POLICING, SAFETY AND MARGINALISATION

Promoting safety while leaving no one behind

ROUNDTABLE REPORT

APCOF
African Policing Civilian Oversight Forum

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11 December 2019, Lagos, Nigeria

APCOF
African Policing Civilian Oversight Forum

FORDFOUNDATION
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Frontlines of Social Change Worldwide*

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Introduction to the roundtable

In December 2019, the African Policing Civilian Oversight Forum (APCOF) and the Ford Foundation convened a roundtable meeting to bring together selected policing, development and criminal justice practitioners from the public sector, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and academic institutions across Africa in order to discuss the criminalisation of poverty and the policing of informal settlements. These themes had emerged from APCOF's latest Ford Foundation-supported publication, *Policing the urban periphery in Africa: Developing safety for the marginal* (2019).

This publication followed the adoption by the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (the African Commission) in 2017 of a set of *Principles on the decriminalisation of petty offences in Africa*, as well as the adoption by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) of a set of *Guidelines on crime and violence prevention* in 2018. In the last three years, then, increasing attention has been paid to these intersecting challenges. Meanwhile, the same overlapping agendas also reinforce the salience of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), along with the commitment to 'leave no one behind' in the pursuit of Agenda 2030.

The three documents also speak to the three interlinking challenges of pursuing effective and accountable policing in Africa. Firstly, over the past decade the continent has experienced incredibly rapid urbanisation, which presents challenges to all forms of government service delivery, including police service delivery. While there has been considerable social activism around the inequalities of service delivery (the Khayelitsha Commission of Inquiry being the culmination of one of the most direct campaigns), more attention needs to be paid to the impact

Prof. Elrena van der Spuy of the University of Cape Town makes an opening input.
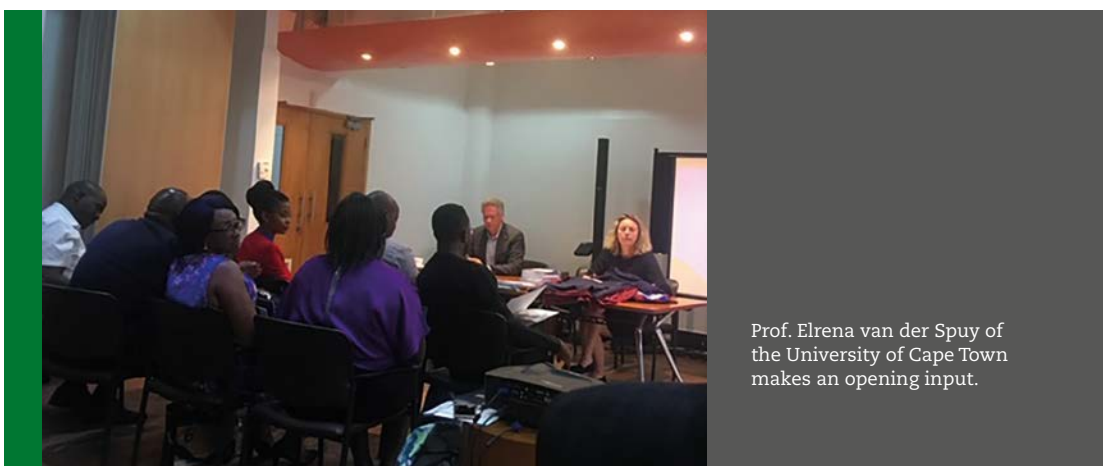
of the form of that urbanisation (informal, peri-urban settlements) on the risks of a wider range of unacceptable police behaviour. Secondly, whereas under-policing is a major challenge in the informal settlements, when people move from the periphery into the more formal areas to try to make a living, we see a very different policing response, namely over-policing and reliance on (often) colonial or other antiquated laws designed to manage movement and prevent massing of the population. Thirdly, in addition to identifying examples of current malpractice on the part of the police, it is also necessary to devise a more developmental response. This can be very direct – the public health consequences of public urination require a public health response of building public lavatories – but the same developmental logic can be applied to broader questions of insecurity. For example, in some cases, local concerns about a particular area at night can be addressed not with intensive policing or through enforcing by-laws against loitering but rather by installing municipal lighting or making other changes to urban architecture.

Three elements of the puzzle

The structure of the day's exchanges on these themes was a simple one, with a session dedicated to each theme. However, guided by introductory remarks offered by **Sean Tait** (APCOF), the discussion during each session was naturally inclined to draw on cross-cutting themes. In this first section of the report, a brief summary is provided of each session.

The urban periphery in Africa and the challenges of policing it

While Africa is not the world's fastest-urbanising region, its urban population has been growing at a rapid rate for several decades. This trend is expected to continue, with Africa's urban population ratio anticipated to increase from around 44% in 2020 to 59% by 2050 (with a majority of Africans living in urban areas by 2025). A very significant proportion of this urban population currently lives in 'slums' or informal settlements, which, for a number of reasons, might be the first connotation of the term 'urban periphery'. However, there are also plenty of other forms of marginalisation that create urban peripheries beyond the boundaries of an informal settlement. Regardless of where it takes place, certain conduct – such as informal trading or sex work – can place individuals on a social periphery. Likewise, some communities find themselves marginalised by virtue of their identity, such as migrants or ethnic minorities.

The discussion of this theme was begun by **Prof. Elrena van der Spuy** of the University of Cape Town, who strongly commended the book, *Policing the urban periphery in Africa: Developing safety for the marginal*, to the audience, but also took the opportunity to problematise the idea that the urban periphery could be a singular place, inviting reflection on the various forms of
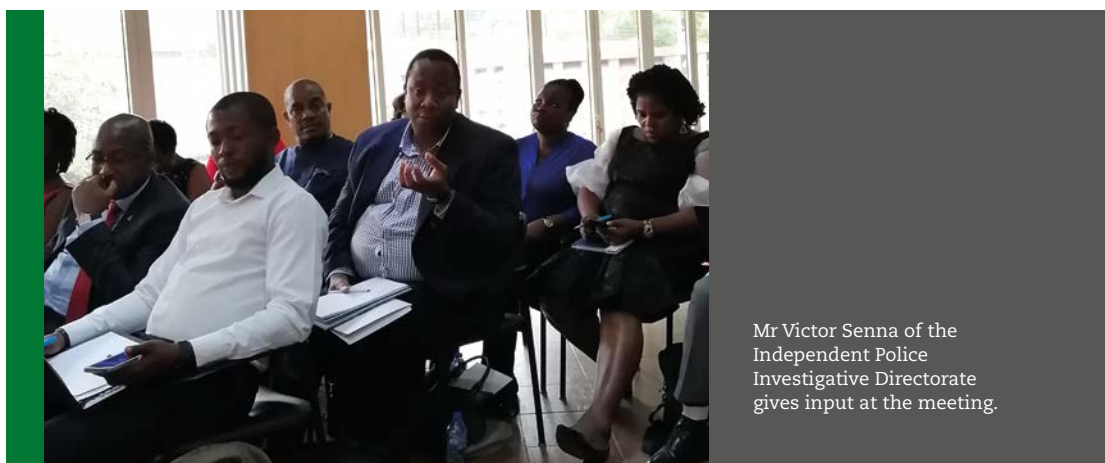
Mr Victor Senna of the Independent Police Investigative Directorate gives input at the meeting.

marginalisation that force people to the periphery. While the borders between these peripheral spaces may seem quite porous and indeterminate, they are in fact (indeed may be partly for that reason) aggressively maintained by the police and through other means. While the mind most readily relates to these borders between physical realities (and the photograph on the cover of the book is a striking example of this), the same applies to other peripheries defined in class, racial, economic, gender or other terms.

An important insight was provided in the presentation by **Senior Deputy Commissioner Dennis Chipao** of the Malawi Police Service, who, in the aforementioned book, contributed a chapter presenting both disaggregated crime data from various police stations in Lilongwe and the direct impressions of serving police officers (of various ranks) on the different challenges posed by policing informal areas of the city. Interviews revealed that the police tended to regard informal settlements as the source of criminality in other, wealthier parts of the city. Furthermore, the police were of the opinion that, whereas the crime brought to these areas was principally property-based, the issues responded to in the informal areas tended to be more violence-related and included sexual violence. To a certain extent, the recorded police data substantiated these perceptions, with substantially higher levels of all crime being reported in a handful of formal 'areas' of Lilongwe, and a large proportion of that crime comprising property-related offences. As was noted, however, in a plea for further, deeper research, this could be as much to do with reporting rates and access to justice as with actual differences in the nature of crime.

At various points during the session, the practicalities of policing informal settlements were discussed. These include the very physical, such as difficulties moving into some areas in a police vehicle, with the result that the police need to approach on foot, or the extent to which the fabric of buildings in informal settlements tends to be inherently less secure than in more formal neighbourhoods. There are also practicalities linked with more human factors, such as the fact that informal settlements tend to be quite poorly mapped, and, as a consequence, providing directions to a crime scene or obtaining clarity about the parameters of a crime hotspot can be challenging. Moreover, there are also policing realities arising from the previous two factors in combination, for example the reluctance of the police to release an individual on bail who has no fixed address or whose address is unrecognised by official systems.

Anneke Meerkotter of the Southern Africa Litigation Centre provided the third input to the session, highlighting that patterns of exclusion in modern African cities reflect the inevitable outcome of a crude capitalist system that simply builds rather than renovating and rejuvenating urban centres, thereby leading to gradual decline. Noting the lessons of 'constitutional morality', Meerkotter warned that we must retain a focus on why people want policing in the first place: if people do not perceive themselves to be benefitting from the social contract, then their consent will diminish. This introduced a theme that would recur during the session on petty offences, namely that, in places where economic adaptation leads to a by-law no longer making sense to the population, it becomes normatively acceptable to break that law, which ultimately leads to a breakdown in the rule of law.

Throughout the discussion of this theme, the issue of what was referred to by Prof. Van der Spuy as '*interdependencies of inequality*' was a recurring one. This prompts us to reflect both on the broader questions of inequality and development (broadly contained in Goal 10 of the Sustainable Development Agenda), and on the character of other forms of marginalisation and vulnerability that might exist within the urban periphery, but also extend beyond it.

Decriminalising petty offences

Many of the presentations during the previous session had already touched on the issues that would be discussed in greater detail (and from a more practical perspective of planned

or ongoing advocacy) during the second session. The essence of the problem was that of addressing the consequences of a form of 'social regulation' that had led to the criminalisation of life-sustaining activities in public spaces. Some of these acts of regulation have antiquated roots in colonial laws, but, as had already been discussed, seeing this purely as a question of colonial legacy is to miss an important need for advocacy aimed at changing *current* public perceptions.

Hope Bunori and **Justine Balya** of the Human Rights Awareness and Promotion Forum (HRAPF) in Uganda began the session by offering the example of the campaign that their organisation has been leading concerning the crime of vagrancy. As they noted, the campaign was prompted by the very high number of recorded arrests by the Ugandan police for a range of different petty charges. According to statistics presented by the HRAPF, fewer than 30% of these arrests were followed by prosecution, and only 40% of those prosecutions (i.e. 12% of arrests) resulted in a conviction – always as a result of a confession. The issue garnered political attention at the highest level, with the President in 2016 directing the police not to arrest under section 167 of the Penal Code (being idle and disorderly). However, as has been found elsewhere in relation to campaigns of decriminalisation, the police quickly took to using section 168 or section 160 (being a rogue and vagabond or a common nuisance). In 2019, the President issued a new directive not to arrest on these charges either, but, in the view of those organising the current campaign, these proclamations need to be formalised. As a result, various organisations are mobilising petitions to Parliament in this regard. One challenge that they face, however, is the lack of social awareness on the part of the broad middle class or political elites of the impact of the issue.

There followed two presentations about the situation in Nigeria, the first by **Ogechi Ogu** of the NGO, Prisoner Rehabilitation and Welfare Action (PRAWA). She placed the criminalisation of poverty in Nigeria in the context of a long-running criticism that socio-economic rights in Chapter II of the Nigerian Constitution were made non-justiciable. In line with a form of marginalisation and potential vulnerability discussed during the previous session (but one not exclusive to the urban periphery), the focus turned to sex work. As a recent example of the abuses that flow from this, Ogu highlighted the police raids on various nightclubs in Abuja in May 2019 during which women who were dressed 'provocatively' were harassed. She also noted that, during the Universal Periodic Reviews (UPRs) of Nigeria's human rights performance by the United Nations Human Rights Council, various countries had made recommendations to reform criminal laws that adversely impact the poor or marginalised. However, like previous speakers, she stressed the limitations of an approach based only on legal reform – law enforcement officials also have to be sensitised to the changes. Likewise, the population needs to be sensitised in order to prevent it from trying to use the police for civil law matters, for example turning to the police for the collection of debts (such as landlords using the police to collect rent).

This reinforced an observation made earlier in the morning, namely that another dimension of the problem is the social response that justifies over-criminalisation, which is often something emanating *from* the community. The recent legislative efforts to combat HIV – accompanied by high levels of public support – by introducing criminal sanctions for spreading the infection are but one example that can be considered in this context. Until this mentality is confronted, decriminalisation of specific offences is unlikely to have a dramatic impact.

The second Nigerian presentation was made by **Emmanuel Ikule** of the Network on Police Reform in Nigeria (the NOPRIN Foundation), a Foundation which brought out a publication earlier in the year on police compliance with the Administration of Criminal Justice Act. This publication charts the efforts to move from a punitive towards a restorative approach to criminal justice, as well as the creation of a system capable of speedily dispensing justice in a way that will restore public confidence. The Act has been domesticated in about 24 of Nigeria's

36 states. However, the NOPRIN Foundation's research suggests that there is still a general lack of awareness of a number of aspects, for example that bail is freely obtainable – in many police stations the impression is created among detained persons that something is needed in addition. Ikule also highlighted that the type of police officer routinely trained by human rights organisations in issues such as these is not necessarily the police officer who is routinely on the streets where most of the problematic conduct occurs.

Rounding off the second session, **Chumile Sali** of APCOF and **Janelle Mangwanda** of Africa Criminal Justice Reform (ACJR) introduced to the audience a campaign in South Africa – prompted by reports that emerged in June 2019 that officials of the City of Cape Town were fining homeless people – that was launched symbolically on World Homeless Day on 10 October. The campaign advocates a social-justice and harm-reduction approach to vagrancy and the associated challenges. This will need to include not only an attempt to reshape the public narrative, but also a multi-stakeholder process that considers the role of the police, courts and prosecutors in finding alternatives to arrest and detention. Interestingly, the meeting was informed that the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster of the South African government was already considering this issue, prompted at least in part by the issue of overcrowding in prisons (and hence by pressure to improve performance with respect to another SDG Indicator, namely 16.3.2 on pre-trial detention). The meeting in Lagos was in fact taking place on the very same day that the High Court in Cape Town upheld an interdict preventing the City of Cape Town from issuing fines pending a Constitutional Court review of two by-laws relating to public spaces and waste management.

A developmental approach to safety (crime and violence prevention)

The third and final session comprised fewer formal presentations, partly because the core content is largely contained in the recently adopted documents discussed at the outset. **Mubita Nawa** of INTERPOL Southern Africa introduced the *Guidelines on Crime and Violence Prevention* adopted by the SADC in 2018 and which, earlier in 2019, were launched together with an implementation guide by the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Co-operation Organisation (SARPCCO). Nawa emphasised that the background to the Guidelines, which looked to extend the notion of safety as a developmental priority beyond the criminal justice system and also understand it in the context of broader themes such as rapid urbanisation, high unemployment, income inequality, and poor health and educational outcomes, overlapped very clearly with SADC's Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO). He applauded the process of developing the Guidelines (in which many in the room, including APCOF, had played a role), and especially the initiative of parallel programmes to develop the Guidelines at the

Hope Bunori and Justine Balya of the Human Rights Awareness and Promotion Forum (HRAPF).
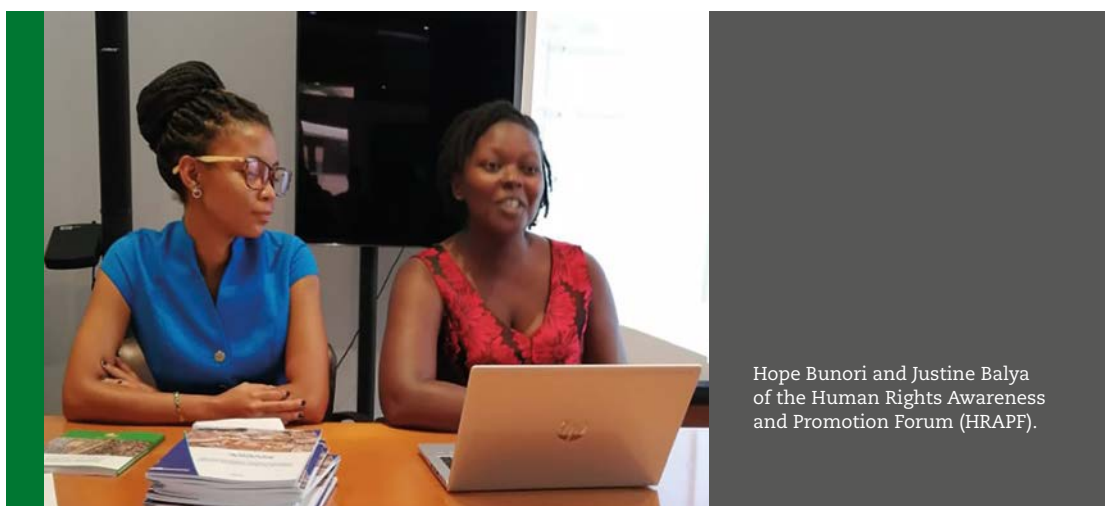
same time as an implementation plan. This, he indicated, was a very practical approach which would hopefully soon be put into practice.

Following this presentation, **Sosthenes Makuri** of INTERPOL East Africa applauded the initiative taken by Southern African colleagues and stated that he looked forward to a similar process being taken forward by the analogous organ in East Africa, namely the East African Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (EAPCCO). Drawing on one illustrative risk factor, he highlighted the work already done in the subregion concerning small arms and light weapons. He noted that Kenya had recently destroyed more than eight thousand illegal firearms as well as ammunition collected from civilians in disarmament drives. He also highlighted that both the SADC and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have protocols in place regulating illicit firearms with a view to clamping down on the flow of small arms and light weaponry that contributes to violence. Moreover, he suggested that this may be another example that EAPCCO should emulate. Doing so would be one means of contributing (at least in terms of frameworks) to the achievement of progress with respect to SDG Indicator 16.4.1.

The entire session – like the SADC Guidelines and various other recent documents in this policy area (including, for example, the South African White Paper on Safety and Security) –drew heavily on the socio-ecological approach to understanding violence. This approach considers the individual, relationships, the community, and society and is useful for understanding the multidimensional nature of violence as well as the various risk factors associated with victims and perpetrators.

The ecological framework: Examples of risk factors at each level

Available at: https://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/ecology/en/
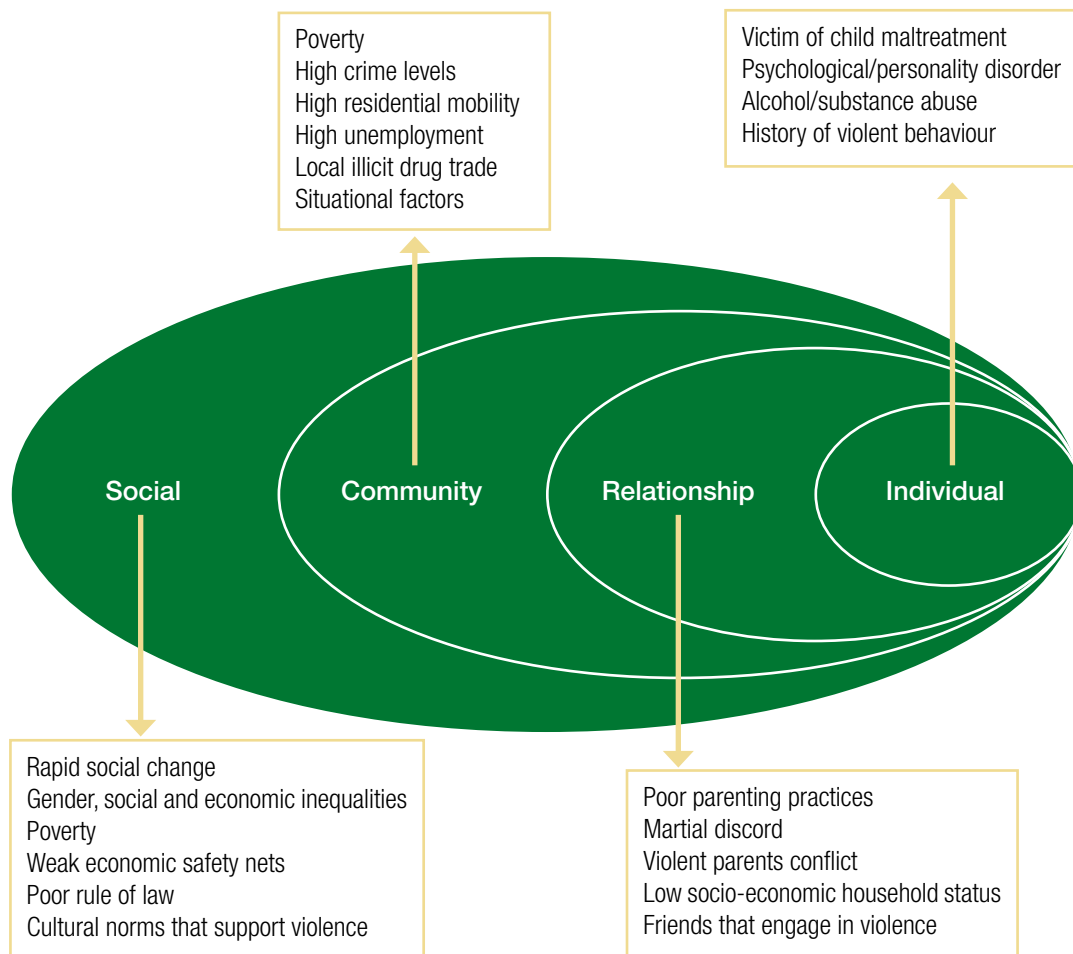
When understood in this way, it becomes clear that, while law enforcement must play a vital role in protecting people from violence, it cannot do so alone, because a great many of the risk factors in respect of violence lie well outside law enforcement's proper ambit. Social workers focusing on early-childhood development, schoolteachers, community workers, urban planners, and municipal authorities must also play their role. Likewise, at a higher level, national government policy must address fundamental structural or societal issues such as inequality.

The ecological model places the individual at the centre of these spheres and recognises a range of factors that either increase the risk of that individual engaging in criminal or violent behaviour or might protect him or her from being involved in anti-social behaviour. It is fundamentally a developmental approach that seeks to understand crime and violence as a developmental process across a person's lifespan and acknowledges that there are a variety of factors or influencers that interact in the commission of criminal or violent acts. The family environment also impacts on certain individual factors. Similarly, the community environment may have an impact, and so each sphere has a series of cross-cutting influencers, all of which interact to influence the factors that result in individuals being likely to experience greater or lesser risks of becoming involved in, or being affected by, crime and violence.

One societal risk factor that was discussed in detail in a presentation by the Chairperson of Kenya's Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA), **Anne Makori**, was that of youth unemployment. She cited statistics produced by the African Development Bank suggesting that, of Africa's nearly 420 million youths, a third are unemployed and another third are only precariously employed. Youths in Africa are subjected to double the unemployment rate of adults across the continent. As Makori noted, for several categories of crime, there is a strong correlation between perpetration and unemployment.

There were also helpful crossover comments related to this theme that arose during the discussion of the urban periphery. As part of the conversation on intersecting inequalities, it was observed that the periphery should not been seen as monolithic, for, within particular communities, different populations can have different safety needs. For example, it was suggested that, in the case of women on the Cape Flats outside Cape Town, their most pressing safety need – and this despite all the headlines about gang violence – related to domestic violence.

Emerging cross-cutting themes

The central purpose of the meeting was to underline that these three elements of the problem (all of which have, as the presentations throughout the day made clear, been receiving separate attention from a wide range of stakeholders) can, and should, be viewed as manifestations of similar underlying issues. In this section of the report, we review some of these cross-cutting themes.

Problems that require more than just the police to resolve

Across all three conversations, the issue of inequality was central. As Meerkotter highlighted, for the social contract to work, all citizens need to be able to access its benefits (and, in particular, to access state resources). People currently approach the police with social problems because there are no social services. If social services were to be offered, people would then stop entrusting the police with problems that the police cannot resolve. This, in turn, would increase public trust/confidence in the police. Problems such as youth unemployment require far broader developmental priorities, and thus a reorientation across government.

This broader concern interlinks (but not exclusively) with the caution expressed by **Prof. Etanabi Alemika**, both in his chapter in *Policing the urban periphery in Africa: Developing safety for the marginal* and underlined during his closing remarks at the Conference, about not taking a police-centric or police-only approach and, instead, embracing the idea of plural or hybrid policing.

A countervailing risk, however, is that police chiefs and others in positions of accountability for police failures will too readily seize on the potential to place the blame on other government departments or on developmental challenges. While the police can make an immensely valuable contribution to a multi-stakeholder process and can guide priorities based on what they see very directly 'on the street', the police's function remains one of preventing and detecting crime as well as of protecting the rights of citizens in the *current* environment, whatever that may be.

As Prof. Alemika emphasised, a balance needs to be struck between these two poles. The solution may be to moderate our expectations of what the police can do, but then focus on greater accountability if they fail to meet these more realistic expectations.

Accountability and governance

In noting the important role that oversight organisations might play in bringing together the core themes of the discussion, it was helpful to hear a specific presentation on this topic during the day by Anne Makori, Chairperson of the IPOA in Kenya. She, **Victor Senna**, Acting Director of South Africa's Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID) and **Ermelin George**, Secretary of the Sierra Leone Independent Police Complaints Board (IPCB) also took questions about the work of their various bodies concerning investigations, as well as their work highlighting concerns about police morale and police welfare.

Building on Prof. Alemika's suggestion regarding realistic expectations, it was stated that it would be helpful to reflect on the modalities informing police conduct: standard operating procedures (SOPs), oversight and monitoring, and accountability. With this in mind, targeted reforms should be aimed at all three levels: setting the parameters of police conduct by informing the drafting of SOPs (e.g. with respect to dealing with by-law infractions), initiatives aimed at more comprehensive monitoring of police compliance by way of such SOPs, and ensuring robust, independent mechanisms that result in officers being held accountable for transgressions. As Meerkotter observed during the discussion of petty offences, in addition to law reform, there is a need to challenge policing practices (such as 'sweeping' operations) that are almost always unlawful under the existing law of criminal procedure.

Ms Anne Makori (IPOA Board Chair) and Sean Tait of APCOF.

It is also worth highlighting some of the practical challenges that resourcing poses to accountability in certain places. In this regard, in *Policing the urban periphery in Africa: Developing safety for the marginal* , attention is drawn to Malawi where a simple matter such as a lack of functioning police radios makes direct command and control, and therefore internal accountability, all the more challenging.

Technology and resources aside, it is also the case that, in many countries across the continent, the police are held to a standard of poorly designed performance indicators that create perverse incentives for inefficient policing, or the counterproductive over-policing, of certain offences.

Trust and legitimacy

The consequences of decades of arbitrary police behaviour, such as the excessive use of force, neglect of large segments of the population, incredibly aggressive tactical responses, and the harassment and brutality meted out to informal traders, sex workers or other potentially vulnerable populations, throw the issue of police legitimacy into stark relief. This, then, poses material challenges to the methodology envisioned by the developmental approach – especially at local level – that relies on close and frank exchanges between communities and the police in order to satisfy and respond to safety needs.

The fact that the police are presently often blamed for broader failings of the social contract at national level can, as discussed above, impact broad perceptions of police legitimacy. In addition, though, issues of public trust in the police can be more local in nature. (The discussion of community policing, identifiable officers, endeavouring to ensure positive community engagement, etc., seems to centre more on this localised question of 'trust' rather than the more macro, national issue of the legitimacy of the police as the 'long arm' of the state.)

The determinants of police legitimacy and public trust in the police are not well understood in an African context. In addition, we do not have a great deal of evidence as to how certain kinds of police reform can impact such legitimacy and trust. However, the importance of the issue of public trust in the police for broader questions of access to justice is emphasised by the inclusion of an indicator, as part of Target 16.3, about the likelihood of victims of violent crime reporting their victimisation to the police.

In terms of legitimacy, as expressed during the meeting, part of the problem is that so much of policing is regime policing. At the more local level, that is, the population's day-to-day experience of policing, as much of a determinant of trust is surely levels of police corruption. The chapter in *Policing the urban periphery in Africa: Developing safety for the marginal* by **Polycarp Ngufor Forkum** draws attention to the staggering levels of such corruption in the example of Cameroon. Again, Goal 16 explicitly makes this connection, with the inclusion of two corruption indicators under Target 16.5. However, there are a number of challenges in collecting accurate baseline data on this.

A sensitive approach to policing (discretion)

In the context of the conversation concerning decriminalisation, it is important to maintain a focus on the role played by the police. During the course of the day at several points, it was highlighted that a piecemeal approach to decriminalisation will be ineffective because, in many cases, if police officers want to find criminal conduct, they will do so – decriminalising one offence and conducting specific advocacy in respect of it will simply leave police officers relying on a different offence. This suggests that the target of advocacy needs to be broader: attitudinal change needs to be sought at a societal level (on which, more below), but even within

the police service it is worth exploring the extent of police officers' discretion not to arrest and not to charge people for conduct that may only technically be a breach of the law.

Police officers often resist this, arguing that it is not their job to determine what the law is, only to enforce it, but this is to overlook the extensive grey area conjoining what the law says and how the law is put into practice. There is a very fine (and meaningful) distinction between discretion and discrimination, and officers should be proactively engaged concerning these topics – bearing in mind the developmental approach as well. One effective way of doing this may be to sensitise officers to the evidence of the implications for future criminal conduct of exposure to the custodial dimension of the criminal justice system.

One corollary of this is also to sensitise the police to a broader range of considerations in order to inform their strategic thinking in terms of priority crimes. The kind of qualitative work presented by Commissioner Chipao from Malawi highlights the type of perceptions that exist within the rank and file with respect to the prevalence of certain crimes in different areas, but a more sensitive approach would highlight an important *range* of crimes, not only street crimes.

Another important element of sensitive policing is gender-sensitive policing. In the context of the themes reviewed here, perhaps the most direct implications of this relate to the policing of sex work and the approach to combating domestic violence. Both of these are policy areas that, in many countries on the continent, could benefit from better police policies and training, and from mainstreaming a focus on harm reduction and victims' rights.

Giving a voice to the local community

Several chapters in *Policing the urban periphery in Africa: Developing safety for the marginal*, and several of the discussions during the day, highlighted the continued affinity of many in this sector for variants of community policing initiatives. While cognisant of the risk of too readily embracing reform jargon, the recurrence of this particular generation of police-reform thinking revolves, to a greater or lesser extent, round its fundamental principle, that is, the centrality of a multi-stakeholder approach to safety at a local level that involves schools, local businesses, community leaders and others.

Despite widespread acceptance of this fundamental principle, it remains true that, too often, conversations about police reform and about other safety-related developmental priorities take place without the voice of the people most directly affected being taken into account. On the other hand, the resulting reforms are not effectively communicated to the people (as the examples raised throughout the day of widespread public misperceptions regarding cash bail illustrate).

A related, though distinct, development would be for the criminal justice system to take the voice of the victim more seriously. This may take many forms. From a procedural perspective, the Victim Protection Act (2014) in Kenya and the resultant implementation efforts were pointed to during the meeting and provide an interesting example. However, broader questions concerning the role of restorative justice across the continent are also informative.

Another important issue is to pay due consideration to both the perception of safety and more tangible indicators of success such as reported crime rates. The inclusion of a perception indicator within Target 16.1 is a useful reminder that for, broader developmental benefits to follow, people need not only to be safe, but also to feel safe. Again, this is an issue that is poorly researched in an African context. We do not have reliable data on, for example, the variance between safety perception in urban as opposed to rural settings in Africa or on the impact that various forms of social intervention might have on fear of crime.

Bringing the public with us

In addition to giving a voice to affected populations and taking their perceptions seriously, it is important to communicate effectively to the public the rationale behind the various thrusts of reform envisioned in this space. At various points throughout the day, for example, it was emphasised that effective advocacy for legal reform with respect to the decriminalisation of petty offences would need to sensitise the public and thus change the narrative regarding life-sustaining activities in public spaces. An interesting parallel highlighted in this regard is the campaign around ending female genital mutilation (FGM) in Nigeria. While the campaign is aimed at bringing about comprehensive legislation relating to FGM, those involved are also fully aware that the extent of its success will depend on buy-in by relevant communities.

In addition to the public, and related to the discussion about policymaking beyond the police, it is important that the rest of government be involved. Concern was expressed during the discussion of the SADC Guidelines that it is unclear for whom they have been drawn up, as it is not obvious what practical takeaways there are for the police. The same concern was expressed about the South African White Paper on Safety and Security, of which the Civilian Secretariat for Police Service is the custodian, but which speaks as much to the necessary commitments on the part of government departments responsible for housing, schools and social services.

Cementing safety into the urban agenda

One policy area in which safety needs must be firmly established, linking both the developmental approach and the conversation about the urban periphery, is urban planning. SDG 11, with its ambition of making cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable, has rhetorically adopted this imperative, but, in many cases, the practical directions are unclear.

Involving the police and other safety practitioners in early conversations about the development of new urban spaces seems an obvious first step, but there are also initiatives linked to existing settlements that could help significantly – simply improving the quality of mapping and other record-keeping of municipal infrastructure would make a coordinated response much easier.

One policy area in which the interlinkages between the themes discussed during the meeting seem particularly pertinent is the now well-established field of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). While some initiatives conceived from this perspective have been able to achieve a noteworthy impact in terms of certain crime indicators, they have also

Prof. Etannibi Alemika provides a closing summation.

often been criticised both from a purposive perspective (that it is gentrification or beautification masquerading as social development) and an evidentiary perspective (with the suspicion being that the initiatives are simply dislocating criminal activity further into the periphery). Ensuring that the perspectives of affected communities, as well as insights from the police-accountability community, are included in planning may well contribute to the initiatives concerned being more readily accepted and implemented.

This community perspective is vital in order to ensure that incorrect lessons are not drawn from criminological research into 'broken windows', which all too easily becomes an excuse for over-policing already vulnerable communities and further alienating the police from those whose engagement will be vital to finding durable solutions.

Further research into risk factors (in Africa)

The purpose of the meeting was to bring together experts on three clearly interrelated, but often operationally distinct, themes with a view to exploring areas of common interest and gaps in relevant knowledge. It is therefore not surprising that at least one takeaway from the meeting is a research agenda (perhaps for the next meeting) aimed at better understanding safety needs. On the urban periphery, and indeed on many other peripheries, a clearer understanding of safety concerns, and of the practical consequences of current policing practice, could lead to a more sensitive and ultimately more effective approach.

Moreover, a clearer understanding of the factors contributing to insecurity on the urban periphery, and of broader safety concerns within potentially vulnerable populations, can (with the benefit of an open and responsive approach by local government) contribute to evidence-based policymaking that could be transformative in a number of ways.
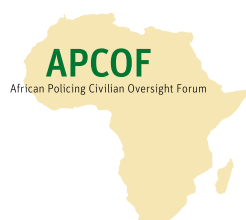
Again, the voices of the community should actively inform this research agenda, but as a non-exhaustive first step, a greater understanding of traffic flows and municipal transport infrastructure, the part played by local enterprise and business permits, the licensing of alcohol, the allocation of housing, and building permits could all have a role to play.

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Mr Rommy Mom	Hon. Commissioner, Human Rights Police Service Commission
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Ms Hope Bunori	Human Rights Awareness and Promotion Forum (HRAPF)
Ms Justine Balya	Human Rights Awareness and Promotion Forum (HRAPF)
Commissioner Dr Gassan Abess	Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone (HRCSL)
Ms Emerlin George	Independent Police Complaints Board (ICPB) Sierra Leone
Mr Victor Senna	Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID)
Ms Anne Makori	Independent Police Oversight Authority (IPOA)
Mr Gedion Kimilu	INTERPOL
Mr Mubita Nawa	INTERPOL – Regional Bureau for Southern Africa
Mr Fortune Junior Madume	INTERPOL – Regional Bureau for West Africa
Mr Sosthenes Makuri	INTERPOL/EAPCCO Secretariat
Mr Martin Ray Taban Mavenjina	Kenya Human Rights Commission
Commissioner George Morara Monyoncho	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
Mr Dennis Chipao	Malawi Police Service
Ms Patricia Makau	Network of African National Human Rights Institutions (NANHRI)
Mr Emmanuel Ikule	Network on Police Reform in Nigeria (NOPRIN Foundation)
Mr Adrien Tossa Montcho	NGO Memes Droits pour Tous

Name	Organisation
Dr Uju Agomoh	Prisoner Rehabilitation and Welfare Action (PRAWA)
Ms Damaris Seina Karanja	Raoul Wallenberg Institute (RWI)
Ms Anneke Meerkotter	South African Litigation Centre (SALC)
Ms Ruth Sekindi	Uganda Human Rights Commission
Prof. Elrena van der Spuy	University of Cape Town – Centre of Criminology
Prof. Etannibi Alemika	University of Jos – Department of Sociology
Prof. Pramod Kamur	CLEEN Foundation/Afro-Asia Association for Justice Development
Mr S K Sharma	CLEEN Foundation/Afro-Asia Association for Justice Development