes in working practices demanded by such a new philosophy of policing. Indeed, it has been argued, the majority of problems that have been identified have stemmed from programme failure rather than with fundamental flaws in the philosophy that underpins them. (Jones and Maguire, Annex D, p 134, in Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000).

Pelser records that four general factors have been identified as critical to the implementation of community policing in South Africa:

- Level of activism in the community – refers to the degree to which members of the community are able and willing to engage with issues of safety and security
- Leadership style and commitment - refers to both that at police stations and in their communities, particularly at the Community Policing Forums
- Relevant education and training - refers to the level of basic education and training in the police and in the community
- Commitment of junior members of the South Africa Policing Service, (SAPS) - refers to the willingness of these members of the SAPS to engage with the requirements of the policy. (p 19).

He reports the results of a pilot project, which appears to indicate that the issue of trust remains the primary challenge faced by the majority of South Africa's police stations and the people represented at the CPFs. (pp 114-116). A major problem, he says, is that in areas of low trust there is a real potential for the CPF to be used as a platform for political interest groups. Of equal importance is that at these

localities, the continuous grappling with developing trust results in little or few improvements to actual service delivery; increasingly negative public perceptions of safety and security (because more information becomes available) and little actual reduction in crime. The danger here lies in the likelihood that, should a basic level of trust fail to be developed, the police will become increasingly marginalised through either the development of self-policing or its stronger form, vigilantism.

The key factors driving these relationships appear to be the extent of local activism and a co-operative synergy between a range of organisations. Also important here is the continuity of progress on projects which is related to the continuity of strong leadership at the police station and CPF. His report of findings ends with the pessimistic conclusion that just 6% of the localities accessed in the research could be classified at this level – all of them in privileged localities.

He concludes that the response of the South Africa Police Service (SAPS) to the development of community policing policy has, apart from fulfilling its legal responsibility of establishing Community Policing Fora, been "largely symbolic": Despite relatively successful training inputs, in many cases the SAPS has been reluctant to mainstream community policing, seeing it as a separate area rather than a style or approach to policing that should be integrated into all police activities and which requires a radical change in organisational culture.

In sum, he says that there is no evidence that community policing has helped to control crime. In South Africa the evidence indicates no reduction in crime or increases in feelings of safety and security in community policing project areas. This is in line with research reported above for the UK, which indicates an absence of evidence for the effectiveness of community policing in relation to crime reduction.

After reporting such negative conclusions, however, Pelsler ends by striking a more positive note. He says that, despite these findings, it is also clear that implementation of the policy, through the establishment and functioning of the CPFs, has:

".. facilitated generally positive contact and engagement between the police and those they serve. This engagement has resulted in an improved and strengthening political legitimacy for the police – a key objective of the policy. This is despite the fact that it seems unlikely that implementation of the policy, in its current form, will facilitate achievement of the policy's wider goals – improved service delivery and actual reductions in crime". (p 119).

Fielding, a major author on community policing in the UK, reaches similar positive if modest conclusions on success of community policing. He says that, despite the limited and disappointing results that have been achieved thus far, there remains much faith in the community policing model. He argues that:

"the point is *not* that community policing routinely and generally delivers what is promised of it, but that, under some circumstances and in certain respects, some community police did deliver". (Fielding, (1995, p 197).

The Northern Ireland report provides a third example of the claim that community policing can achieve limited and important success. In a situation of great danger for the police in Belfast, a small local team was able to develop forms of policing reflecting the best of community policing. (Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000, Annex H).

To conclude this short account of evaluations of community policing, it is useful to quote the caveat expressed by Skolnick and Bayley, over decade ago, that it is clear that community policing cannot be a crime control panacea:

"The classic social and economic correlates of crime – high rates of youth unemployment, family breakdown, social dislocation, violence, gangs, drugs, illiteracy, and historical patterns of racial discrimination – will not be removed by community policing. Community policing is no substitute for social and economic change. As a crime-control measure, it must be understood in a limited

perspective, not as a long-run or keystone feature of a successful anti-crime policy.” (Skolnick and Bayley, 1998).

3.4 Confronting the key problems of community policing

To conclude this review of community policing it is useful to highlight and reflect on the twin, underlying problems it faces, the difficulties of obtaining community support and police commitment. We then move on to examine any lessons to be learned from the community policing experience for traffic policing and involving the community in accident prevention.

3.5 Obtaining community support

It has long been recognised in all societies that there are considerable pressures on the police to serve the interests of more powerful and wealthy sectors of society, rather than those of poorer groups. The criminal law itself places great stress on protection of property, which inevitably encourages the police to devote a large share of their resources to protect property owners, and to foster the stereotype that the poor generally are likely to be criminals rather than victims.

Such biases are stronger when a society has greater levels of inequality, when the gaps between more and less privileged groups, richer and poorer are most stark. As had already been emphasised, there is great pressure on their police forces to behave oppressively and to pay relatively little attention to the rule of law, with the consequence that they are enormously mistrusted by the public, especially by members of poorer groups. We make no apology for labouring this point, as it is such a crucial obstacle to successful development of community policing.

Recently this problem has become a development priority, as outlined in the introduction, with the introduction of policies emphasising the need for "safety, security and accessible justice" for all. The recognition has grown that the poor are major victims of crime and, moreover, that they are greatly handicapped in obtaining just and fair treatment by the law and its agents. Paradoxically, the need for 'community policing' has become more apparent as a consequence of the very situation which make it most difficult to implement.

As our review of evaluations shows, the most frequent implementation problem cited for community policing is the failure to involve all sectors of the community, it provides legitimacy to a form of 'partnership policing' in which the police engage with defined private interest groups – non-government organisations, business organisations and other interest groups. In contrast, as the review of South African experience makes clear:

“The poor, lacking resources and more likely to be intimidated by the police, are often not well placed to sustain CPFs. Indeed, CPFs often work best in (white and wealthy) areas which require them the least, and remain fragmented and weak in poorer areas” (Pelser, 2000, p118).

It is clearly going to be a very long and slow struggle to overcome such obstacles, though there will be some countries and areas where this will be somewhat easier. Broadly, these will be areas with less inequality and more assets of all kinds. In all circumstances it is essential to ensure that the community policing process is inclusive, that members of poorer and otherwise excluded groups play a full part.

It is important to try to involve not just the police and members of a local community, but other groups able to help in strengthening all kinds of capital in an impoverished area. This includes both other government agencies with access to resources and NGOs, including churches, service clubs and private sector organisations. Such comprehensive partnerships, in addition to seeking community policing as part of broader development efforts, would also help to reduce the dangers of too much dominance by old-style policing approaches. Such a comprehensive approach is being tried in efforts to control extremely high levels of violence in some poor communities in Kingston, Jamaica. (Moser et al, 1996).

3.6 Obtaining police commitment

The other side of this coin is to seek ways of overcoming police reluctance to engage in community policing. It has already been noted that, generally, police commitment needs to start at the top, to be genuinely supported by the political and senior professional authorities. Further, Pelser's analysis of South African experience suggests that successful community policing is best achieved if it is clearly recognised as the core function of policing and it is the product of long-term, sustained commitment. (Pelser, 2000, pp 114-116).

The first challenges he suggests are:

- "For the police, the provision of resources required for undertaking basic policing tasks, for example: basic education (literacy and numeracy in some cases), availability and functioning of vehicles, equipment and infrastructure appropriate for the topography and the means to gather and analyse intelligence.
- For the people in the community, overcoming factors that reduce their ability to contribute in a meaningful manner to police-community partnership institutions, for example: a lack of basic education, difficulty in getting to and from the police station, poor community communications, as well as the lack of basic infrastructure like roads, telecommunications and electricity".

Second, he emphasises the need for a basic level of mutual trust between police and public:

"Obviously, given South Africa's history, the historical relationship between the police and the people in a particular locality is relevant. Perhaps even more relevant is the prevailing perception of the integrity of the police – perceptions of police competence and corruption have a significant effect on levels of trust. ... Political and racial stratification also impact on developing trust as police actions are perceived to protect or promote the interests of one or another political or racial group. For the police, the most critical factor relevant to building trust is the prevailing attitude toward change – as relevant for station management as for junior personnel".

In due course, he suggests, it may be possible to move to a full partnership in which the police and community policing institutions are able to develop an active relationship with other role-players, aimed at joint crime reduction.

"If such a full partnership is to be achieved then, clearly, it will often be necessary for government and civil society to provide especially strong support to less privileged localities, where both the community and, often the police, lack the basic resources referred to above".

3.7 In conclusion

It is very difficult but not impossible to implement the full model of community policing, in poorer developing societies in particular, even though these may be seen as needing it most. The lesson is that implementation must be slow and patient and supported by resources, (though not necessarily by increased allocations of very scarce government funding to the police). It also needs, initially at least, to be targeted at selected poor neighbourhoods rather than seeking national mainstreaming.

The dilemma is, of course, that it is likely to be most difficult to implement in these poor neighbourhoods. In some cases, it may be possible to identify communities which, although economically poor, have good resources of social capital which enable them to play a full part in community partnerships with the police and others. Normally, however, it is to be expected that poor communities will need to be supported by a comprehensive development process before they can begin to engage in such

partnerships. (Hulme, 2000). (There is a recent but substantial literature on problems and means of enhancing social capital. See Hulme, 2000; <www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/>)

We have to remain pessimistic that few countries will be able to develop successful community policing in the near future. In the next section we turn to the question of whether we need to be similarly pessimistic about community traffic policing in particular. It will be seen that, in our view, the obstacles to this are not likely to be quite so great and, therefore, there are grounds for rather more optimism.

4 Lessons for Community Traffic Policing

4.1 A 'Trojan horse'

In many respects 'community traffic policing' is likely to be more feasible than 'community policing' generally; the obstacles it faces are not so formidable, while the opportunities for community involvement in practical methods of preventing and reducing the damage of traffic accidents are considerable.

First, it is likely that conflicting community interests will be much less in traffic policing. Of course, vehicle owners, drivers and passengers want speedier and easier travel, so may support conditions and behaviour which produce accidents. On the other hand, all members of a local community are likely to be united in condemning behaviour, often by outsiders in transit, which is potentially harmful to all to all members of the local community. The poorer members of communities, who might be hostile and fearful of the police in other circumstances, have clear and strong interests in traffic law enforcement.

Police commitment to community traffic policing, too, is likely to be far easier to obtain than commitment to community policing generally. At the highest level, political authorities and senior management could be attracted by the resource implications of community traffic policing, that is, the possibilities of supplementing ordinary policing resources by drawing on personnel and funding from community sources. At both upper and lower levels of the police hierarchy, it would be especially attractive to be able to focus resources on meeting other demands on the police, while receiving assistance in traffic policing.

There is still some risk that the police at all levels might sometimes be biased to favour interests of more powerful groups or individuals and fail to enforce the law in traffic cases. However, it seems most unlikely that the kind of bias in favour of the interests of more powerful groups, which members of poorer communities are treated unjustly, will apply in traffic cases. Furthermore, the police "canteen culture" which is so damaging to poorer communities generally is very unlikely to apply to traffic offending. (Waddington, 1999).

A further caveat is that the police would be reluctant, and rightly, to lose control over aspects of law enforcement. They need to retain responsibility for ensuring that enforcement is carried out lawfully and justly. There would be grave dangers, as is recognised generally in the problems of allowing vigilantes, if untrained members of the community, with no or limited legal responsibilities, were given unsupervised authority.

Why a "Trojan Horse"? It is suggested that the experiment of working successfully together in partnership, in the common interest of traffic law enforcement, could provide a lesson for both police and public. It is very likely that the potential benefits of partnerships to identify and deal with other problems would flow from the limited experience of community traffic policing.

4.2 Varieties of community traffic policing

We recognise that lessons from the success of traffic accident prevention in developed countries can only be drawn with greatest caution for developing countries. We have to be just as cautious in

attempting to draw lessons from one developing country to another or even, in community traffic policing, from one district in a country to another. Because community traffic policing is almost non-existent at present in developing countries, there is no hard evidence on what kinds of method might be effective in different contexts. It is essential, therefore, to adopt innovative and experimental approaches, in which small scale experiments are locally devised and carefully evaluated.

From the experience of community policing generally we may suggest the following scenarios or potential models. First, there will be some middle/lower middle income developing countries where the community may be expected to play a very limited role in traffic policing. Cain argues in the case of Trinidad that priority should be given to increasing police professionalisation rather than focusing on community policing. (Cain, 1996). It may be noted, however, that community policing in South Africa has been most successful in better endowed communities. A similar case might be made for traffic policing specifically. In Uganda, in extreme contrast, an already hard pressed and under-resourced police force can make only token efforts to engage in traffic accident prevention.

In these circumstances, even though the police force should not relinquish responsibility entirely, it might be expected that traffic policing should depend very heavily on community resources. These would include a complex set of partnerships, as for example in the Jamaican case, (Moser et al, 1996), including concerned government Ministries, NGOs, private sector organisations and community groups.

NGOs are very actively involved in transport issues and road accident prevention in many developing countries. (CSIR, 2002; Ellevset, 1997; RTTP, 2002; Sevanatha, 2002; Starkey, 2000; Sustran Network, 2002). It is likely that such organisations would be willing and able to play a very active and creative part in community traffic policing if encouraged to do so.

Traffic policing might or might not be a component in community policing efforts generally. It could pre-date community policing if conditions are too difficult to make much progress in the latter. Or, if a comprehensive community policing strategy is being tried, community traffic policing should be an integral component. In saying this, it may be noted, we are disagreeing with the approach to safety, security and accessible justice at present adopted by DFID.

It should be emphasised again that we do not envisage national 'mainstreaming' of community traffic policing, in which it is hoped that the principles of a 'community' approach might become a dominant form of policing. Rather, we suggest that it is premature to predict how local experiments might be scaled up best in the long run.

4.3 Police Accountability

Questions of to whom and for what the police are accountable, and how, are the subject of unending controversy in all societies. (Loveday, 1999). While it is seen as vital to ensure police independence from national or local political control, they **are** accountable to national (and sometimes local) political authorities. They are also charged with maintaining the public interest as well as the rule of law and, inevitably, have to seek to balance conflicting demands. Practical means for seeking general police accountability, emphasising the need for a credible complaint investigation system, are suggested in Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, (2000, pp 85-87).

The search for community (traffic) policing further complicates this balancing act, as it gives emphasis to the notion of accountability to the community. That is, it recognises that the police must consult with community members, not simply inform them, and should seek to meet community wishes and expectations. On the other hand, it raises the question of community responsibility to co-operate with and assist the police in the joint policing task.

Bearing in mind the complexity noted earlier in the notion of 'community' itself, it may be seen that community (traffic) policing inevitably involves a continuous negotiating process of what aims, priorities and methods should be, together with continuous appraisal of policing practice. These negotiations

would take place at all levels, including the level of local police-community forums. An especially important concern is control of police corruption, because this is so important in damaging or creating public trust in the police.

4.4 Control of Corruption

An important specific problem strongly associated with traffic policing is petty corruption of more junior police officers, which has been thoroughly documented. When the under-paid police officer meets the comparatively well-to-do traffic law violator there is every inducement to offer and receive corrupt payments. Furthermore, as recent studies in the UK show, unethical policing including corruption may be widespread even when the police are not poorly paid; financial gain is by no means the only source of a complex phenomenon. (Quinton and Miller, 2003).

It has been argued that the importance of corruption as a problem in poor countries has been exaggerated, especially at the national and international levels. (Polzer, 2001). At a more micro level, however, when public officials are accused of corruption, it may be argued that it is a major development problem in which the poor are especially victimised, victims of bribery by others but unable to extract bribery themselves. As far as policing is concerned, the disadvantages experienced by the poor are intensified and public confidence and trust in the police, which are so important in generating effective policing, (and especially community policing), are undermined.³

The international studies of victims show that bribery of public officials generally, and especially of the police, is much more prevalent in poorer countries. (Hills, 2000, p 97; Alvazzi del Frate, 1998.). The latter's report on victims of crime in the developing world "clearly reveals that bribery of public officials is more diffused in the developing world, followed by countries in transition, and is almost negligible in the industrialised world". (p 46). For example, whereas interviews with samples of the public showed that 1.0% in sampled Western European cities reported being victims of bribery 'in the last year', reporting rates in sampled Asian, African and Latin American cities were as follows: (p 17, Table 2 and p 47, Table 14).

Asia:

Indonesia (Jakarta)	32.9
The Philippines (Metro Manila)	4.7
India (Bombay)	23.1
China (Beijing)	5.6

Africa:

Egypt (Cairo)	31.9
South Africa (Johannesburg)	7.6
Tunisia (Grand Tunis)	14.6
Uganda (Kampala)	25.6
Zimbabwe (Harare)	7.2
Botswana (Gaborone)	2.9

Latin America:

Argentina (Buenos Aires)	29.0
Bolivia (La Paz)	25.9
Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	17.9
Costa Rica (San Jose)	11.1
Paraguay (Asuncion)	13.8
Colombia (Bogota)	19.2

³ One of our informants from India, however, pointed out rightly that bribery and corruption is not the major factor which prevents the police from enforcing traffic regulations. While we accept that it is wise to avoid giving too much emphasis to bribery and corruption, we suggest that it is nevertheless important.

In all these cities, the reported rate of bribery by police officers was either highest or second highest of all government officials identified. (Alvazzi del Frate, p 51 Table 16).

A recent report on police corruption in Britain concludes that leaking information to people outside the force is the most common type, followed by using power to obtain money or sexual favours. It emphasises the need to use police culture and improved supervision as means of prevention of corruption: (Quinton and Miller, 2003, p 6):

- promoting an ethical police culture, through leadership, which educates all staff about work and non-work risks of corruption;
- strengthening management and supervision, particularly in high-risk areas;
- improvements in recruitment and postings (e.g. vetting and staff rotation);
- improving information security (e.g. physical security and a 'need to know' culture);
- monitoring and auditing of data on integrity issues;
- a range of policies for improving accountability; and
- the proactive investigation of corruption.

The search for remedies for corruption in developing countries focuses, in particular, on finding ways of exposing it more readily. (Jenkins and Goetz, 1999; Goetz and Jenkins, 2002; Langseth and Buscaglia, 2001). Based on studies of financial malpractice in India, Goetz and Jenkins say (p. 2) that "Key conditions for making citizen-state accountability partnerships are:

- legal standing or formal recognition for non-governmental observers within policy-making arenas or institutions of public sector oversight
- a continuous presence for these observers throughout the process of the agency's work
- full rights to official documentary information on accounts and the basis for decision-making
- the right of observers to issue dissenting report directly to legislative bodies
- the right of service users to demand a formal investigation and/or seek legal redress for poor decision-making, abuse of human rights, or non-delivery of public services".

Goetz and Jenkins emphasise that "these conditions go considerably beyond the terms upon which civil society groups are currently invited to 'dialogue' or 'consult' with policy makers to improve public sector responsiveness". There seems to be considerable potential within community-policing partnerships for improved regulation via such reporting and potential exposure. In practice, however, forums which develop local public credibility would be able to hear about alleged corruption and develop a preventive function, without seeking to use formal processes.

4.5 Traffic Policing Forums: organisation and tasks

To implement the community traffic policing process some kind of organisational structure is needed, as it is for general community policing. At national and local levels, this should be linked and report to the traffic accident prevention forums, committees or councils which have already been set up in many societies - another accountability link ! Locally, the forum would be **a working partnership of all stakeholders**, charged with both developing and implementing a set of activities of traffic policing and traffic accident prevention. Partners would include the police and community representatives, (taking care to avoid exclusiveness), as well as representatives of health and education services, other involved government agencies and local NGOs.

While there would be national guidance on approaches and activities, great emphasis would be placed on **innovation and experimentation**, devising local strategies to meet local circumstances. Although, of course, policies and guidelines would be centrally determined, it is envisaged that local plans and activities would be firmly based on participatory appraisal methods, a "bottom up" approach. (See, for example, Chambers' analysis of 'Whose Reality Counts', 1997; Holland and Blackburn, eds. 1998).

It is envisaged that most tasks carried out would be based on sharing of responsibility between the police and others, though division of responsibility would vary for different tasks and localities. It might be thought necessary that the police would retain sole responsibility for any prosecution of traffic offenders, though others might assist in information gathering and investigation.

Members of the community, perhaps via the forum, could play a very important role in giving **evidence on who offenders are and the circumstances of accidents**. For many other tasks primary roles might be played by community members. For example, **warnings to drivers** who had driven dangerously could be given by forum representatives other than police officers. **Checking of defective vehicles** could similarly be carried out by forum representatives, who had been trained what to look for and how to advise owners and drivers in cases which did not warrant prosecution. In a community, such means could place great pressure on owners and drivers, as well as negligent pedestrians, to behave less dangerously.

An important joint task of the local traffic policing forum would be to **plan and monitor local accident prevention strategies**. A major problem of such planning in the past has been the unreliability of data obtained largely from the police which, inter alia, greatly under-estimate minor accidents and non-fatal injuries, and say little about causes of accidents. A broad partnership, including health agencies and community representatives,

Should provide a far more satisfactory set of data for both planning and monitoring purposes, making it possible to evaluate strategies introduced.

A further important task of local forums would be to seek ways of **improving resources** available for traffic accident prevention. This might consist in part of seeking non-governmental funding - and, of course, deciding on the best uses of it, whether in improving technology, or other physical innovations such as traffic calming or redesign of junctions, or on payments to personnel such as traffic wardens to supplement police resources.

4.6 Law reform and public education

At a national level, an important early task would be to explore the need for **traffic law reform**; in keeping with the neglect of general policy on traffic accident prevention and the low priority given to traffic as opposed to other areas of policing, the necessary legislative backing has also been severely neglected in many developing countries. It needs updating in keeping with newer developments in technology and in knowledge of causation of accidents.

At a local level, a very important task of forums would be to **disseminate knowledge** of traffic law and causes of accidents in the community at large. The police would be important in this, in that they would have the opportunity to show expertise and to convey this to others. In addition to spreading the kind of knowledge which is a crucial means of accident prevention, the police could be seen in a different light and obtain a new kind of respect in the community.

Careful consideration needs to be given to the question of how rigorously traffic laws could and should be implemented. The police in all societies are normally inclined to use discretion and to avoid prosecution in traffic cases. (Bayley, 1994). An important question for consideration in local forums is just when the law should be firmly enforced, **in what cases some discretion is needed**. This kind of decision is normally hidden, and bias and corruption are suspect. The community traffic policing context provides the means for much greater and very desirable transparency, as noted in the earlier discussion of controlling corruption.

4.7 Victim support

Ways of providing support to victims of ordinary crime are relatively limited but beginning to emerge in developing countries. (Newman et al. 1999, pp 34-41; Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, pp 38-39, 91-92). This is a particularly urgent problem for traffic accident victims and their families in such countries. Especially

when the victim is the main income provider, as is often the case, the family may suffer very severely. Developing and finding resources for appropriate services would be an important task of the national and local community traffic policing forums.

Golub and McQuay (2001) have recently produced an account for the Asia Development Bank of ways in which provision of free (voluntary) legal services to the poor can assist in poverty reduction as broadly conceived. (See too McQuoid-Mason, 2002; Stapleton, 2002). Though these services are apparently not offered at present to traffic accident victims, it seems likely that very limited assistance in ways of obtaining compensation could prove very cost effective. This process could be further enhanced if insurance agencies, which play an active role in accident prevention efforts, could also be encouraged to devote more efforts to improving the availability of insurance cover to benefit third parties.

Other community inputs

Clegg, Hunt and Whetton (2000) discuss issues of public versus private policing in Section 10 of their report, providing a range of illustrations of different kinds of private policing practice. These include, for example, railway and forestry police, traffic wardens and local, municipal police. They also look at potential use of traditional dispute settlement, at various kinds of self-policing by communities, privately financed policing, recent efforts to create mediative (pre-trial) processes and a small number of recent experiments with community involvement in policing in developing countries.

The most visible form of self-policing in western democracies has been the increase in the number of individuals and organisations prepared to pay for their own policing. This has led to the massive growth of the private security industry. Though it is difficult to obtain reliable data, it has been estimated that there are at least twice, and maybe three times, the number of private police as public police in the United States, and that this gap will continue to widen. (taken from Newman's *Global Report on Crime and Justice*) shows, private policing is also becoming a major growth industry in developing countries.

On the other hand, it is the very vulnerable groups (which DFID seeks to target) who are least protected by both the public police and most of the new forms of non-public policing. They also suffer most from the more negative forms of self-policing and vigilantism.

Because the formal justice system is frequently seen as not meeting the interests of the victim, it is suggested that channelling disputes towards more informal systems of resolution will serve these interests better, allowing the possibility of restitution, compensation and reconciliation. There is also the point made about the value of keeping minor offenders out of a justice system that is too often characterised by long delays and over-harsh punishments. In the case of juveniles in conflict with the law, the value of discretionary cautioning is frequently stressed.

However Clegg et al point out, as we have emphasised in the introduction to this review, that in looking at the various forms of traditional, non-formal, popular, and community-based systems of justice, it is important to be very cautious and avoid making a facile antithesis between 'bad' state and 'good' community. It is also necessary not to adopt the romantic myth of simple natural consensual communities with justice systems based on ideas of mediation and restorative justice.

"Many of such institutions and processes of dispute settlement are coercive and controlled by local elites. Research on forms of customary dispute settlement in regions like Sub-Saharan Africa and the Pacific indicates that more powerful members of the community construct and use tradition, custom and non-state justice institutions to maintain or reinforce hierarchy based on wealth, gender and age, to the disadvantage of the poor, women and children". (Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000, p 55).

In some societies, one response to the inadequate protection afforded by the state or public police has been for communities (especially marginalised communities) to organise their own forms of policing. This has been particularly evident in societies where the police have taken a wider political role and

have reduced the attention paid to the routine policing of ordinary crime and the maintenance of everyday order.

Apart from the examples of South African townships during the apartheid period and nationalist/republican areas in N. Ireland, the case of Latin America provides many instances of this type of self-policing or vigilantism. Much such vigilantism is ostensibly aimed at controlling ordinary civilian crime in situations where public policing is perceived to be ineffective; however, it may also be used for the wider purposes of social control especially of marginalised groups or for political control. Such forms of self-policing, with or without the informal involvement of the police, can lead to gross abuses of the rights of citizens.

However, what was once thought of as vigilantism is now becoming popular as self-policing and is encouraged by the police in the form of neighbourhood watch, an enlarged Special Constabulary (in the UK) or citizen patrol (in the USA). Attention has also been focussed on street level policing through the provision of residential patrols by private security companies. The Labour Government has invested in Community Safety initiatives where responsibility for security lies with local partnerships of statutory, voluntary and commercial agencies.

Similar 'responsibilisation' strategies are now being advocated in developing countries. To some extent these derive from a recognition that resource poor states cannot afford to provide full protection through the public police. However, they also reflect the view that effective protection can only be achieved if citizens are more fully involved in policing.

Examples of such an approach can be seen in the 1997 Lesotho draft White Paper on Police Reform which notes that members of the public have both a right and a duty to be involved in tackling crime through, for example, part-time policing. Similar proposals to revive special constable schemes, originally implemented during the colonial period, are under consideration in Vanuatu and Fiji. (These and the following illustrations are cited in Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2002, Section 10).

There are also examples of self-policing schemes in South Africa, such as the Anti-Crime Committees and the Community Peace Programme. The South African Anti-Crime Committees (ACC's) are organised as part of civic structures in which each community is required to elect 10 volunteers who will engage in crime prevention and investigation. The volunteers are unarmed and pursue the solution of crime in the community or outside by eliciting the co-operation of residents.

The South African Community Peace Programme (CPP) was established at the end of the apartheid era to work on policy for policing in a democratic society. Since mid-1997 the CPP has been running a pilot project near Cape Town to test the hypothesis that ordinary "non-expert" people in a poor community are capable of taking on responsibility for dealing with most matters of safety and security in their community.

The exercise of police discretion in the context of a wider policy of pre-trial mediation and dispute resolution can be seen in the work of Dispute Resolution Foundation in Jamaica. Since its inception in July 1994, the Dispute Resolution Foundation (DRF) in Jamaica has trained some 5000 persons in dispute resolution techniques including teachers, students, lay magistrates, community leaders, correctional service officers, young people, corporate executives, neighbourhood watch members and prison staff. They have already established ten centres which offer mediation services and co-ordinate work with the police, courts, schools and NGOs.

The above are simply illustrations of different kinds of community involvement in policing. It would be the responsibility of forums for community traffic policing, at both central and local levels, to consider whether these and similar approaches might provide the basis for promising experiments on a local basis. It is the essence of a participatory, bottom up approach that as far as possible plans for what happens locally should be developed, implemented and monitored locally.

4.8 Criminal Courts

Criminal Courts in developing countries deal with relatively few traffic offences at present, as the police are able to prosecute only a small proportion of offenders. The measures outlined in this review would be likely to lead to a substantial increase in prosecutions. The penalty used for the great majority of these offenders is to fine them. Fines are especially problematic in developing countries, as they may lead to very substantial numbers of offenders imprisoned for non payment of fines. This happens especially if fines are not related to the means of offenders and if measures such as time-to-pay are not used. It is likely that use of fines is more appropriate for traffic offenders than others, as they are more likely to have means to pay. In any case, however, fines need to be used sensibly as they are, for example, in Zambia. (Clegg and Harding, 1990).

An alternative penalty which has been used very successfully in some developing countries is the Community Service Order, in which offenders are ordered to carry out a given number of hours of service to the community. This penalty could be used very appropriately for traffic offences, if the nature of service specified were imaginatively linked to the nature and consequences of the offence. Penal Reform International (1999) report on successful experiments carried out in Zimbabwe, which have now been extended to Kenya, Malawi, Uganda, Zambia and other African countries. They point out that it is very important to introduce appropriate legislation, to prepare the ground carefully by mounting a thorough programme of education of judges and others, and to resource the programme adequately. Although community service programmes are relatively inexpensive, it is important to ensure that trained staff are available to find and develop work programmes, to recruit and support voluntary workers, to advise courts on suitability of offenders and to provide supervision.

4.9 Restorative Justice

A valuable alternative to criminal prosecution which has been introduced, especially in the last decade, in many countries is the restorative justice process. (Findlay, 2000; Griffiths and Bazemore (eds) 1999; Marshall, 1999; Miers et al 2001). This could be especially useful if the courts are flooded with greatly increased numbers of traffic offenders, which they have difficulty in handling. It may be seen that this has its origins in the traditional justice systems of developing countries, but has the advantage over many of these that unjust domination by powerful local interests can be readily avoided. Miers et al define restorative justice as:

"...those measures that are designed to give victims of crime an opportunity to tell the offender about the impact of the offending on them and their families, and to encourage offenders to accept responsibility for, and to repair, the harm they caused. Its general aims are to reduce re-offending, to restore the relationship between the victim and the offender that was disturbed by the offence, and to improve victims' experiences with the criminal justice system". (Miers et al, 2001, p 8)

In practice 'restorative justice' is implemented in a great variety of ways in different countries. Miers et al go on to quote a UN definition which explains that it is a process:

"...in which the victim, the offender and/or any other individuals or community members affected by a crime participate actively together in the resolution of matters arising from the crime, often with the help of a fair and impartial third party". (ibid p 9).

There is normally, but not always, a mediator, who may be provided by the State; restorative justice may be a part of a court order or agreement, and linked to other processes, such as community service or some form of counselling. It may also be linked to requiring the offender to make reparation, either to the community generally or to the victim. It may give more weight to reforming the offender, or to the rights and well-being of the victim.

It is too early at yet to say firmly whether and how restorative justice processes are effective in achieving their various aims. There is some evidence, however, that these procedures can be applied to cases of serious personal victimisation, whereas this had been doubted. (Umbreit et al, 1999). It has also been argued that 'conferencing' may be successful even if it does not reduce re-offending, that, "it is still immensely valuable in view of all the qualitative benefits it brings to the criminal justice process - particularly to victims, offenders and their families".

As for other measures proposed, we conclude that the means of applying ideas of restorative justice need to be planned and tested locally. This appears likely to be well worth while, however, given the promising experience from elsewhere and the ways in which it may be tailored both to reduce re-offending and to serve the interests of victims of road traffic offences and their families.

5 Further Research

There is a rapidly growing literature on road traffic accidents in 'less motorised' countries and we already have a great deal of information on the distributions of accidents and on the physical circumstances which give rise to them. At present, however, evidence is relatively sparse on the human circumstances, motivations, background circumstances and detailed behaviour of different parties. Evidence is also very limited on the effectiveness of various preventive measures in an LMC context, because we cannot readily assume that measures found to be effective in HMCs will also be effective in LMCs.

As we have indicated in this review, information is especially sparse on traffic law enforcement in LMCs. There is an urgent need for the kind of research which might provide a good basis for policy. This would focus especially on the detailed, human circumstances of accidents and on the evaluation, as a matter of routine, of different policy experiments which, we hope, will be developed.

Though there has been considerable, very useful epidemiological research, this has been based to a great extent on relatively superficial and incomplete police data. To strengthen the descriptive picture, this needs to be supplemented by routine collection of data from victims at the treatment point. Beyond this, data on victims who do not receive treatment from health services ideally needs to be collected via population surveys, to provide a deeper picture of causes of accidents and consequences for victims. (A good example is reported by Mock, 1999 in Ghana).

This latter illustration raises the general point that, in this field, there a need for more in depth study of road traffic accidents using a variety of data gathering methods. To supplement the more commonly used quantitative methods there is a need for more qualitative approaches. This has been a controversial issue in the past, with debates from different disciplinary perspectives about the comparative value of quantitative and qualitative methods. It is now increasingly recognised, however, that triangulation of methods is essential to provide greater explanatory and evaluative understanding. In the field of international development, a number of conferences and workshops on this theme have been held recently. (Campbell and Holland, 2002; CDS Swansea, 2002; Holland and Blackburn, 1998; Kanbur, 2001; Kleih, 2000; White, 2002).

It is suggested that priority needs to be given to three kinds of study:

- (a) in depth studies of small samples of accident victims identified through hospitals and clinics. These would be concerned with 'explanation' rather than estimation' - developing understanding of the complex processes leading to accidents, their consequences, and the needs of victims, (rather than estimating proportions);
- (b) participatory assessments emphasising the participation of community members in defining problems and priorities, devising and implementing solutions to them. Key methods used are in depth interviews, group discussions and various non verbal methods such as mapping and sorting tasks. Methods and case studies are well documented in Holland and Blackburn, 1998. Use of these

approaches in the health field is becoming common; good examples are Lundy, 1996 and Rifkin, 1996.

- (c) monitoring and evaluation of policy experiments, including their impact on the lives of victims and their families in the longer term.

6 Conclusions

Relatively little attention has been paid to traffic law enforcement in recent international debates and planning reviews on road accident prevention in developing countries, which have principally involved specialists from engineering, health and education. Many very promising engineering and technological developments in accident prevention are being explored and it is important to make progress in seeking ways to implement these in LICs. Likewise strengthening education of all road users on accident prevention measures needs to be a high priority. In this context, however, it is important that the value of improved traffic law enforcement is also recognised as meriting high priority.

It seems clear that many obvious improvements in traffic policing are likely to be very cost effective. Furthermore, cost effective approaches, especially those protecting the interests of more vulnerable road users, will be best obtained by giving heavy emphasis to **community traffic policing**. This should be interpreted in its widest sense of involving the general public and NGOs as fully as possible in accident prevention methods, in genuine partnership with local police forces and other government agencies. There are good reasons for suggesting that, in the field of accident prevention, involving the community will bring benefits far more readily and quickly than it has in the field of community policing more generally.

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Appendix B: Community Traffic Policing Scoping Study: a Literature Review

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ANNEX B TERMS OF REFERENCE

Background:

DFID has funded TRL to undertake a small scoping study on how community participation can improve traffic law enforcement and reduce the risk of road crashes. Begun in September 2002, the study is expected to be completed by February 2003 with the production of a final report summarising the lessons learned from the four low income case studies (India (2 locations), Bangladesh, and South Africa), UK and previous policing research in low income countries. A proposal for a subsequent implementation project will also be submitted.

Key objective:

Assist with the transfer of lessons from previous policing research in low-income countries to traffic policing.

Tasks

1. Update and summarise the lessons learned from previous research in policing in low income countries relevant to improving community participation in traffic law enforcement, including the following key areas:
 - Gaining commitment, inc. public consultation and victim surveys
 - Accountability, including complaints system and fine collection
 - Human Rights
 - Community Policing
 - Access to justice including role of formal and non-formal justice systems, restorative justice programmes, community sentencing, victim support)
 - Donor guidance
2. Highlight information and relevance to the poor, including victimisation rates, treatment and how to include them in the consultation process.
3. Assist with responding to DFID queries including knowledge gaps pertaining to role of institutional and legal processes, and influence of individual and institutional priorities.
4. Provide feedback on project reports, including local counterpart terms of reference, draft inception report, case study reports, draft final report and implementation project proposal(s) and community traffic policing course proposal.
5. Provide list of key references and contacts.

ANNEX C PERSONS CONSULTED

Participants in WHO Strategy Meeting, April 2001

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Mr Eric Bernes, International Federation of Red Cross Societies
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Global Road Safety Partnership: Steering Committee and Country Advisers

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Michael Winnett, TRL, Adviser Ghana
Michael Bernhard, Adviser South Africa
Peter Elsenaar, Adviser Poland, Romania, Hungary
Samar Abou Raad, Adviser Jordan, Lebanon, Syria

DFID Advisers in Development Divisions and Country Offices

Annex D: Illustrative Guidelines on Community Policing in Developing Countries

These practical guidelines are taken from Clegg, Hunt and Whetton, 2000, ***Policy Guidance on Support to Policing in Developing Countries***, Annex B 'Providing Technical Advisory Services and Training'.

Included here are guidelines on Accountability, Community Policing, Community Programmes/Partnerships and Human Rights, showing **Basic, Intermediate and Advanced programme levels**, together with suggested performance indicators.

The source report also contains guidelines on: Management and Infrastructure; Police Operations.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Basic Level	Intermediate Level	Advanced level	Performance Indicators
<p>A credible complaint investigation system, which is independent of line command, for complaints made by the public.</p> <p>Evidence that officers are brought before the ordinary criminal courts for wrongdoing, and are not merely allowed to leave the force.</p> <p>Statements in documents published, such as the Strategic Plan, of willingness to respond positively to criticism and evidence of it.</p> <p>A requirement, which is enforced, for the Chief Officer of Police to complete retrospective Annual Reports which are made public.</p> <p>Redress available in civil courts against individuals and vicariously against the Chief Officer, for abuse of powers.</p> <p>Training of senior officers who sit in judgement.</p>	<p>An internal investigative capacity developed to pro-actively root out corruption and other serious illegal behaviour by under-cover means.</p> <p>An effective Police Authority or other independent overview of the complaint and internal investigation processes.</p> <p>Some evidence - internal tensions are symptomatic initially - that investigations are impacting on corruption and police behaviour which denies human rights.</p> <p>Evidence of increasing confidence (such as increase in the number of complaints initially) that police will investigate, internally, with integrity.</p> <p>Improved quality of investigations - the proportion of 'not substantiated' and 'resulting in discipline' monitored to achieve consistently high standards.</p>	<p>Independent (non-police) investigation for serious cases, (e.g. gross abuse of human rights, deaths in police custody or as result of police action) with no duplication of investigation by police, which may impede or delay independent review, permitted.</p> <p>Integrity of police accepted as 'non negotiable', as reflected by internal discipline cases, statements by police at all levels, and canteen culture.</p> <p>Public opinion surveys reflect an increasing confidence in police integrity and openness in dealing.</p> <p>Political accountability, not amounting to improper interference, is effective in matters of effectiveness, efficiency and, especially, legitimacy and the support of human rights.</p> <p>Reduction in complaints from the public in important areas such as assault or illegal arrest; although there may be a continuing increase in complaints of attitude, until this too levels off.</p> <p>Greater openness towards the media is perceived by police as resulting in fairer reporting about police.</p> <p>Human resource management systems which assess ethnical standards</p> <p>Coherent equal opportunities policy and practices.</p>	<p>Favourable media comments, measured in frequency and/or column inches.</p> <p>Numbers of letters of appreciation.</p> <p>Numbers of complaints (subject to interpretation as indicated above) on a comparative basis, place to place, as well as over time.</p> <p>Number of meetings of Chief Police Officer with Minister and/or Police Authority.</p> <p>Average time taken to investigate all complaints.</p> <p>Average time for erring officers to be brought before the courts or discipline.</p> <p>Public opinion survey ratings measuring satisfaction with accountability and openness.</p>

Appendix B: Community Traffic Policing Scoping Study: a Literature Review

COMMUNITY POLICING

Basic Level	Intermediate Level	Advanced level	Performance Indicators
<p>A policy decision taken to introduce Community Policing and responsibility assigned to a senior officer to develop the concept to the diverse needs of different areas.</p> <p>Publicity given, within force and in the public domain, to create realistic expectations and allay fears.</p> <p>A pilot site for rural community policing model and a pilot site for urban community policing (or more than two) identified and enthusiastic and enlightened local police commanders appointed.</p> <p>Existing links with community (on pilot sites) used to identify community needs and expectations, analyse policing problems, sound out views on internal boundaries etc.</p> <p>Training given to training officers in Community Policing.</p> <p>A joint consulting and training programme introduced on pilot sites, ensuring officers contribute views (acquire ownership) and gain a clear understanding of objectives and roles.</p> <p>Inaugural meetings of community forums (Consultative Group) introduced and some initial prioritisation of issues to be addressed.</p> <p>A community education programme developed and delivered on pilot sites, facilitating public interpretation of information supplied by police, role of public representatives, feedback etc.</p> <p>Analysis of crime statistics, road accident incidents and other workload completed and the model of Community Policing agreed with community and introduced.</p> <p>A check that emphasis is on addressing causes of problems, not just symptoms.</p> <p>A check that community representation has a wide span, giving access to police to all, not just the rich and powerful in the local community. (The main defining characteristic of 'community' may be geographic, but</p>	<p>Experience of pilot sites analysed, lessons learnt, modifications made.</p> <p>Concepts of local divisions as 'primary unit' of policing, with other parts of the force in support, introduced.</p> <p>Infrastructure for supporting community policing force-wide put in place, with arrangements for identifying and promoting good practice.</p> <p>Integrated command structure (uniform, CID and other divisional based specialists) introduced.</p> <p>Remaining divisions in force area required to introduce a locally devised model after following through the steps refined on the pilot sites.</p> <p>Specialist units (away from divisions) developing a 'support role', maybe using 'service level agreements'.</p> <p>Para-military style (if present) undergoing some moderating changes. Appearance and behaviour are both relevant.</p> <p>Community projects begin to develop on all divisions.</p>	<p>Local public and local police both feeling empowered, having control over local policing issues.</p> <p>Community involved in selecting local priorities which are given proper weight alongside force-wide (or national) priorities.</p> <p>Strategic (longer-term) inter-agency partnership being developed.</p> <p>Public appreciation, as reflected in local opinion surveys, high.</p> <p>Liaison with civil liberties and minorities (racial, homosexual etc) groups established locally</p>	<p>Again it is possible to add quantitative indicators to the existence of characteristics or passing of the 'milestones' referred to above. Some of these may be monitored force-wide but others may be of a more local nature, involving the community in selection and information gathering and analysis :-</p> <p>Quantity (and quality) of feedback from the public through forums set up.</p> <p>Number of police/community forums.</p> <p>Number of meetings held.</p> <p>Number of persons attending meetings.</p> <p>'Fear of crime' survey results.</p> <p>Number of personnel, as percentage of force strength, employed on divisions with community policing model in operation.</p> <p>Volume of 'information' from the public - ie calls for police, intelligence (allowing for distorting effects of, for example, more telephones in</p>

Appendix B: Community Traffic Policing Scoping Study: a Literature Review

<p>there are overlapping 'communities', such as those associated with work (businesses, trade unions etc), or with age groups (youths or the aged), or vulnerable groups (women or children) or sexual orientation (homosexuals). Ideally, all such community interests need to be represented.</p>			<p>existence).</p> <p>Number of local priorities pursued as a result of community forums.</p>
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COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES/PARTNERSHIPS

Basic Level	Intermediate Level	Advanced level	Performance Indicators
<p>The active deployment of patrol officers, responding to the needs of citizens.</p> <p>A Domestic Violence Unit (or similar) in place on the police division, developing expertise in dealing with violence within families (usually against women and children) and sexual abuse.</p> <p>A police strategy developed and published for giving practical support to the victims of <i>all</i> crimes, especially repeat victims, liaising with non-police bodies where appropriate.</p> <p>A policy developed to give special help to the problems of youths, drug-takers, racial or tribal issues.</p> <p>Conflict management training given to officers.</p> <p>Crime prevention officers trained both in target-hardening and other aspects of community safety, including designing out crime on new building developments.</p> <p>Other forms of customary or traditional policing identified and the police stance in relation thereto decided and published.</p> <p>Baseline for public approval levels established.</p>	<p>An independent (volunteer) Victim Support Scheme in place, actively supported by police and working closely with police.</p> <p>Crime prevention activities, jointly with the public, in hand locally. Crime Prevention Panels may spin off from the community/police forum.</p> <p>Police involved in a drugs education programme, to reduce demand, in conjunction with any Health Authority, schools and other interested parties.</p> <p>Liaison established locally with other parts of the Criminal Justice System - prosecutors, courts, probation service, prisoners' after-care groups.</p> <p>Partnerships with local authority under consideration - such as developing a joint strategy on crime prevention, homelessness, noise abatement etc.</p> <p>Partnership with other donor countries, jointly with the host police force in existence.</p> <p>Use of auxiliaries, such as part-time or volunteer officers, traffic wardens, civilian support staff - all well in hand.</p> <p>Intelligent deployment of patrols to target priority problems.</p>	<p>'Neighbourhood Watch' schemes or similar, introduced. Other extensions of this are Business Watch and Hotel Watch.</p> <p>A Schools Programme developed (jointly with schools) for police to address schoolchildren on road safety, personal security, crime involvement, drugs etc., depending on age groups.</p> <p>Publication of 'Standards' for performance set, (involving public views on priorities and targets) over a range of police duties.</p> <p>Public involved in regular satisfaction surveys to test the <i>quality</i> of police response, e.g. to crimes reported, to accidents, to emergencies, when the public attend police stations.</p> <p>Facilities for public at police stations conform to user-friendly criteria.</p> <p>Liaison with other organisations with a policing type role, eg security companies, established and interface clearly defined.</p> <p>The measurement of performance and effectiveness</p> <p>The measurement of quality of service</p> <p>The use of human resource management systems to measure professionalism.</p>	<p>The number of formal inter-agency partnerships</p> <p>The number of new community initiatives.</p> <p>The number of Neighbourhood Watch schemes or (better) the number of dwellings covered by such schemes.</p> <p>The number of public education programmes police involved in, under headings, eg drugs, road safety.</p> <p>The number of police trained as mediators or conflict resolution negotiators.</p> <p>The numbers of school visits</p>

HUMAN RIGHTS

Basic Level	Intermediate Level	Advanced level	Performance Indicators
<p>A clear statement that ethical policing by consent is the aim of the force. This evidence may be found in a Vision Statement and/or incorporated into a Strategic Plan.</p> <p>Some reference contained in the oath taken by officers on appointment; or in the case of non-sworn officers, a similar statement in a contract of employment. The proposed new oath for Northern Ireland reads "...to act with fairness, integrity, diligence and impartiality, uphold fundamental human rights and accord equal respect to all individuals and to their traditions and beliefs".</p> <p>Lawful and just prisoner handling, the protocols laid down for arrest and detention and enforced by supervisory checks.</p> <p>Legal rights of prisoners to bail strictly honoured. Prisoners' rights displayed on notices and in leaflets.</p> <p>The existence of proper custody records (which should be comprehensive and include supervisory cell visits and a record of any removals from cells for interview etc) wherever persons are detained after arrest.</p> <p>Police support for 'victims' of all crimes but especially for vulnerable groups.</p> <p>Human rights impacted on training courses - all training, not just recruit training.</p> <p>Prisoners have access to legal advice which is free or 'aided'.</p>	<p>Awareness of principles of human rights (in the police context) raised by a 'hearts and minds' type programme for all police personnel, sworn and unsworn.</p> <p>Strict rules (such as those contained in the UK Police and Criminal Evidence Act) in place and training of officers thereon given, or at least in progress.</p> <p>A system of independent access, such as a 'Lay Visitors Scheme', to police stations.</p> <p>Audio recording of interviewing of suspects introduced, at least on trial.</p> <p>Reduced reliance on 'confessions' as the main evidence tendered to a court.</p> <p>Increased use of forensic evidence or other corroboration of eye-witness evidence.</p> <p>Evidence that irregular police behaviour is punished (discipline) and good professional work is rewarded (commendations).</p> <p>Carriage (in non-confrontational roles) and use of police firearms (especially fatal shootings) reduced.</p> <p>Civil liberties, such as to march or demonstrate, not only tolerated but facilitated.</p>	<p>Police involved in inter-agency co-operation within the criminal justice system on human rights issues.</p> <p>Satisfactory facilities for Identification Parades.</p> <p>CCTV cover interviews with suspects.</p> <p>CCTV surveillance in Custody Suites (Charge Rooms) and cells.</p> <p>International standards of human rights observed by police, to an increasing level of satisfaction by a local outside body.</p>	<p>The number of training courses with a human rights content.</p> <p>The number of people 'stopped' by police as suspects and the arrest rate therefrom.</p> <p>Public opinion surveys (preferably independently conducted) to reveal how police are seen to support or deny human rights. By correlating this to different economic groups, it will be revealed how the poorest sections of society, or any specific vulnerable group, see police.</p>

Appendix C: Draft Community Participation and Traffic Policing training course outline

	Topic	Content
Day 1 0900:1000	Community participation	Need Main role Benefits Disadvantages
Tea		
1030:1130	Community policing	UK experience South Africa experience Evaluations
1130:1230	Group discussion	Summarise community participation in policing in home countries
1230:1300	Summary	Review common points and key lessons, inc. <i>Obtaining commitment from senior officers</i> <i>Gaining trust from community</i> <i>Ensuring involvement of vulnerable</i>
Lunch		
1400:1500	Traffic policing	Structure (how close to community) Role (any priority given to vulnerable road users) Resources (how well-equipped) Tactics (intelligence limited to reported data, shift rotation frequency)
Tea		
1530:1700	Community participation in traffic policing	Main approaches: Consultation Volunteers Projects Advocacy
Day 2 900-1030	Group discussion	Local examples Comparison with general policing
Tea		