

COMMUNITY POLICING IN A POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY: A CASE

STUDY OF POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA

BY

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DEDICATION

To my late father and all his descendants who are no longer with us. To my late brother Vincent Inzirabwoba who died in the early days of the R.P.F. struggle and through him, to all the fallen comrades. You will all always provide the inspiration to struggle for the cause you stood for and the love for our motherland.

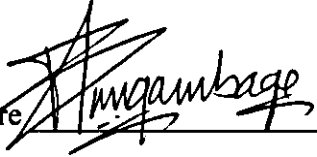
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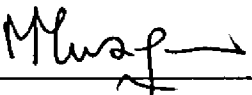
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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Frank Mugambage : Signature  Date: 12/11/2005

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University supervisor.

Makumi Mwagiru, Ph.D.: Signature:  Date: 12/11/05

ABSTRACT

This is a study of *community policing in a post conflict society based on the case of Rwanda in the aftermath of the genocide.*

The study sought to investigate the conditions that led to the adoption of community policing approach in Rwanda and the process of implementing the program. The study also evaluated the effectiveness of community policing model in resolving the security problems of the day.

The study has established that indeed community policing as applied in Rwanda has registered significant successes in dealing with unique problems such as insurgency which would have proved insurmountable if contemporary approaches had been applied.

It was also established that a holistic approach to seeking solutions to security problems, being proactive and adopting community solutions proved more effective than the bureaucratic approaches. Community policing approach provided solutions to complex problems such as the delivering of justice to the large numbers of perpetrators of genocide and hence providing a foundation for state reconstruction.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to the national leadership of the Republic of Rwanda for having offered me a great opportunity and granted me all the necessary support, material and moral in the course of my studies at the National Defense College, Kenya.

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My supervisor, Dr. Makumi Mwangi, whose intellectual guidance was most critical in my academic project, I will keep in touch.

Finally I am most grateful to my family, my wife Melanie who made my absence at home not be felt with business going on as usual, my children Gabiro, Manzi and Ingabire for challenging me by constantly demanding to know if I was performing as I always demand of them, and keeping me in touch with “Kuhn” whom I introduced to them, and their mother for taking good care of them.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Policing is a necessary requirement of any social order. Indeed throughout history all societies have had recourse to policing, in one form or another, to ensure social order and stability. However modern policing has its origins in Britain. The modern institution of the police came as a response to new threats to social order caused by the industrial revolution.¹ One of the significant threats was the breakdown in traditional community mores and values as once close-knit societies disintegrated under the onslaught of competition, individualism and materialism engendered by capitalism.

Consequently, whereas pre-modern societies throughout the ages had maintained social order through the active participation of every community member the advent of capitalism changed this. In essence, policing became institutionalized and bureaucratized through the emergence of a special cadre of people, solely responsible for maintaining social order, that was gradually perceived as a class apart from the rest of the population.

This shift from the traditional (communal) to modern policing created a gap that left some dimensions of policing that had been catered for in the traditional approach outside the police institution approach. For instance, it was the responsibility of every member of society not only to individually uphold positive social values but also to help in checking the excesses of other members. In that way negative behavior was easily detected and contained before it could spread as each one was expected to be the guardian of a society's values.

The modern policing approach tends to focus exclusively on the police as the only guarantor of social order, in the process ignoring the critical role of the rest of society. Over time a paradox evolved whereby the failure by the modern police to maintain social order was blamed on police inefficiency. Yet as has been pointed out by some scholars

¹ Hobshawn. E, *Industry and Empire*, London: Penguin, 1968, p. 68

and practitioners in police affairs such as Reiner not all that is policing can be found in the police.² Indeed the history of policing in Britain indicates that the success of policing in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was due to consideration of the wider dimensions of policing that included community involvement in tackling crime. It has been argued by scholars like Dunham and Alpert that the police alone cannot create and maintain social order³.

Undoubtedly social order is a complex phenomenon that cannot be accomplished by a single agency like the police. The dilemma that has existed for a long time is to locate the responsibility for maintaining social order exclusively within the police institution. But the failure to realize the core function of the institution, namely the maintenance of law and order and the preservation of peace, has led to a reconsideration of the approach. This has led to the emergence of an alternative approach, commonly referred to as the concept of community policing.

Community policing can be referred to as a new approach to policing in which the professional police can adapt to a world in which its efforts are complemented by other stakeholders, including the public. It is against this background that this study intends to examine the evolution of policing in Rwanda. Indeed a casual examination of policing in Rwanda reveals the application of various paradigms at different times. For instance policing in both colonial and post-colonial Rwanda was characterized by the

² See Reiner Robert, *The Politics of the Police*, 3rd ed, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

³ Dunham G. Roger and Alpert P. Geoffrey (eds), *Critical Issues in Policing, Contemporary Reading*, 2nd ed, Miami: Waveland Press, Inc, 1993, p-367.

traditional approach in which the police institution had the sole responsibility for maintaining social order and often employed coercive measures to achieve this objective.

Consequently, as a result of their repressive actions and pursuit of sectarian interests (serving the interests of the political elite) a large section of the society was alienated from, and became antagonistic towards, the police, thus denying the community involvement in maintaining social order. Further the police institution was even accused of complicity and participation in the genocide thus compounding the distrust that already existed between the police and other community members. Indeed this modern approach which ignored the community's input became inefficient as it was compromised by political interests including sectarianism, impunity, nepotism, corruption and secrecy that were conducive to the perpetration of genocide in Rwanda.

The post-1994 Rwandan government, in its efforts at national reconstruction and nation-building, found it necessary to adopt an approach that involved the community in the maintenance of social order. The new approach had to be informed by the need to cultivate trust and cooperation between the police and the ordinary citizens so as to facilitate efforts at nation-building and restore the social order that had broken down as a result of the genocide. It was predicated on the assumption that there was great determination in post genocide Rwanda to rebuild, and nation-building needed novel ways of dealing with sensitive issues such as the maintenance of social order, especially in an atmosphere characterized by suspicion, fear and mistrust such as the one spawned by the genocide. Thus was born the idea of community policing in Rwanda.

Community policing in Rwanda has several components. First it recognizes that citizens have an important role to play in the maintenance of social order. Consequently attempts have been made to establish partnerships between the police, the communities, and other actors like private security companies, local administration councils and civil society organizations. Secondly attempts have been made to promote citizen participation in the decision making process at the grassroots level including identification of security problems faced by their communities and designing mechanisms to address them. Thirdly, these attempts to develop partnerships have been institutionalized through a legal framework at different levels including the National Constitution, the Police Act, and the Local Authorities Act among others.

Statement of the research problem

Post-conflict societies face many reconstruction challenges and Rwanda is no exception. The most immediate challenge in the aftermath of the genocide was the restoration and maintenance of law and order. The police institution, which traditionally was supposed to play this role, suffered from a credibility gap as a result of past repressive practices, but more importantly because the police had actively participated in the genocide. Furthermore, the genocide coupled with decades of political mismanagement that preceded it, had led to institutional decay, in effect reversing the role of the police from protectors into abusers of the citizen's physical security.

All these complications notwithstanding, the people of Rwanda required the maintenance of law and order that would in turn ensure security, and a police service to guarantee it. In order to inspire confidence and bridge the credibility gap between the citizens and the police a different policing approach had to be sought. As opposed to the

traditional approach that dichotomized the police and the ordinary citizens, privileged the former above the latter, and involved the latter minimally in its strategy of maintaining law and order, the community policing approach aimed to emphasize partnership between the community and the police.

Accordingly, the Rwandan government undertook to reform the police and to adopt the community-policing approach. At the core of the approach is the desire to involve the community in the maintenance of law and order through improved community-police relationships, information provision by the community and coordination in the formulation and implementation of strategies. This study investigates the evolution and effectiveness of the community-policing approach in Rwanda. A key guiding question of the study will be whether ten years down the line the community-policing approach has made any positive contribution to the security situation of Rwandan citizens.

Objectives of the study

Broadly stated, the study examines the process of the implementation of community policing in Rwanda, and its effectiveness in improving police performance and guaranteeing security for all citizens. Specifically the study intends to:

1. Assess the process of implementation of community policing in post-1994 Rwanda.
2. Examine the effectiveness of community policing in post-1994 Rwanda.

Justification of study

This study can be justified on two grounds: policy and academic. Policy-wise the study intends to inform policy-makers about the importance and challenges involved in

the implementation of community policing. This is especially important given the fact that community policing is a relatively new concept in the police fraternity in Africa. Manning talked about community policing as a popular attempt to reform the police to address the shortcomings of the bureaucratic approach and also cater for diverse emerging challenges in many parts of the world beginning from the 1990s (post-Cold War period)⁴. Yet there can be no doubt that human security poses more challenges in Africa than in any other part of the world. The reasons for this are several and they include undemocratic regimes, poverty, corruption, ethnicity and misplaced priorities. This calls for a need to invent new approaches in fighting crime and ensuring social order. The case study of Rwanda is especially pertinent to conflict-ridden Africa given the fact that it focuses on a post-genocide society, which nearly the whole of the continent has the potential of developing into. Academically the study aims to contribute to an emergent but as yet not fully explored field. It is anticipated that the findings of the study will contribute to the literature on community policing.

Literature review

The literature on policing is extensive. The literature reveals the gaps that exist in the modern approach towards policing and hence the need for the shift towards community policing. Further the literature also presents the various debates revolving around the concept of community policing.

⁴ Manning P, *Police Work*, (2nd ed), Prospect Heights, I.L, Waveland Press, 1997, p-11.

History of Policing

To understand the current urge for reforms in the modern policing approach and the shift towards community policing, it is important to look at the history of the police in order to contextualize the social control functions of the wider society.⁵ Modern policing, which has its origins in Britain, as a form of social control represents a very recent approach in society's attempts to control deviant behavior. The institution of the police came as a response to the emerging threats to social order posed by the industrial revolution.

Before the emergence of the modern police, societies depended on informal social control mechanisms based on communal relations. But the pressures of the industrial revolution necessitated a new system of control. A punitive approach based on an established criminal code was adopted by the authorities and the police, as a special category of people charged with the maintenance of social order, emerged. To some, the police was seen as an instrument of the ruling class to dominate and suppress the interests and opposition of the working class who constituted the majority of the population. For instance, it has been argued that the capitalists pressed for a need for controlling riots which had become a common way of expressing demoralization and despair by the working class against exploitation⁶.

Over a period of time the free market economic system altered the social context by moving away from attempts at social equality. This led to distortions in the fabric of society that eroded assumptions about the idea of community; in essence material

⁵ Ibid, pp. 16-17

⁶ Reiner Robert, 3rd ed, *The Politics of the Police*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 17.

inequality within society made police work nearly impossible, in the sense that while it was supported by certain sections of society others revealed an apathy towards police work or overt hostility. Yet the police can only succeed if there is a social order arising from contributions of other members of the society⁷. Subsequently the police institution, over time, was challenged for being ineffective, and its legitimacy dwindled, because of its perceived failure to perform its core function of the maintenance of social order.

The police were required to perform two difficult tasks: creation and maintenance of social order. This misconception about policing came about as a result of failing to make a distinction between the police, which is a social institution, and policing which implies many processes, institutions and actors comprising the wider society.⁸ Policing is a basic prerequisite for establishing a social order. Pre-modern societies achieved social order through different informal processes involving all members of the society. The formal police institution can only complement the policing function of the society once social order has been established.

Why the Reforms to Introduce Community Policing?

Social order is a complex phenomenon that cannot be accomplished successfully by an agency like the police force alone. Even a narrower definition of social order to encompass only the maintenance of law and order and the fight against crime would still be difficult for the police to solely accomplish. In effect both the police and the public have a duty to complement each other in the maintenance of social order. The challenge that has existed for a long time is to strategize and identify points of convergence at

⁷ Ibid p-x and pp. 47 – 49.

⁸ Button, M., "An Unseen Force: The Powers of Private Security Officers", Paper presented to the British Criminology Conference, John Moores University, Liverpool, July 1999.

which the public and the police can complement each other.⁹ The contemporary approach tends to place this responsibility on the police. The police respond to this daunting task by shunning responsibility for failure since they cannot perform effectively without the contribution of the wider society. This dilemma leads to a situation where many police officers see the public as antagonists and vice versa. Contemporary policing concepts tend to isolate police officers from the communities they serve thus denying the police a vital element of good policing where the police integrates itself in the fabric of the society and works closely with it to maintain social order.¹⁰ The isolation of the police from the society it is meant to serve creates an atmosphere of mistrust and misperception between the communities and the police.

A study of the history of the police in Britain illustrates this dilemma. The police were charged with the maintenance of law and order, and often resorted to the use of legitimate force that states monopolise and sometimes employ to serve sectarian interests. By the 1960s police effectiveness and legitimacy had declined because of resorting to technical solutions for maintaining social order and ignoring the role of the wider society. Often they resorted to zero-tolerance and 'magic-bullet strategies' for combating crime. Whereas the zero-tolerance option relies on excessive use of force and other means of coercion, the magic bullet strategy tries to limit the application of force by delivering precisely the right degree of force necessary for effective yet legitimate crime control and order maintenance.¹¹ The Conservative government invested heavily in this policing

⁹ J.R., Greene, "Civic Accountability and the Police: Lessons Learned from Police and Community Relations" in Dunham G.R & G.P Alpert, *Critical; Issues in Policing: Contemporary Readings*, 2nd ed., op.cit., pp. 369-394.

¹⁰ Mark et al, *Crime and Policing: Perspectives of Policing*, Washington, D.C, National Institute of Justice and John Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1988, p. 10.

¹¹ Bowling, B., "Zero Tolerance: Cracking Down on Crime in New York City", in *Criminal Justice Matters*, No. 25, 1996.

approach but by the 1980s realization had dawned that this strategy did not deliver in terms of crime reduction. The debate that followed between the Labour and Conservative politicians was about limiting police power and autonomy and subjecting the police to the primary control of the democratically elected local institutions.¹²

By the 1990s there was a growing consensus between political and police elites about the need to reform policing in a community oriented direction, aimed at ensuring efficiency and quality of service:

By 1997, the Labour government advocated for police accountability and emphasised the partnership of police work with local governments and other social agencies to produce evidence-led analyses of local crime and disorder problems and develop “joined-up” strategies for their solution, regularly monitoring their successes.¹³

The Labour government’s reform agenda aimed at moving away from the punitive approach of the criminal code that was reactive and merely focused on arrests, prosecution and conviction. The reality was that punishment alone did not succeed in deterring crime as had been thought earlier. They argued for a model of policing that involves long-term presence rather than bursts of intervention.¹⁴ The businesslike approach to policing was also found to be uncertain, uncoordinated, haphazard, and prone to corruption.

Definition of Community Policing

The idea of community policing can be traced back to the nine principles of policing attributed to Sir Robert Peel in 1829.¹⁵ The principles were a response to the challenges faced by the modern policing approach in Britain at the time. They

¹²Reiner Robert, 3rd ed, *The Politics of the Police*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.10-11.

¹³ Ibid., pp. ix – x.

¹⁴ Fielding Nigel, *Community Policing*, London: Clarendon Press, 1995, pp. 27 –28.

¹⁵ *Law and Order: The Magazine for Police Management*, Vol. 50, No. 4, April 2002, p. 34.

represented an attempt to reform the police with the aim of enhancing public cooperation in helping the police to tackle crime. These principles were: the basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder; the ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions; police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public; the degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force; police seek and preserve public favor not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law; police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient; police at all times should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historical tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full time attention to duties that are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence; police should always direct their action strictly towards their function and never appear to usurp the power of the judiciary; the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.¹⁶

Sir Robert Peel's nine principles underlie effective policing and underscore the importance of police-community partnership in police work. They represented a departure from the bureaucratic approach, which had been found to be ineffective. These principles continue to inform modern approaches to policing and form a basis for what is now commonly referred to as "community policing."

¹⁶ Available at <http://www.newwestpolice.org/peel.html>

Further development of the concept of community policing was provided by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, writing much later than Robert Peel, but who offer a definition of community policing based on what they also call the “Nine P’s” of community policing:

Community policing is a philosophy of full service personalised policing, where the same officer patrols and works in the same area on a permanent basis, from a decentralised place, working in a proactive partnership with citizens to identify and solve problems.¹⁷

Koch and Bennet define a community policing philosophy as:

A belief or intention held by the police that they should: (1) consult with and take account of the wishes of the public in determining and evaluation operational policing policy and practice and (2) collaborate with the public whenever possible in solving local problems.¹⁸

The California Attorney General’s office define community policing as a philosophy, management style, and organisational strategy that promotes pro-active problem solving and police-community partnerships to address the causes of crime, fear and other community issues.

The US Department of Justice, office of Community Oriented Policing Services defines community policing as:

a policing philosophy that promotes and supports organisational strategies to address the causes and reduce the fear of crime and social disorder through problem-solving tactics and community-policing partnerships.

¹⁷ Trojanowicz, R. & Bucqueroux, B., *Community Policing, A Survey of Police Departments in the United States*, 1994, p. 2-3.

¹⁸ Koch and Bennet, 1993, p. 37.

However, some scholars like Klockars view community policing as mere rhetoric and a public relations gimmick and assert that it cannot work in reality.¹⁹ This view is challenged by others such as Trojanowicz and Caster who state that excellent police - community relations are just a by product of community policing.²⁰

Peak and Glensor agree with this observation and add that customer satisfaction, as in business and industry, is achieved through community policing and hence offers government and police the opportunity to satisfy the needs of their customers, that is the society.²¹

Friedmann advances the argument that community policing is a "buzz word" that is taken for granted by scholars and practitioners who use the term to replace other terms such as foot patrol, crime prevention, problem oriented policing, and community oriented policing, police-community relations among others.²²

Alderson noted that community policing should not be regarded as a substitute for other forms of policing but rather as a complementary strategy. The key to the concept is to decentralize the operations of the police as much as possible and take it into the community, in the form of substations in neighborhoods, storefronts in the business districts and even malls.²³

Eck and Rosenbaum after doing a literature review on community policing concluded that "organising the diverse views on community policing into a coherent whole is a

¹⁹ Klockars, C., *The Idea of Police*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1985

²⁰ Trojanowicz C., & Caster, in *Revenue D, Black Dennis: Medias Depiction of the African American Male Criminal Stereotype*, 2004

²¹ Peak and Glensor, in Wesley Slogan, Susan M, Hartnett et al, *On the Beat: Police and Community Problem Solving*, Westview Press, 1999, pp. 46 – 47

²² Friedmann, *Community Policing: Comparative Perspectives and Prospects*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992, p.

²³ Alderson J, *Principle Policing: Protecting the Public with Integrity*, Winchester, UK: waterside Pressm 1998, p 185.

daunting and possibly futile task. So much has been said by so many police officials, policy analysts, researchers and theoreticians that one sometimes wonders if they are talking about the same thing. So many claims have been made about community policing with and without evidence that one wonders if it is possible for community policing to deliver on all or even most of them.”²⁴

Eck and Rosenbaum’s view is echoed by Friedmann who argues that “we should bridge the gap between those who see community policing as a cure of everything and those detractors who do not ever want to give it a chance.”²⁵

Reiner points out that the sources of order lie outside the ambit of the police, in the political economy and culture of the society. To the extent that these provide most people with meaningful and rewarding lives, conflict, crime and disorder will be relatively infrequent. Subtle, informal social controls and policing processes embedded in other institutions regulate most potential deviance.²⁶ When these informal control processes are successful, the police will appear highly effective and deal effectively and legitimately with the crime and disorder that do occur.

Colquhoun asserts that the appearance of public orderliness in Britain is a result of the individual willingness to cooperate in securing and maintaining it.²⁷ His argument goes further to say that police power is the crystallised power of the people. It has roots in the ancient traditions of communal self-policing. The police were the police not of the government but of the community.

²⁴ Eck and Rosenbaum Journal Title, by Gerasimosa, Gianakis G, Daus F, Law Enforcement, Citizen Participation, Neighbourhood Watch Programmes, Management, Police Administration Participation, Public Administration review, Vol 58 1998.

²⁵ Friedmann, Community Policing, op. cit., p.

²⁶ Reiner Robert, 3rd ed, *The Politics of the Police*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, p-xi.

²⁷ Quoted in Reiner, 3rd ed, *The Politics of the Police*, *ibid.*, p.20

Skolmik and Bayley have identified common elements of community policing which give the police a broader view of policing as problem solving, a redefinition of police role, greater reciprocity in police-community relations, and decentralisation of police services and command.²⁸

Community policing therefore responds to the current security milieu involving the whole services of changes required both within and outside the policing area. It signifies a paradigmatic shift in policing in which the police service moves away from close-mindedness of law enforcement bureaucracies towards a more participatory model of public safety.

The literature review indicates that the idea of community policing has its origins in the developed world although aspects of it can be found in all pre-modern societies. Consequently, much of the literature on the subject focuses on western countries. There is a need for serious research to be conducted on the subject in developing countries. Secondly, community policing is a response to specific problems faced by a particular community. Due to the fact these problems vary from place to place each society has to develop its own approach to community policing and there cannot be a "one jacket fits all" model of community policing. Even within a single country the community policing model adopted has to take note of variations in conditions affecting different communities. For example, a community policing approach in Kibera (an informal settlement) area of Nairobi will be far different from that of Karen (a high class residential area of Nairobi), and will also be different from that suitable for a village location in Murang'a. Thirdly, even though there are general principles about community

²⁸ [File:///F:\THE %20 AND % 20 EFFECTIVENESS% 20 OF % 20 COMMUNITY%](#)

policing there seems to be lack of clear policy guidelines to support the implementation process.

Conceptual framework

Policing is a key function in any social order, and it may be carried out by a number of different processes and institutional arrangements. A state-organized special institution of the police in modern times is only but one aspect of policing. It is worth noting here that the sources of order can be traced not in the police but in the society's culture and its social-economic conditions. Accordingly, the functions of the police should be viewed as merely complementary to society's efforts at social control. This should include all aspects of culture, norms and the relationships of individuals within that society²⁹. It is this view that informs the community policing approach. It is based on the recognition that traditional policing approaches fall short of providing security.³⁰

The conceptual standpoint of this study is Kuhn's epistemology of paradigms.³¹ Kuhn argues that in science all scientists are engaged in problem solving but they work within one paradigm (which can be likened to a way of viewing social, economic or political issues and hence a determinant of the strategy formulated to resolve the issue) in the context of normal science. But whenever a paradigm develops significant anomalies, and is no longer able to solve the pressing problems of the day, it is overthrown and a new paradigm is identified and takes over. This process is what Kuhn labels as a

²⁹ Reiner Robert, *The Politics of the Police*, 3rd ed, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp 2-3.

³⁰ A comprehensive discussion of the concept of security as understood within the community policing approach is carried out in chapter four of this study.

³¹ Kuhn, T., *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1970.

scientific revolution which is marked by a 'paradigm shift.' The period in which this process takes place is not sudden but takes time; indeed the process contains a period of transition during which the old paradigm holds on as the new paradigm gains acceptance.

The concept of community policing therefore represents a paradigm shift in the 'Kuhnian' sense of the phrase. Traditional policing worked within the confines of 'normal science' and failed to resolve the significant problems of the day, namely the maintenance of social order. Community policing attempts to move beyond the confines of 'normal science' by perceiving the community as part of the policing process. The new approach advocated for in the community policing approach talks about close, mutually beneficial ties between police and community members.³² Police develop relationships with the community and pool resources together to address the most urgent security concerns of their community. Since such concerns usually revolve around crime appropriate methods of addressing them are designed jointly. Hence, the expertise and resources of the community are tapped thus relieving the police of some burdens.

Kuhn's epistemological framework is important because it helps to explain the rationale behind the move towards community policing in Rwanda. The study will outline the major weaknesses/failures in the traditional policing approach in Rwanda that necessitated a shift towards community policing as a new paradigm in attempts to maintain social order. Secondly the framework will be important in analysing how community policing intended to overcome these failures of the old paradigm. Lastly an analysis of the effectiveness of community policing in Rwanda will be predicated on Kuhn's assertion that the new paradigm does not necessarily resolve all the problems of

³² Rwanda National Police Manual, *Principles and Guidelines of Community Policing*, Kigali, 2000. (Unpublished).

the day, and that over a period of time anomalies also begin to appear in the new paradigm that necessitate the emergence of another paradigm. Consequently, the study will also attempt to demonstrate some of the shortcomings of the community policing approach. These three benchmarks will act as points of reference in analysing the rationale, implementation and effectiveness of community policing in Rwanda.

Hypotheses

This study will test the following hypotheses:

1. The lack of appropriate policies and policy integration has slowed down the pace of implementation of community policing in Rwanda.
2. The increased participation of Rwandan citizens in community policing has led to enhanced security, stable society, and contributed to nation building.

Scope and limitations

This study analyzes the implementation and effectiveness of community policing in post-genocide Rwanda. To achieve these objectives the study will focus on three significant variables: community participation, the relevant policies guiding the implementation of community policing, and institutions in place to effect the implementation.

The envisaged problems in the study include: first, the study is on Rwanda and distance will constrain the frequency of interactions on the ground. Secondly, the time period allocated for the study is quite short considering that the researcher will also be engaged in other programmes at the National Defence College.

Methodology

In carrying out this study, various sources of data will be used. Primary sources will include Rwandan government publications and interviews with Rwandan policy makers, including members of the executive branch of the government, practitioners in the police service, provincial administration, managers of private security companies and some members of the civil society. The targeted interview method will be applied and data collection will be done using questionnaires. Depending on the respondent both open-ended and closed-ended questions will be asked. Secondary data will be obtained from books, journals, magazines, the internet and unpublished papers from workshops and seminars.

Definition of terms

Police: This shall refer to a particular kind of social institution composed primarily of a body of people with broad mandate of crime control, order maintenance and some negotiable social service functions.³³

Policing: This shall imply a set of activities aimed at preserving the security of a particular social order, or social order in general.³⁴

³³ Reiner Robert, *The Politics of the Police*, 3rd ed, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p.1.

³⁴ Reiner Robert, "Order and Discipline" in I. Holliday, A. Gamble, and G. Parry (eds.), *Fundamentals in British Politics*, London: Macmillan, 1999.

Communal Relations (Traditional Policing): This will refer to the mechanisms used by pre-modern societies to maintain social order.

Modern Policing: This shall refer to the bureaucratic approach to policing that emerged after the industrial revolution in Britain and which still exists. The approach is characterized by a special body of people specifically charged with the maintenance of law and order and organized hierarchically.

Community Policing (Post-Modern Policing): This shall refer to the various forms of policing that have emerged in response to the failures of modern policing and which attempt to involve the general population within a given location in solving their security problems, in partnership with the police.

Social Order: This shall imply consensus of interest or latent conflict of interest between social groups differentially placed in a hierarchy of advantage, or perhaps a complex intertwining of the two.³⁵

Social Control: Everything that contributes to the reproduction of social order including the organized ways in which society responds to behavior and people it regards as deviant, problematic, worrying, threatening, troublesome, or undesirable.³⁶

Security: According to Barry Buzan the security of human collectivities is affected by factors in five major sectors, namely: military, political, economic, societal and

³⁵ Marenin, O., "Parking Tickets and Class Repression: The Concept of Policing in Critical Theories of Criminal Justice" in *Contemporary Crises*, 1983, 6/2, pp.241-66

³⁶ Cohen, S., *Visions of Social Control*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985, pp. 1-2.

environmental.³⁷ Military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states and their perception of each other's intentions. Political security concerns the organizational ability of states, systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic security concerns access to resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Societal security concerns sustainability within acceptable conditions for the evolution of traditional patterns of language, culture, religion, national identity and customs. Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local, regional and planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all the other human enterprises depend. Security for both individuals and social groups then becomes the reduction or elimination of various forms of real or perceived threats through processes and institutions designed to safeguard societal needs.

Chapter outline

This study will be divided into five chapters:

Chapter One: will consist of the introduction and statement of the problem, objective, justification, literature review, conceptual framework, hypothesis and the study methodology.

Chapter Two: will provide historical perspectives on policing to highlight the major shifts that have taken place in the past and the contemporary examples of where community policing has been initiated.

Chapter Three: will explore the evolution of policing in Rwanda including community policing and the process of its implementation.

³⁷ B. Buzan, *Peoples, States and Fears: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991, pp. 19-20.

Chapter Four: A critical analysis of community policing in the Rwandan context

Chapter Five: will carry the conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EVOLUTION OF THE POLICE AND ITS FUNCTIONS IN SOCIETY

Introduction

The whole enormous apparatus of "law and order" associated with modern life is absent among village and band-level cultures. Yet there is no "war of all against all." The Eskimo, the Bushmen of the Kalahari, the Australian aborigines, and many other cultures enjoy a high degree of personal security without having any "sovereign" in Hobbes's sense. They have no kings, queens, dictators, presidents, governors, mayors ... or police officers. They have no written law codes and no formal law court, no lawyers, and no patrol cars, paddy wagons, jails or penitentiaries. People managed to get along without these means of law enforcement for tens of thousands of years. Why are contemporary state-level societies so dependent upon them?¹

This quotation advances the view that complex societies are almost universally characterized by the existence police, which support "the whole enormous apparatus of law and order" present in such societies. This chapter seeks to explain aspects of complex society that necessitate the emergence of the police. The chapter traces the origin and evolution of the police in society. It demonstrates that while policing has always been necessary in all societies throughout history, the modes of policing, their relations with society and the ideology underpinning these relations have changed over time.

Two contending approaches to the origins and emergence of the police in society have been predominant. One view, which has been a pervasive and essential prop to concepts of modern policing, asserts that the police issue from the community and are a

¹Marvin Harris, *Culture, People, Nature: An Introduction to General Anthropology*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1975, pp. 355-356

part of that community. Accordingly, police are most often generally seen as protectors of the law and order that allow democratic institutions to operate.² Crucial to the notion of the police as a democratic institution are the ideas that: the police institution originates from the people, and is dependent on them for its support in the sense that without it, its effectiveness, even its existence, would be in doubt (in effect, the people are the police and police are the people); the community is divided into a majority of good, law-abiding people and a minority of lawbreakers, and therefore, one police function is to protect this virtuous majority from the criminal minority.

This same idea continues today to influence most literature on police-community relations.³ Charles Reith advances this view when he suggests that,

*“Firstly, there is a coming together of individuals or small-group community units in search of collective security. . . Secondly, there is discovery or recognition of the need of rules or laws for smooth and cooperative action and living, and the making of these makes necessary, also, the setting-up of authority of one kind or another. . . Thirdly, there comes, always and inevitably, discovery or recognition of the facts that some members of the community will not keep some or all of the rules; that by their behavior in this respect they weaken and endanger the welfare and lives of other members and the existence of the community as a whole; and that to ensure its continuing welfare and survival, means must be found for compelling observances of rules. Fourthly, in one form or another, these means are found and established. Their effectiveness is the keystone of community existence.”*⁴

The other view, which is Marxist in orientation, suggests that the origins and evolution of the police in society, in its modern form, is linked to economic specialization

² Lee W. L. Melville, *A History of Police in England*, Reprint. Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1971; also Critchley T. A., *A History of Police in England and Wales, 900 to 1966*, London: Constable and Co., 1967.

³ cf. instance, Trojanowicz Robert, and Bonnie Bucqueroux, *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*, Cincinnati, Ohio: Anderson, 1990; and Skolnick Jerome H., and David H. Bayley, *The New Blue Line: Police Innovation in Six American Cities*, New York: Free Press, 1986.

⁴ Reith Charles, (1952) *The Blind Eye of History: A Study of the Origins of the Present Police Era*, London: Faber and Faber, Reprint. Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1975, pp. 14-15, (emphasis added).

and differential access to resources which characterize class-dominated rather than kinship-based societies. According to this view a society dominated by a ruling class needs a coercive instrument to maintain its control over basic resources and over a labor force necessary to produce the surplus product to support and sustain that ruling class.⁵ The development of the police parallels and is dependent on the development of the state. By a series of almost imperceptible changes, the policing function existing within a kinship society, as a product of and serving the whole society, is transformed into a police function that predominantly represents the interests of the dominant class in a class dominated society, while at the same time purporting to represent the entire society.

Thus proponents of this perspective view social control by police agencies as dependent on an ideological structure that legitimizes the stratification benefiting a ruling elite. One important task of such an ideology is to fit the police into the general ideological framework of that society. This task involves two interlocking requirements: to convince the populace that they need a police agency for their own control, and to convince the police of their own legitimate right to control their fellows in the name of the state. For the purpose of understanding the emergence and development of the police, the essential step, for this school of thought, is the transfer of allegiance and loyalty of the police to the state from the community of which they were a part.⁶

⁵ Haas Jonathan, *The Evolution of the Prehistoric State*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, pp. 173-174.

⁶ Robinson Cyril D., "The Deradicalization of the Policeman: A Historical Analysis." in *Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 24, 1978, pp. 129-151.

Policing in Pre-Modern Societies

Pre-modern societies were simple and egalitarian and exercised policing functions through a system of community relations. There was no overarching political level, and therefore no state, with its resultant monopoly over the instruments of coercion. Such societies were organized and governed by and through their ideological formation, that is, by customs, traditional norms of behavior, and rituals organized and enunciated through a kinship system. The ideological formation thus acted as a means of social control; in turn it was complemented by social control mechanisms such as private revenge, ridicule, gossip, insult and scorn.

Much of the contemporary writing on the anthropology of law asserts that kinship-based societies usually settle disputes through negotiation and mediation in loosely structured moot courts characterized by lack of formal proceedings, lack of authority, stress on peacekeeping rather than assessing blame, and an attempt at decision-making through consensus. Arrangements that allow for collective coercion are not excluded by such simple organization. But the organization of a kinship-based society does preclude a state apparatus to maintain such coercion.

The key players in enforcement of coercion are the elders. Nevertheless, as far as the position of the leaders is concerned, their intermittent exercise of coercion in lineage societies does not necessarily imply the presence of a state coercive apparatus. The coercion exercised by the elders is limited in scope; it is guided by the need to maintain group unity through seeking acceptance of whatever decision made regarding unacceptable behaviour. The elders thus exercise coercion as representatives of the

community.⁷ The coercive force is usually embodied in the capacity of elders to withhold essential goods and services or to employ supernatural sanctions relating to illness and ill fortune until their demands are complied with. By punishing their juniors for violating the rules of hierarchy, elders reproduce the societal hierarchy. Therefore a kinship-based society has, in addition to the usual accoutrements of such a society (reciprocal relations, relatively equal access to basic resources, authority based on kinship rather than on political structure), a hierarchical order of kinship relations that permits coercive use of traditions, rituals, and customs by the elders or others for and on behalf of the tribal unit. Thus a police function is exercised through the elders on behalf of the community.⁸

In addition to a hierarchical, coercive organization based on age, there may also be divisions based on other characteristics, including sex, the domination of men over women, and some men over others. These various social divisions may be the base of a coercive system without the existence of a formal police mechanism.

In an egalitarian society, there is a natural order based on horizontal relationships. Self-regulation and social control are parts of this order, consisting of reciprocity in face-to-face relationships and customary norms of behavior. Gossip, ridicule, and peer pressure act in concert to help maintain this order. People know one another, and can put pressure on one another to act in a culturally normative manner – according to the norms and expectations of the society.

⁷ Geschiere Peter, *Village Communities and the State: Changing Relations Among the Maka of South-Eastern Cameroon since the Colonial Conquest*, Trans. James J. Ravell. London: Kegan Paul, 1982, p. 91.

⁸ Cyril D. Robinson, Richard Scaglione, with J. Michael Oliver, *Police in Contradiction: The Evolution of the Police Function in Society*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1994, p. 23

Consequently in an egalitarian society there are traditional mechanisms that are called into play for the occasional wrongdoer. Just as the wrongdoing is occasional and spontaneous, so is the response. "Crimes" in such a society are nonexistent since a crime can be designated only by a political structure. Breaches of customary behaviour are wrongs against the collectivity and are punished by customary responses whose predominant purpose is to maintain harmony within that collectivity.⁹ Social control mechanisms attempt a reconciliation of differences among individual members of the community in order to restore unity and well-being to the community. This system of restorative justice usually involved the whole community.

The sense of unity is dependent on the material condition that each individual is an essential part of a functioning community. Community living results in a series of reciprocally related customs and traditions that are self-evidently related to the community style of life and are self-enforcing. As Sahlins says, "Peacekeeping is not a sporadic inter-societal event, it is a continuous process going on within society itself"¹⁰ Basic resources and access to these resources are communal, and therefore all persons have a stake in their preservation and in retaining open access to them. A breach of the custom of free access will bring down a sanction on the violator, who is part of that community. In most cases, the communal desire for free access to resources does not require the development of a formalized police function; the community polices itself.

⁹ Ibid., p.128.

¹⁰ Sahlins Marshall, *Stone Age Economics*, Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972, p.187.

The Police in Modern Societies

The transition from simple egalitarian, decentralized societies to complex ones where authority is centralized marks the beginning of the shift towards the emergence of policing as a function dependent on a separate group of individuals specifically designed for that purpose. Indeed, in tracing the social evolution of the police up to the modern era that is characterized by centralized authority (in the form of the state) four interdependent propositions can be made.¹¹

First, specialized police agencies are generally characteristic only of societies politically organized as states. Second, the origin of the specialized police function is associated with the division of communal (kinship) society into dominant and subordinate classes, that is, classes with antagonistic interests. Thirdly, in a period of transition, the crucial factor in delineating the modern specialized police function is an ongoing attempt at conversion of the social control (policing) mechanism from an integral part of the community structure to an agent of an emerging dominant class. Lastly, the police institution is created by the emerging dominant class as an instrument for the preservation of its control over restricted access to basic resources, over the political apparatus governing this access, and over the labor force necessary to provide the surplus upon which the dominant class lives.

Reiner argues that a review of the anthropological literature leads to the conclusion that the development of specialized police 'is linked to economic specialization and differentiated access to resources that occur in the transition from a

¹¹ Cyril D. Robinson, Richard Scaglione, with J. Michael Oliver, *Police in Contradiction: The Evolution of the Police Function in Society*, op.cit., pp. 6-7.

kinship- to a class-dominated society.¹² During this transition communal policing forms are converted in incremental stages to state-dominated ones, which begin to function as agents of class control in addition to more general social control.¹³ Thus the complex and contradictory function of modern police, as simultaneously embodying the quest for general order (as the agent of the people they police) and as stratified order (as an agent of the dominant class controlling these people in the interest of that class), is evident in the process of its transformation from communal to modern societies.

This contradiction in the police is a reflection of the same contradiction in the structure of the state itself. As one commentator stated: "The state tends to be an expression of facts of domination, to act coherently as a corporate unit, to become an arena of social conflict, and to present itself as a guardian of universal interests. Clearly, these tendencies stand in contradiction to each other."¹⁴

Indeed the traditional approach has often been dominated by two organizational principles adopted by police management: "division of labor and unity of control," requiring that tasks be broken into specialized components and based on the belief that workers could be best managed by a pyramid of control, with all authority finally resting in one central office. Special units (vice, juvenile, drugs) were created under central commands. The proper relationship between police and citizens was defined to be impartial, professionally neutral, and impersonal. The proper role of the citizen was to be an impassive recipient of professional services.

¹² Reiner, R., *The Politics of the Police*, Third Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 5.

¹³ Ibid, p. 5.

¹⁴ Rueschemeyer, D. and Evans, P. B., "The State and Economic Transformation: Toward an Analysis of the Conditions Underlying Effective Intervention," in Rueschemeyer et al (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 44-77.

The net effect of these two organizational principles was lack of an overall and comprehensive strategy to ensure social order. For instance the division of labor led to compartmentalization of issues and internecine inter-departmental wrangles due to the creation of fiefdoms in the police fraternity. It encouraged bureaucratic red tape as officers on the ground, anxious to protect their backs, had to report to their superiors first to confirm whether the crime in question fell within their jurisdiction. Consequently the response time was often long, for failure to get the superior at the right moment could enable criminals to escape.

Further the impartial, professionally neutral and impersonal approach adopted by the police made them inaccessible to the public. Few citizens were willing to approach the police in order to make inquiries, complain, or volunteer their assistance. Those who dared were often treated to cynicism, grilling, suspicion and 'we are the experts, we know best' attitude from the police, and in the process ended up looking stupid and cursing themselves. The net effect of this was to engender public hostility, distrust and suspicion.

The relationship between the public and the police was hierarchical, distant, and predicated on assumptions of inequality with the police in the authoritative position. The dominant metaphor of the police in the public mind was authoritative uniforms, vehicles and badges; impersonal, cold and suspicious attitudes; and a wish to dominate all formal and informal means of social control including the elimination of self help vigilante groups even in areas where they could not effectively maintain law and order.¹⁵

¹⁵ Manning, P., "Community-Based Policing" in Dunham & Alpert, *Critical Issues in Policing*, op. cit., p. 429.

Community Policing

Community policing is both a philosophy and an organizational strategy that allows the police and community residents to work closely together in new ways to solve the problems of crime, physical and social disorder, and neighborhood decay. The philosophy rests on the belief that law-abiding people in the community deserve an input into the police process, in exchange for their participation and support.¹⁶ Community policing, sometimes also referred to as "neighborhood-oriented policing," is said to include:

"a sense of trust between police and citizens. . . The central premise of community policing is that the public should play a more active and coordinated part in enhancing safety... [T]he public should be seen as "co-producers" with the police of safety and order. Community policing thus imposes a new responsibility on the police, namely, to devise appropriate ways of associating the public with law enforcement and the maintenance of order."¹⁷

According to one commentator on community policing, its essential components are: community-based crime prevention; proactive servicing as opposed to emergency response; public participation in the planning and supervision of police operations; and, shifting of command responsibility to lower rank levels.¹⁸

At the core of community policing is the premise that crime, disorder and fear of crime can help create a community of interest within a geographic community. Enhancing and emphasizing this particular community of interest within a specific

¹⁶ Trojanowicz Robert, and Bonnie Bucqueroux, *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*, Cincinnati, Ohio: Anderson, 1990, p. xiii.

¹⁷ Skolnick Jerome H., and David H. Bayley, *Community Policing: Issues and Practice Around the World*, Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, 1988, pp. 3-4.

¹⁸ Bayley David H., "Community Policing: A Report from the Devil's Advocate", In Jack R. Greene and Stephen D. Mastrofski (ed), *Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality*, New York: Praeger, 1988, pp. 225-238.

geographic community can provide the impetus for residents to work with a community policing officer to create a positive sense of community in the fullest sense of the term. The community of interest created by crime, disorder and fear of crime becomes the goal to allow community-policing officers an entry into the community. Then together the officers and residents can develop new structures and tactics designed to improve the overall quality of life, allowing a renewed community spirit to build and flourish.

The essence of community policing is the rediscovery by police management of the need for community participation in providing security. More than anything else, the police are rediscovering that ordinary people and communities are the first line of defense in preventing social deviance and other sources of insecurity. The police cannot succeed without an effective partnership with the communities they serve. Without the eyes and ears of residents to extend the scope of police surveillance, the reach of police control is very thin. Citizens' vigilance and willingness to come forward are an integral part of police operations. If that piece of the machinery is not working well, the police, for all their sophistication and equipment, are rendered ineffective.¹⁹

According to community policing proponents the problem with the traditional approach is that police work became a legal and technical matter left to the discretion of professional police executives under the guidance of law. Their function was narrowed:

“to crime control and criminal apprehension. . .Activities that drew the police into solving other kinds of community problems and relied on other kinds of responses were identified as 'social work.' Success lay in being able to control

¹⁹ Sparrow Malcolm K., Mark H. Moore, and David M. Kennedy, *Beyond 911: A New Era for Policing*, op.cit, p. 46.

crime effectively without having to depend on others, including the community they were policing."²⁰

Community policing urges equalitarian, intimate and non-authoritarian communal relations. The more one pushes horizontal democratic relations the more community policing appeals. Community policing requires a change in the uses of the law; in the standards used to apply the law and order enforcement; in the overall contracts governing police and the public and the degree of centralization, structure, hierarchy and formalization of such matters as recruitment, evaluation, promotion and rewards in police departments.²¹

Models and Experiences of Community Policing Around the World

Community policing has also been referred to as a new vision for policing in which the professional police can adapt to a world in which its own efforts are only a part of the overall policing of a modern society. There is no perfect model for it, but whatever model is adopted should consider that social order is a product of many social, economic and political issues and that to achieve it requires cooperation between the public and the police. That is, the politicians, the police, and the public must cooperate to produce justice and security. Community policing is the method by which these entities cooperate and the strategies utilized by the police.

Some models of community policing have been developed and applied in different parts of the world. Most of these models only focus on the issue of crime control. For instance, Kenya, which is embarking on community policing, views it as a

²⁰ Ibid., p. 113.

²¹ Peter K. Manning, "Community-Based Policing", in Dunham R.G, and G.P., Alpert, *Critical Issues in Policing*, 2nd Edition, Prospect Height, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1993, p. 429.

new approach to security where police and the community work together to solve crime and enhance safety in a given area. The underlying philosophy is that for crime to be effectively combated citizens ought to be involved."²²

Similarly in countries of Eastern Europe that experienced authoritarian regimes and where the regimes employed the police to intimidate and rule citizens the police earned a bad reputation. With regime changes after the end of the Cold War, new democracies, faced with the challenge of re-establishing the integrity of their police, adopted community policing in the belief that "only when the community and the police can truly work together for their common good, will citizens feel that they can trust the police. Once the citizens trust the police, they will provide the police with information and help to prevent crimes and arrest criminals."²³

In other instances a community building model of community policing that targets not only fighting crime but also other social ills has been applied. For example, in the US state of Maryland the police used the mountain bikes as an approach to community policing.²⁴ Maryland's Eastern Shore County was rated as the poorest in the state due to its high unemployment rate. The area was also characterized by a high crime rate due to drug abuse, juvenile delinquency among others. Community policing targeted not only fighting crime but also building infrastructure for strengthening the community; like

²² This view is also supported in the Editorial of the Daily Nation Nairobi of 1st March, 2005, which asserts that "a 33,000 strong poorly equipped constabulary can hardly be expected to effectively police a population of 33 million people, with unemployment well over the 50% mark."

²³ Ferreira R B, Paper Presented to the " College of Police and Security Studies, Slovenia, the Use and Effectiveness of Community Policing in a Democracy, 1996

²⁴ Christopher Davala, " Pedaling into Community Policing" in Law and Order, the Magazine for Police Management, Special Report: Bike Patrol, April 2000, p. 888

were constantly called upon to assist the needy, help the confused, point the youth in the right direction, get more involved with schools, church groups and other members of the community, and seek out ways to address their needs and concerns.

Wilson and Kelling refer to the "broken windows " whereby when a neighbourhood is decaying, it attracts more crime and if nobody shows care and does nothing to prevent the decay and show that people do care (crime will increase).²⁵

Community policing has had various levels of successes. Wycoff and Skogan analysed the implementation and impact of community policing in Madison, Wisconsin and found that the shift from traditional policing to community policing resulted in improved attitudes towards the police.²⁶ Elsewhere, the United States National Institute of Justice examined the results of community policing in Seattle, Washington and noted its success since crime statistics showed a dramatic decline. In Chicago community policing was started in 1993. After three years an evaluation of its effectiveness revealed that crime drastically decreased and residents had a more positive attitude towards the police.

Gramckow and Jacoby concluded that community policing represents a good strategy to address the concerns and problems of communities because it is decentralized, proactive, and deals with crime prevention and fear of crime.²⁷ Indeed Moore notes that community policing has become so popular that, if police executives are slow to embrace them, communities will force the idea on them.²⁸

²⁵ Wilson, J.Q and Kelling G, "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety," The Atlantic monthly, 249, March 1992, P 29-38

²⁶ Wycoff, Mary Ann and Skogan K. Wisley, Community Policing in Madison: Quality from the inside out. December, Washington D.C: US. Department of Justice, 1993

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²⁸ Moore, M, "Problem Solving and Community Policing:" in M.Tonny and N, Morris (eds), Modern Policing. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992, P 99-158

While some scholars agree with the success of community policing others argue that it has not been effective. For instance, Weatheritt argues that there is little research evidence to prove that community policing has worked in the terms it was defined.²⁹ Bennett indicated that not all police departments and officers in Britain have made community policing part of their occupational culture and that research results about some of the programmes are disappointing.³⁰ A Report adopted by the Greater London council, referred to the fact that community policing is more complex than merely putting more police officers on the street. It also noted that the community will have to become involved in the policy of the police in handling local problems before it can work.³¹

Some of the criticism against community policing has come from the police force itself. The “old cadre” of officers especially in management levels, particularly the detective branch, believe that crime investigation activities are more important than the crime prevention duties normally emphasized by community policing. The other criticism is that objectives and programmes in community policing are set with the minimal involvement of the lower level cadres in the police and yet they are expected to be its major implementers.

In some instances the failure of community policing has resulted from the failure to adapt it to local conditions and requirements. As pointed out by Waddington any proposal no matter how attractive should be subjected to scrutiny; this is often not the

²⁹ Weatheritt, M “Community Policing: Does it work and how do we Know? A Review of Research;” in Tabennet (eds), The Future of Policing. Cambridge: Institute of Criminology. Cropwood Paper 15, 1983

³⁰ Bennet, T., Reent Developments in Community Policing; in S, Becker and N, Stephens (eds), Police Force, Police Service. London: Macmillan, 1994.

³¹ Waddington, in Journal Article by Leighton B, Visions of Community Policing: Rhetoric and Reality in Canada, Canadian Journal of Criminology, Vol 33, 1991

case with community policing. As a result its uncritical acceptance has led to failure in some instances.

Against the deluge of criticism of community policing several scholars have come up to defend the concept. Many critics tend to dismiss as worthless community policing initiatives that do not have an immediate effect yet the long term benefits might offset the start-up costs.³² It has also been by some soldiers that community policing represents a radical departure in the philosophy of policing, and therefore critics must note that such a shift in organizational values is difficult and time consuming to implement. This was re-enforced by Trojanowicz, who reminded critics that he, as one of the big proposers of the concept understood that community policing is not an overnight miracle cure or quick fix, even if it may make dramatic and immediate improvements.

Friedmann calls for the need to bridge the gap between those who see community policing as a cure for everything and those detractors who do not ever want to give it a chance.³³ Alderson noted that community policing should not be regarded as substitute for all other needed forms of policing but rather as a complementary strategy.³⁴ The key to the concept is to decentralize the operations of the police as much as possible and take it into the community, in the form of substations in neighborhoods, storefronts in the business districts and even malls.

³² Trojanowicz, R, *an Evaluation of the Flint Foot Patrol Project*. East Lansing: Michigan State University 1982. p 410-419

³³ Friedman R, *Community Policing: Cooperative Perspectives and Prospects*. Hewel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992.

³⁴ Alderson J *Principle Policing: Protecting the Public with Integrity*, Winchester, UK : Waterside Press, 1998, pp 185

Society is dynamic and different police models have to respond and accommodate those changes. The events of 1994 in Rwanda brought new dynamics that required a new approach to policing. The choice of community policing by the Rwandan government was informed by the belief that the wounds caused by oppressive actions of the police against the citizens by former non-democratic regimes would be healed faster by developing a policing model that enhanced trust and cooperation with the society. Community participation would enhance security and make the police more accountable and transparent.

The model chosen was the community-building approach which emphasized social as opposed to legal action thus recognizing informal social control mechanisms, in addition to modern policing, as a critical component of restoring and maintaining social order. To respond appropriately the police force in Rwanda viewed its role in society as an agent for the re-establishment of community relationships and strengthening the institutions that make a community competent and able to deal with its problems.

CHAPTER THREE

EVOLUTION OF POLICING IN (PRE- AND POST-GENOCIDE)

RWANDA, 1994-2004

Introduction

Rwanda is a small land-locked country lying south of the equator in Central Africa. It borders the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi. Rwanda is a homogenous society with one culture, one language and one administrative entity. The national language is Kinyarwanda, a Bantu language similar to many languages in East, Central and Southern Africa. In 1994 the country experienced a genocide that has been described as one of the most intense in history; an estimated one million people were killed within a period of only three months, roughly translating into over ten thousand deaths per day. The genocide itself was a result of several factors, among which the excessive bureaucratization and personalization of the police played an instrumental role in creating conditions for, and in the execution of, the genocide.

Chapter one analysed the conditions that necessitated the shifts in policing approach in the aftermath of the genocide. Chapter two outlines the various shifts in policing that have occurred over the history of human society and also gave a survey of the experiences of community policing in various parts of the world.

This chapter gives an overview of the evolution and character of policing in Rwanda. The chapter is divided into five parts: part one forms the introduction; part two is a brief analysis of the nature of policing in pre-colonial Rwanda; part three deals with

the colonial era; part four details the nature of policing in independent Rwanda up to 1994; and, part five examines the philosophy and structure of community policing that has been introduced in post-1994 Rwanda.

Policing in Pre-colonial Rwanda

Pre-colonial Rwanda was a society consisting of three social groups, the Twa, the Hutu and the Tutsi. Destexhe states that the various groups could have best been described as castes within a hierarchy at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹ These words referred to socio-economic activities, so that by changing activity, one could change the category he belonged to. The boundaries between the two groups were permeable and allowed movement across them depending on individual economic standing.

Although pre-colonial Rwanda was not a model of harmony, the social mobility that existed in the traditional Rwandan society contributed a lot to social harmony. This is one reason why pre-colonial Rwanda had never experienced a general conflict during the period of over six centuries that it existed as a nation. Other contributing factors to harmonious relations included, intermarriages, the clan system that spread across the three groups, the leadership that put *Rwandanicity* above all other factors, and, the grassroots' based *Gacaca* system. *Gacaca* was an instrument of social control and conflict resolution that depended on popular participation and aimed at conciliation rather than punishment. It involved all community members under the guidance of village elders who discussed all issues of concern and dispensed justice based on consensus.

¹ Destexhe, A., *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, London: Pluto Press, 1995, p.

The basic institution charged with the maintenance of law and order was the army (*Ingabo*). The *Ingabo* comprised all young men who had undergone initiation (*Itorero*) and were drawn from the entire society. Indeed membership of the *Ingabo* was considered a rite of passage through life for the young adults, who continued to be part and parcel of the community, engaging in all civil activities but only being called upon whenever the need arose.

As an institution the army played several roles. First it acted as the King's army, charged with defence. Secondly, the army ensured social harmony and adherence to social norms by arresting social deviants. For instance, Rusagara points out that the military was rooted in society, the emphasis being that it was a vanguard of social values. Through the *Amatorero* (military regiments), the ideals and values of *Rwandanicity* would be inculcated to instill common identity.² Indeed Mamdani argues that it was in the military that cohesiveness and Rwandan unity found enduring manifestation. He asserts that,

“By the end of the 19th Century, every Rwandan male – Twa, Hutu or Tutsi – was affiliated to the army ... To the limited extent that the state managed to create one of the Twa, Hutu and Tutsi of Rwanda, it did so more on the battlefield than anywhere else.”³

Pre-colonial Rwanda thus displays elements of social harmony based on communities which interacted and nurtured different types of social relations. Social control was also manifested in economic activities. For instance there were three types of chiefs in a given location: the chief in charge of military affairs; the chief in charge of

² Rusagara, F.K, *The Military in Conflict Management: A Case Study of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) in Post-Genocide Rwanda 1994-2002*, MA Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2003, p. 44.

³ Mamdani M., *When Victims Become Killers*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2001, pp. 67-68.

land issues; and, the chief in charge of the pastures. This separation of functions gave ample time to each respective chief to deal with issues pertaining to his area of concern promptly, than would have been the case if all the issues were handled by a single chief. Furthermore the chief was part and parcel of the community he dealt with and usually consulted the community members before reaching decisions. In this way conflicts were prevented from erupting and if they arose they were amicably resolved.

Policing in Colonial Rwanda

The social harmony that existed in pre-colonial Rwanda was disrupted by the imposition of colonial rule. The colonialists, particularly the Belgians who took over from the Germans after the First World War, introduced administrative policies based on the 'Hamitic theory'. This theory constructed Rwandan society along racial lines, attributed different origins to the groups, insisted the Tutsi were of caucasian origins, and possessed inborn qualities of leadership; and that the Hutu were of inferior intelligence and hence were only good for manual work. In essence the Hamitic theory was meant to advance the colonial policy of divide and rule; in the process of its actualization it set in motion the dynamics of conflict that led to the genocide of 1994.

Colonial administration was predicated on force and use of other coercive instruments. Within the administrative structure the Hutu chiefs were replaced by Tutsi ones through whom the colonial administration implemented its policy. Chiefs were used to enforce such unpopular policies as forced labor, collection of taxes, and corporal punishment among others. The Belgians formed the communal police, an informal institution that was used to support the chiefs in the execution of their functions.

In order to further undermine traditional Rwandan society the King's army was replaced by Belgian officers, supported by foreign troops from neighbouring Congo. The colonial administration's reliance on coercive instruments and institutions established a culture of disregard for the people that would be later adopted by successive post-colonial governments. The *Gacaca* system and the King's courts were weakened as colonial officers exercised arbitrary powers.

The support for the Tutsi elite ended in the mid-1950s when they joined the movement agitating for independence for the colonized societies. The sudden shift of support to the Hutu elite resulted in the 1959 upheavals in which many Rwandans died and others were exiled. As a result of the shift in colonial policy the violence that accompanied the so-called 'Hutu Revolution' of 1959 was perpetrated by colonial institutions such as the army and the communal police.⁴ It marked the beginning of the outright use of state institutions to instigate and unleash massive violence involving the population, a practice that was later institutionalized by post-colonial regimes.

Policing in post-colonial Rwanda

Independent Rwanda was constructed on the basis of sectarian politics that sought to entrench Hutu dominance in all spheres. The sectarian policies were institutionalized in all public institutions, including the police force. The 1963 Presidential Decree formally established the police *communale* which was under the command and supervision of the *bourgemestres* (District Officers). The members of the communal police were recruited and trained locally. The key defining characteristic of this police force was that recruitment was ethnically based, and supported and promoted the

⁴ Newbury, C., *The Cohesion of Oppression: Clientship and Ethnicity in Rwanda, 1860-1960*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

sectarian policies of the regime. Indeed members of this force participated in the various Tutsi-targeted attacks of the 1960s that resulted in deaths and exile for many members of this group.

The communal police was disbanded and replaced by the National *Gendamerie* on 23rd January 1974. The disbandment owes much to the *coup d'etat* of 1973 that brought Major General Juvenal Habyarimana to power. The formation of the *Gendarmarie* was therefore caused by the need to bolster the instruments of state coercion and help consolidate the military in power. Consequently, it adopted a paramilitary character, was sectarian and supported the authorities in power. Indeed the *Gendarmarie* played a big role in brutalizing and massacring the very people it was supposed to protect.

Law enforcement was therefore placed under various institutions including the military. Gradually the functions of the police were split to include the *Gendarmarie* under the Ministry of Defence, an informal local police *communale* at the district under the Ministry of Local Government, and the judicial police under the Ministry of Justice. This setup was so bureaucratic that law enforcement was characterised by inefficiency, poor coordination between the different agencies, duplication and waste of resources. The regime benefited from the bureaucracy and duplication of functions by manipulating the law enforcement agencies to further its sectarian policies. This was achieved through deliberate efforts to instigate rivalry between the agencies so that they could not only check on each other but also compete for favours from the regime.

Bureaucracy also served to insulate the security agencies from the people and as such was not responsive to peoples needs. Indeed the definition of security adopted by all

from within and from outside the country, destroyed state infrastructure, a displaced and traumatized population, and above all a deeply divided society. Most people had thought it impossible to reestablish peace, security, law and order in a society in which one section sought to exterminate the other through genocide.

The first and biggest challenge that confronted the new government was to restore law and order, and rebuild the society that had been brought to the brink of total self-destruction. In order to deal with these challenges there was a need to change the policing approach. After wide ranging consultations with the communities, community policing was adopted in 1995. The process of developing a policy framework and modalities of implementation involved a two stage approach. First, the government established a communal police as a precursor to the national police that was later formed in 2000. The reason for initially establishing a communal police was to gain time in order to rebuild institutions that involved community participation. For instance, the community was involved in vetting the applicants to join the communal police so as to ensure that those entrusted with the exercise of authority and power were carefully selected for their integrity and not in any way sectarian.

To prevent the sectarianism that had characterized previous recruitments, a Directorate of Police was established in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communal Development. This Directorate was responsible for national recruitment and collaborated with the various Security Committees at the District, Sectors and *Cellule*/village levels.

Secondly, the new Rwandan National Police was established in 2000 by integrating the communal police, the *Gendermarie Nationale*, and the judicial police.⁵ The initiative was aimed at enhancing efficiency, harmonization and professionalism of the police institution. To achieve this, police guidelines that promoted transparency, accountability, equal opportunities to all in recruitment, training, promotion and indeed in all other institutional programmes were put in place thus ending the negative practices of the past which encouraged localized recruitment based on sectarianism and other forms of corruption.⁶

The mission of the new police force is contained in Article 2 of the Police Act which states that “police services shall be delivered to the people on the basis of the following principles: the need for cooperation between the police and the community they serve, the importance of safeguarding the fundamental rights guaranteed by the law, and the responsibility to account for their activities to the community.” These three principles were later enshrined in the 2002 Constitution and cemented the foundations of community policing in Rwanda.

The three principles constitute the philosophy that underpins community policing. It is founded on the belief that a free people expect much of their police. Community policing constituted a departure from a situation where the police enforced the will of those in power to one in which policing actively involved the people. The National Police identified ten principles that would guide the community policing programme.⁷

⁵ The law on the establishment, general organization and jurisdiction of Rwanda National Police was published and promulgated in the official gazette No. 09/2000 of June 29th 2000.

⁶ Rwanda National Police, Strategic Plan 2004-2008 (Unpublished), p. 27.

⁷ Rwanda National Police, *Principles and Guidelines of Community Policing: A Training Manual for the Rwanda National Police*, April 2002, pp. 23-26.

First, the philosophy and organizational strategy that allows the law enforcement agency and community residents to work closely together in creative ways to solve problems of crime, illicit drugs, physical and social disorder, neighbourhood decay, and the overall quality of life in the community. Secondly, commitment to community empowerment through granting greater autonomy in decision making thus allowing the citizens the rights and responsibilities implicit in identifying, prioritizing and solving problems as fully fledged partners in law enforcement. Thirdly, decentralised and personalized policing through community policing officers as the liason between law enforcement and the community. Fourthly, adopting long-term proactive problem solving and going beyond the narrow focus to develop broad based initiatives that involve all elements of the community in efforts to improve the overall quality of life. In addition developing linkages with private agencies that can help in a given situation.

Fifthly, emphasising ethics, legality, responsibility and trust to reduce apathy within the community without encouraging vigilantism. Sixth, expanding the police mandate by adding a vital proactive element to the traditional role of law enforcement thus making communities safer and more attractive places in which to live. Seventh, helping those with special needs by exploring new ways to protect and enhance the lives of those who are most vulnerable. Eighth, encouraging grassroots creativity and support by mobilizing and sensitising communities to work together. Ninth, to involve everyone in this integrated approach. Lastly, building for the future by providing decentralized, personalized law enforcement to the community

Various activities have been initiated by the police force to implement the community policing programme. First, community sensitization and awareness

programmes have been conducted with the aim of encouraging communities to provide information on crime. The methods used include: seminars and workshops for the community; incorporating community policing programmes in schools; initiating crime and neighbourhood watch programmes; initiating community policing forums; publication of brochures, pamphlets and posters; conducting surveys on the responsiveness of the community; developing partnerships with particular stakeholders in the community; improving the Rwandan National Police website; exhibiting police services at trade fairs and shows; and the use of the mass media in sensitization.

Secondly, the police force has initiated training programmes on community policing for police officers. This has involved: development of a syllabus for community policing; educating officers in customer care and public relations; and, establishment of two training institutions for the police, the National Police Academy (NPA) in Ruhengeri for officers and the Police Training School (PTS) at Gishali for basic police training.

Thirdly, strategies have been developed in partnership with the communities to initiate crime prevention. These strategies include measures to make it difficult for criminals to access their targets (target hardening), property markings, and incorporating police requirements in environmental designs such as town planning.

Fourthly, efforts have been made to sensitise the community on gender issues. These have included recruitment and training of female police officers; use of mass media programmes on gender issues; development of programmes on gender issues in educational institutions; and, facilitation of access to courts and medical facilities for victims of sexual abuse; programmes on HIV/AIDS.

Fifthly, there has been strengthening of education on road safety in schools. This has involved development of curriculum on road safety, conducting school visits to carry out surveys on implementation of the curriculum on road safety, and developing training aids on road safety.

Sixth, programs on promotion of respect for human rights are being implemented. These include: training communities on torture and sexual gender based violence, sensitization on human rights issues, training police officers as counselors to help and interact with the victims of violence and on children's rights, publishing and issuing pocketbooks on human rights issues.

Lastly, programmes have been developed to assist vulnerable groups. Such programmes involve sensitization of communities on problems and consequences of vulnerable groups, establishment of integrated partnerships with other stakeholders on vulnerable groups issues, and development of special programs on victims of genocide, street children and drug abusers.

Experiences with Community Policing in Rwanda

The shift to community policing has to be understood in the context of two major problems that confronted the immediate post-genocide Rwanda: insurgency in the northwest and dispensation of justice for the perpetrators of genocide. Attempts to resolve the two problems relied heavily on community participation.

The Insurgency in the Northwest

The insurgency developed in the northern provinces of Gisenyi and Ruhengeri when the defeated FAR forces and the militias that had committed genocide reorganized

from their bases in neighbouring Congo and began infiltrating back into the region with the intention to continue the genocide.⁸ By 1997 the insecurity in this region had reached alarming levels, with attacks occurring on a daily basis. Targets included human settlements, schools, administrative centres and road traffic among others. Given the fact that the region had been the home of the former president Habyarimana and a crucial support base for the deposed regime most of the insurgents hailed from the area. Consequently the insurgents initially received support from the local inhabitants. A solution had to be found and whatever the approach chosen it had to involve the population.

The aim of the insurgents was to make the region ungovernable by creating general insecurity. However, these activities soon disrupted the general population from conducting their daily business as the effects of insurgency began to take effect. The support for insurgency started to dwindle as sections of the population began to cooperate with the security forces. Sensing the declining support the insurgents instituted a reign of terror against the population to compel it not to collaborate with the security forces. Insurgent attacks started being indiscriminate and sometimes targeting relatives who refused to support them.

Communities realized the need to unite and end the insurgency. Collaborative efforts began between the security forces and the local population to root out the insurgents. These efforts included: the villagers, in collaboration with the security forces and local administration, organized themselves into local defence systems and began village patrols and collection of information; general sensitization of community

⁸ For details about the insurgency check the report by African Rights, *Rwanda: The Insurgency in the Northwest*, September 1998

members on security matters was done through meetings and door-to-door visits; mobilization was carried out by community leaders to neutralize the ideology of Hutu extremism that was disseminated by the insurgents; emphasizing the responsibility of the community to encourage the insurgents to desert; and, enacting measures to re-integrate the insurgents into the community.

Overall the community provided the crucial information that guided the operations against the insurgents. The community initiatives soon bore fruit as some of the insurgents began to desert and return to their communities. For instance, a former insurgent interviewed after desertion from the insurgents gave this account:

“I was initially surprised by the welcome we received, since there were people like myself who had been helping their opponents. Having been welcomed we gave the army a lot of information concerning the infiltrators hiding places and their tactics.”⁹

Soon information began filtering back to the insurgents from their relatives that it was safe to return and the propaganda about being killed upon return was false. The net effect was progressive desertions from the insurgents' camp as information was relayed back by returnees concerning the kind of treatment they received. These efforts by the community greatly complemented the work of the security forces for it would have required a large number of security forces and resources to deal with the situation. The success in ending the insurgency in the northwest attests to the effectiveness of community based approaches.

⁹ African Rights, op. cit., p. 37.

The Adoption of the Gacaca System of Justice

The second problem that confronted the new administration was the issue of bringing the perpetrators of genocide to justice. The approach adopted by the government was the *gacaca* system, which was informed by the old Kinyarwanda system of justice. By definition *gacaca* are traditional councils and tribunals made up of elders to resolve conflict and administer justice. *Gacaca* literally means “a resting and relaxing green lawn in the Rwandan homestead” where family members or neighbours met to exchange views on issues directly affecting them. Being communal and participatory a *gacaca* derived its impetus and legitimacy from the unity of Rwandans in as much as it complemented the same unity by being the cement that strengthened social relations in the name of justice.¹⁰ *Gacaca* like most traditional African justice systems is communal. The communal aspect was an indispensable media in which individuals lived out their relations with each other and with the wider society. *Gacaca* therefore molded and defined the performance parameters expected of each individual in Rwandan society. In essence the social mores and values expected of each individual were reinforced by the *gacaca* process.

The *gacaca* system adopted by the government is an inclusive process that involves both the victims and the perpetrators in an interactive process aimed at achieving catharsis for both. Catharsis aims to rebuild society through a process of focusing on the genocide and involving the community in identifying its causes and dealing with its consequences. The *gacaca* system ensures that since the crime of genocide was committed against the people then they should participate in bringing justice to both the victims and the perpetrators. The idea is to promote unity and

¹⁰ Rusagara, F.K, *The Military in Conflict Management: A Case Study of the Rwandan Patriotic Army op. cit.*, p. 97

reconciliation through a process of self re-examination. Once the offenders participate in the process they feel valued and the punishment is understood and becomes more acceptable. Dealing with the offenders in an emotionally supportive environment causes radical changes in the offender's mindset and hence reduces the risk of re-offending.

The second reason for the adoption of the *gacaca* system was to expedite the trials of those suspects accused of participating in the genocide. Since the execution of the genocide involved the general population the number of suspects was quite high. By 1996 there were already about 130,000 detainees awaiting trial. Legal experts estimated that resort to conventional court processes would take over two hundred years to complete the trials. Furthermore, the human and financial resources required would be astronomical.

Gacaca therefore provides a more cost effective and quicker system of disposing the cases and promoting unity and reconciliation. Through the *gacaca* process the perpetrators accept responsibility for the genocide and respond to the needs and wishes of the victims thereby recognizing their human values. The system also reinforces the role of the community in conflict resolution and delivery of equitable justice.

The *gacaca* is predicated on the restorative approach which engages offenders who have admitted their offenses, the victims of the genocide, and members of the community. The involvement of all stakeholders helps to give credibility to the justice system, and restores the rule of law. It reduces the length of custodial sentences and re-offending and hence reduces crime rate. Restorative justice seeks to balance the personal/local needs of victims and perpetrators with the broader goals of society of deterring criminality by punishing and reintegrating offenders.

All partners affected by the offending behaviour are involved in discussing the causes and consequences and the fate of the offender. The restorative justice emphasises the mechanisms by which sentences are decided. The decision making process which involves all stakeholder is what underlies this system of justice.

The Gacaca Courts

The *gacaca* courts comprise *inyangamugayo* (people of integrity) from within the community who act as judges. Everybody in the community participates in the court process, which is done publicly. Community participation involves such activities like: identifying the perpetrators of genocide within their communities; de-indoctrination of released suspects from the genocide ideology; providing security for the survivors of genocide and other witnesses who may feel threatened; identifying indications of potential threats to security; and, in collectively constituting the first line of investigation once a wrong is committed.

For instance, retributive attacks against witnesses who give evidence against suspected criminals in court by the criminals themselves or their relatives sometimes occur. In such an instance community members bear the collective responsibility for searching and exposing the culprits, without necessarily waiting for the police. In other words *gacaca* has contributed to community policing.

Creating conducive conditions for community policing

The policy of decentralization and devolution of power has enhanced the participation of communities in decision-making on matters concerning their livelihoods. Through this policy the Rwandan government attempts to empower the citizens to participate in issues of governance. The strategic objectives of the decentralisation policy

are: to enable local people to participate in initiating, making, implementing and monitoring decisions and plans that concern them, taking into consideration their local needs, priorities, capacities and resources; to strengthen accountability and transparency by making local leaders directly accountable to the communities they serve; to enhance effectiveness and efficiency in the planning, monitoring and delivery of services by placing the activities in the local government.¹¹

Decentralisation was therefore geared towards empowering citizens so that they could participate in making decisions on issues affecting them. Grassroots based structures were established to facilitate this process. These included the *akagari* council, which includes all adults aged 18 years and above in a village. The council is charged with mobilizing the residents to identify, discuss and find solutions to the problems of the *akagari*. Secondly, the council is responsible for, among other things, promoting the establishment and functioning of the *gacaca* system of justice. Thirdly it oversees the delivery of services at the *akagari* level. The decisions of the *akagari* are implemented by an executive committee which is elected by the council. This committee includes a secretary for security matters who is responsible for coordinating all activities geared towards the maintenance of security.¹²

The individual plays a big role in the overall maintenance of security within the *akagari*. The *akagari* council may pass bylaws and establish law enforcement mechanisms but the ultimate responsibility for guaranteeing sustainable security is placed on the individual members of the community. The council creates ideal conditions for the community to maintain its own security. For instance, in neighbourhood patrols the

¹¹ Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs, *National Decentralization Policy*, May 2000, p. 7.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 11-13.

council provides material support to the patrol teams. This may include warm clothing, whistles, flashlights, and gumboots.

The council has adopted a proactive approach by engaging continuously in identifying causes of insecurity and developing policies and programmes that can deal with the causes rather than the consequences. For instance, due to the constant upheavals in the country's history land has become a potential source of conflict. Conflicting claims on land by various populations displaced at different times were common in some parts of the country. This was the case when old case returnees (those who fled in 1959 onwards) and new case returnees (those who fled after 1994) conflicted over ownership of land in Kibungo province. The communities, based on the knowledge of the nature of the problem, designed a system of amicably sharing out the contested pieces of land, and hence diffusing a potentially explosive situation.

The *akagari* councils have been empowered and can enact bylaws to preempt potential causes of insecurity such as bylaws limiting operating hours for bars and night clubs as well as movement of livestock. Furthermore, the *akagari* councils deal with problems of poverty in conjunction with other stakeholders because they recognize that poverty is a primary source of insecurity. This arrangement therefore creates conducive conditions that nurture the community policing approach.

Other supportive structures

Community policing is also enhanced by other actors such as the Local Defence Force and private security companies. Depending on the nature of the problem that a village has it can create a local defence group comprising young men who then carry out patrols within the village. The group is usually under the leadership of the secretary for

security matters of the *akagari* but is supervised in its operations by the police. The services of the local defence force are utilized on a temporary and voluntary basis. However, should their services be extended such that it interferes with daily activities of the group members then remuneration must be provided by the administration (the local councils).

Private security companies are part and parcel of the security arrangements. Their services must be provided under the overall supervision of the police, as provided in the law. Private companies are therefore obliged by law to coordinate their activities with the police including sharing information. The police also coordinate with the companies on how best their services can be provided within a specific locality.

CHAPTER FOUR

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN THE RWANDA CONTEXT

Introduction

This study is an analysis of the implementation of the community policing programme in Rwanda. The thrust of the study centres on the argument that there is a direct relationship between social order and security, and each is dependent on the other. Social order is a broad phenomenon that encompasses all aspects of society including the social, economic, political, cultural and environmental spheres.¹ Chapter one argued that the evolution of the concept of policing over time reveals a gap; specifically, the transition from traditional policing to modern policing left some aspects of policing that had been catered for in the traditional model outside the police institution approach.² The chapter argued that social order is a complex phenomenon that should not be left to one institution alone. Consequently, the paradigm shift from modern to community policing is occasioned by the inability of the modern approach to maintain social order.

Chapter two examined the evolution of policing in society and argued that all modern societies have mechanisms to maintain social order. The chapter examined the paradigm shift from traditional to modern policing and analysed two contending views about the shift: one, that the police guarantee the security of all citizens, and, two, that the police only serve the interests of the dominant class.³ The different conflicting perceptions about the effectiveness of various community policing models were examined and the observation was that there is no universal (one-jacket fit-all) model.

¹ See, p. 35.

² See p. 2.

³ See pp. 25-26.

Each society and locality has to develop its own model that takes into account unique security characteristics.

Chapter three traced the evolution of policing in pre- and post-genocide Rwanda. A key observation about the chapter was that the evolution of policing in Rwanda depicts paradigm shifts. Pre-colonial Rwanda demonstrates the traditional approach that guaranteed the security of all members of the society whereas the colonial and post-colonial (up to 1994) period were characterized by the modern approach, which focused exclusively on the interests of the regime. The post-genocide period witnesses a new paradigm which attempts to guarantee the security of everybody and to regenerate community relations.

The introduction of community policing in Rwanda arose from the need to reconcile and rebuild the country after the 1994 genocide. Community policing in the Rwandan context was therefore tailored to meet the specific circumstances inherent in the country's socioeconomic and political structure. Key to this was the fact that years of poor governance that preceded the genocide had had a negative effect on all public institutions including the police. As a result the police force was an institution distrusted by the common Rwandese, more so because of its complicity in the genocide. Community policing was therefore a means to restore the rule of law that had progressively broken down and culminated in the 1994 genocide through the involvement of citizens in the maintenance of security.

This chapter critically analyses the implementation of community policing in Rwanda. Part one forms the introduction; part two analyses the key issues that have been generated by the study. These issues are: the concept of social order and security, the

implementation framework, the specificity of community policing models and the effectiveness of community policing in Rwanda.

Social order and Security

The concept of security has undergone change over time in Rwanda. In the pre-colonial period security was an all-encompassing phenomenon that sought to reduce or eliminate all forms of threats to individuals and the wider society through institutions like the family, clan, chiefs, the military (ingabo), the King's Court and the gacaca system. The philosophy underpinning security and the maintenance of social order was the need to maintain societal unity by guaranteeing the fulfillment of the needs of every member of the society. Individuals played an important role in ensuring social order because it was the duty of everyone to uphold positive social values and to check the excesses of other members.⁴ Conflict management mechanisms such as the gacaca system depended on popular participation and aimed at reconciliation rather than punishment.⁵ In this way the protection of all individuals in society was guaranteed thus ensuring social harmony.

The coming of colonialism saw a redefinition of the concept of security; instead of the broader focus on security for all members of the society that had been existent in pre-colonial times emphasis was now placed on protecting the interests of the colonial state and its agents. This was achieved through the institutionalization and bureaucratization of force aimed at subduing the locals and compel them to serve the interests of the colonial state. The maintenance of social order was detached from the ambit of the society and entrusted to specific institutions that were exclusively created to control the society. Traditional mechanisms of conflict management such as the gacaca

⁴ See, p. 2.

⁵ See, p. 43.

courts were replaced by conventional judicial system, which emphasised punishment rather than reconciliation. The net effect was increased insecurity for both individual and society.

The definition of security adopted by the colonial state was inherited by the post-colonial state.⁶ Whereas the focus of security during the colonial period was on protecting the interests of the colonial state in the post-colonial period the focus was on regime security. Similar methods to those employed by the colonial state, that is, the use of coercive instruments, were also adopted by the post-colonial state.⁷ The effect was increased insecurity for individuals and large sections of the society. Indeed, it can be argued that whereas the colonial state sowed the seeds of ethnic animosity it was the definition of security adopted by successive post-colonial regimes that consolidated the genocide ideology which culminated in the 1994 genocide.

In the aftermaths of the 1994 genocide the government of Rwanda redefines the concept of security in broad terms. This redefinition is in conformity with Barry Buzan's definition, which comprises spheres such as the military, the political, societal, economic and environmental.⁸ This definition takes a holistic view of security and borrows heavily from the pre-colonial concept of security in Rwanda. The security situation in post-genocide Rwanda necessitated a paradigm shift in the policing approach.

Analysis of the Implementation of community policing

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda constitutes an important turning point in the country's history. It was the culmination of a long process of communal disintegration

⁶ See for instance, Crawford Young, "The End of the Post-colonial State in Africa? Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamics" in *African Affairs*, Vol. 103, No. 410, January 2004, pp. 23-49.

⁷ See, p. 48.

⁸ See, p. 22.

that had began with the imposition of colonial rule. According to some scholars colonialism introduced “cultural breaks” in the Rwandan polity. Clifford Geertz defines culture as “a community of senses which enables persons of a given community to interact, exchange and nurture all types of social relations.” Therefore cultural breaks refer to what destroys or affects that minimal solidarity of vision and conception. In other words colonialism introduced an alien culture that disrupted the traditional mechanisms in Rwandan society that had ensured a shared vision of life, and ended up dividing an erstwhile homogenous society into antagonistic groups.

According to Geertz the colonial authorities, with their excessive reliance on coercive instruments, coupled with the introduction of a new culture, broke down the traditional social control mechanisms, and more formal policing arrangements were developed. The net effect of the disintegration of communal mores and values that had held the society together was rising insecurity both for the individual and the community.

Community policing in Rwanda therefore represents an attempt to re-establish social cohesion and reliance on informal social mechanisms that are critical in the maintenance of social order. As a philosophy it borrows from the communal relations existent in pre-colonial society. The adoption of community policing in Rwanda therefore represents a paradigm shift in the ‘Kuhnian’ sense of the term. However, the community-policing model adopted in Rwanda incorporates aspects of both the traditional and the modern policing models hence could be referred to as a ‘hybrid paradigm’.

Community policing in Rwanda has to be understood within the larger context of state reconstruction. Indeed community policing is part of a wider paradigm shift involving all aspects of governance. Governance in pre-1994 Rwanda was characterized

by excessive centralisation and monopolisation of power and exclusion of the citizens from the decision making process. This exclusion led to all forms of malpractices in the management of public affairs and culminated in the 1994 genocide. Such exclusion had been the basis of the conflict between the RPF and the Rwandan government in the pre-1994 period.

The new Government of National Unity that was established in July 1994 undertook to involve the citizens in decision making through decentralization and devolution of power. The empowerment of citizens to participate in making decisions on matters affecting them and community policing are mutually reinforcing processes. The process of decentralization and devolution involved building institutions at both the national and local levels, and enactment of relevant policies, to facilitate the process.

The introduction of the community policing programme in Rwanda involved establishing relevant institutions and policies to deal with law enforcement, and developing a philosophy that stressed community participation and partnership between the police and the citizens in identification and solving security problems in their neighbourhoods. To achieve this objective there was need to combine aspects of modern and traditional policing. For instance, security committees comprising key stakeholders were formed at all levels of administration to coordinate all issues related to security within a given administrative unit. The committees have initiated activities such as local patrols to supplement ordinary police patrols, and carried out investigations to identify suspected criminals.

The five year period between the formation of the communal police (1995) and the national police (2000) was preoccupied with the setting up of appropriate structures

and legal frameworks. This long period ensured that extensive consultations involving policy makers and stakeholders were undertaken in order to formulate suitable legal frameworks and policies. Thus community policing in Rwanda is founded on appropriate structures, mechanisms and policies.

The community policing programme has had various notable effects. First, the *gacaca* system of justice has played a crucial role in reconciliation, one that the conventional justice system could not have performed, and even made it possible for the truth to come out. It has also saved the resources that could have been expended in court trials both for the state and individuals.

The community policing mechanism borrows from the traditional mechanisms of policing in pre-colonial society, and this paradigm shift is exemplified in the *gacaca* court system, which traces its origins in the old traditional Rwandan justice system where by communities used to sit down on the grass to hear and resolve cases between members of the community. The system involves citizen participation, which is a key assumption of the new policing approach, by ensuring that since the crime of genocide was committed against the people then they should participate in bringing justice to the perpetrators and the victims. Further, it promotes unity and reconciliation because although the punishment for genocide and homicide is death under the Rwandan Penal Law, the *gacaca* system provides for different penalties including pardon for offenders who confess their guilt and apologize to the community.

Gacaca provides a more cost effective and quicker system of disposing of cases given the huge number of suspects held in pre-trial detention. It reduces both the cost and need of “experts” to preside over the hearings since non-professional judges are elected

by the communities on the basis of their good standing (*INYANGAMUGAYO*) character and reputation in society, and they form the core of the judges in the system. The *gacaca* system, being a homegrown system, is more user friendly thereby allowing communities to freely participate in the proceedings since such proceedings are conducted in Kinyarwanda, in a familiar place and by familiar people.

Despite the transparency and popular involvement of citizens in the *gacaca* system, some people perceive the system as unfair, especially when it allows people who committed murder to go free or with only light sentences like performing community work. There have also been incidences of former prisoners occasionally re-engaging in criminal activities such as killing genocide survivors and other witnesses. Often this reinforces the perception that the system favours the perpetrators and is in fact inefficient in deterring re-offending; such perceptions often leads to calls for stiffer penalties by critics of the system who believe in international legal standards. This challenge is aggravated by the fact that there are two parallel justice systems operating at the same time: the *gacaca* system for genocide suspects, and the conventional system for the 'ordinary offenders'. A key contradiction pointed out by the victims of the genocide is that the *gacaca* system gives lighter sentences for more serious offenses involving genocide while the conventional system gives heavier sentences.

The *gacaca* system has also been accused of intensifying the trauma of the relatives of those who perished in the genocide, who have to live side by side with those who killed their kith and kin. The problem is compounded by the fact that there are survivors of the genocide who were left destitute and find it difficult to subsist, others

who were maimed for life, and others who were raped and deliberately infected with HIV Aids.

On the other hand, the perpetrators of the genocide experience shame and guilt when they go through confessions, because pleading guilty is a difficult affair; moreover even those who do not confess suffer from guilt consciousness. The *gacaca* system also faces the challenge of perpetrators and other potential witnesses deliberately hiding the truth, which negates the very essence of the system. Furthermore, the effectiveness of the *gacaca* system is undermined by the lingering ideology of genocide among some people inside and outside the country that makes it difficult for suspects to confess. This calls for the need to continuously improve the system and make it more capable of offering solutions.

Restorative justice is fundamentally concerned with restoring social relationships and establishing social equality in relationships, that is, peaceful coexistence and equal respect within the same community. In order to achieve this, attention must be paid both to the wrong done and its relevant context and causes. This is brought out in the Gacaca system of justice.

By focusing on the social dimension, restorative justice captures an idea of transformation, of orientation towards the future and hence contributes to rebuilding society. Restorative justice begins from the dis-equilibrium of a relationship in society, but what is ultimately to be restored is not the relationship as it existed before disruption but an ideal of a relationship of equality before the law, guaranteeing basic rights such as security of the individual. Restorative justice is a process whereby all the parties with a

stake in a particular dispute come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the negative consequences of the dispute and its implications for the future.

Communities and even wrongdoers themselves are in some sense harmed by wrongdoing. Once it is understood that the harm is experienced by all parties to the relationship, then it becomes important for everybody to participate in the process, first, in order to explain the nature and extent of the harm experienced, and, further, to be part of deciding how best to repair the harm, and second, to restore relationships between the parties.

By bringing the community together in an effort to address a specific situation, a sense of community is restored and the community is enabled to participate in the resolution of the conflict and reinforce the values of a healthy community. Restorative justice is aimed at determining what happened in order to address the wrong. “The sessions after a chance to listen to individuals story and they feel heard, and the facilitator to understand and explain the situation to both the victim and the perpetrator.”

The community policing model adopted in Rwanda combined aspects of both the traditional and modern policing approaches. For example, it was realised that the modern policing approach on its own could not resolve the problem of insurgency in the northwest of the country since it would have required enormous resources. On the other hand the traditional approach on its own could not handle armed insurgency especially in a society where the social fabric needed to create a sense of community had broken down and led to mutual suspicion. Indeed it is this breakdown in social cohesion that the insurgents capitalized on. Against this background the post-1994 government adopted a community policing approach that sought to incorporate the combined efforts of all stake

holders - the army, the police, the local administration and the community members. The approach adopted by the government in dealing with the insurgency reflected Alderson's views that community policing should not be regarded as substitute for all other forms of policing but rather as a complementary strategy.

The Specificity of the Community Policing model in Rwanda

The community-policing model adopted by any community must take into account the specific security circumstances of the locality. The community-policing model adopted in Rwanda was specifically geared towards addressing the problems that faced the Rwandan society in the aftermath of the genocide. These problems included a society polarised along ethnic lines, collapsed state institutions and general insecurity. The new government recognized the need to rebuild and reconcile society and community policing was one aspect of the government's efforts at nation building and reconciliation.

Community policing models vary depending on the needs of the community involved but the fundamental principle underlying every model is community participation. Even in the Rwandan context different communities faced different security challenges and adopted different models. For example, in the northwestern region of Rwanda the model adopted to deal with insurgency was different from the one adopted eastern province of Kibungo to deal with conflicts over land.⁹ What this implies is that borrowing a model that worked in one place does not necessarily mean that it will work in a different context.

Challenges Faced by the Program

⁹ See pp. 54-55, and pp. 59-60.

The shift to community policing in the post-genocide period was heavily reliant on the broader project of rebuilding society. It had to adopt a stepwise, progressive approach, building mechanisms that dealt with the problems of the day and at the same time developing the infrastructure and elaborating the philosophy to apply in the application of community policing generally. This involved reorganising the law and order enforcement agencies, developing their doctrine, systems of recruitment and training and the re-integration of those from the old order after de-indoctrinating them. The whole process had to depend on the vision and perceptions of how the new leadership sought to reorganise society and especially reconstitute the entire administrative system, which had been structured to serve the old order of promoting sectarianism and substituting it with one that facilitates citizen participation. Community policing requires a democratic environment to flourish and in the particular case of Rwanda after the genocide, it was required to heal the wounds caused by oppressive involvement of police to citizens by former non-democratic societies.

Community policing which is otherwise a cost-effective model had to depend on other enterprises that made it more complex and costly. It was being implemented in a situation of competing needs and challenges and hence the process of the implementation was quite slow. The process was further constrained by the low level of training of the police officers, the higher officer-population ratio, lack of equipment and logistics and the poor pay for the officers.

The problems in post 1994 Rwanda, had to be looked at in totality (wholly) in order to avoid compartmentalising them which would make them appear intractable. For

example, the insurgency which developed in the Northwest had to be viewed broadly as a threat to the entire society, and efforts were made to involve the population (both victims and sympathisers of the insurgents) in the scheme to defeat the genocidal ideology perpetrated by the insurgents. The opportunity offered by desertions had to be nurtured through involving everyone in fighting negative propaganda and convincing the victims to make further sacrifices even when the insurgency rekindled fears in them.

This called for a comprehensive strategy that involved all stakeholders (the government, the army, the police, the local administration, the civil society and the general population) in identifying the causes of the insurgency and designing the mechanisms for defeating it. The other option conforming to the old paradigm would have been to use brutal force and coercion against the insurgents and their supporters. This would have entailed expensive ventures in terms of deployments of large numbers of security personnel and enormous resources. The philosophy of involving the community succeeded in ending the insurgency and also the experience helped to inform the future design of the community policing in Rwanda. The idea of a local defence force as a community effort to contribute to police work was developed from the experience gained in fighting insurgency. Furthermore, confidence building was enhanced in the process as the citizens gained confidence and trust in the law enforcement agencies.

Community policing is a relatively new concept for establishing and maintaining social order. In its implementation, a lot of challenges are encountered and mistakes are made such that proposed solutions often fail or are met partially, and often the stakeholders do

CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The citizen expects police officers to have the wisdom of Solomon, the courage of David, the strength of Samson, the patience of Job, the leadership of Moses, the kindness of the good Samaritan, the strategical training of Alexander, the faith of Daniel, the diplomacy of Lincoln, the tolerance of the carpenter of Nazareth, and finally, an intimate knowledge of every branch of the natural, biological, and social sciences. If he had all these he might be a good policeman! (cited in Bain, 1939)

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda constitutes a turning point in the country's history and marks a transition from the old order characterized by exclusion of citizens from participation in the decision making process to the new order, which emphasizes devolution of power and citizen participation in all matters affecting their lives. This shift owes much to two factors. First, the government that came to power in the post-1994 period realized that national unity and reconciliation were the basis for any sustainable efforts at national building. Indeed this had been the rationale for the RPF struggle, which had sought a fundamental change in the Rwandese body politic. Thus the government sought to move away from the divisive policies that had characterized earlier regimes.

Secondly, the post-Cold War environment that emphasized neo-liberal democratic values such as popular participation, transparency, accountability and respect for individual rights and freedoms. Although these values are attributed to Western cultures they had in fact existed in Rwandese culture for centuries during the pre-colonial period. Contrary to the Western belief that colonialism had a civilizing influence on the Rwandese society it in fact introduced negative values like violation of human rights, divisive politics, exploitation and torture.

The post-colonial regime was a continuation of the colonial state in everything but name. The right of Rwandans to determine their destiny, which was expected with the demise of colonialism, never materialized. The Cold War rivalry between the Eastern and Western blocs made security a specific concern of both superpowers and Rwanda became a Western ally. The overarching framework within which the definition of security was understood during the Cold War was regime security. Such a narrow definition of security meant that regimes could violate the rights of citizens with impunity. Adherence to international norms was held hostage to Cold War politics and this not only explains the periodic 'mini' genocides in Rwanda during the Cold War but also the failure by the international community to check on the excesses of the regimes that culminated in the 1994 genocide.

This study set out to analyse the implementation process of the community-policing programme in post-1994 Rwanda. It was informed by the fact that the policing approach adopted by the new government differed markedly from the previous approaches. The study sought to test two hypotheses, namely: that the lack of appropriate policies and policy integration had slowed down the pace of implementation of community policing in Rwanda; and, that the increased participation of Rwandan citizens in community policing had led to enhanced security, stable society, and contributed to nation building.

The findings of the study indicate that community policing in Rwanda has to be understood within the wider context of nation building and reconciliation in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide. Consequently, the paradigm shift that affected policing in Rwanda was part of a wider paradigm shift in the realm of governance. The shift from the modern

policing approach to community policing is an attempt to fill the gap in the modern approach and its failure to resolve the pressing problems of the day namely, involving the citizens in restoring and sustaining law and order that had broken down during the genocide.

The community policing model that was adopted in Rwanda recognises that community policing does not conform to the “one jacket fits all” strategy. The problems of the day vary from one community to another, from region to region, from one country another. In Rwanda particularly, the uniqueness of the genocide generated special problems that necessitated complex solutions. The model of community policing adopted in Rwanda took into account the complexities of the prevailing problems. The model combined aspects of the traditional policing and those of the modern policing and introduced and emphasised community participation and accountability.

The model adopted in Rwanda had to deal with the immediate problems and also to provide a sustainable framework for solving future problems. The model had also to be informed by the genesis of the problems that characterised the police forces in the past. Law enforcement agencies were identified with a culture of brutality and coercion both in the colonial and post-colonial periods. The divide and rule policies of the colonial period were emulated, by the post-independence regimes by instituting sectarian policies that enlarged and deepened the divisions in the Rwanda society. The use of the law enforcement agencies to implement unpopular laws and policies (forced labour, collection of forced taxes) created a culture of violation of human rights and brutality that was perpetrated by the post-independent police forces. The outright use of state institutions and the population in mass violence further entrenched this culture in the

police force doctrine as was evidenced by the active participation of the police communale in the successive massacres of the Tutsi from the 1960s.

The paradigm shift in policing that came after 1994, had to define the philosophy which caters for a wider definition of security. In fact the definition of security adopted by the post-1994 government was all-encompassing and fitted in well with Buzan's definition; that is, the security of human beings is affected by factors in five areas namely political, economic, societal, environmental and military. Community policing in Rwanda therefore recognises that threats to social order have their origins in a broad array of causes inherent in society. Consequently, the community-policing model should be holistic and focus on a wide range of factors rather than concentrating on single issues like fighting crime. Further, the model needs to promote pro-active approaches to security.

The implementation of community policing in Rwanda required the establishment of legal and institutional frameworks. The study found out that the slow implementation of the community policing programme was partly a result of the delay in establishing legal and institutional frameworks. Indeed, the community policing framework had to be established within the wider framework of re-building other governance structures. The net effects were that first community policing did not get the attention it deserved and, secondly it could not be effectively implemented in the absence of other governance structures that created a conducive environment.

Research findings indicate that the increased participation of communities in the policing programme has led to enhanced security, stable society and contributed to nation building. Initiatives such as the *gacaca*, and the empowerment of the communities to

participate in decision making through mechanisms such as the *akagari* councils have played a big role in re-establishing social order and resolving key problems of the day.

However, findings also show that the community policing programme faces a lot of challenges including institutional resistance from the police force, different interpretations of community policing by different actors, lack of human and material resources among others. As a result of these challenges the following recommendations can be made:

First the community policing model must be domesticated by adopting it to the local conditions prevailing within a particular community. The models that are appropriate for the developed world may not be suitable for the developing countries hence the need for each country or community to design its own model. However community policing has certain general principles like community participation and problem solving which must form the basis of any community policing model.

Secondly, community policing is a broad concept that adopts a broader perspective of security and should not be solely restricted to narrow issues like fighting crime. Indeed community policing is a proactive approach that seeks to identify and analyse the causes and consequences of insecurity and attempts to deal with them by involving all stakeholders.

Thirdly, community policing must be located within a legal, institutional and policy framework in order to nurture it. In Rwanda, it is through structures like the *akagari* council that the communities are empowered to participate in decision making. Empowerment ensures that no matter where a particular community policing initiative

originates, it will end up being located within the community. Community empowerment guarantees that community policing is a grass root based approach.

The community policing approach can only be effective if the communities are accorded the rights and freedoms to participate and contribute to decisions on matters that concern them, that is, if community policing has to succeed there must be some level of democratic culture in the society, and decentralization and devolution of power is key in the implementation of community policing.

The arguments for community policing evolve from the idea that the community is a major source of social integration in what is otherwise an impersonal society. Communities provide informal social control by exerting influence which contributes to the control of members of the society. It is argued by many scholars that the formal social control system of the police , which is based upon written rules and laws and prescribed punishments, cannot be fully effective without being closely integrated with the informal control system in the community.

The formal means of control, then, become a backup or support for local enforcement. If neighbourhood residents view the police as outsiders, and the arrest situation as imposition of unfair or biased rules upon fellow citizens, then normal, negative stigma of arrest is absent and the informal control mechanism works against the formal system. This condition can seriously limit the effectiveness of the police.¹ Community policing is a strategy to maximize the integration of the formal control system of the police with the informal control system of the community. Emphasis is placed upon building bonds of communication, interaction and mutual input between the police and the community and hence develop mutual trust and support. A well developed

¹ Reiner R Robert, *The Politics of the Police*, 3rd ed, Oxford: oxford University Press, 2000. PP ix-12

community policing model should be a product of careful construction, designed by the police and the public together, and should not be a reaction of a temporary crisis in the community.

Renner adds that "... National Security is a meaningless concept if it does not result in improved welfare of the people. The wellbeing of nations and their individual citizens depends as well on economic prosperity, social justice, and ecological stability as it does safety from foreign attack. Pursuing military security at the cost of these other factors is akin to dismantling a house to salvage materials to erect a fence around it."²

This underlies the whole concept of human security which expands the meaning of security to include not only physical security but also security of livelihood and steering it away from its traditional militaristic, statecentric to that which focuses the human person rather than the state as the beneficiary of security. To achieve this requires a paradigm shift in policing approach to adopt community policing. Police services have to take measures to enhance public trust which had dwindled in the contemporary police model. Frankly, I wish to assert that in the new world order dominated by neo-liberal values which demand increased service, there does not seem to be any other visible alternative to community policing.

² Renner M, *Environmental Dimensions of Disarmament and Conversion*, In *Conversion: Opportunities for Development and Environment*, Spinger-Verlag, Berlin, 1992, Page 346.

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