URBAN SAFETY PROJECT

# URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY IN MYANMAR

**Jayde Roberts**

June 2018

The Asia Foundation
Improving Lives, Expanding Opportunities

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***About The Asia Foundation and the Urban Safety Brief Series***

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

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

**About the author**

Jayde Lin Roberts is an interdisciplinary scholar of the built environment and Myanmar Studies specialist. Her book, *Mapping Chinese Rangoon: Place and Nation among the Sino-Burmese*, was published by the University of Washington Press in June 2016. She is a tenured faculty member at the University of Tasmania and a 2016-18 Fulbright US Scholar in Myanmar. Her Fulbright-funded research examines discourses of development in Yangon during a period of rapid urbanization.

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# INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is the movement of people from rural to urban environments, and the associated changes in the built environment. As political reform and rapid urbanization drastically reshape Myanmar, new opportunities are arising for practical collaboration between government agencies, and between the government and the public, to improve the sense of safety and security of the country's growing urban population. In order to inform such collaboration, this policy brief provides an explanation of the concept of urban safety, provides examples of what urban safety can mean in the context of Myanmar's cities, and identifies key government departments with responsibilities for achieving urban safety. The paper also elaborates on international experiences in improving urban safety and offers a number of policy opportunities that Myanmar governance actors may act on.

Globally, there is a trend toward urbanization. By 2030, 96 percent of all urbanization will occur in the developing world. Within Myanmar, Yangon's rapid and poorly-planned urbanization has drastically changed the face of the city, while urban centers around the country are having to adjust to growing populations and demand for services. This shift toward greater concentrations of population is having profound implications for a wide range of issues that will make cities more or less livable, potentially increasing or diminishing the sense of wellbeing among urban populations.

The challenges facing urban management are numerous and complex, and there is a risk that urbanization will result in stratified, unsafe and poorly managed cities. Understanding how urbanization is happening in Myanmar is the first step towards planning for cities that will be environmentally and socially sustainable.

A sense of safety and security is a primary concern of individuals. People's collective perceptions of safety or insecurity can have a physical influence on the city's streets. In turn, the characteristics of urban spaces can create a sense in people's minds that a street, a neighborhood, or even an entire city is safe or unsafe.

### A NOTE ON RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The field work underpinning the findings on Myanmar's urban safety institutions, challenges, and opportunities, was carried out across Hlaingtharyar and North Dagon townships in Yangon and in urban wards of Taunggyi and Hpa-An. The research included qualitative semi-structured key informant interviews conducted with selected civil servant personnel and members of the public.

Data collection was carried out in June and July 2017 by two teams of researchers comprising international and national, as well as male and female team members. A total of 112 semi-structured qualitative interviews including six focus group discussions were carried out with a total of 144 government staff, politicians, members of civil society organizations (CSOs), media workers, business people, and community members. Analysis of the data was made along the three focus areas for the Urban Safety Project: interagency collaboration, collective problem solving, and security sector - community interactions.

The data validation process included consultations with township management committees, after which the findings were presented to state and region cabinet members and chief ministers.

# WHAT IS URBAN SAFETY?

## DEFINING URBAN SAFETY

Urban Safety refers to the extent to which a city's inhabitants are able to live, work and participate in urban life without fear of bodily harm or intimidation.[1] It should be viewed as a complex set of ever-changing and interconnected problems related to:

- Physical built environment,
- Socioeconomic practices,
- Systems (governmental, service provision, environmental)

Efforts to promote urban safety should consider the needs of all of the population, and how different groups within the population such as women, children, and persons in non-typical situations face different vulnerabilities. These vulnerable groups are too often left out of the planning processes and decision-making structures that directly affect their lives. At the same time, some of the most marginal urban residents are those who are the most typical; poor, often migrant, workers who live in cities' outer areas and have little ability to have their voices and concerns heard by policy actors. Work to improve urban safety must seek to account of both vulnerable and marginalized populations.

## URBAN SAFETY STANDARDS

For a city to be safe, its governance and security providers should fulfil at least four main requirements:

- Create conditions that promote the mental and physical health of its residents, such as preventing health risks that stem from polluted water, soil and air; delivering physical and mental health services and facilities; providing safe transport and mobility for all, and building green spaces and urban commons,
- Prepare for and respond to emergencies, including fire, flooding, and natural disasters,
- Prevent and respond to crime and reduce feelings of insecurity by proactively addressing residents' concerns and perceived needs,
- Promote social cohesion and peaceful coexistence by developing a sense of community and, trust among a city's residents and working to reduce all forms of segregation within the city.

Some examples of common urban safety issues faced in cities around the world include (but are not limited to):

- Unsafe streets; no street lights, no sidewalks, holes in sidewalks, loose electrical wires, etc.
- Unsafe transportation; unenforced road rules, roads and intersections not designed, built, or monitored properly, buses in poor condition, bus network is limited and forces residents to walk on unsafe streets
- Unhygienic urban environments; rubbish, rats, mosquitoes, stray dogs, and other health hazards,
- Crime; theft, muggings, drug-related crime.

International experience shows that inadequate urban planning and local governance, as well as social and territorial exclusion patterns, all contribute to conditions that are conducive to crime and violence. Similarly, ingrained inequality, unclear laws, social exclusion, and lack of community support also lead to worsened

1. Based on the New Urban Agenda. United Nations (2016). Available at: http://habitat3.org/wp-content/uploads/N1639668-English.pdf

urban safety outcomes. On its own, poverty is not a cause of crime, but often sits alongside these factors that do contribute to low levels of urban safety.

At the same time, countries with high levels of protracted violence, whether nationwide or concentrated to specific geographic regions on the periphery, see an estimated reduction in development of some 20 percent, as well as decades' worth of diminished economic growth.[2] Given this, if Myanmar's urban areas are to develop at a rate commensurate with their economic potential, urban safety must be ensured.

## PRINCIPLES FOR EFFECTIVE URBAN SAFETY

Sustainably addressing urban safety problems requires holistic agile solutions that are based on systems analysis. It is crucial for governments and municipal bodies to focus on root causes and interconnections between problems, and how these can best be addressed. Addressing individual problems can lead to shallow approaches that are often ineffective and more expensive in the long run. Ongoing monitoring and evaluation is key to ensuring effectiveness.

An effective urban safety strategy requires collaboration between communities, municipalities and government, responding to and adapted to the specific needs of the local context.

Myanmar faces the challenge of creating inclusive urban centers that are built with sufficient planning and foresight to enable growth, without exacerbating the social problems stemming from inequality, which can, in turn, become drivers of violence and other factors contributing to overall poor safety standards.

### SAFER CITIES CAN BE DELIVERED VIA INCLUSIVE URBAN GOVERNANCE

How the government operates at all levels, from the national to the local, can affect urban safety and must be considered in any initiative to create safer cities. However, the way the government operates at the municipal level is key and can be the locus of change.
Urban governance:

- **How:** Is a process of interaction between different stakeholders within and outside of government in deciding social objectives and writing urban policies. In order to function, governance must strive for cooperation but must also include processes to constructively address differences and conflict.
- **Who:** Entails shared management of the planning processes within different government agencies and between the government and the people. This inclusive governance involves different stakeholders working simultaneously at different scales (neighborhood, ward, township, district and city).

### SAFETY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED THROUGH POLICING OR ENFORCEMENT ALONE

Research shows:

- An over-reliance on conventional, reactive policing strategies can worsen crime or merely move the problem somewhere else, rather than increase safety. Problem-oriented policing and situational crime prevention tend to be more effective. [3]
- National actions alone are not effective–local solutions must be tailored to local conditions.
- One size does not fit all, and no strategy will work on its own. A range of strategies, applied holistically, is the only effective way to create long-lasting safety.

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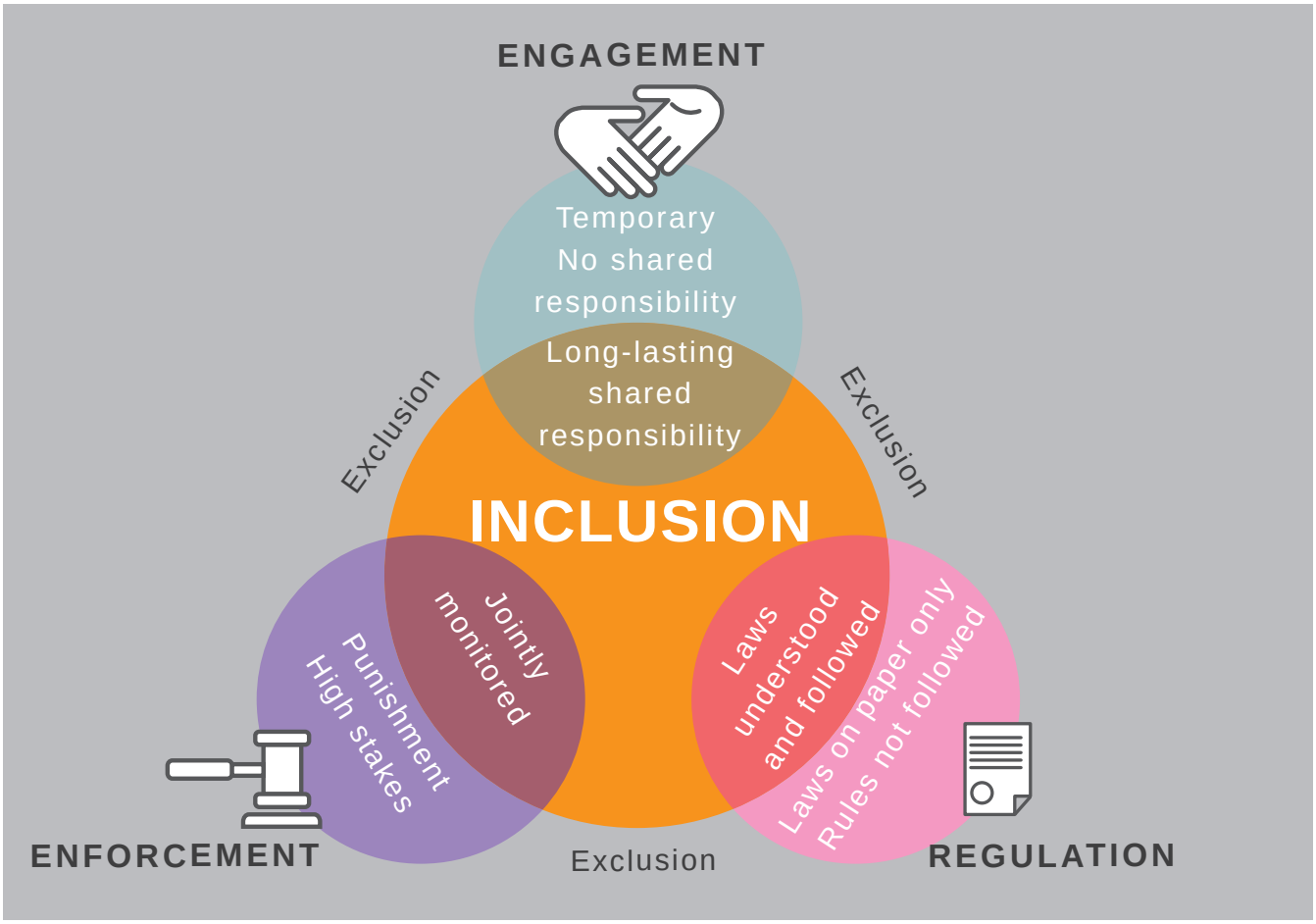
2. World Bank Development Report 2011, xii
3. Otter, S. (2017). Urban Policing in Myanmar Background Paper--Draft. The Asia Foundation. Yangon.

**THE INCLUSIVE URBAN SAFETY MANAGEMENT MODEL**

Historically, all cities have tried to ensure safety for its residents through top-down regulation and enforcement. However, international experience has shown that when the people who are affected by unsafe conditions are excluded from the problem-solving process, this exclusion increases their feelings of insecurity and decreases the effectiveness of government and police action. Today, city governments and police forces recognize that including residents as fellow problem-solvers can lead to more effective and long-lasting solutions.




## REGULATION

City governments have multiple regulatory powers related to crime prevention and control such as: traffic rules, zoning, licensing for businesses, fees for services such as rubbish collection, etc.

**Exclusionary:** If the government excludes people by failing to publicize or explain rules, residents will not understand or follow rules. There might be laws but those laws are only on paper.

**Inclusionary:** If rules (and the reasons behind them) are communicated clearly and consistently, they can be effective tools for shaping the urban environment and regulating behavior. When residents understand the rules and believe that they help achieve shared public goals, their sense of responsibility will likely increase.

In addition to the conventional regulations above, governments can also increase urban safety by address-

ing root causes through urban planning and other policies such as: incentive programs to encourage neighborhood-level projects, prioritizing funding for schools, or land use regulations that demand the provision of public facilities as a part of private property development.

## ENFORCEMENT

Enforcement is the process of ensuring compliance with laws, rules and standards. In the context of urban safety, conventional methods have relied on policing and systems of punishment. In more progressive cities, law enforcement includes local communities and supports the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively increase public safety and decrease fear.

**Exclusionary:** When laws seem arbitrary, the police must increase their use of force in order to make people follow the rules.

**Inclusionary:** If people believe that the law is for their benefit, they will help enforce the law through mutual monitoring.

## ENGAGEMENT

Engagement is an important tool to foster inclusive, resilient and law-abiding societies and can take place at many levels from minimal (informing the public) to maximal (shared ownership of problem and solution). Engagement can be challenging and time-consuming, and it is not possible to reduce processes of engagement to apolitical, neutral and technical discussions. The technocratic approach to safety has largely proven ineffective.

**Exclusionary:** When residents are excluded by the government, they do not feel responsible for the problem and must be coerced to implement the top-down solution. Without popular support, this approach is unsustainable because proposed solutions require costly and constant monitoring by the government.

**Inclusionary:** If people are included in the shaping of policies and given a chance to participate in the creation of safer cities, they feel a sense of shared ownership and become more proactive in maintaining safety.

# URBAN SAFETY IN MYANMAR

## THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION

Significant rural-to-urban migration has occurred throughout Myanmar's history, particularly in the 1950s, 1990s and most recently following Cyclone Nargis in 2008, which uprooted huge populations -- particularly from the Ayeyarwady Delta.

The commencement of a reform agenda by the transitional government in 2011 pushed the challenges of an urbanizing society to the forefront, and steps toward economic liberalization have meant greater opportunities have presented themselves in the cities in recent years.

Populations which were traditionally living in subsistence agricultural settings have seen significant outflow, as the younger members of the community seek opportunities further afield. In Myanmar, there has been little effort to plan for the future of cities, and only municipal bodies have provided basic urban services with little authority to regulate growth.

As political reform and rapid urbanization drastically reshape Myanmar, The Asia Foundation aims to support the country's transition to democracy and enhance the safety of the people living within its cities. To this end, The Asia Foundation conducted research in four townships across three cities (two townships in the commercial capital Yangon as well as in Taunggyi in Shan State, and Hpa-An in Kayin State)

## CURRENT URBAN SAFETY CHALLENGES

### *Community safety concerns…*

Safety and security concerns reported by urban residents and authorities in Myanmar include crime and drug use, traffic accidents, other issues related to the built environment, social inequality, and informal settlements as well as poor drainage, solid waste, street lighting, and crowd safety in large events. Women's specific concerns include harassment in public spaces and fears of sexual assault.

Across the townships where The Asia Foundation conducted research into urban safety dynamics, respondents reported a number of safety issues common to all locations, while other issues were more specific to individual townships. Some safety issues more emphasized in specific areas included prevention of youth drug use and crime associated with drugs in Hpa-An and Taunggyi and safety issues related to streetscapes and general crime prevention in Yangon. In Taunggyi, one of the town's most important urban safety issues is improving management of crowd safety at the city's annual fire balloon festival, where fatalities are unfortunately not uncommon. Waste management in Yangon and traffic safety in Hpa-An are also potential issue areas for city-specific interventions.

### *...and how government responds*

Some issues reported by communities garner a proactive response from local security actors, while on others authorities have remained largely reactive. Respondents across the four townships reported a disconnect between security actors and the public when it comes to understanding and addressing safety concerns. At the same time, security actors often perceive that members of the public do not understand their role and responsibilities. As a result, there exists an opportunity to bring local security actors and urban communities together to improve understanding of local safety challenges and identify ways to address them.

While numerous areas for improvement exist, addressing certain issues already brings different departments together, providing models for interdepartmental cooperation and collaborative governance that can be expanded upon. The centrality of the General Administration Department (GAD) is often clear: interagency responses to flooding generally involve different agencies being directed by the GAD to carry out specific tasks. Cultural festivals provide a second example of local security actors working together. The GAD, police, development affairs organizations, and sometimes even ethnic armed groups come together to plan events and ensure public safety. Such events include the Taunggyi balloon festival mentioned above, Karen New Year in Hpa-An, and Thingyan celebrations.

Other issues such as addressing streetscape concerns or dealing with youth drug use offer opportunities to consult and involve a wide range of agencies and the public and implement solutions using pooled resources.

### *Policymaking to prevent Violence Against Women and Girls*

Myanmar has a growing body of CSOs and non-government organizations (NGOs) working to raise awareness of gender-specific urban safety issues and advocating for governance authorities to develop specific strategies and policies that deal with violence against women and girls. However, to date there has been limited collaboration between these groups and the local authorities best placed to enact meaningful policy changes that would improve the experience of living urban areas for women and girls.

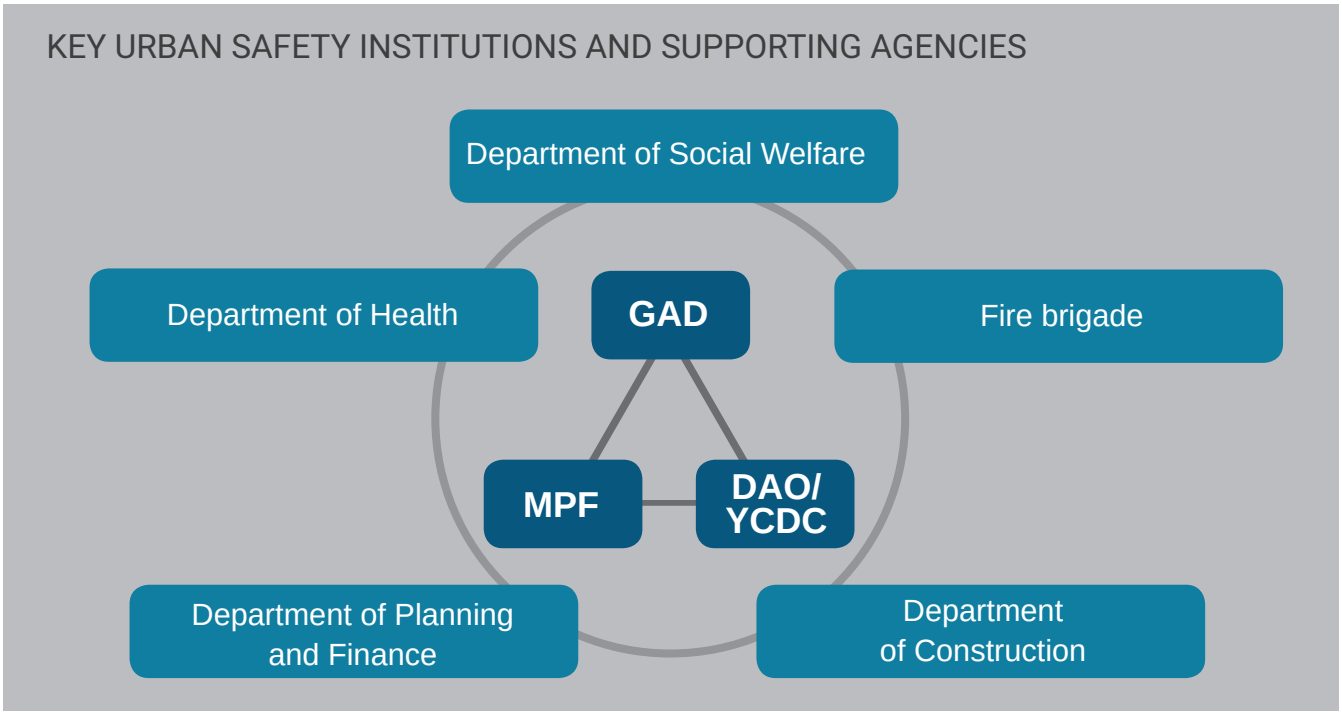
The Ministry of Social Welfare, Relief and Settlement was found to be an exception, and regularly engaging with activists, CSOs and international (INGOs) on women's rights and child protection issues. However, the Ministry, and the Department of Social Welfare below it, has a comparatively limited reach, budget, and mandate compared to the GAD and other township actors. Nonetheless, its role and voice are increasingly important.

The Myanmar Women's Affairs Federations and the Maternal and Child Affairs Associations (which exist in all townships and are composed of the wives of township department heads as well as some members of the community) also reported having regular interactions with CSOs and INGOs. However, this mechanism varies significantly in popular legitimacy, effectiveness, and levels of activity from township to township.

Women generally report that police have not been responsive to cases of violence against women and girls that were brought to their attention. This inactivity, attributed primarily to underlying social norms that trivialize and normalize gender-based violence, meant that the mostly male, police officers are reported not to take cases seriously and to be insensitive to the trauma experienced by survivors of violence.

# GOVERNMENT AGENCIES RESPONSIBLE FOR URBAN SAFETY

Both Myanmar's long history of military government structures and the current transition toward a more democratic polity underlies the country's urban safety context. As part of the transition, the establishment of structures to effectively shape policy formation and implementation will be extremely important as Myanmar's urban areas grow. Also key to cities' success is the promotion, among government authorities, of the understanding that authorities have a responsibility to urban communities—and to develop proactive measures addressing those communities' concerns in a cooperative and joined-up manner.




The emergence of a stronger civil society and media in Myanmar has also led to a push for somewhat more accountability and effectiveness in the political system. This shift is a critical first step towards empowering civilian engagement with administration, but there are numerous other opportunities for administrative bodies to engage proactively with Myanmar's urban citizenry.

The Asia Foundation has identified three key primary administrative actors in urban settings, as well as a number of supporting government bodies that have important roles in specific sectors. These main government stakeholders are:

- The General Administrative Department (GAD)
- Municipal bodies of the Development Affairs Office (DAO)/ Yangon City Development Committee
- Myanmar Police Force (MPF)

The supporting government actors include line ministries with local offices that engage on specific urban challenges, such as the health, social welfare, and planning and finance departments, as well as more traditional safety-focused organizations like the fire department.

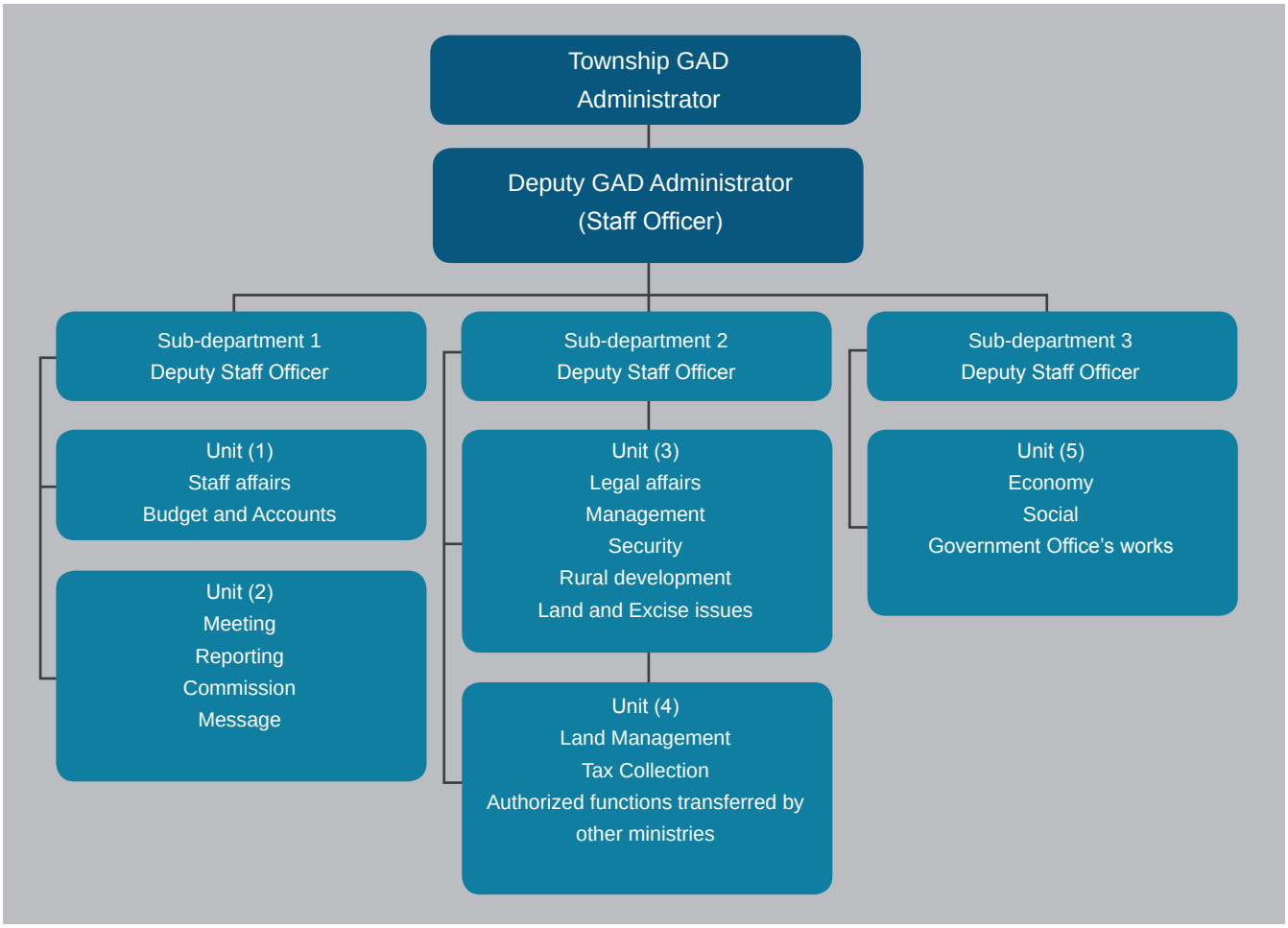
Both the police force and the GAD exist under the authority of the Ministry of Home Affairs (itself one of three ministries directly controlled by the Myanmar military). As such, both organizations have historically been centrally focused with an emphasis on maintaining order and state security rather than citizen safety. Both have taken steps to become more oriented toward service delivery; changes to institutional culture, however, take time. Following reforms since 2012, the Development Affairs Organizations are now independent of ministry control at the national level and report to their state or region government. Nonetheless, they also have a history of military control, having formerly existed under the authority of the Ministry of Border Affairs.

## THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT

The GAD is the most influential of the township governance structures, as it coordinates the majority of township governance and exerts influence over almost all departments, including the township police.

There is a GAD office in every township in Myanmar, rural or urban, and the township-level GAD is perceived by citizens and government agencies alike as the primary building block of Myanmar governance.

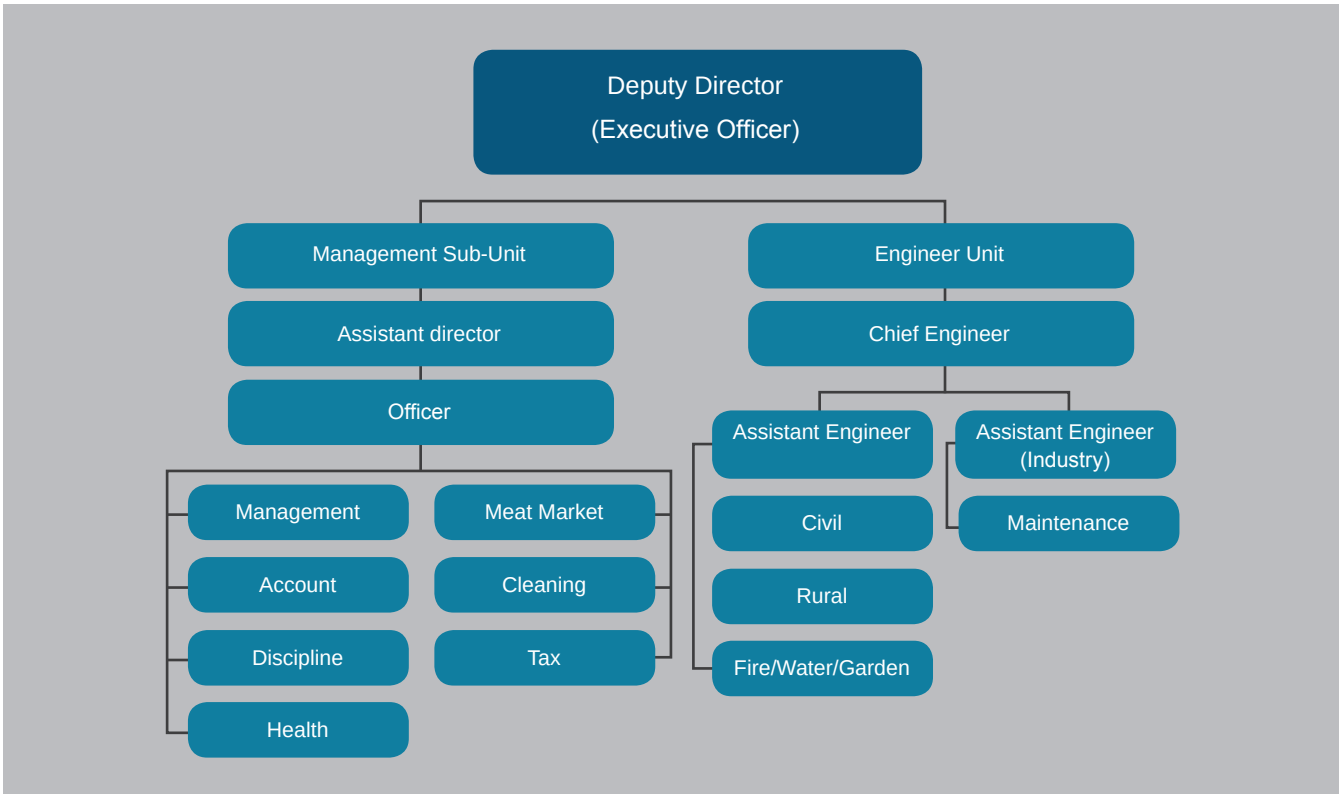
Across the townships, GAD township administrators appeared less focused on direct service delivery for the public. Instead, they perceived their role as one of coordination and management, organizing the other main departments and maintaining an understanding of the issues and activities undertaken by other agencies within their townships.



## DEVELOPMENT AFFAIRS ORGANIZATION

DAO's formal role involves provision of 31 specific municipal duties and functions that range from sanitation and street lighting town planning and disaster preparedness. Further, the body is involved in economic governance via its role as license provider for local businesses, including restaurants. However, in practice the organizations appear to deliver only a handful of the services—namely those related to road construction and provision of solid waste management service. Planning, a particularly important component to strategic approaches to urban safety was notably absent, likely a reflection of the fact that while DAOs are mandated to undertake urban planning, it is the GAD that has control over land administration.

Nonetheless, the DAO's mandate to provide public services make it a security-related actor: a built physical space and the extent of water, waste-management, and other municipal needs help define an urban area's security context.




During the research, DAOs were found to be the urban safety administrative body most likely to view their role as being that of a service provider. However, given the extent to which their mandate is specifically tied to the provision of urban services, this is perhaps unsurprising. DAO civil servants indicated a wide range in the level of motivation toward service provision, and it appears the quality and proactive problem-solving attitudes of different DAO departments was a reflection of individual officials rather than institutional structure or culture. Department heads take the lead, and lower-ranking staff tend to perform their duties but not go above and beyond this. Heads of departments and staff alike reported finding themselves constrained by insufficient resources across a range of public services.

### YANGON CITY DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE (YCDC)

Yangon and Mandalay have differing and unique systems in place for municipal management. In Yangon, the YCDC has administrative functions under the authority of the Yangon Region Government; it is not, however, an autonomous local government. Currently, the YCDC is managed by five regional government

appointees who oversee 20 departments. In practice, responsibility for each department falls under one of the four committee members most knowledgeable in that field; for example, the member of the committee who has a background in engineering supervises the engineering departments. The Mayor of the YCDC or committee member 1 simultaneously functions as the Minster of Development Affairs for Yangon Region. The appointee also do not have any direct reporting lines from the 20 departments.

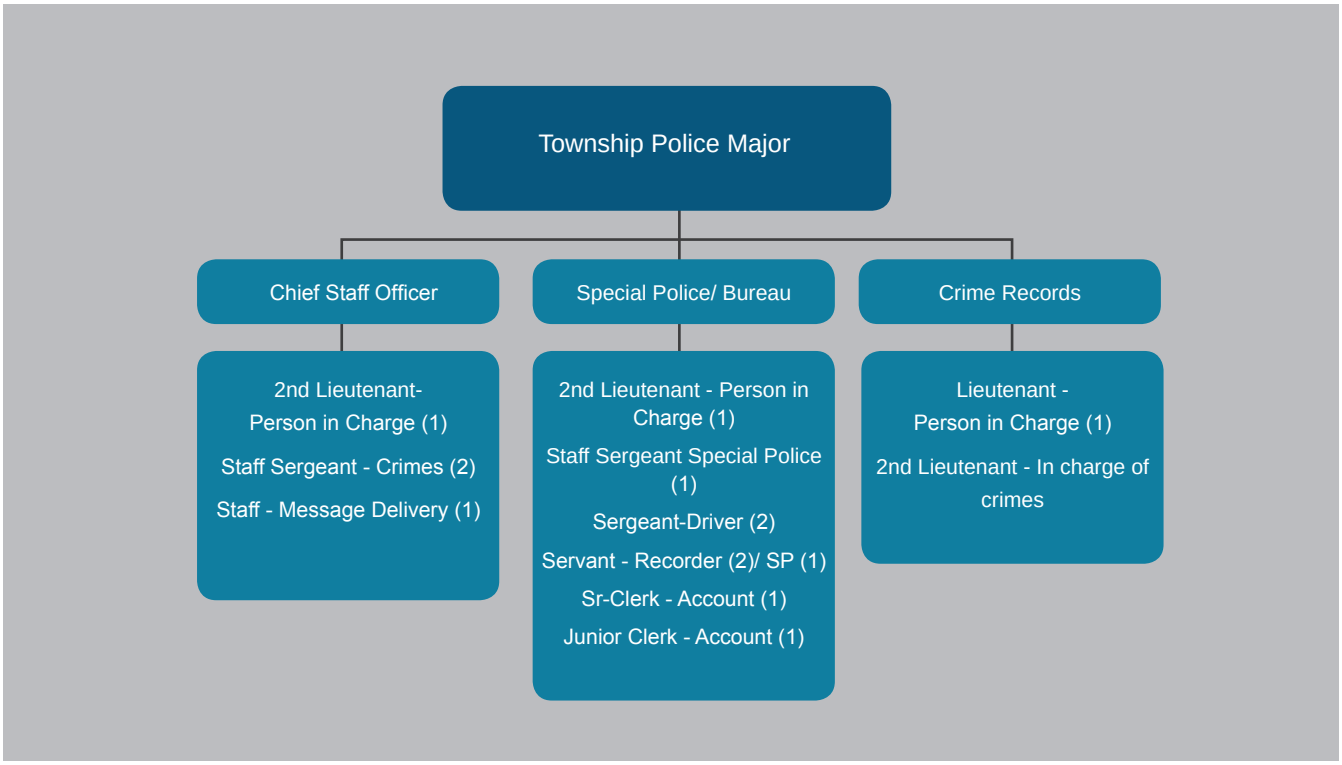
The YCDC manages 33 of the 45 townships which make up the Yangon Region and consists of 20 departments focused on municipal service provision. The functions most directly involved in urban safety include:

- Water management through the Department of Engineering (Water and Sanitation),
- Waste collection through the Pollution Control and Cleansing Department,
- Land use planning thorough the Department of Engineering (Buildings),
- Land Administration through the Department of Urban Planning and Land Administration.

Within Yangon City, township-level services are managed at the Township Development Committee Office (Township YCDC) under the YCDC Administration Department. This is headed by the Township executive officer reporting to the Assistant Head of Department in the district. In practice, the EO reports to the Head of the Administration Department at the YCDC.

## THE MYANMAR POLICE FORCE

Operating under the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Myanmar Police Force (MPF) has clear and self-evident role to play in improving urban safety. The most significant police forces nationwide are the state and region police forces, under which each township police management office operates. Township police forces are commanded by a Police Major with three constituent branches as shown in figure.



The core duties and responsibilities of the township police office are:

- Preventing crime,
- Investigating crime,
- Maintaining law and order,
- Maintaining public security,
- Preventing and eliminating the narcotics trade,
- Assisting with general public affairs.

Alongside the township police office, there are a 14 specialized MPF units including Traffic Police, Tourism Police, Forestry Police, and the Border Guard Police and the Drug Enforcement Division (DED), Criminal Investigation Division (CID), and Special Branch. Study of these units has found that there are major opportunities to improve these units' training as well as the provision of improved resources such as transport, computers, and English language skills.

Of these specialized units, the Traffic Police are an especially relevant actor in urban safety, responsible for preventing accidents and congestion, enforcing road rules, investigating traffic crimes and incidents, conducting public awareness on road safety, and enforcing regulations on licensing. This requires collaboration with other MPF forces, as well as select township government offices. However, this unit suffers a poor reputation in the eyes of the public due to corruption perceptions. Technical resources and equipment that could support traffic police is reported to be lacking.

For Yangon, Mandalay, and Nay Pyi Taw there are also City Development Police Forces (CDPF). The CDPF are considered a part of the MPF but operate separately and are funded by the City Mayors. As with the state/region, the CDPF mandate includes crime prevention and ensuring law and order, but also includes maintaining urban infrastructure, including parks and markets, as well as deterring vagrancy.

## SUPPORTING AGENCIES

There are other key actors from government ministries, such as Social Welfare, Relief and Settlement or Health, and groups like the Fire Services. However, these groups are always acting in coordination with, or at the request or permission of the aforementioned three bodies. They include:

- **DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE (DSW):** The DSW, which sits under the Ministry of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement, is a focal point for providing social welfare services. It does not have a township-level representative and is instead led by the State Director who undertakes township-level responsibilities. The DSW operates independently from the GAD and is not included under GAD oversight, resulting in relatively more autonomy to work with different actors, which has resulted in the DSW's strong links to CSOs, INGOs and UN bodies.
- **FIRE BRIGADE:** The Fire Services Department is an integral part of the township safety network. It has clearly stated security objectives such as the prevention of fire and natural disasters and protection of people's lives, properties, and state-owned capital investments. At the township level there is a chief of staff and three assistant directors (deputy chiefs of staff) responsible for firefighting, rescue, and fire protection and prevention. The township fire departments provide awareness-training in schools and may work with the police to provide manpower and support for specific events such as festivals or natural disasters.
- **DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING & FINANCE:** The Township Planning Department is under the overall direction of the State Planning Department and has a relatively broad reach due to its responsibility

consolidating the budgets of all township departments. This makes them a natural convener and lynchpin for coordination with the other, more directly safety-relevant departments. The Township Planning Department is managed by a deputy director who reports to the state director of planning.

- **DEPARTMENT OF CONSTRUCTION (DOC):** The Township DOC has an urban safety function through its responsibility for construction and maintenance of infrastructure, including roads and bridges. The township director reports to the state director of construction.
- **DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH (DOH):** The Township DOH has an important public health role. It is led by the township medical officer (TMO), who takes on both medical and administrative roles as well as collection of health baseline data. At the same level is the township health officer (THO), in charge of all public health matters and the provision of medical supplies.

Given the increased probability of success of holistic responses to address complex urban safety issues, depending on the safety issue in question, other departments may also be relevant e.g education, electricity and justice.

## INTERAGENCY COORDINATION

Since Myanmar's reform period began, how local government bodies work together in urban areas has begun to evolve. These steps towards interagency coordination are positive steps but must be built on, expanded to include additional stakeholders, deepened to improve collaboration, and strengthened institutionally if Myanmar's urban areas are to meet the needs of the future.

At the township level, the primary interagency coordination mechanism is the township committee, the most senior of which is the Township Management Committee. Standing bodies and working groups or emergency committees also exist for specific challenges.  However, there are barriers to their effectiveness, such as the often-bewildering number of committees that have to coordinate with each other. Often representatives from different committees sit on other committees, further increasing the risk of confusion over roles and responsibilities, not to mention the demand on committee members' time. Budget constraints -- for committees, their individual members, and their constituent organizations -- provider further challenges. Committee meetings take place on a regular basis, often monthly, while heads of department and the Township Management Committees also meet regularly.

Overall, while field research found such interagency coordination was broadly functional, in that committees met and decisions were made, interviews with civil servants indicated that the processes could be improved to reduce the formulaic structure of meetings to improve efficiency and to open them to new ideas where dynamic solutions could be introduced from a variety of sources.

# POLICY OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPROVING URBAN SAFETY

Myanmar's current structures for addressing urban safety provide solid foundations on which to build. Below are some suggestions about ways that urban safety and coordination mechanisms can be improved on, for the benefit of all -- citizens and administrators alike.

## IMPROVING COMMITTEES TO ENHANCE INTERAGENCY COLLABORATION

The existing committee structures are useful but currently under-utilized mechanisms for bringing together a range of actors working on urban-safety related issues. Committees provide a forum for acknowledging safety challenges faced by urban spaces and, at their best, can offer the public a means to engage with a diverse set of government actors on safety issues. To date, research suggests that there are a number of areas where committees and their operation can be improved to better serve the safety needs of urban residents. Such improvements may include reducing the number of committees within each township and creating clear mandates (that do not overlap or leave gaps) for those that are determined to provide the best service to communities. A smaller number of committees with mandates clearly expressed will also assist in improving public participation, with communities better able to understand what body they should approach with specific safety concerns.

At the same time, broadening the scope of a smaller number of committees will give them the ability to tackle urban safety problems in a more strategic fashion, addressing underlying drivers of insecurity rather than, as is sometimes now the case, seeking a 'quick fix'. Consolidation of committees would mean larger budgets for those that remained, although reshaping how township committees are funded requires broader engagement with government at the state and region, and the national levels.

Finally, a more functional and efficient committee structure can help build trust between agencies as responsibilities are clearly delineated and confidence in working together grows through repetition.

## GOVERNMENT – COMMUNITY INTERACTION

One notably positive finding from the research is the clear improvements in community engagement from government and the perceptions among urban residents that the government is becoming more responsive to public needs. There are clear examples, particularly revolving around social media usage, of the GAD and DAOs working to expand engagement with the urban public. There remains room to improve, however, as existing cooperation is generally conducted on an ad hoc basis generated by the needs of a specific event or issue. Developing a more structured approach that defines regular and routine interaction between government and communities, possibly through regularly scheduled hearings or town hall meetings is an important next step for government to take.

## COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Myanmar's urban areas continue to have few formal community responsive mechanisms or interest groups advocating to local government. At the street or ward level, communities do frequently galvanize to address specific problems, but there are few city-wide or defined representative community groups. Examples of such groups from other contexts include neighborhood watch or home-owners associations. Structured

organizations with routine meetings that allow for communities to jointly raise safety concerns, provides a forum for collective action when engaging with government, and offers government an easily accessible entry point for direct coordination with urban residents.

## DEVELOPING AN EVIDENCE BASE

Across townships, most key authorities have the potential to make better use of evidence to solve township safety and security issues. Inter-agency dialogue could facilitate a stronger collective evidence base. The weak evidence base, lack of shared information, and gap between civil servant and community perspectives on safety issues are contributing to low levels of collective analysis and problem solving. The opportunity to develop a shared evidence base and using data-driven decision-making mechanisms would also enhance coordination between governance actors, as those who use the data and those who collect it develop closer working relations.

## LESSONS FROM INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

The need to improve urban safety is a global challenge and Myanmar has an opportunity to learn from international experiences—both positive and negative. Urban safety is increasingly understood as an important component of development necessitating strong working relationships between relevant governance structures and communities.

Globally, it is clear that not only is safety a necessary pre-condition for sustainable urban development, but that safety is not an outcome that can be achieved through policing or enforcement alone. Relying overly on policing strategies and other hard security-focused policies merely displaces, and sometimes exacerbates, crime problems rather than increasing safety for communities.

A review of experiences from across the world indicates that there are four key factors that influence the level of urban safety experienced by a city's residents

- **Degree of Social Cohesion** – Strength or weakness of the network of personal, familial, professional and neighborly relationships.
- **Extent of Urban Inequalities** – Disparities between social groups and between neighborhood's can cause the frustration that influences the level of crime.
- **Risks in the Built Environment** – A deleterious environment, characterized by insufficient lighting, the destruction of public space and other attributes, increases the possibility of crime.
- **Inclusiveness in Urban Governance** – The extent to which political management of a city is a process that involves numerous actors with different views and constituencies.

Global experiences also suggest that new ways of thinking through urban safety issues offer a way for policymakers, governance actors, and others to help improve Myanmar's urban safety. These include:

- **SYSTEMS ANALYSIS:** Cities are systems of interrelated and interacting processes, tying together risk factors, resilience factors, data and outcomes. To properly diagnose problems, a systems-based approach that examines how different factors interact, and how safety and development are interrelated in a holistic manner is necessary.
- **RESILIENCE:** Once a city is understood as a constellation of systems, governance actors can begin to assess, and build, their resilience. A resilient system can reduce the harmful effects of disruption through prevention and adaptation. A well-designed system becomes stronger after each disruption and in the context of urban safety; a resilient system becomes safer after each incidence of crime or harm.

- **CO-PRODUCTION OF URBAN SAFETY:** As has been reiterated throughout this brief, for a city to successfully improve urban safety, active and continued participation from all stakeholders is vital. With increasing participation, local actors become "agents of change" rather than passive "beneficiaries". Research also shows that good governance and safe cities are reciprocal – interactions and collaboration among people, groups and public institutions become more likely when inhabitants are free from fear and where safety is improved for citizens and neighborhoods. Different levels of engagement are possible. All of them can encourage participation and build a shared sense of civic responsibility if implemented sensitively according to the social, political and economic context.

Finally, international experience has demonstrated the importance of emphasizing inclusion when promoting safer cities. Effective urban safety actions will require Myanmar governance actors to recognize the value to city development of:

- **Neighborhoods:** Neighborhoods are spaces and places of identity and belonging that can encourage mutual aid and tolerance and help create safer cities.
- **Community Ownership:** Local security and safety conditions critically depend on developing sustainable community ownership of public spaces and service infrastructure.
- **Root Causes:** Safety and crime prevention strategies, policies and programs should be based on a broad and multidisciplinary foundation of knowledge about root causes.
- **Holistic Approach:** Initiatives to increase safety must take a citywide approach to crime, violence and insecurity that covers the local government's whole jurisdiction.

## CO-PRODUCTION OF URBAN SAFETY

Cities that have successfully improved urban safety show that active and continued participation between different government departments and from the general public is key. With increasing participation, there is a corresponding shift where local actors become 'agents of change' rather than passive 'beneficiaries'.

Different levels of engagement are possible. All levels can encourage participation and build a shared sense of civic responsibility if implemented sensitively according to the social, political and economic circumstances. In addition, all levels can be used at all stages of a project from data gathering, data analysis, identification of problems, prioritization, planning, implementation, evaluation and adjustments.

### INFORM

| | |
|---|---|
| **Benefits:** | Quick, clear communication when the information is simple or based on established framework. |
| **Example:** | Road maintenance schedule: When is a street being upgraded? What will happen? When will it be finished? |
| **Interdepartmental:** | How will this project affect other city projects and timelines? |

### CONSULT

| | |
|---|---|
| **Benefits:** | Quickly gain input from stakeholders, provides an easy way for other departments and the public to contribute to projects. |
| **Example:** | Street issues: Where are the potholes? Where is the traffic bad? Where are the dangerous places for pedestrians? |
| **Interdepartmental:** | Which other departments have useful information that will impact road project? What other projects are planned on this street? |

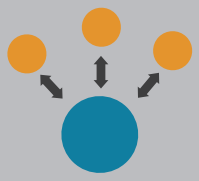
INFORM

Providing balanced and objective feedback in a timely manner

CONSULT

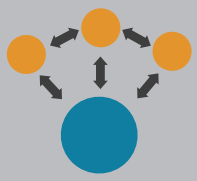
Obtaining feedback on analysis, issues and decisions

INVOLVE



Working with the public to ensure concerns and aspirations are considered

COLLABORATE



Partnering with the public in each aspect of decision-making

EMPOWER

Placing final decision-making in the hands of the public

*Adaptation of Public Participation Spectrum, IAP2 International Federation, 2014 (https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.iap2.org/resource/resmgr/foundations_course/IAP2_P2_Spectrum_FINAL.pdf)*

## INVOLVE

**Benefits:** Identify viable strategies, establish action priorities. Bring local knowledge and expertise together for centralized decision-making.

**Example:** Typical design or engineering process. Neighborhood groups established to provide input on street upgrades – where are sidewalks needed? Where is a traffic signal helpful? Where do vendors operate morning markets? What else does the design team need to consider? Final decisions made by engineering team and local government.

**Interdepartmental:** How can we coordinate schedules to find win-win opportunities for overlapping projects?

## COLLABORATE

**Benefits:** Recognition of stakeholders and other government agencies as full participants in planning and/or implementation of projects. Work can be shared by stakeholder groups or other departments.

**Example:** New transit infrastructure triggers road redesign – departments such as Roads and Bridges, Land Administration, Transport Authority, Urban Planning, and PCCD collaborate on shared objectives, design, budget, and timeline.

## EMPOWER

**Benefits:** Some decision making can happen without central control. Work can be undertaken by community groups, thereby reducing government workload.

**Example:** Green Streets initiative to plan and implement landscaped rainwater swales – neighborhood groups take responsibility for planting and maintenance of swales, following guidelines set by local government.

# CONCLUSION

The lessons above suggest that Myanmar's urban areas require a broader approach to urban safety, one that does not rely on traditional security actors alone to deal with issues of criminality. Instead, local governance stakeholders could look to innovative crime prevention techniques that have been used in other environments. New initiatives that emphasize a problem-solving approach and an effort to increase public cooperation to reduce crime are likely to meet with more success, while improving the dialogue between state actors and civilians and creating partnerships between and among government agencies can help crime prevention efforts adapt to a context of change and uncertainty.

Beyond the specific issue of crime prevention, as Myanmar's urban areas continue to grow, the challenges of ensuring safety will become more pressing and complex. Because of this, it is vital that community and local government stakeholders work together to address the concerns of urban residents and bring to bear the necessary resources and institutions to make Myanmar's cities safe for all people. As shown throughout this policy brief, there are three broad themes that both international experience and analysis of Myanmar's urban residents' concerns suggest should be the building blocks of improved urban safety.

First, there must be interagency collaboration to ensure governance actors are able to address the complex causes and effects of local safety issues. Most issues are not able to be resolved by one agency alone. Cooperation across different branches of government must include, at a minimum, the General Administration Department, municipal authorities, police, and other departments such as social welfare, health and education. In specific areas or for specific issues, other agencies may need to be included. This cooperation also helps enhance relationships between municipal institutions under civilian control and more traditional security-related actors.

Second, public participation at the ward, township, and municipal levels needs to be expanded as it is vital to both understanding the safety issues that exist within urban spaces as well as ensuring initiatives have the public understanding and acceptance required to succeed. Without public support, new policies are unlikely to have the desired effects. More fundamentally, public participation is necessary to ensure that safety and security initiatives of the government respond to people's own priorities.

Finally, the third building block, in some ways tying together the previous two, should be the development of a collaborative problem-solving process that brings different government agencies and the public together. Collaborative problem-solving emphasizes the sharing of perspectives to build mutual understanding, trust, and cooperation while also encouraging evidence-based policymaking (to both define urban safety issues and determine proposed solutions). It values the complexity of safety issues, in turn allowing the development of initiatives that address root causes, and it privileges continuous review, learning, and adaption so that problem-solving strategies are always improving.

The Asia Foundation

Improving Lives, Expanding Opportunities

URBAN SAFETY PROJECT

# CRIME PREVENTION BACKGROUND PAPER

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**About The Asia Foundation and the Urban Safety Brief Series**

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

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

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**About the author**
Stephen Otter is The Asia Foundation's senior rule of law advisor for the Urban Safety Project. From 2012 to 2016, Stephen was one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary, responsible for inspecting UK policing and law enforcement in areas which included the Metropolitan Police, National Crime Agency, Ministry of Defence Police, British Overseas Territories and counter-terrorism policing. Prior to this, he was the Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall Police, where he combined leading the 6,000-strong police force with being the national lead on equality, diversity and human rights for the UK's Association of Chief Police Officers. In 2008, Stephen was awarded the Queen's Police Medal. He holds a master's degree in Criminal Justice Policy from the London School of Economics, and a postgraduate diploma in Criminology from Cambridge University.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

In support of the planning for this project, The Asia Foundation commissioned its Senior Rule of Law Advisor to draw up this background paper about how crime prevention methods could be used effectively to achieve the above outcomes. This includes a review of the benefits that come from establishing legitimacy in the role of the state safety and security actors who will be involved in this urban safety initiative.

# 2. A MODEL OF CRIME PREVENTION

In the academic literature, crime prevention has been described in a number of ways.[2] One of the most commonly used ways divides crime prevention into three categories, as follows.[3]

1. Primary prevention, which aims to prevent crime before it happens by introducing universal policies and practices.
2. Secondary prevention, which targets individuals at high risk of offending with the aim of reducing their personal involvement in criminality.
3. Tertiary prevention, which deals with convicted offenders by offering treatment program and other approaches intended to reduce the probability of further offending.

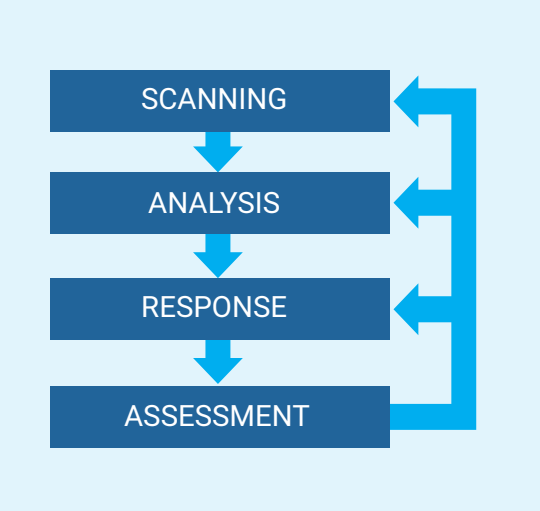
This approach can be applied to all types of crime, from volume crimes such as criminal damage and theft, to organized crime and terrorism.

1. Urban Safety Project Master Inception Deliverables v20170214 Draft to FCO (Yangon: The Asia Foundation, 2017).
2. Throughout this paper 'crime' is taken to include volume crime (theft, car crime and burglary) as well as violence, organized crime, disorderly behavior and terrorism.
3. Paul John Brantingham and Frederick L Faust, "A conceptual model of crime prevention," Crime and Delinquency, Volume 22: 1976, 284–296.

# 3. METHODS OF CRIME PREVENTION IN URBAN AREAS

## 3.1. PROBLEM SOLVING

The method of policing most consistently shown to address each of the above categories of crime prevention[4] is ***problem-oriented policing***[5] (referred to in this paper as problem-solving policing). This approach, proposed originally by Herman Goldstein,[6] is a structured approach to addressing specific problems. It aims to apply rational and evidence based analysis of problems and their solutions to a community safety context. Problem solving systematically identifies and analyses crime and disorder problems, develops specific responses to individual problems, and subsequently assesses whether the response has been successful. It has been shown to work particularly effectively in urban areas and would be an effective way of implementing many of the key strategic actions of the National Crime Prevention Strategy 2017-2019 that relate to urban areas.[7]




A number of different problem-solving models have developed. SARA is the most commonly used model and comprises four stages: scanning, analysis, response, and assessment. The SARA model is a cyclical process—not a linear one. It requires assessment on an ongoing basis to determine whether or not the response is effective. This enables responses to be modified, if necessary, throughout the initiative. The following gives a description of the four SARA steps. Further explanation of each of the steps is available on the US's Center for Problem-Oriented Policing website.[8]

**Scanning: identify and prioritize problems, in particular those relating to the safety of women and children.** Scanning should involve an early review of clusters of similar, related or recurring incidents. These are then prioritized and the priority crime and/ or community safety problems are selected for further examination. The National Reassurance Policing Programme in the UK found that involving the community in identifying and defining problems can lead to better results[9] —this is discussed further in the section headed ***Community Engagement***. It is important in this phase to pay particular attention to crimes where the risk of harm is very high, even when they are not raised as a problem by members of the community; for example sexual crimes against women and children.

4. Gloria Laycock, Policing and the prevention landscape. (London: University College London, 2016).
5. David Weisburd et al., "Is problem-oriented policing effective in reducing crime and disorder?" Criminology and Public Policy, Volume 9, Issue 1, February 2010: 139–172.
6. Herman Goldstein, Problem-Oriented Policing (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990).
7. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, National Crime Prevention Strategy, The Republic of the Union of Myanmar, (Yangon: UNODC, 2017).
8. http://www.popcenter.org/about/?p=sara.
9. Rachel Tuffin, Julia Morris, and Alexis Poole, An evaluation of the National Reassurance Policing Programme (London: Home Office, 2016).

**Analysis: gather information and intelligence to identify underlying causes of the problem and to narrow the scope of the problem as much as possible.** This involves a detailed review of data to identify the underlying causes of the particular problem as well as researching what is known about the problem type and identifying what data is available that relates to this problem. This also makes use of another tool, namely the Problem Analysis Triangle[10] (see graphic), which enables analysis of the problem from the three main perspectives of offender, victim and location. The better your analysis, the more relevant and tailored your response to the problem can be.

PROBLEM ANALYSIS TRIANGLE

The College of Policing (England and Wales) describes a number of analytical techniques that could be considered for use in the analysis phase of a problem-solving initiative in Myanmar.[11] These include: crime pattern analysis which identifies the nature and scale of crime and disorder trends, linked crimes or incidents; hot-spot identification which focuses on locations that display significantly higher than usual levels of crime and/or incidents; and crime and incident series identification, where number of similar crimes or incidents are identified as probably being committed by one offender because they are linked by modus operandi, signature behavior, intelligence or forensic evidence. A summary of the full list can be found in Annex A.

When conducting the analysis phase of a problem-solving initiative, it is important to have high quality data and to consider all three parts of the problem analysis triangle.

**Response: tailored activities designed to address the causes of the problem, as identified in the analysis phase.** This involves engaging with the public and partners to come up with different options for interventions by searching for new ideas and researching what has worked in other areas. Once the most appropriate option has been selected, a response plan, including objectives for the initiative and the role of relevant partners, is created. It is important the plan articulates how its actions sit within the primary, secondary and tertiary categories of crime prevention (See SARA steps 1-3).

In relation to primary prevention, research has shown that changing situations changes behavior—including criminal behavior. This approach is known as Situational Crime Prevention (SCP) and the associated body of research on SCP has demonstrated that there are at least five major mechanisms through which crime can be prevented.[12] These are:

1. Increase the perceived risks, such as increasing the perceived probability of capture by focusing on known offenders. This could include, for example, directed police patrols in areas of high crime.

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10. The Problem Analysis Triangle helps highlight potential partners for the police, in terms of identifying the manager of the location, a handler for the offender and a guardian for the victim. Partners can be numerous and varied. http://webarchive.nationalarchives. gov.uk/20100418065544/.
11. https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/intelligence-management/analysis/.
12. Ronald V Clarke and John Eck, Become a problem solving crime analyst in 55 steps, Available from www.popcenter.org.

2. Increase the perceived effort of committing the crime. This includes target hardening such as introducing locks, bars, pin numbers, etc.
3. Reduce the perceived rewards by, for example, tagging goods in shops with ink capsules or gluing bank notes when stolen from cash carriers.
4. Remove excuses by making the rules clear, for example through use of signage.
5. Reduce provocation by, for example, controlling taxi queues when bars close.[13]

Situational crime prevention is another key strategic action of the National Crime Prevention Strategy 2017–2019.[14] It is important that the state actors involved in The Asia Foundation project are encouraged to think differently and creatively about their contribution to primary crime prevention. For example, the police should think about going beyond their traditional responses such as using increased patrol to deter criminal activity. Deterrence does work in small areas of high crime,[15] but is expensive and has less of a long-term effect than other situational crime prevention methods.

As for secondary prevention, a response plan could, along with other suitable methods, include early intervention programs for children and families at high risk of offending. There is a wide body of research which shows how effective this approach can be in stopping young people from offending and it is consistent with the National Crime Prevention Strategy. Evidence for this approach and practical examples of how to make it work can be found on the website of the UK's Early Intervention Academy.[16]

Finally, consideration should be given to tertiary prevention in the response plan. For example, the plan should incorporate methods which reduce re-offending, in particular in cases where women and children are at risk of harm.

In planning an initiative to address a specific crime problem, practitioners will need to consider the mechanism, the moderators (i.e. what might determine whether or not the mechanism will work—e.g. the context), how to implement it and how much it might cost.[17] These five elements have now been incorporated into the What Works Centre for Crime Reduction web-based toolkit,[18] which could be used in planning responses in this project.

**Assessment: measure if the response had the desired effect—make changes to the response if required.** The purpose of this phase is to determine if the objectives set out in the response plan have been attained. This is done using a comparison of pre and post intervention data (qualitative and quantitative). Ongoing assessment of the intervention is needed to ensure its continued effectiveness.

A Campbell Collaboration Systematic Review found that problem-solving approaches have a positive effect on the problems they target.[19] Problem solving works best when there is: a clear focus on particular

13. Laycock, Policing, 2016.
14. UNODC, National Crime Prevention Strategy, Myanmar, 2017.
15. Anthony Braga, "Hot spots policing and crime prevention: A systematic review of randomized controlled trials" Journal of Experimental Criminology, Volume 1, 2005: 317–342.
16. http://www.eif.org.uk.
17. Laycock, Policing, 2016.
18. The toolkit is available here http://whatworks.college.police.uk/toolkit/Pages/Toolkit.aspx.
19. David Weisburd et al.,The effects of problem-oriented policing on crime and disorder. Campbell Systematic Reviews, 2008:14.

types of crime rather than total crime; good analysis and intelligence gathering; partners working together; sufficient appropriate training for those involved; time given to practitioners on the ground to problem-solve properly; and sufficient investment in the resources needed for collecting, compiling, analyzing and sharing data.[20]

## 3.2. REPEAT VICTIMIZATION

The identification of repeat victims and re-offending behavior are particularly important in relation to crimes against women and children, such as domestic abuse and serious sexual crimes. A Home Office study of domestic violence in the UK found that there is a heightened risk period for repeat victimization. A household with one call to the police for a domestic abuse related incident has a probability of 0.8 of another within one year. After the first incident, 35 per cent of households suffer a second incident with five weeks of the first. After a second incident, 45 per cent of households suffer a third incident within five weeks.[21]

Any problem-solving plan should consider how high-risk victims of domestic abuse and sexual crime are protected from future harm. In the UK, the method used to achieve this is called 'Multi-agency Risk Assessment Conferences' (MARAC). A MARAC is a meeting where information is shared about the highest-risk domestic abuse cases, (which form the vast majority of victims) between representatives of agencies such as police, health, child protection, housing practitioners, probation and other specialists from the statutory and voluntary sectors. After sharing all relevant information they have about a victim, the representatives discuss options for increasing the safety of the victim and turn these into a coordinated action plan. The primary focus of the MARAC is to safeguard the adult victim. The MARAC will also make links with other multi-agency organizations to safeguard children and manage the behavior of the perpetrator (see section on reducing re-offending below).

At the heart of a MARAC is the working assumption that no single agency or individual can see the complete picture of the life of a victim, but all may have insights that are crucial to their safety. The victim does not attend the meeting but is represented by an independent advisor from the voluntary sector who speaks on their behalf.[22]

It is also important to analyze repeat victimization across other crimes because academic evidence shows that being a victim of any crime is a good predictor of future victimization. For example, a famous study in the UK found that on the Kirkholt estate, 'once a house had been burgled, its chance of repeat victimization was four times the rate of houses that had not been burgled at all'.[23] Preventing repeat victimization has a high chance of success compared with other methods and is therefore a very efficient use of resources. Also it protects the most vulnerable social groups because repeat victimization is highest, both absolutely and proportionately, in the most crime-ridden areas which are where the most vulnerable are likely to live.[24]

20. College of Policing, The effects of problem-oriented policing on crime and disorder: What Works Briefing. http://whatworks.college.police.uk/Research/Briefings/Documents/CoP(What%20works(online_land_POPV3).pdf.
21. Graham Farrell and Ken Pease, Once Bitten, Twice Bitten: Repeat Victimisation and its Implications for Crime Prevention (London: Home Office Police Research Group, 1983).
22. http://www.safelives.org.uk/sites/default/files/resources/MARAC%20FAQs%20General%20FINAL.pdf.
23. Ibid.
24. Ken Pease, "The Kirkholt Project: Preventing Burglary on a British Public Housing Estate" in Ronald V. Clark (ed) Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies (New York: Harrow and Heston, 1991).

## 3.3. REDUCING RE-OFFENDING

In any problem-solving plan, thought should be given to introducing restorative justice conferencing, which is effective at reducing re-offending in relation to violent crimes, particularly when offered as a supplement to other treatment options, but there is no evidence of success in reducing re-offending by property offenders.[25] This approach is particularly effective with young offenders. UNICEF defines restorative justice as '…an approach in which the victim/survivor and offender, and in some cases other persons affected by a crime, "participate actively together in the resolution of matters arising from the crime, generally with the help of a facilitator."[26]

Another important part of tertiary prevention is the way offenders are managed in prison and after their release back into the community. It is estimated that approximately 10 percent of the offending population in England and Wales are responsible for half of all crime and a very small proportion (less than one percent) are responsible for one in ten offences.[27] In the UK, the Integrated Offender Management approach brings statutory agencies such as prisons, probation, police, health and local government together with voluntary organizations to pool their resources to tackle the factors commonly associated with re-offending. These factors include: substance misuse, pro-criminal attitudes, difficult family backgrounds, unemployment, homelessness, and mental health problems.[28] They are the problems or needs that are more frequently observed in offender populations than in the general public.

## 3.4. LEGITIMACY AND PUBLIC COOPERATION

Research has found that a policing approach that motivates the public to cooperate with the police and to not break the law could have significant benefits for crime prevention.[29] The research found that the most important factor motivating people to cooperate and not break the law was the legitimacy of the police. When people thought the police were on the 'same side' as them, they were significantly less likely to commit crime and more inclined to say they would help the police. Crucially, police legitimacy had a stronger effect on these outcomes than the perceived likelihood of people being caught and punished for breaking the law. This approach is sometimes referred to as ***procedural justice.***

The legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public is primarily based on people thinking officers would treat them with respect, make fair decisions and take time to explain them, and be friendly and approachable. Research has also found that, for officers to behave in a way that fosters legitimacy and cooperation by the public, they too need to believe that they are being treated with fairness and respect internally within their police force. Called organizational justice, fairness at a supervisory and senior level was associated with officers 'going the extra mile' without personal gain, valuing the public, feeling empowered and supporting fair and ethical policing methods.[30]

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25. http://whatworks.college.police.uk/toolkit/Pages/Intervention.aspx?InterventionID=24 (accessed 14.08.16).
26. https://www.unicef.org/tdad/index_56040.html.
27. Home Office. Criminal Justice: The Way Ahead. CM 5074. (London: Home Office, 2001).
28. Ministry of Justice, Transforming Rehabilitation: a summary of evidence on reducing reoffending. (London: Ministry of Justice Analytical Series 2013).
29. Andy Myhill and Paul Quinton, It's a fair cop? Police legitimacy, public cooperation, and crime reduction. An interpretative evidence commentary (London: National Policing Improvement Agency, 2011).
30. Quinton et al., Fair cop 2: Organisational justice, behaviour and ethical policing. An interpretative evidence commentary. (London: College of Policing, 2015).

These findings show that fair decision-making and positive public interaction are not only important in their own right, but are also instrumental in preventing crime in the longer term. Legitimacy and public cooperation are therefore crucial aspects of a successful problem-solving initiative. The public in the townships concerned in this project are best placed to know what the issues and problems are in their neighborhoods, and can help specify the nature of these problems and which causes greatest harm. This builds trust in the state actors[31] and may also lead to them proposing solutions to problems which could be more effective than standard police responses—and also help to deliver them.[32]

## 3.5. DIALOGUE BETWEEN STATE ACTORS AND CITIZENS

In the UK, US and many other countries, public confidence and cooperation have been sought through an approach which is most often referred to as ***community policing*** in the US, and neighborhood policing or citizen-focused policing in the UK. The central principle behind this approach is that of facilitating dialogue between state actors and citizens to identify and implement solutions to local problems. There is evidence that this approach works in urban areas to prevent crime, increase feelings of safety, and improve legitimacy. However, this is dependent upon all concerned having the willingness and capacity to participate fully, and there being a presumption that state actors will respond to the citizens' input—unless there is a justifiable reason not to.[33] A summary of the critical success factors for implementing community engagement can be found in Annex B.

## 3.6. PARTNERSHIP AND MULTI-AGENCY COOPERATION

Partnership approaches are largely built on the premise that no single agency can deal with, or be responsible for dealing with, complex community safety and crime problems. Partnership work can be described as a cooperative relationship between two or more organizations to achieve a common goal. It forms an important part of the Urban Safety Project which seeks to strengthen inter-agency and expert policy dialogue and practice on urban safety matters.

Partnership is key to the long-term success of urban safety initiatives. This is clearly articulated by the UN-Habitat project which states that reducing crime in urban areas is everybody's responsibility. It goes on to say that, ***success depends on partnerships between local governments and other stakeholders to plan and carry out strategies and activities that aim to eliminate violence, crime, and insecurity. Tackling crime and insecurity is a key part of good urban governance. Good urban governance values citizenship and inclusion by consulting and involving all citizens in their decision-making and planning—including those who are marginalized and living in poverty.***[34]

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31. Rachel Tuffin, Julia Morris, and Alexis Poole, An evaluation of the National Reassurance Policing Programme (London: Home Office, 2016).
32. Herman Goldstein, Problem-Oriented Policing (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990); Sarah Forrest, Andy Myhill and Nick Tilley, Practical lessons for involving the community in crime and disorder problem-solving (London: Home Office, 2005).
33. Andy Myhill, Community engagement in policing, Lessons from the literature (London: National Policing Improvement Agency, November 2012), (first published 2006).
34. https://unhabitat.org/urban-themes/safety/.

An international assessment of the effectiveness of partnership working suggests that partnership working is effective in addressing crime.[35] In their report, the researchers set out their assessments of what worked in relation to particular crime-focused initiatives. They also identified a number of common themes in relation to what makes partnership working effective.

In summary, partnerships are more likely to be effective if they:

- have a clear focus on the problem to be targeted, and activities to be targeted at the problems identified;
- have shared values/norms;
- have strong leadership together with a clear structure, and defined roles and responsibilities within the partnership (including a core management group);
- have people within them who have prior experience of partnership working;
- co-locate their delivery teams to facilitate regular communication between partners;
- establish an evidence-led and data-driven approach to support problem solving; and
- adopt a flexible approach and avoid over-burdening the partnership with strict bureaucratic structures.[36]

An evaluation of crime prevention partnerships in the US also identified several additional benefits of partnership activity over and above the impact on crime prevention, and these are particularly salient in the Myanmar context. This work suggests that when partnerships work effectively they can: increase the accountability of organizations; reduce duplication and fragmentation of services; build public-private linkages; increase public awareness of and participation in crime prevention initiatives; strengthen local community organizations; and be transformational, permanently altering the way agencies do business (e.g. better data-driven decision making, emphasis on problem solving and prevention).[37]

35. Geoff Berry, Peter Briggs, and Lauren van Staden, The effectiveness of partnership working in a crime and disorder context. A rapid evidence assessment. Research report 52 (London: Home Office, 2011).
36. Ibid.
37. Denis P. Rosenbaum, "Evaluating multi-agency anti-crime partnerships: theory, design, and measurement issues," Crime Prevention Studies. Vol 14. UK: Willan Publishing, 2002.

# 4. CONCLUSION

This background paper provides evidence that supports The Asia Foundation's intention to use a problem-solving approach to crime prevention in urban areas at the township level. In particular, it reinforces aspects of the project's theory of change which places significant weight on helping state actors to establish legitimacy in the eyes of the public, by involving them 'in both the identification of the problem and its resolution or mitigation'.[38] It also provides evidence for the benefits, in terms of reduced crime and improved legitimacy, for different government departments, NGOs and voluntary organizations working in partnership. Such an approach will require those involved to be willing to learn new ways of working. State leaders and supervisors will need to be aware that their front-line staff are significantly more likely to treat the public with fairness and respect, and so gain legitimacy and cooperation, if they too have been treated with fairness and respect internally within their own organization.

Establishing dialogue with people in urban areas is not only the most effective way of achieving improved community safety and security during the life of the project, it is also an effective way of helping these communities to build the capacity and capability they need to protect themselves from harm in the future.

38. Urban Safety Project Master Inception Deliverables, 2017.

# ANNEX A

Problem Solving: Analysis Techniques

The College of Policing (England and Wales) describes a number of analytical techniques that could be considered for use in the analysis phase of a problem-solving initiative in Myanmar.[39] These are summarized below.

- Crime pattern analysis which identifies the nature and scale of crime and disorder trends, linked crimes or incidents, hot-spots of activity and common characteristics of offenders and offending behavior.
- Hot-spot identification which focusses on locations that display significantly higher than usual levels of crime and/or incidents. These may be identified as priority locations for problem-solving responses.
- Crime and incident trend identification.
- Crime and incident series identification where number of similar crimes or incidents are identified as probably being committed by one offender because they are linked by modus operandi, signature behavior, intelligence or forensic evidence.
- General profile analysis which examines the characteristics of victims, or common characteristics of offenders displaying particular offending behavior.
- Demographic and social trend analysis which examines how demographic and social changes within an area or within a demographic group can affect levels and types of crime and disorder.
- Network analysis which provides an understanding of the nature and significance of the links between criminal groups or organizations.
- Market analysis which identifies the criminal market around a commodity or service.
- Criminal business analysis which is used to develop an understanding of how criminal techniques work.
- Risk analysis which supports the assessment of the scale of the risk posed by individual offenders, criminal groups or crime types to potential victims, the public generally, and law enforcement agencies
- Subject analysis which provides detailed analysis of an individual victim, witness, suspect or offender.
- Results analysis which evaluates the effectiveness of enforcement or preventive activity.

More detail about these techniques can be obtained from the College of Policing (England and Wales) website.[40]

39. https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/intelligence-management/analysis/.
40. Ibid.

# ANNEX B

Dialogue between state actors and citizens: Critical Success Factors

In one of the few attempts to synthesize and summarize the lessons learnt from all the research conducted about this subject, Myhill (2012) identifies several critical success factors for implementing dialogue between state actors and citizens, including:

- Organizational commitment and culture change — because the police service is some way from understanding the benefits engagement can afford;
- Mainstreaming — it needs to be seen as 'core work' rather than the responsibility of a particular department or project;
- Sharing power with communities — too often engagement is done 'to' rather than 'with' communities;
- Tailoring and local flexibility — local officers need to be afforded discretion about how to make engagement work in particular contexts, rather than being held to inflexible, generic standards of practice;
- Performance management — performance assessments need to reward effective engagement work;
- Training and capacity building — both police and public need 'up-skilling' to make engagement work;
- Confidence and trust — engagement rarely happens in 'clean sites' and very often there is a legacy of poor relations, especially for minority ethnic communities, that police need to appreciate and work within;
- Communication — partnerships need dialogue, not one-way broadcasting;
- Partnership working — especially for community policing programs, police need to engage their public sector partners as well as themselves, to tackle 'quality of life issues.'[41]

41. Myhill, Community engagement, 2012.

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URBAN SAFETY PROJECT

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***About The Asia Foundation and the Urban Safety Brief Series***

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

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

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**About the author**

Stephen Otter is The Asia Foundation's senior rule of law advisor for the Urban Safety Project. From 2012 to 2016, Stephen was one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary, responsible for inspecting UK policing and law enforcement in areas which included the Metropolitan Police, National Crime Agency, Ministry of Defence Police, British Overseas Territories and counter-terrorism policing. Prior to this, he was the Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall Police, where he combined leading the 6,000-strong police force with being the national lead on equality, diversity and human rights for the UK's Association of Chief Police Officers. In 2008, Stephen was awarded the Queen's Police Medal. He holds a master's degree in Criminal Justice Policy from the London School of Economics, and a postgraduate diploma in Criminology from Cambridge University.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

# 2. EXPLANATION OF MAIN CONCEPTS AND TERMS

### 2.1. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED IN THIS PAPER

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

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

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

### 2.2. POLICING CHALLENGES IN URBAN AREAS

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

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

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

#### 2.2.1. Low to middle income countries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# 3. LESSONS FROM INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

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

## 3.1. INCIDENT-ORIENTED POLICING

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

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

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

## 3.2. PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING

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

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

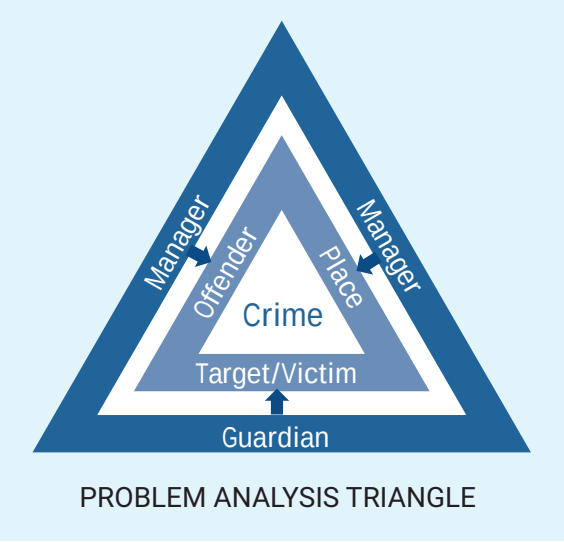
7. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook, 2011.
8. Ibid.
9. Sometimes referred to as 'problem-solving policing'.
10. Goldstein, Problem-Oriented Policing, 1990.
11. David Weisburd et al., "Is problem-oriented policing effective in reducing crime and disorder?" Criminology and Public Policy, Volume 9, Issue 1, (February 2010): 139–172.
12. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime National Crime Prevention Strategy, The Republic of the Union of Myanmar. (Yangon: UNODC, 2017).
13. Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan and Robert Reiner (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Criminology (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

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

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

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

**Figure 1. Problem Analysis Triangle**



PROBLEM ANALYSIS TRIANGLE

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

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

The four SARA stages are:

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

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

14. (Also known as the crime triangle). Lawrence E. Chen and Marcus Felson, "Social change and crime rate trends: a routine activity approach," American Sociological Review, Volume 44, No. 4, (1979).
15. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook, 2011.
16. Otter, Crime Prevention Background Paper, 2017.
17. http://www.popcenter.org/about/?p=sara.

### 3.3. COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICING

Community-oriented policing[18] seeks to decentralize the administration of the police by bringing it to neighborhood level, thereby providing local commanders with a high level of empowerment to work with community residents to address their concerns and prevent crime. This strategy is designed to change the relationship between police and the community, and through an ongoing dialogue to develop innovative and effective strategies to prevent crime. In the long-term, the effectiveness of community-oriented policing involves engaging citizens in solving their own crime problems by changing community norms and by creating a check on less effective police activities.

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

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

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

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

18. Sometimes referred to as 'community policing'.
19. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook, 2011.
20. Todd Wassel, Institutionalising community policing in Timor-Leste (The Asia Foundation and Overseas Development Institute 2014)
21. Andy Myhill and Paul Quinton, It's a fair cop? Police legitimacy, public cooperation, and crime reduction. An interpretative evidence commentary (London: National Policing Improvement Agency, 2011).
22. Todd Wassel, Institutionalising community policing in Timor-Leste (The Asia Foundation and Overseas Development Institute 2014)

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 3.4. SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION

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

23. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook, 2011.
24. Todd Wassel, Institutionalising community policing in Timor-Leste (The Asia Foundation and Overseas Development Institute 2014)
25. Victoria Chambers, Lisa Denny and Kanniya Pieris, Community policing through bicycles patrolling in Sri Lnaks: An incipient post-conflict strategy (The Asia Foundation and Overseas Development Institute 2014)
26. Routine activities and rational choice theories in Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan and Robert Reiner (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Criminology (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

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

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

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

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

### 3.5. URBAN PLANNING AND POLICING

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

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

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

### 3.6. CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN

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

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

based in large part on the urban planning approach above.

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

# 4. URBAN POLICING OPTIONS FOR MYANMAR

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

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

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

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

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

## 4.1. RECOMMENDED NEXT STEPS

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

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

28. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, Introductory Handbook, 2011.
29. Myhill and Quinton, It's a fair cop?, 2011.

(2) Membership of these groups will depend on the problem to be solved, but is likely to include: township and ward administrators; representatives from the relevant development committees and development affairs offices; township police officers; planning officers; Township Health Officers; representatives from the Department of Social Welfare; and representatives from NGOs with expert knowledge of the problems to be solved.

(3) Training and coaching in problem-oriented and situational crime prevention techniques should be provided to members of the partnership groups.

(4) Establish advisory groups to support the township-level partnership groups (above). Each advisory group should have a range of expert knowledge, including: the collection, analysis and mapping of data; public opinion survey methods; problem-oriented policing methods; specific safety issues such as narcotics; and situational crime prevention techniques. There is the potential to use digital technology to form this group as a virtual forum of international academics and practitioners.

(5) The township community safety partnership group should, with help from the Urban Safety Project team and the advisory groups, draw up a local profile of the urban safety challenges. This should include 'hot-spot' maps showing information such as crime foci in particular locations at particular times of day, making it possible to understand the crime problems affecting an area and across a population depending on demographic characteristics.

(6) The community safety partnership groups should then draw up a plan to respond to the urban safety challenges. The plan should clearly set out the actions to be taken, by whom and by when. It should:

- be based on evidence of what works;
- promote a collaborative approach to solving the problem;
- include methods for engaging the public throughout the project; and
- set an explicit objective to improve levels of public trust in the institutions involved in the project.

(7) Methods for assessing the success of the plan should be agreed before its implementation begins. This would be an important area for the advisory group to help with. Consideration should be given to inviting local universities to assist in the evaluation of each plan in order to establish a body of research in Myanmar for the future.

## 4.2. IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES

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

The approaches create levels of fatigue within policing institutions and society and will continue to exist only as long as senior public officials stand behind them (as illustrated by the Timor-Leste case study[30]). Finally, community policing programs can degenerate into forms of vigilantism if taken over by certain segments of society. While such programs can be implemented with relative ease, it takes substantial investment on the part of police and community residents for them to succeed. Although difficult to establish in the Myanmar context, these efforts when properly implemented hold out significant possibilities for improved community safety.[31]

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

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

# 5. CONCLUSIONS

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

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# ANNEX A

## SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION TECHNIQUES

**Category 1: Increase the effort**

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

(a) ***Harden targets.*** Stakeholders seek to reduce crime by making it harder to commit a crime in a particular place by, for example, installing effective locks or using computer codes that prevent a device from functioning without the proper input;

(b) ***Control access.*** Crime can be controlled by making access to a site more complicated. This can involve installing an intercom system to verify entrants to a building or, more effectively, ensuring that visitors do not bring in weapons;

(c) ***Screen exits.*** Controlling crime, especially theft, involves ensuring that individuals are thoroughly checked before exiting premises. This can involve checking bags containing merchandise upon exit;

(d) ***Deflect offenders.*** Potential offenders can be deterred by being directed away from places where it is easy to commit crimes. Thus, crime can be controlled by separating supporters at sports events or by providing separate locker rooms for children;

(e) ***Control access to tools/weapons.*** This strategy aims to increase the difficulty criminals experience in gaining access to tools to commit crimes. Governments can support such efforts by, for example, restricting the ability of criminals to gain access to guns.

**Category 2: Increase the risk**

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

(a) ***Extend guardianship.*** This technique involves individuals in their own security by advising them to travel in groups and carry cellular phones to call for help. It engages local residents in efforts to report crimes;

(b) ***Assist natural surveillance.*** This approach suggests that stakeholders should seek to augment observation activity in the neighborhood through architecture designed to promote security and through the removal of foliage that may provide cover for illegal activities;

(c) ***Reduce anonymity.*** By providing information to the public, State officials seek to create conditions in which it is unlikely that potential offenders will commit crimes. This can include requiring taxi drivers to clearly display their carriage licence so as to discourage them from charging excess fares;

(d) ***Utilize place managers.*** Another technique for reducing crime is to hire individuals to ensure that spaces are used properly, including having attendants on public transit systems or doormen in apartment buildings;

(e) ***Strengthen formal surveillance.*** The final effort involves using observational technology such as closed-circuit television and car alarms.

**Category 3: Reduce the rewards**

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

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

(b) ***Remove targets.*** This takes the technique of concealing targets one step further by actually eliminating the possibility of a crime being committed, by removing the object of the crime from circulation. Examples of this include carrying travelers' checks instead of cash and taking jewelry out of store windows after hours;

(c) ***Identify property.*** This classic strategy makes it more difficult to steal something by clearly identifying the owner. Libraries, for example, often stamp their name on the outward-facing sides of book pages and individuals engaged in animal husbandry brand or tag the ears of their animals. Similarly, the owners of expensive musical instruments often maintain records to identify their instruments if they are stolen;

(d) ***Disrupt markets.*** Once goods have been stolen they must often be fenced for criminals to gain value from them. Limiting the value of goods robbed involves working to reduce secondary criminal markets by having police regularly check pawn shops and label car parts to prevent resale if a car is stolen;

(e) ***Deny benefits.*** Finally, even if goods are stolen, stakeholders should seek to ensure that criminals will not benefit from those goods. This can be accomplished, for example, by building a radio that will not run in any car other than the one in which it was originally installed.

**Category 4: Reduce provocations**

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

(a) ***Reduce frustration and stress.*** Certain situations, such as long lines, tend to result in higher levels of tension. These problems can be handled through efforts to control the tensions arising in normal social settings by creating adequate spaces wherein people might congregate and by informing people of how long they may have to wait in line;

(b) ***Avoid disputes.*** Some social situations lead to higher levels of conflict. Among these are tensions that result from the proximity of groups with different political orientations or from situations where there might be a disagreement about a fee for a service rendered. These problems can be resolved through efforts to reduce those conflicts, such as by keeping different groups of protesters apart, or by setting fixed taxi fares to reduce disputes about meters;

(c) ***Reduce emotional arousal.*** Certain types of activities and events create greater degrees of tension. Thus it is illegal to utter phrases that incite violence, and schools may make efforts to separate rival groups in order to prevent the outbreak of conflict;

(d) ***Neutralize peer pressure.*** Many crimes occur because of relationships within small social groups. Possible responses include breaking up groups of troublemakers at schools, establishing programs to support individuals in conforming to non-criminal behaviors, such as anti-narcotics abuse programs for children and adolescents, or implementing programs that alert workers in the finance industry to the possible ways in which they might be drawn into money-laundering;

(e) ***Discourage imitation.*** This technique suggests that stakeholders need to make efforts to limit information that could enable groups to engage in future crimes.

**Category 5: Remove excuses**

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

(a) ***Set rules.*** This technique suggests that crime and disorder can be controlled if building owners and transit companies publicly post rules to make expected behavior clear;

(b) ***Post instructions.*** In certain situations, this technique involves simply posting clear signs such as signs instructing drivers not to sound their horns in certain areas;

(c) ***Promote and alert conscience.*** This technique focuses on showing why it is important for the public to invest in adhering to certain rules. Thus, public awareness campaigns may provide information on why it is wrong to ride in an unlicensed taxi or to put electronic waste in household refuse;

(d) ***Assist compliance.*** Governments can aid promoting compliance with laws by making such compliance easy, for example by making rubbish bins easily available;

(e) ***Control alcohol and drugs.*** Finally, controlling crime often involves limiting access to alcohol and illicit drugs, especially under conditions that will promote crime.[32]

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

The Asia Foundation

Improving Lives, Expanding Opportunities

URBAN SAFETY PROJECT

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**Stephen Otter**
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***About The Asia Foundation and the Urban Safety Brief Series***

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

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

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**About the author**

Stephen Otter is The Asia Foundation's senior rule of law advisor for the Urban Safety Project. From 2012 to 2016, Stephen was one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary, responsible for inspecting UK policing and law enforcement in areas which included the Metropolitan Police, National Crime Agency, Ministry of Defence Police, British Overseas Territories and counter-terrorism policing. Prior to this, he was the Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall Police, where he combined leading the 6,000-strong police force with being the national lead on equality, diversity and human rights for the UK's Association of Chief Police Officers. In 2008, Stephen was awarded the Queen's Police Medal. He holds a master's degree in Criminal Justice Policy from the London School of Economics, and a postgraduate diploma in Criminology from Cambridge University.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

In order to understand the urban safety challenges that most concern people in the four townships participating in this project, an urban safety review was completed.[2] This identified problematic drug use as a major concern that would benefit from an inter-agency response. This paper was commissioned in response to these findings. It provides information about current international approaches to tackling the supply and use of narcotics, and proposes some counter-narcotics methods that could be used at a township level.

1. Urban Safety Project Master Inception Deliverables v20170214 Draft to FCO (Yangon: The Asia Foundation, 2017).
2. Jane Sail, Jayde Roberts and David Ney, Urban Safety Review, Hlaing Tharyar, North Dagon, Taunggyi, Hpa-An (Yangon: The Asia Foundation, 2017).

# 2. EXPLANATION OF MAIN CONCEPTS AND TERMS

It is widely accepted that an effective counter-narcotics strategy will incorporate both of the following two approaches:

1. Reducing demand, which includes preventing people from becoming drug users in the first place, and treating those with a drug dependence problem to help them recover; and
2. Restricting supply.

These two approaches are explained in this section.

The term ***supply and demand*** comes from the world of economics. Supply is how much of something you produce, and demand is how much of something people want. Those working in the international field of counter-narcotics have adopted this economic model as a way of understanding the relationship between supply and demand, resulting in the price of narcotics being used as one way of evaluating how effective counter-narcotics efforts are. For example, generally speaking the price of a particular drug will go up if demand for it rises—and vice versa.

The Report of the International Narcotics Control Board (2004) made it clear that counter-narcotic strategies will only be effective if demand and supply are tackled together: 'Illicit drug supply and demand are, in fact, inextricably linked components of a single phenomenon. The demand for drugs stimulates the supply; the availability of drugs, in turn, creates demand as more people become dependent on drugs.'[3]

## 2.1. INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION AND COORDINATION

International counter-narcotics efforts are enshrined in the following international agreements.

### 2.1.1. UNITED NATIONS DRUG TREATIES

- The 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs was set up as a universal system (replacing the various treaties signed until then) to control the cultivation, production, manufacture, export, import, distribution of, trade in, use and possession of narcotic substances, paying special attention to those that are plant-based: opium/heroin, coca/cocaine and cannabis.
- The 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances, in response to the diversification of drugs of abuse, introduced controls over the licit use of more than a hundred largely synthetic psychotropic drugs, like amphetamines, LSD, ecstasy, valium, etc.
- The 1988 Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances was agreed in response to the increasing problem of drug abuse and trafficking during the 1970s and 1980s and provides for comprehensive measures against drug trafficking. These include provisions against money laundering and the diversion of precursor chemicals, and agreements on mutual legal assistance.

An important purpose of the first two treaties is to codify internationally applicable control measures in order to ensure the availability of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances for medical and scientific purposes, while preventing their diversion into illicit channels.

3. http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=13504&Cr=drug&Cr1=control#.WclAxEyZPq1.

### 2.1.2. EUROPEAN UNION DECISIONS

- The 2004 Framework Decision on penalties for trafficking lays down minimum provisions on the constituent elements of criminal acts and penalties in the field of illicit drug trafficking and has led to more harmonization on penalties across the EU.
- The 2005 Council Decision on new psychoactive substances, reviewed in 2012, provides for the information exchange, risk-assessment and control of new psychoactive substances and has led to the setting up of an EU-wide 'early warning system'.

### 2.1.3. INTERNATIONAL BODIES

- The International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) is the quasi-judicial control organ for the implementation and oversight of all three United Nations drug conventions.
- The World Health Organization is responsible for the medical and scientific assessment of all psychoactive substances and advises the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) about their classification into one of the schedules of the 1961 or 1971 treaties.
- The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction exists to provide the EU and its member states with a factual overview of European drug problems and a solid evidence base to support the drugs debate.

## 2.2. REDUCING DEMAND

### 2.2.1. PREVENTION

There is no commonly accepted definition of 'narcotic or drug prevention' or precisely what type of activities it describes. At a simple level, drug prevention may include any policy, program, or activity that is (at least partially) directly or indirectly aimed at preventing, delaying or reducing drug use, and/or its negative consequences such as health and social harm, or the development of problematic drug use.[4]

The UN defines the primary objective of drug prevention as being, 'to help people, particularly but not exclusively young people, to avoid or delay initiation into the use of drugs, or, if they have started already, to avoid developing disorders (e.g. dependence). The general aim of drug prevention, however, is much broader than this: it is the healthy and safe development of children and youth to realize their talents and potential and become contributing members of their community and society. Effective drug prevention contributes significantly to the positive engagement of children, young people and adults with their families, schools, workplace and community.'[5]

In short, these prevention activities are principally aimed at helping young people to adjust their behavior, capacities, and wellbeing in fields of multiple influences such as social norms, interaction with peers, living conditions, and their own personality traits.[6]

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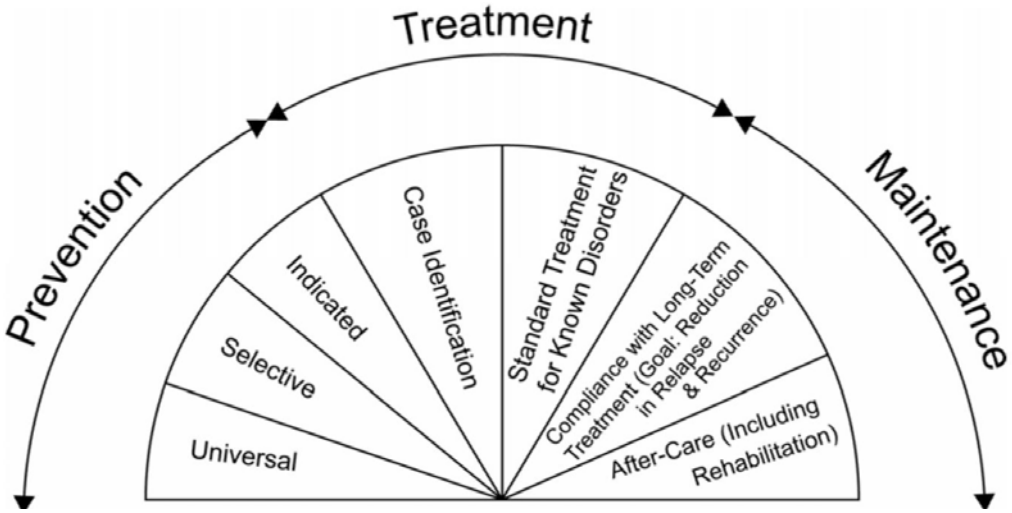
4. Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs, Prevention of drug and alcohol dependence. Briefing by the Recovery Committee. ACMD, UK, 2015.
5. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, International Standards on Drug Use Prevention (Vienna: UNODC 2015).
6. European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, European drug prevention quality standards, EMDCA, 2011.

The US Institute of Medicine prevention classification system provides a framework for understanding what constitutes drug prevention.[7] (See Figure 1). Applied to the drugs field, it illustrates the continuum of services/ interventions between prevention, treatment, recovery and harm reduction. This system also provides a common language to describe prevention and assist in the planning, delivery, and evaluation of activities.

**Figure 1. US Institute of Medicine prevention classification system**




The system has been adopted by the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction in its quality standards[8] and a summary of each type of prevention is as follows.

***Universal prevention — intervening on populations.*** The aim of universal prevention is to deter or delay the onset of drug use by providing all necessary information and skills. Universal prevention programs are delivered to large groups without any prior screening for their risk of drug use and assume that all members of the population are at equal risk of initiating use.

***Selective prevention — intervening with groups, particularly vulnerable groups.*** Selective prevention serves specific subpopulations whose risk of a disorder is significantly higher than average, either imminently or over a lifetime. Often, this higher vulnerability to drug use stems from social exclusion (e.g. young offenders, school drop-outs, pupils who are failing academically).

***Indicated prevention — intervening with individuals, particularly vulnerable individuals.*** Indicated prevention aims to identify and target individuals who are showing indicators that are highly correlated with an individual risk of developing drug use later in their life (such as psychiatric disorder, school failure, 'antisocial' behavior) or who are showing early signs of problematic drug use.

7. Institute of Medicine, Reducing Risks for Mental Disorders: Frontiers for Preventive Intervention Research. In: Mrazek PJ, Haggerty RJ, editors. Committee on Prevention of Mental Disorders, Division of Biobehavorial Sciences and Mental Disorders. (Washington, DC: The National Academy Press, 1994).
8. EMDCA, European drug prevention, 2011.

Also relevant are two types of prevention that sit outside of the Institute of Medicine classification system: health promotion and environmental prevention.[9]

***Health promotion strategies.*** Sometimes known as Positive Development Strategies, these target an entire population and have the goal of supporting positive health and wellbeing as part of day-to-day life to reduce the risk of later problem outcomes and/or to increase prospects for positive development.

***Environmental prevention approaches — intervening on societies and systems.*** Environmental strategies are aimed at altering the immediate cultural, social, physical, and economic environments in which people make their choices about drug use. This perspective takes into account that individuals do not become involved with drugs solely on the basis of personal characteristics. Rather, they are influenced by a complex set of factors in the environment, such as: what is expected or accepted in the communities in which they live; national rules or regulations and taxes; the publicity messages to which they are exposed; and the availability of alcohol, tobacco, and illegal drugs.

### 2.2.2. TREATMENT

Drug treatment is the term used for clinical interventions designed to help people recover from their dependence on drugs.[10] By definition, treatment becomes necessary where prevention has failed. Treatment is most effective when it is used as part of a range of services to help people recover from drug dependency; services like housing, employment, and mental health. In many countries treatment is delivered by the state health service in partnership with other state providers such as local government, voluntary organizations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

## 2.3. RESTRICTING SUPPLY

The term ***supply,*** in the context of countering narcotics, refers to the international illicit cultivation, production and trade in narcotic substances. It is widely understood that this is a global business controlled by organized criminals.[11] It relates to the whole of the narcotics supply chain, from cultivation to street-level supply to the drug user.

As said above, the supply of and demand for narcotics are linked, which means that successful strategies to counter narcotics must tackle both, together.

9. ACMD, Prevention of drug and alcohol, 2015.
10. HM Government, 2017 *Drug Strategy. United Kingdom.*
11. HM Government, *2017 Drug Strategy, United Kingdom.*

# 3. LESSONS FROM INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

This section sets out a summary of the academic evidence relating to the methods used to reduce the demand for and restrict the supply of narcotics.

## 3.1. EVIDENCE OF WHAT WORKS TO REDUCE DEMAND

### 3.1.1. PREVENTION

According to the UN, 'an effective national drug prevention system delivers an integrated range of interventions and policies based on scientific evidence, in multiple settings, targeting relevant ages and levels of risk.'[12]

Drawing on the extensive literature reviews contained in the UN[13] and European[14] drug prevention standards, and the briefing paper written by the UK's Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs,[15] the following section sets out a number of interventions—some where the evidence points to positive effects on preventing drug abuse, and some where there is evidence of negative effects. A full summary of these reviews is beyond the scope of this background paper. This paper can only provide an overview of possible interventions to use or to avoid, and it is recommended that the interested reader consults the source documents for more detail.

**Interventions which have positive effects on preventing drug abuse.**

*Infancy and early childhood*

- Interventions targeting pregnant women with substance abuse disorders can have a positive impact on child development and parenting skills.
- Prenatal and infancy visits to 'high risk' individuals by trained health workers can prevent substance abuse later in life.
- Pre-school education in disadvantaged communities can reduce use of illicit drugs and smoking.

*Middle childhood and early adolescence*

- Family-based universal programs can prevent self-reported drug use in young people. These are most effective at producing long-term reductions in substance abuse when targeting vulnerable young people.
- Supporting the development of personal and social skills in a classroom setting can prevent later drug use, and also have a positive impact on substance abuse-related risk factors; e.g. academic performance and self-esteem.
- Programs that strengthen the classroom management abilities of teachers can significantly decrease problem behavior and strengthen pro-social behavior and academic performance of the children.
- Policies that increase the attendance of children in school can have a positive effect on substance abuse risk factors.
- Policies that alter the school environment to increase commitment to school, positive participation, and social relationships can reduce drug abuse.

12. UNODC, International Standards, 2015.
13. Ibid.
14. EMDCA, *European drug prevention, 2011.*
15. ACMD, *Prevention of drug and alcohol, 2015.*

- Interactive school programs which use trained facilitators in structured sessions to help children develop personal and social skills to help them counter social pressures to use drugs can prevent drug misuse in the long term.
- Interventions in middle childhood to address individual psychological vulnerabilities, e.g. anxiety sensitivity and hopelessness, can have a positive effect on the mediating factors affecting substance abuse, such as self-control.

*Adolescence and adulthood*

- The provision by trained health or social workers of 'brief intervention' and 'motivational interviewing' techniques consisting of short one-to-one counselling sessions can significantly reduce substance abuse in the long term. Typically delivered in the primary health-care system or emergency rooms, it can also be effective as part of school and workplace based programs.
- Multi-sectoral programs with multiple components (including schools, families, law enforcement and community) can reduce substance abuse.

**Interventions which have negative effects on preventing drug abuse.**

*Middle childhood and early adolescence*

- Standalone school-based curricula designed only to increase knowledge about illegal drugs ('drug education') were found to be ineffective.

*Adolescence and adulthood*

- Recreational/diversionary activities and theater/drama-based education to prevent drug abuse is ineffective.
- Mentoring programs were found to have no short- or long-term preventative effects in drug abuse.
- Stand-alone mass media campaigns about drug abuse were at best ineffective, and at worst associated with increased drug use. Mass media campaigns should therefore only be delivered as part of multiple component programs to support school-based prevention.

### 3.1.2. TREATMENT

UK and international evidence consistently show that drug treatment—covering different types of drug problems, using different treatment interventions, and in different treatment settings—impacts positively on levels of drug use, offending, overdose risk and the spread of blood-borne viruses.[16] The UK's National Treatment Outcomes Research Study showed that, for between a quarter and a third of those entering treatment, drug treatment results in long-term sustained recovery.[17]

Drug treatment is not an event, but a process, usually involving engagement with different drug treatment services, perhaps over many years. Each client's drug treatment journey is different and depends on a range of factors including their health, relationships, nature of their drug problem and the quality of the drug

16. Department of Health (England) and the devolved administrations, *Drug Misuse and Dependence: UK Guidelines on Clinical Management.* (London: DH (England), the Scottish Government, Welsh Assembly Government and Northern Ireland Executive, 2007).

17. Michael Gossop et al., *The National Treatment Outcome Research Study* (NTORS): 4–5 year follow-up results. *Addiction,* Volume 98: (2003), 291–303. doi:10.1046/j.1360-0443.2003.00296.x

treatment they receive.[18]

However, drug treatment use is often episodic, with service users dipping in and out of treatment over time. Evidence from the US suggests that an average time in treatment for someone with a heroin or crack dependence problem is five to seven years, with some heroin users requiring indefinite maintenance on substitute opioids.[19] Evidence also tells us that service users gain cumulative benefit from a series of treatment episodes.

Research indicates that entry into treatment has an immediate positive impact on drug use and crime, particularly for someone prescribed substitute medication. The biggest improvements in client outcomes are likely to be made in the first six years of treatment.[20] However, these are not sustained if the client is not retained in treatment. Optimized treatment usually involves retaining clients in drug treatment for a minimum of three months. This is the point at which treatment begins to accrue generalized long-term benefit.

Engaging the service-user sufficiently in a therapeutic relationship enables positive lifestyle changes to occur. This approach requires a partnership between the treatment provider and the client or service-user, with both working towards common explicit goals. It also requires a concerted effort on behalf of the treatment provider to enable all of the clients' needs to be met, not just their drug treatment needs. This may include addressing alcohol misuse, health needs due to blood-borne virus infections such as hepatitis C, treatment for underlying anxiety or depression, building social support networks, and providing access to appropriate housing, education or employment. All of these may be crucial to prevent relapse back to illicit drug misuse.

Research in the UK[21] [22] and US[23] shows that the best predictor of retention in community treatments was related to service factors rather than client characteristics. Improving the way the service is organized and run has a positive effect on retaining people in treatment.

In the UK, there is a four-tiered approach to drug treatment:

- **Tier 1:** provision of drug-related information and advice, screening and referral to specialized drug treatment.
- **Tier 2:** provision of drug-related information and advice, triage assessment, referral to structured drug treatment, brief psychosocial interventions, harm reduction interventions (including needle exchange) and aftercare.
- **Tier 3:** provision of community-based specialized drug assessment and coordinated care-planned treatment and drug specialist liaison.
- **Tier 4:** provision of residential specialized drug treatment, which is care-planned and care-coordinated to ensure continuity of care and aftercare.

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18. National Treatment Agency, *Models of Care for Treatment of Adult Drug Misusers: Update 2006* (London: National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse, 2006.)
19. www.DATOS.org
20. Ibid.
21. National Drug Evidence Centre (NDEC), *Treatment Effectiveness: Demonstration Analysis of Treatment Surveillance Data About Treatment Completion and Retention* (London: National Treatment Agency, 2004.)
22. Petra S. Meier, *A National Survey of Retention in Residential Rehabilitation Services.* (London: National Treatment Agency, 2005).
23. www.DATOS.org

In the criminal justice system and in prisons in the UK, the four-tiered approach to drug treatment is used as part of the Drug Interventions Programme. This involves criminal justice and drug treatment providers working together with other services to provide a tailored solution for adults who commit crime to fund their drug misuse. It aims to break the cycle of drug misuse and offending behavior by intervening at every stage of the criminal justice system to engage offenders in drug treatment. Delivery at a local level is through drug action team partnerships which deploy criminal justice integrated teams, using a case management approach, to offer access to treatment and support. This begins at an offender's first point of contact with the criminal justice system, through custody, court, sentencing and beyond, into resettlement.

## 3.2. EVIDENCE OF WHAT WORKS TO RESTRICT SUPPLY

In this section, the evidence for what works to restrict the supply of narcotics is split into three parts, namely:

1. The cultivation of drug crops in Myanmar;
3. Drug-dealing and illicit drug use in local drug markets; and
4. Corruption.

Overall, there appears to be significantly less evaluation of interventions designed to restrict supply than there is for those interventions aimed at reducing demand.

### 3.2.1. TACKLING THE CULTIVATION OF DRUG CROPS IN MYANMAR

In March 2017, the UNODC conducted research in Shan State, Myanmar, to seek to understand the reasons why there was cultivation of opium crops in some villages and not in others. The research also sought to evaluate the effect of alternative development in the region.[24]

The majority of opium production in Southeast Asia is confined to parts of Myanmar, especially Shan State, which hosts a number of ethnic armed groups. While the opium producers and small traffickers are often coming from these groups and are usually poor, the main profits are made further along the trafficking routes by buyers and traders in Southeast Asia who are involved with the opium/heroin market, and other illegal activities.

The government of Myanmar reported that it had eradicated almost 15,000 hectares (ha) during the 2013 to 2014 opium growing season, most of it in southern Shan State. This is 3,000 ha more than was eradicated the previous season. However, there is no empirical evidence to show that such policies lead to a sustainable reduction in opium cultivation levels, even if carried out in tandem with alternative development projects. In some cases, eradication can lead to an increase in cultivation levels or to the displacement of crops to other areas.[25]

The UN Guiding Principles on Alternative Development, adopted in 2013, state that, wherever appropriate, alternative development should be used as a viable and sustainable alternative to the illicit cultivation of drug crops, and an effective measure to counter the world drug problem.

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24. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Evidence for enhancing resilience opium poppy cultivation in Shan State Myanmar (*Vienna: UNODC, 2017).

25. Tom Kramer, *The Current State of Counternarcotics Policy and Drug Reform Debates in Myanmar.* Transnational Institute, 2016. https://www.tni.org/files/download/drug_law_reform_myanmar_ungass2016.pdf

Evidence produced by the UNODC research in Shan State suggests that alternative development, in the form of improvement in infrastructure and services, can help to reduce the costs of living in opium poppy villages, and therefore decrease the dependency of those communities on opium poppy income. It also found that law enforcement action against poppy cultivation resulted in increased poverty and food insecurity in the local population by taking away their main source of income, thereby tending to increase dependency on opium poppy income.

These findings support the view that Myanmar's drug policies should shift focus and prioritize alternative livelihoods in opium-growing communities and the provision of services for drug users.[26] Poverty—in its widest definition—is one of the key drivers of opium cultivation, and it is important for alternative development programs to expand to key opium-cultivating areas.

In short, there seems to be strong evidence that the eradication of poppy farms should not take place until people have sufficient access to alternative livelihoods.

### 3.2.2. TACKLING DRUG DEALING AND ILLICIT DRUG USE IN LOCAL DRUG MARKETS

This section examines what research says about how effective law enforcement activity is at restricting the supply of drugs to individual users within a local drugs market. Low-level policing methods strive to disrupt drug markets, making them less predictable for both buyer and seller. Research suggests that this strategy is only effective when combined with attempts to draw drug offenders into treatment services as they pass through the criminal process. [27]

One aspect of this policing approach is to target dependent users in an attempt to reduce demand within a market. The argument is that by removing regular customers from the market, consumption will decrease, resulting in a reduction in price, which in turn would lead to a decline in drug-related crime. Another aspect is to delay or disrupt the buying process using tactics such as the stop and search of buyers and sellers. Although such measures do little to deter problematic users, the idea is that casual and novice users will be discouraged from buying, therefore constricting the market. The evidence from research tends to show that this approach on its own is not a very effective way of restricting supply.

A recent evaluation of the law enforcement part of the UK's 2010 drug strategy found that:

- Illicit drug markets are resilient and can quickly adapt to even significant drug and asset seizures. Even though enforcement may cause wholesale prices to vary, street-level prices are generally maintained through variations in purity.
- There is evidence that some low-level enforcement activities can contribute to the disruption of drug markets at all levels, thus reducing crime and improving health outcomes, but the effects tend to be short-lived. Activity solely to remove drugs from the market, for example, drug seizures, has little impact on availability.
- There are potential unintended consequences of enforcement activity such as violence related to the disruption of drug markets and the negative impact of involvement with the criminal justice system, especially for young people.

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26. Ibid.
27. Tiggey May et al., *Serving Up: The impact of low-level police enforcement on drug markets.* (London: Home Office Policing and Reducing Crime Unit, 2000.)

- However, by diverting drug-using offenders into treatment through the criminal justice system, the benefits of treatment, including reductions in crime and improvements in health, can be realized.[28]

Although low-level policing methods have only a very limited and short-term effect on supply in local drug markets, research suggests that situational crime prevention methods can be successful ways to disrupt drug markets. This approach is based upon the idea that if you change the situation and/or environment, you can change people's behavior—in particular criminal behavior.[29] The approach is most effective when there is a collaboration between: police, managers of urban spaces, and those that have some influence over the behavior of criminals, e.g. parents and social workers.[30]

One situational crime prevention method that could be used is to increase the amount of surveillance at the sites, either informal or formal. For example, informal surveillance might involve asking people such as food outlet managers, transport workers and security guards by to help reduce drug use in the areas under their control. Formal surveillance could involve the police use of CCTV and the monitoring of mobile telephones used for dealing.

Another situational method is to reduce the amenity of drug markets to buyers and sellers. The amenity of these sites will be determined by such factors as ease of access, the level of street activity, and access to areas out of direct public view. Many such amenities can be modified to make such places less attractive to buyers and sellers. For example, the removal of foliage, walls and other objects which may provide cover for drug dealing and other illegal activity. More information about this approach, including the 25 techniques of situational crime prevention, can be found in chapter 3 of the UN's ***Introductory Handbook on Policing Urban Space.***[31]

It seems then that local drug markets can be disrupted in the short-term, but law enforcement on its own is unlikely to eliminate them. But there is evidence that longer-term effects on reducing harm from drugs can be achieved if low-level law enforcement activity is part of a wider strategy which prioritizes drug prevention and treatment.

### 3.2.3. Corruption

At each stage of the drug supply chain, there are opportunities for corruption. At the production level, farmers may bribe eradication teams, producers may bribe judges and police officers, and manufacturers may exploit workers in chemical companies in order to get hold of precursor chemicals. Further down the chain, traffickers bribe customs officials and take advantage of weaknesses in transport firms. At the consumer level, users can get drugs through corrupt doctors and pharmacists.[32]

In Myanmar, according to the research by the Transnational Institute, bribes are collected by different actors in the chain of procedures and seem to be an integral part of the criminal justice system.[33] In Yangon and

28. Home Office, *An Evaluation of the Government's Drug Strategy 2010*. (London, Home Office, 2017). Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/drug-misuse-and-dependency .
29. Mark Edmunds et al., *Tackling Local Drug Markets.* (London: Home Office Police Research Group, 1996).
30. UNODC and UN-HABITAT, *Introductory Handbook on Policing Urban Space.* (Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2011).
31. Ibid.
32. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *World Drug Report 2017.* (Vienna: UNODC, 2017).
33. Ernestien Jenseema and Nang Pham Ei Kham N.P.E, *Found in the Dark. The Impact of Drug Law Enforcement Practices in*

Lashio in particular, bribes are so common that they can be considered part of the procedure. Bribes paid to the police can prevent an arrest, bribes paid to a lab worker can buy a negative urine drug test, bribes can induce magistrates to reduce a sentence, and prison personnel can arrange a more comfortable cell, better food or a better job/task in prison. Some respondents claimed that informants cooperating with the police were also receiving part of the money paid as a bribe. Family background is also an important determinant in the length of the sentence and treatment in prison.

Corruption entrenches poverty by discouraging foreign investment, according to World Bank research.[34] In a narco-economy, this is doubly true. Foreign firms, seeing the corrupted justice system and pervasive money-laundering that characterize narco-economies, are unlikely to make or increase investments. Corruption also increases the level of income inequality, according to International Monetary Fund research. Higher levels of income inequality are known to encourage drug trafficking and corruption. In fact, the drug industry may perpetuate and exacerbate income inequality, which may in turn cause the expansion of drug production and trafficking.

*Myanmar.* (Amsterdam: The Transnational Institute, 2016). https://www.tni.org/files/publication-downloads/drug_policy_briefing_47_found_in_the_dark.pdf

34. UNODC, *World Drug Report 2017.*

# 4. COUNTER-NARCOTICS OPTIONS FOR URBAN AREAS IN MYANMAR

Drawing on the lessons from international experience set out above, this section sets out some options to be considered as part of a response to the urban safety issues identified by The Asia Foundation's reviews in the four townships participating in the Urban Safety Program.

## 4.1. THE MYANMAR CONTEXT

The Myanmar context is hugely challenging, as summed up by the Transnational Institute.[35] Situated in Southeast Asia's 'Golden Triangle',[36] Myanmar is the world's second-largest opium producer after Afghanistan. Opium cultivated in Myanmar is locally consumed, especially in the mountainous ethnic regions where it also has traditional and medicinal uses. However, a large amount of opium is turned into a more dangerous form—heroin—for the local market as well as for export, mostly to countries in the region, especially China. Myanmar is also under international surveillance because of its production and export of amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS).

Recent estimates by the Myanmar government put the number of injecting drug users in the country at about 83,000;[37] however this may be an underestimate as surveys conducted by NGOs providing services to drug users, and by UN agencies, show that there could be as many as 300,000 drug users.[38] Large numbers of injecting heroin users are especially concentrated in the northern part of the country, mainly in Kachin and Shan States. In addition, there are many injecting drug users in Sagaing and Mandalay Regions.

In 2000, HIV/AIDS prevalence among injecting drug users was estimated at 63 percent—much higher than prevalence among other key populations such as sex workers and men who have sex with men. Sharing unclean needles and other injecting paraphernalia is the main cause of the high incidence of HIV/AIDs in this population. In 2003, in response to the alarming HIV epidemic, NGOs started to implement harm reduction services, including needle and syringe exchange programs. Later, the Myanmar Government started to make methadone maintenance therapy available. These interventions led to a steady decrease in HIV infection rates among injecting drug users—data in 2014 showed that the rate was down to 23.1 percent. However according to more recent estimates, based on a different methodology, the infection rate was 28.3 percent in 2015, partly as a result of local and regional enforcement activities that hinder access to harm reduction services.[39]

The response required at a township-level is likely to focus principally on activities associated with local drug markets. At this level, the evidence from research is clear that prevention and treatment work best. Low-level law enforcement activity can contribute to the disruption of drug markets at all levels, but the effects tend to be short-lived. Activity solely to remove drugs from the market, for example, drug seizures, has little impact

35 Jenseema and Kham, *Found in the Dark,* 2016.

36 This term refers to the main opium-growing region in Southeast Asia comprising the northern areas of Myanmar, Laos and Thailand.

37 Jenseema and Kham, *Found in the Dark,* 2016.

38 US Department of State, *Country Report, Burma,* Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, 2015. http://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2015/vol1/238952.htm

39 Jenseema and Kham, *Found in the Dark,* 2016.

on availability. Where the police work with partners from health, local government and NGOs as part of a comprehensive program to reduce the harm drugs cause, law enforcement can be effective—but only if effective drug treatment is available to drug users after arrest.

The current situation in Myanmar is that drug treatment and harm reduction coverage is very low. For instance, according to UNAIDS, HIV testing coverage among intravenous drug users is only 22 percent, much lower than other high-risk populations. Overall, the quality of services provided by the government is low, non-voluntary and not taking into account the specific needs of users.[40]

Drug treatment, mainly institutionalized detoxification for opiate users, is provided by the Ministry of Health.[41] Drug users need to register and are hospitalized for about five to six weeks to receive treatment. The government also provides methadone maintenance treatment in health centers (currently 46 across the country). The Ministry of Social Welfare has been assigned to implement rehabilitation programs for chronic drug users who have been through drug treatment programs. Drug users need to participate in the program for at least six weeks and receive services such as counseling, sports, arts, meditation, and vocational training. However, these services are limited in terms of quality and coverage, and in some cases are not operational at all.

As for law enforcement, the police approach in Myanmar is to search drug users for drugs or equipment such as syringes.[42] The police use informers to lead them to places such as areas where injecting drug users gather to use drugs and drug selling points. Often these informers are drug users or petty dealers who have been arrested before. The majority of the arrests are made with the help of these informants. Once arrested, a drug user is taken to the police station where an employee from the Ministry of Health will take a urine sample and test for heroin, ATS, cannabis and alcohol. Those tested negative and not found in possession of drugs, needles or empty penicillin bottles will be released. Those with a positive urine test or found in possession of drugs or paraphernalia will be held in custody and charged. Suspects of drug-related crimes cannot be released on bail, and the pre-trial period in police custody can take up to two years.

The research by the Transnational Institute reveals a counter-narcotic approach in Myanmar which is reliant on: arresting, charging and imprisoning drug users—activities that have little effect on reducing harm from dugs in the long-term; and on the very limited provision of treatment which does not focus on the needs of the individual drug users. There appears to be little coordination at a local level of these two approaches.

However, the Transnational Institute also found that the police were working with NGOs in parts of Mandalay at the time of the research and were no longer arresting or harassing drug users who were getting access to drug treatment.

It would seem, therefore, that there are opportunities for the Urban Safety Program to work with local police, health, and social services to provide a more effective response to the drug problems faced by people in the four townships.

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40 Jenseema and Kham, *Found in the Dark,* 2016.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

## 4.2. RECOMMENDED NEXT STEPS

Based upon the evidence set out above, this section sets out some steps that could be taken at a township level to address concerns relating to narcotics use and supply.

(1) Create township 'drug action' partnerships between agencies such as: police, local government, health, social welfare, education and NGOs with expertise in counter-narcotics. This will help to strengthen inter-agency and policy dialogue[43] about this crucially important urban safety concern. (See The Asia Foundation's background paper on crime prevention 2017 for benefits of partnership and multi-agency cooperation. [44]

(2) Provide support to the partnership in order to:

- draw up a profile of the drugs problem in the local area and a full needs assessment. This will be used to decide the action that needs to be taken to address the drug related problems;
- devise a drug action plan with objectives covering drug prevention, treatment and enforcement. The plan should identify clear accountabilities, timescales and expected outcomes; and
- establish a method of evaluation.

(3) The drug action partnership should seek, wherever possible, to use methods which have been evaluated as effective. The information in chapter 3 of this report could be used to help with this.

(4). Establish a group of expert advisors with relevant knowledge and skills to support the development of a strategy, the implementation of the action plan, and its evaluation.

(5) Use the European Drug Prevention Quality Standards report to make sure the approach has the following structural foundations:

- a supportive policy and legal framework;
- scientific evidence and research;
- coordination of multiple sectors and levels (national, sub-national and municipal/local) involved;
- training of policymakers and practitioners; and
- commitment to provide adequate resources and to sustain the system in the long term.[45]

43 One of the aims of The Asia Foundation's Urban Safety Project.

44 Stephen Otter, *Urban Safety Project Crime Prevention Background Paper.* (Yangon: The Asia Foundation, 2017).

45 EMDCA, *European drug prevention,* 2011.

### 4.2.1. EXAMPLES OF ACTIONS FOR A TOWNSHIP COUNTER-NARCOTICS PLAN.

The following part of this report sets out some examples of evidence-based approaches which could be included in a plan to tackle drug problems in a township. Please note that, to be effective, a plan should be based upon an accurate and comprehensive assessment of need in the locality. This list is for illustrative purposes only.

*Prevention*

- Prenatal and infancy visits to high-risk mothers by trained health workers.
- Provide interventions by trained staff to support teachers in primary and secondary level schools to help children develop personal and social skills that will help them counter social pressures to use drugs.
- Provide interventions with families in which there are children and young people at high risk of drug abuse.
- Provide 'brief intervention' and 'motivational interviewing' one-to-one counselling sessions to individuals in health centers and schools and by trained health or social workers as appropriate.

*Treatment*

Drug treatment is a highly specialized field and any plan should be written by people with the necessary knowledge and skills. The following list is illustrative.

- Create opportunities in the criminal justice system for drug users to go into treatment rather than prison.
- Make available to drug users: voluntary drug treatment services (focused on the needs of individuals). In most countries with high levels of opioid use, this would include community access to methadone and long-term medication-assisted psychosocial treatment, and care for opioid-use disorders (comprising interventions such as cognitive behavioral therapy and contingency management).[46] [47]
- Provide needle exchange facilities in the locality.
- Obtain a commitment from the police to suspend operations to arrest drug users for possession of the drugs in designated areas so that they can be encouraged to access treatment without the fear of prosecution and prison.

*Enforcement*

- Change the focus of the police from arresting drug users to disrupting the supply of drugs into local drug markets. This will require the establishment of effective data and its analysis to identify the supply networks and organized crime groups responsible for them. The analysis should identify the criminal groups and networks that supply particular drugs into local drug markets so that enforcement action can be used to disrupt them.
- In addition to bringing organized criminals to justice, the police should also tackle those criminal activities that facilitate drug-related crime, such as money laundering and corruption.
- Use situational crime prevention methods. For example, increase surveillance and change the physical environment in local drug markets to reduce the amenity of the area for dealers to sell drugs.

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46 UNODC, *World Drug Report 2017.*

47 Renaud Cachia, *Addressing drug problems in Myanmar: 5 key interventions that can make a difference.* (Yangon: Drug Policy Advocacy Group Myanmar, 2017).

# 5. CONCLUSIONS

The growing body of evidence from all around the world, much of which is set out in this report, indicates that counter-narcotics policies grounded in public health, human rights, and development can yield an impressively wide range of benefits. The excellent publication, ***Addressing drug problems in Myanmar,*** advocates five key strategic interventions for Myanmar based upon this convincing body of evidence. They succinctly sum up the key messages contained in this paper.

The first is to increase access to health, harm reduction and voluntary drug treatment for people using drugs. Protecting people's health is the main aim of the international drug control system, but few resources have been allocated to evidence-based health and social interventions.

The second is to end the criminalization of drug users. The fear of arrest and detention drives drug users in Myanmar underground and away from harm reduction and other essential health services.

The third is to refocus law enforcement efforts on violent organized crime and large-scale drug production and trafficking. This would greatly alleviate the burden of law enforcement agencies, whose focus is currently on low level drug offences, and strengthen their ability to reduce more serious forms of crime. It could release resources for reallocation to the far more cost-effective health and social interventions for drug users.

The fourth intervention is to increase the promotion of alternative development projects in opium-growing areas. The UNODC research in Shan State suggests that alternative development in the form of improvement in infrastructure and services can help to reduce the costs of living in opium poppy villages, and therefore decrease the dependency of those communities on opium poppy income.

And the fifth is to include civil society and affected communities in policy reform. Meaningful engagement with civil society and communities directly affected by drug-related problems and policies will be a crucially important step to ensure public support and backing for new drug policies and approaches.

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URBAN SAFETY PROJECT

# EVENT PLANNING AND CROWD SAFETY MANAGEMENT IN MYANMAR BACKGROUND PAPER

**Stephen Otter**
Senior Rule of Law Advisor

December 2017

The Asia Foundation
Improving Lives, Expanding Opportunities

URBAN SAFETY PROJECT

# URBAN POLICING IN MYANMAR

**Stephen Otter**
Senior Rule of Law Advisor

October 2017

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

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

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**About the author**

Stephen Otter is The Asia Foundation's senior rule of law advisor for the Urban Safety Project. From 2012 to 2016, Stephen was one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary, responsible for inspecting UK policing and law enforcement in areas which included the Metropolitan Police, National Crime Agency, Ministry of Defence Police, British Overseas Territories and counter-terrorism policing. Prior to this, he was the Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall Police, where he combined leading the 6,000-strong police force with being the national lead on equality, diversity and human rights for the UK's Association of Chief Police Officers. In 2008, Stephen was awarded the Queen's Police Medal. He holds a master's degree in Criminal Justice Policy from the London School of Economics, and a postgraduate diploma in Criminology from Cambridge University.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

In support of achieving these outcomes, The Asia Foundation commissioned its Senior Rule of Law Advisor to draw up this background paper about methods for securing crowd safety through effective event planning and crowd management. The paper focuses principally on events organized to entertain large numbers of people, such as the annual balloon festival in Taunggyi. The paper draws on policies and practice from countries including the UK, India, New Zealand and USA.

1. Urban Safety Project Master Inception Deliverables v20170214 Draft to FCO (Yangon: The Asia Foundation, 2017).

# 2. EXPLANATION OF MAIN CONCEPTS AND TERMS

## 2.1. Definitions of terms used in this paper

***Events***. This background paper focuses on events organized for the purpose of entertainment of large numbers of people.

***Crowds***. When large numbers of people gather in a specific place for an event, crowds are formed, creating the potential for minor or major injury occurring through the dynamics of crowd behavior.[2] Measures should be taken by the organizers of events to ensure that there is effective and safe crowd management so that overcrowding does not occur.

***Event organizer.*** For the purpose of this paper, the organizer is taken to be anyone who has prime responsibility for the event.

***Crowd management.*** In this paper, crowd management includes all measures taken in the normal process of facilitating the movement and enjoyment of people. People attend an event for a purpose which can include entertainment, education or celebration.[3] Crowd management assures people that they will get what they expected from the event, and go home safely.

***Crowd control.*** This is sometimes used interchangeably with ***crowd management***, but in this paper the term is used to describe the controlling of a mass of people to prevent the outbreak of disorder and of possible riot,[4] and the prevention of injury and protection of health & safety.

***Event safety plan.*** A written plan which is used by all those involved in managing an event to make sure it is run safely. A list of the information it should contain can be found in section 3.1.2.

***Site safety plan.*** Scaled plan drawings of the site or venue of an event, with emergency routes, and any temporary installations and facilities plotted onto them.

## 2.2. Roles and responsibilities

This section examines the roles and responsibilities of the organizations which the literature identifies as being important to effective crowd management at events.

***Event organizer.*** An event organizer has a duty to plan, manage and monitor the event to make sure that workers and the visiting public are not exposed to health and safety risks.[5] The organizer must as far as reasonably practicable ensure the safety of visiting crowds.

While certain aspects of crowd safety can be allocated to contractors, for example stewarding, the organizer will retain overall responsibility for ensuring the safety of the public.

***Safety officer.*** Appointed by the event organizer to coordinate all aspects of safety at the event.

***Police.*** In many jurisdictions, the police have core operational duties in relation to public events, which

2. Health and Safety Executive, *Managing crowds safely.* HSG154 (Norwich: HMSO, 2000).
3. Alexander Berlonghi, "Understanding and planning for different spectator crowds," in *Engineering for crowd safety*: Roderick A. Smith and Jim F. Dickie (Eds). (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers B.V., 1993).
4. Ibid.
5. Health and Safety Executive (UK). http://www.hse.gov.uk/event-safety/running.htm.

include:

- protecting life and property;
- preserving order;
- preventing the commission of offences; and
- investigating crime and bringing offenders to justice.[6]

***Local authority.*** Often responsible for: emergency planning; the licensing of food vendors and sale of alcohol; traffic management; and food hygiene.

6. College of Policing (England and Wales). https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/operations/operational-planning/core-principles/.

# 3. GUIDANCE BASED ON INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

This section aims to provide practical guidance, from international literature, to help those organizing events to manage crowd safety in a systematic way. It does not specify a particular way of achieving crowd safety, i.e. for a specific type of event, but sets out a general approach. The section draws heavily on the contents of the UK's Health and Safety Executive guidelines on managing crowd safety:[7] and the College of Policing authorized professional practice regarding how the police should plan and conduct specific operations.[8]

This guidance is organized under the following headings:

- Planning;
- Assessing risks;
- Putting precautions in place to address potential hazards;
- Emergency planning and procedures, including the role of the police;
- Communication;
- Monitoring crowds; and
- Review.

## 3.1. Planning

Good planning from an early stage will help the organizer and others involved to run the event safely. Sufficient time should be allowed to gather information, consult, obtain advice, and put in place effective precautions to safely manage crowds at the event.

It is important to involve the right people from the start of the planning process, including, where appropriate, representatives from local authorities, police and other emergency services.

### 3.1.1. Pre-planning scoping

Before any planning is undertaken, it is important to establish that it is possible for crowd safety to be managed effectively for the type of event and its venue. Key issues to consider as part of this scoping work are set out below.

**Expected turnout.** When forecasting the expected turnout it might be helpful to consider:

- attendance numbers on previous occasions;
- numbers visiting similar events;
- proposed levels of publicity;
- the effect of public holidays, and weather; and
- whether extra visitors will attend special attractions.

**Characteristics of attendees.** The characteristics of the people attending will need to be considered as part of an early assessment of how possible it would be to run the event safely. For example: children, people with special needs, and the elderly will need special consideration.

7. Health and Safety Executive, *Managing crowds,* 2000.
8. College of Policing (England and Wales). https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/operations/.

**Getting to and from the venue.** Consider the following transport issues well in advance.

- Where are the nearest bus and train stations and will existing timetables be adequate?
- Where are local car and coach parks?
- Is the layout of roads and pedestrian routes to the venue adequate to deal with the expected turnout?
- Are there any roadworks or construction work being carried out in the proposed area?

**Venue suitability.** Ensure that the maximum capacity of the venue is established, taking into account areas taken up by facilities such as food stalls, so as to avoid overcrowding and to allow the safe entry and exit of visitors. Particular consideration should be given to whether the venue would allow the safe exit of people in an emergency. The maximum capacity of a venue should be calculated using the following four factors:

- the time it takes to get into the venue;
- the time it takes to get out of the venue;
- emergency evacuation time; and
- the capacity of the venue.

Each of these factors is likely to give a different capacity for a venue. The safest is the lowest capacity of the four.

**Excess arrivals.** It is important to assess the likelihood of more people attending the event than planned, and at what level safe crowd management ceases to be possible.

### 3.1.2. Planning the event

Once the decision to proceed with the event has been made, the event organizer should arrange for regular planning meetings to be held. These should bring together the main interested parties and there should be clearly defined roles and responsibilities for all involved. A record of these meetings should be made as part of tracking and communicating decisions, and for the purpose of reviewing how effective the event safety plan was once the event is over.

In some cases, the date, size and nature of an upcoming event is known for many months or even years in advance. Event organizers and police planners should use the time available to work closely with partner agencies and others, such as community groups, as part of a pre-event strategy.

The planning process will incorporate the steps set out in the following sections of this report. This process should result in the completion of a written plan which can be used by all those involved in managing the event to make sure it is run safely. The sort of information that should be contained in an event safety plan are as follows;

1. Scaled plan drawings of the site or venue, with any emergency routes, and temporary installations and facilities plotted onto them (site safety plans).
2. A profile of those likely to attend the event; this is essential when planning for risks and ensuring that appropriate precautions are in place for the event.
3. An organization chart which sets out a brief overview of the responsibilities for the main roles within the event, and who reports to whom.
4. The staff involved in security and crowd management. Includes: numbers of volunteers as well as paid staff; how staff can be identified, e.g. yellow tabards; duties of staff; training provided; and the nature and format of pre-event briefing and training sessions.

5. How the crowds at the event are to be monitored and managed.
6. Communication systems at the event; e.g. PA systems; radios; loud hailers; mobile phone numbers etc.; signage and public information systems (e.g. social media) to help people move safely around the site, including location of first aid posts, lost children collection etc.; contact information relating to the media.
7. First aid and emergency medical support for the event. Include where each first aid point is located (include this in the site safety plan).
8. Fire risk assessment. Include details of type, number and location of fire extinguishers, and list pyrotechnics and special effects to be used during the event.
9. Police involvement in the event, including details of the police command center.
10. Traffic management plan.
11. Risk assessments and planned precautions to mitigate the risks for each element of the event.
12. In the case of an emergency, arrangements and procedures for the hand-over of control of all or part of the event to the emergency services (usually the police).
13. Dedicated emergency vehicle access routes and rendezvous points, and public routes planned for use by emergency vehicles.
14. Emergency evacuation plans for attendees and safety staff (include in the site safety plan).
15. Details of training provided for staff in preparation of an evacuation.
16. Arrangements for safeguarding and reuniting lost children and other vulnerable people with parents or guardians.
17. Arrangements to de-brief the event and for a post-event review.

The contents of any particular event safety plan will depend on the type and scale of the event in question. An excellent guide to event safety planning has been written by the Indian Government's National Disaster Management Authority, called ***Managing Crowd at Events and venues of Mass Gathering, A Guide for State Government, Local Authorities and Organisers*** (2014).[9] Seattle's city government use a pro forma for their event safety plans which illustrates how such a plan could be presented.[10]

## 3.2. Assessing risks

An essential part of planning for safe crowd management at events is the need to conduct risk assessments. This means looking carefully at what is proposed to identify hazards that could harm the people attending, or those tasked with keeping them safe. Risk is the chance, high or low, that somebody will be harmed by the hazard. It is the combination of how likely harm will occur as a result of the hazard, and how severe that harm has the potential to be.

The risk assessment should examine all aspects of the event, including transport to and from it. It should identify incidents that could occur, even if they seem unlikely, e.g. a bomb threat or fire. It is also important to carefully evaluate all places where there may be high crowd density and subsequent crushing, e.g. queueing

9. http://ndma.gov.in/images/pdf/managingcrowdsguide.pdf.
10. https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/SpecialEvents/ADDENDUMS/ADD_F_SafetyPlan.pdf.

areas at the entrance to the venue.

The following five-step approach can be used for risk assessment.

**Step 1: Look for hazards.** Consideration should be given to all aspects of the event, and all those involved in managing the event should be consulted about what they think the potential hazards might be. It is useful to refer to information from the reviews of previous similar events. It is also important to identify hazards that are not immediately apparent such as those that might arise from the introduction of a new feature at the event, e.g. the late addition of food vendors. The following paragraphs provide examples of hazards that might be presented by a crowd and the venue.

Examples of hazards presented by a crowd:

- crushing between people, and against fixed structures;
- trampling underfoot;
- surging, swaying or rushing; and
- dangerous behavior, such as climbing on equipment or throwing objects.

Examples of hazards presented by a venue:

- slipping or tripping due to inadequate lighting;
- collapse of a structure, such as a fence or barrier, that falls onto the crowd;
- crossflows of people as they cut through the crowd to get to areas such as toilets; and
- sources of fire, such as cooking equipment.

Also, it is important to identify hazards that might be caused when things go wrong, e.g. an emergency, such as the loss of power or a fire resulting in evacuation.

**Step 2: Decide who might be harmed and how.** The aim of this step is to understand what the likely cause of each hazard might be, what danger each hazard poses, and who might be affected.

**Step 3: Evaluate the risks.** This is when the assessment of likelihood and severity of hazards is carried out.

Consideration should then be given to whether it is possible to eradicate each risk altogether. This can usually be achieved by either removing the hazard or tackling its causes. For example, it may be possible to exclude all vehicles from a site prior to the event, thus eliminating the risk of people being struck by vehicles during the event.

If it is not possible to eradicate the risk, then thought should be given to how to control the risk, i.e. making it less likely to occur and/or reduce its severity. Putting precautions in place to control risk is dealt with in the next section of this paper.

**Step 4: Record findings.** It is important to record details of the hazards and the people who are at risk from them. Records should contain: an assessment of the level of the risk, i.e. Low, Medium or High, based upon its likelihood and severity; and the precaution that is going to be taken to reduce the risk of people being harmed.

**Step 5: Review the risk assessment and revise if necessary.** During an event, it is good practice for the event

organizer and others involved in its management to review how effective the risk assessment and the mitigating actions are.

## 3.3. Putting precautions in place

Once a risk assessment has been carried out in relation to the event, it is necessary to put in place precautions to reduce the risk of people being harmed. The types of precautions fall into two broad categories—those relating to the venue, and those relating to the crowd. The following list sets out examples of precautions that should be considered.

### 3.3.1. Precautions at the venue

**Transport to and from the venue**

- Phase arrivals and departures to prevent overcrowding;
- Ensure transport facilities (e.g. bus stops, train stations, car parks) are sufficient to cope with the expected numbers of people. Schedule the event to finish at a time which allows people plenty of time to catch transport;
- Encourage people to use public transport; and
- Use of a shuttle bus to take people to and from the venue.

**Parking**

- Clearly signpost parking arrangements some distance from the venue to inform drivers before they arrive;
- Avoid locating coach drop-off and pick-up points, and parking places very close to the entrances and exits; and
- Cordon off areas for parking to protect emergency access routes and areas for pedestrians.

**Access routes to and from the venue**

- Separate pedestrian routes from vehicle routes;
- Provide clear routes for emergency vehicles and make sure all emergency services are aware of their location;
- Provide adequate lighting for routes and, where necessary, provide guard rails or barriers to prevent trips and falls;
- Where possible, provide: direct routes to prevent people taking unauthorized shortcuts; one-way systems; routes without pinch points or width changes; routes that are level, ramps for wheelchair users; and
- Provide facilities such as toilets and refreshments outside the venue for those who arrive early in order to attract people away from particularly busy areas.

**Entrances and exits**

- Use effective stewarding and barriers to encourage orderly queuing and movement through entrances and exits;
- Provide a way for people to get out of the queue without having to go against the flow;
- Avoid locating ticket sales, temporary structures, attractions, facilities, and main information sources close to entrances and exits;
- Signpost entrances and exits suitable for disabled people;
- Avoid letting people queue on roads unless the queue can be physically separated from traffic;

- Avoid, if possible, letting people queue on stairs, especially if used by others or are part of an escape route; and
- Take action at entry points to ensure prohibited items cannot be taken into the venue.

**Inside the venue or at the site**

- Make sure entrance routes do not filter directly into vantage points to avoid people blocking the flow into the venue;
- Put in place measures, such as barriers, to avoid crushing in the case of a crowd surging—a situation often associated with a particularly exciting aspect of the event; and
- Use barriers where there is a need to keep areas clear of people.
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**Viewing areas**

- Design viewing areas so that everyone has a good line of sight of the attractions to avoid crushing as people surge to see better; and
- Provide viewing areas for wheelchair users, making sure they are not affected by crowd movement and do not block exits.

## 3.3.2. Precautions for crowd management

**Staff capacity and capability**

- Provide an adequate number of staff to ensure there is effective crowd management. The staffing structure will depend on the nature and size of the event.
- Establish clear understanding of roles and responsibilities (these should be written into the event safety plan—see 3.1.2.). This is particularly important when there is more than one agency involved, e.g. police, fires service, local government, etc.
- Train all staff to carry out their duties effectively. Supervisors should be trained in the handling of emergencies, in particular how they will work alongside the emergency services.
- Brief all staff prior to the event, and provide them with a written statement of their duties and a plan showing the key features of the venue.
- Provide staff with identification and distinctive clothing which clearly indicate the duty that they are performing, e.g. different-colored shirts, jackets or tabards.

**Staff deployment**

- Identify the parts of the venue where staff will be needed and the numbers required under both normal and emergency situations. Locate staff at key points such as entrances and exits.
- Staff duties could include:
  - knowing the layout of the site and being able to assist the public by giving information about the available facilities, remembering those with special needs;
  - being aware of the location of entrances and exits and first-aid points;
  - ensuring that overcrowding does not occur in any part of the venue by managing and directing the crowd, particularly on entering or leaving the venue;
  - keeping gangways and exits clear at all times and preventing standing on seats and furniture;
  - controlling unruly behavior and investigating immediately any disturbances or incidents;
  - ensuring that combustible litter does not accumulate;
  - communicating with supervisors;
  - knowing and understanding the arrangements for evacuating the venue, including coded messages and undertaking specific duties in an emergency;
  - monitoring of crowds at key points where overcrowding may occur; and

- controlling vehicle parking and marshalling traffic.

**Command and control**

- Coordinate the management of staff from the event's control point, maintaining effective communication with all staff and supervisors.

**Enforcing rules**

- Rules, such as a ban on alcohol at an event, should be enforced fairly and firmly, with clear protocols agreed with the police if necessary.

**When things go wrong**

- As part of the risk assessment, identify potential disruptions and set up procedures to deal with them (often referred to as 'contingency procedures' or 'plans').
- For each disruption, consider the extra resources that will be required in staff and equipment. Ensure that procedures are made known to all relevant staff. Staff meetings or briefings could be used to remind staff about the procedures prior to the staging of the event. Mock exercises are a useful way of testing out the procedures for dealing with disruptions and emergencies.
- At large events, barriered-off areas, often referred to as 'safety zones', should be designated. If overcrowding threatens, people can be filtered into and through the 'safety zone' to prevent crushing.

It is good practice to conduct adequate inspections, exercises and tests to establish that all precautions are effective and safe for the purposes intended.

Planning for emergencies is covered in the section that follows.

## 3.4. Emergency planning and procedures

Emergencies are situations with the potential for serious injuries requiring immediate and specialist action beyond the capabilities of venue staff. They usually result in the emergency services becoming actively involved, and often the urgent evacuation of people from the venue.

Emergencies may include: fire or explosions; bomb threats; collapse of a structure, e.g. seating or staging; release of hazardous substances, e.g. a gas leak; or unanticipated, hostile weather conditions, e.g. flooding or high winds.

Overcrowding and disorder can be factors in the creation of emergencies, e.g. overloading of barriers, staging etc. They are also factors that make dealing with emergencies more difficult.

### 3.4.1. Measures to manage emergency situations

This section sets out the principle issues that should be covered in emergency procedures to minimize risks due to crowding during emergency situations.

It is important to keep written emergency procedures together as an emergency plan, and as explained in section 3.1.2., the emergency plan should form part of the overall event safety plan. The event organizer should make sure that copies of the emergency plan are easily accessible to managers, supervisors, stewards, other relevant staff, and personnel from the emergency services and local authority. The emergency procedures should form part of staff training and should be reinforced during event briefings. A summary of the emergency procedures and other relevant information could be put on a small card or sheet and provided to all staff.

It is good practice to carry out exercises to ensure that the procedures will be effective in the event of an emergency.

Emergency procedures should cover the areas set out in the following paragraphs.

**Informing the emergency services**
The event organizer should decide who will liaise with the emergency services in the event of an emergency and who will deputize for them in their absence. They should be clear on their responsibilities.

Once an emergency is identified, the police and other relevant emergency services need to be told as soon as possible. The following information should be passed on to the emergency services:

- The address of the venue;
- The nature of the emergency, and its extent if known;
- The access route and meeting point, noting that the previously agreed access route may no longer be suitable due to the circumstances of the emergency; and
- Any relevant information about hazards, e.g. storage of chemicals.

**Communicating with staff**
Different levels of urgent response may be necessary, from injury or sickness of one person to a major incident that requires urgent evacuation. It is therefore important that a competent person with authority to stop the event is designated at the planning stage. This responsibility usually falls to the event's safety officer.

There should be a system for passing on information to all venue staff and any relevant outside bodies, clearly specifying who should be informed and in what order. Staff need to be kept informed about any emergencies within the venue in a way that does not alert the crowd before staff are ready and in a position to handle the sudden flows of people that will follow. This could be done, for example, by two-way radio, or by coded public address messages. The latter can also be used to signal to staff to listen to radio messages or to contact the control point by phone.

Information for staff could include: the nature of the emergency, the location and the affected areas, the procedures to follow, and any special information such as which escape routes or exits should not be used.

**Communicating with the public within the vicinity of the event**
Consideration should also be given to what the public should be told about the emergency—and when. Whether the whole venue is told at once will depend on the nature of the emergency.

People may be confused and unsure of what action to take in an unfamiliar situation. Some may be more concerned about making alternative arrangements, such as looking for separated friends/family or telephoning home about a delay. The way instructions are provided can address these concerns and influence the speed of the public response.

It will help to give short, clear instructions, repeating important information and phrasing instructions positively, e.g. 'Use the green door', not 'Do not use the red door'). Messages should be polite, firm and calm—and not alarming.

People can be informed about evacuation by combinations of the following means:

- recorded or live PA messages;
- word of mouth by staff (including the use of loud hailers);
- audible alarms; and
- information boards (including scoreboards, star screen, etc).

Information to be given to the public might include:

- which exits to use and how to get there;
- where to assemble, if appropriate;
- the reason for the instructions (e.g. 'to avoid overcrowding in Area A, please use…'); an assurance to people that arrangements will be made to compensate them or to refund/re-schedule the event;
- telling people where the meeting point(s) are for friends/relatives who have got separated;
- availability of toilets and telephones outside the venue; and
- providing information on any transport arrangements that are available.

**Evacuation**

If the decision is made to evacuate the venue, or part of it, people tend to evacuate via the routes and exits with which they are most familiar. Unless clear directions are given, this could result in overloading of certain routes and exits. Arrangements are therefore necessary to make use of all available exits, and people should be directed to the most appropriate one. It may also be necessary to turn away those arriving at the venue as quickly as possible.

Ensure suitable arrangements are made to provide assistance to people with special needs, e.g. disabled people and those with young children and pushchairs, during the evacuation.

If the layout of the venue is complex, or the size of the area to be evacuated is particularly large or distant from the exits, it may be more practical to ask people to gather at various safe points in the venue and then escort them in groups to the exits.

Staff need clear guidance on what to do if someone refuses to cooperate, for example insisting on going in the wrong direction or being reluctant to leave.

A clear route for emergency vehicles should be maintained and the emergency services must be made aware of the route. This is to avoid emergency vehicles having to compete with departing traffic and the evacuating crowds in order to get to the venue.

**Assembly areas**

Safe assembly areas are vital for successful evacuation. There should be enough assembly areas of a size sufficient to accommodate the crowd. These areas should be situated away from dangerous areas such as flammable or chemical stores, or car parks in bomb threat situations. Signs should be prominent and that the locations of assembly areas on venue maps or programs are clearly marked. This will make it easier to direct the crowd to them when an evacuation is necessary.

People in assembly areas should be provided with:

- relevant information, e.g. closure of car parks, availability of facilities such as toilets, telephones and meeting points etc; and
- updated information on what is happening at regular intervals, e.g. whether and when the venue is likely to be reopened, or if the event is likely to continue etc.

If departure ***en-masse*** as a result of an emergency or otherwise is likely to lead to congestion of departure routes or hamper emergency services, a phased departure should be considered.

## 3.4.2. The role of the police in emergency planning and procedures

As stated in section 3.1, it is important to involve the right people from the start of the planning process, including, where appropriate, representatives from local authorities, police and other emergency services. The police usually play a lead role in both the planning for, and the response to emergencies. At larger events, they will often have a command presence at the event, with a control room at the venue and officers on the ground

ready to respond to emergencies.

In many jurisdictions, the core operational duties of the police in relation to public events include:

- protecting life and property;
- preserving order;
- preventing the commission of offences; and
- investigating crime and bringing offenders to justice.[11]

**Legal and Human Rights considerations**

In deciding the strategy of the police in relation to their role at any particular event, the police commanders should consider the following:

- the duties of the police and other statutory obligations;
- Human Rights commitments;[12]
- the legal basis for police action;
- relevant police policy; and
- use of force implications.

**Command Structures**

In the UK and some other jurisdictions, the police organize their commanders using the Gold, Silver, Bronze (GSB) structure.[13] This structure provides a framework for establishing a strategic, tactical and operational command response to an emergency situation. It also facilitates the flow of information necessary for making and communicating command decisions in emergency situations.

**The gold commander** assumes and retains overall command for the operation or incident. He or she has overall responsibility and authority for the gold strategy and any tactical parameters that silver or bronze commanders should follow. The gold commander, however, should not make tactical decisions. He or she is responsible for ensuring that any tactics deployed are proportionate to the risks identified, meet the objectives of the strategy, and are legally compliant. The gold commander chairs the gold group, which is the multi-agency forum operating at the gold (strategic) tier of command.

Where the police respond to an emergency, a gold commander assumes overall command and has ultimate responsibility and accountability for the response to that incident.

**The silver commander** commands and coordinates the overall tactical response in compliance with the strategy, and is the tactical commander of the incident. Generally, there should be one tactical commander, but it may desirable in large-scale incidents or operations to have more than one silver commander. The gold commander (when appointed or in a position to assume command) decides how many silver commanders are appointed and their individual span of command.

Silver commanders should liaise with bronze commanders when developing the tactical plan. They should also ensure that bronze commanders understand the strategic intentions, the key points of the wider tactical plan, and the tactical objectives that relate specifically to their area of responsibility.

**The bronze commander** is responsible for the command of a group of resources, and carrying out functional or geographical responsibilities related to the tactical plan. The tasks identified by the silver commander are delegated to bronze commanders to deliver in accordance with the priorities set by the silver commander and/or tactical coordinating group. The number of bronze commanders and their

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11. College of Policing (England and Wales). https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/operations/operational-planning/core-principles/.
12. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. United Nations. http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html.
13. https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/operations/command-and-control/command-structures/.

roles/specialisms is determined by the scale and nature of the incident.

Bronze roles are created and disbanded throughout the period of an incident and can be allocated based on geographic (commands a geographic area) or functional (commands a specific task such as public order) considerations.

Bronze commanders must have a clear understanding of the silver commander's tactical plan, i.e., what they are required to deliver, in what timescale and with what resources. Some bronze commander roles require specialist knowledge, skills and expertise and, therefore, should be allocated to individuals or post-holders who are appropriately trained and competent. This should be the case even when the competent officer holds a lower rank than officers he or she commands.

**Police briefing**
Briefings of officers and others involved in an emergency operation should be structured according to the needs of the operation and directions from the Gold, Silver and Bronze commanders. In the UK, the police use the model illustrated in Annex A when briefing officers.[14]

**Police Debriefing**
The purpose of debriefing is to identify good practice and areas for improvement. The gold, silver or bronze commander should establish, at an early stage, the debriefing arrangements required and identify who should be responsible for compiling and assessing any debriefing material generated.

## 3.5. Communication

Good communication with the public and between the staff deployed to maintain crowd safety is an essential aspect of managing an event effectively.

### 3.5.1. Communication with the public

Timely and clear communication with people visiting an event is necessary to avoid confusion about where to go. This can prevent overcrowding and frustration, and can result in people being more inclined to follow instructions.

There are many ways of communicating effectively with the public. Whatever methods are used, it is important to make sure the communication provides accurate, up-to-date and relevant information.

Consideration should be given to providing information using digital methods, such as mobile phone Apps and social media. Also, communication should be made in the languages best suited to the people attending the event.

Wherever possible, efforts should be made to provide information to the public in advance to help them plan. For example:

- transport details, meeting points, venue rules and prohibitions could be printed on the ticket or promotional leaflet;
- display boards at the venue's entrances and exits could be used to inform people about items such as tickets that they need to have ready or prohibited items that cannot be brought into the event. This may reduce congestion at ticket checkpoints; and
- a formal press release, letter drop, or advertisements could be used to provide information to the local community.

14. https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/operations/briefing-and-debriefing/.

People should be told promptly when an event is postponed or transport is delayed; this could be done via display boards, public address system or loud hailers. Information should also be given about the measures that are in place to deal with the changes.

All signs, and particularly those relating to fire safety and emergency evacuation, should be presented and sited so that, as far as is possible, they can be easily seen by people with impaired vision or color perception. Clear, audible public address announcements are vital for safety of people with impaired vision. People with impaired hearing rely on the presentation of clear, informative visual information.

### 3.5.2. Communication between staff

**Control points**
It is good practice to establish a control point throughout an event in order to coordinate the flow of information between staff. This can help to:

- gain an overall picture at the venue, e.g. size of crowd, build-up of queues, serious incidents;
- coordinate the deployment of all staff responsible for crowd management; and
- coordinate actions with other agencies such as the emergency services.

For small venues, the control point can be in the form of a room in a school or office building with basic communication equipment (e.g. telephone and a two-way radio), and the necessary plans and procedures. At an outside event, it could be a tent or cabin.

A major venue, on the other hand, may require a purpose-built central control room equipped with closed circuit TV monitors etc. Often provided and staffed by the police, control rooms are particularly useful in emergency situations, where the actions of venue staff and emergency services need to be closely coordinated. It is good practice for different organizations involved in managing an event to share a control room to facilitate good communication between them and their staff.

The following points should be considered when deciding where to locate control points, and how to equip them.

- Avoid locating near any potential hazards or high-risk areas;
- Access should be restricted to authorized personnel only;
- If several items of electrical equipment are installed, fire extinguishers should be provided;
- General noise levels should be kept to a minimum, so that staff can communicate without difficulty;
- Install emergency back-up power supplies, emergency lighting and back-up monitoring and communication systems; and
- Identify a secondary control point in case an emergency should require one.

It is important to avoid confusion about areas of the venue being discussed in communications. Areas of the venue should be given agreed names or numbers that can be clearly understood by all staff. A grid map is useful for large outdoor events to assist staff to identify a location at the venue. To make sure that communication tasks are properly carried out, consideration should be given to providing written checklists for the staff concerned.

It is good practice to secure some forms of communication for high-priority use only, such as a radio channel solely for the use of the medical teams.

## 3.6. Monitoring crowds

The monitoring of crowd behavior is a key component of crowd management, enabling staff at the event to detect crowding problems at an early stage. It also helps to assess how well the crowd safety precautions are working.
Three areas to monitor are:
- overall number of people (to ensure that the overall venue capacity is not likely to be exceeded);
- distribution of people (to help prevent local overcrowding); and
- identifying potential crowd problems (to prevent problems such as public disorder from escalating and leading to overcrowding).

### 3.6.1. Where to monitor

The risk assessment process should identify potential problem areas which will need to be closely monitored. Such areas may include:
- entrances and exits;
- standing areas with a potential for crowd surges or pushing;
- popular stalls, attractions, exhibits and refreshments;
- bottlenecks (e.g. stairs, escalators etc);
- areas where people queue; and
- enclosed or confined areas.

### 3.6.2. How to monitor

**Counting systems**
Counting systems can help to estimate the number of people within a venue. These systems can provide information to staff at the control point about how quickly people are entering and when an area is expected to become full.

Examples of counting systems include:
- hand counters, used at entrances;
- issuing an agreed number of wristbands to allow people to enter particular areas, such as a standing area at a music event;
- turnstiles linked to automatic counting systems; and
- computerized systems linked to sensors at entry points.

The following ways of counting may be more appropriate at venues where there are few defined boundaries, such as open air events where people are continuously arriving and leaving throughout the day:

- sampling flow rates at entrances to estimate numbers entering and/or leaving the venue;
- monitoring of cars and coaches entering the venue and checking how full the parking areas are;
- using closed-circuit television (CCTV) or staff at vantage points to view the crowd and estimate numbers; and
- estimating the number of people based on advanced bookings, transportation schedules or previous experience.

**Staff within the crowd**
This enables staff to experience crowding conditions at first hand. It also enables them to identify signs of distress or tension. Staff on hand can help to assist people or diffuse any dangerous behavior such as jumping onto seats or ‘surfing’ the crowd.

Where monitoring is done by staff stationed at particular posts, they should occupy vantage points where they can scan a sufficiently large area and their lines of sight are not obstructed.

Monitoring can also be carried out by staff patrolling the venue. This is appropriate where crowding problems are likely to develop slowly at particular points within the venue. Staff may be given specific areas to check at regular intervals.

**Closed-circuit television (CCTV)**
CCTV systems can vary from a few fixed cameras at key locations through to extensive coverage using a large number of remote operation cameras with zoom lenses. CCTV allows an overview of sections such as entrances, departure routes and problem areas relayed directly to the control point.

The systems can provide information about the distribution of people in a number of areas and are useful for directing and monitoring crowd management operations. CCTV is particularly useful to monitor areas which would otherwise require a great deal of staffing.  A CCTV system should never be considered as a substitute for good stewarding or other forms of safety management. It should be viewed as a helpful addition.

The CCTV system should be adequately maintained and inspected. There would also be a contingency plan to cover power supply or system failure. For large events, an auxiliary power supply may be appropriate.

## 3.7. Review

At the conclusion of an event, it is important to conduct a review of all aspects of the arrangements that were put in place to manage crowd safety so that any learning can be used for future events to avoid the same mistakes being repeated. It should be conducted as soon as possible after the event has finished to make sure that any learning is fresh in people's minds. Representatives of all organizations involved in the event should take part in the review and the results should be written down so that there is a record of the learning for future events. The headings in this guidance would provide a useful framework to organize the findings of a review.

# 4. CONCLUSIONS

Running a safe and successful event requires event organizers and all relevant agencies to take all the steps set out in this guidance.

A safe and trouble-free event requires good planning from an early stage. This involves gathering information to help identify risks and learn from previous mistakes in a way that gives time to develop effective plans. These plans should include precautions that eliminate or reduce the risk of harm to people attending the event. Plans should be written down and available to all involved in managing the event.

The police and other emergency services should be involved in the planning from an early stage to make sure that there are effective plans and procedures for any emergency that might happen at the event.

The event organizer should review how the successfully the event was managed, recording any learning from the review and making this available to others so that the same mistakes are not repeated. This is particularly pertinent for events that repeat regularly, such as football matches and balloon festivals.

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# ANNEX A

**UK Police Briefing Model.**[15]

| | |
|---|---|
| **I**nformation | Operation timeline, location details, brief history (if applicable) evaluated intelligence, partner and community issues, results of community impact assessment/equality impact assessment. |
| **I**ntention | Gold strategy, tactical plan, available powers and policy. |
| **M**ethod | Tactical plan, available powers and policy, contingency plans. |
| **A**dministration | Identity of commanding officers, specific officer duties, operational policies (eg, protocols, arrest, media) partner responsibilities, duty times and locations, briefing times and locations, health and safety, policing style and dress code. |
| **R**isk assessment | Individual assessment of all relevant risks. |
| **C**ommunications | Mutual aid command protocols, communications plan, radio equipment and channels, call signs, information for public dissemination, contact information. |
| **H**uman rights and other legal issues | Relevant European Convention on Human Rights Articles, rationale for justification of operation, disclosure details. |

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15. https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/operations/briefing-and-debriefing/.

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