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Policing in a Divided Society

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Preface

One of the most important challenges facing Israeli society today, possibly the most important, is to improve the relations between the state and the Arab minority. In most modern democracies, and particularly in divided societies, the police force clearly serves as an agent of the state and its policy toward citizens. In many cases the police form the focus of tension between the state and minority groups. This is particularly apparent in Israel: in many respects, the interplay between the Arab citizens and the police influence the relationship between Arab society, the State of Israel, and the Jewish majority.

The Abraham Fund Initiatives and the Israel Police recognize the tremendous advantage of learning from policing models applied around the world. Although each country has its own unique character, some of the problems are shared in many places. Police services around the world cope with a wide range of issues, such as the use of ethnic profiling; relations between different population groups; relations between different cultures and nationalities; recruitment of police personnel duly reflecting the various groups; community policing; police accountability; transparency in the work of the police, and so forth. Police personnel who participate in overseas study tours gain an appreciation for the universal character of various problems and can learn from others' experiences and successes.

The knowledge gained from familiarization with models used in other countries and from experiments undertaken around the world in the field of police-minority relations is invaluable. This knowledge contributes to understanding the different facets of community policing – or “policing with the community” – as a world view and as a horizontal principle guiding actions across the organization and defining the involvement and trust of the public in general, and minorities in particular, with policing work. This knowledge also points to alternatives to existing policies that can help foster trust between the police and national and other minority groups.

This book is being published as part of the intensive and going effort by the Abraham Fund Initiatives since the events of October 2000 to promote a police service that is fair and sensitive to Arab society in Israel. Such a service must be based on a relationship of trust between the two sides. We are grateful and appreciative for the work of all those who are striving to promote this goal, both among the leadership within Arab society and in the police command echelons. The vision and courage of leaders on both sides is helping to promote a process of change that is far from automatic given the highly complex and dynamic reality pertaining in Israel.

We would also like to thank the professionals who are working to develop this relationship and to improve the service as part of the Abraham Fund's project by means of diverse tools and themes applied in their work with the Arab community and with the

police. These professionals include the authors of this book, Professor Guy Ben-Porat and Uri Gofer, to whom we are particularly grateful.



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**Policing in Israel and around the World:
Common and Unique Challenges**

Guy Ben-Porat and Uri Gofer

Multicultural reality, including diversity along ethno-national, religious and linguistic divides, as well as the demands of different groups for recognition, is presenting numerous police services around the world with new challenges. Violent clashes between the police and minorities in recent years in many countries, including liberal democracies, as well as claims of discrimination, reflect the difficulties facing the state and the police in responding to these challenges. The charged relations between the police and minorities must be seen against the broader background of majority-minority relations and the relations between the minority and the state; they also reflect economic and social problems that do not relate directly to police work. In any case, the task of policing as the regulation of social conflict¹ has become particularly complex in a contemporary social and political reality in which questions of identity, belonging and authority are the subject of constant disagreement. As the body responsible for security and public order, the function of the police sometimes entails constant friction with ethnic groups that perceive the existing order as discriminatory and unfair. In some instances, the operating methods used by the police toward minorities themselves create or reinforce the feelings of discrimination among these minorities and their lack of trust in the police. In many countries, awareness on the part of the police of the need to strengthen the trust it enjoys among minorities, and violent clashes reflecting the presence of tensions, have helped to catalyze various reforms intended to improve the public image and status of the police and to respond to the new challenges posed by multicultural reality. Although there is consensus in most democracies regarding the principles of “proper” policing (limited use of force, fairness and equality), surprisingly little information is available regarding desirable reforms and their prospects for securing change.² More striking still is the absence of consensus regarding what is needed, possible and desirable in this field.

This collection of articles offers a theoretical and comparative review of the challenges and dilemmas inherent in policing in a multicultural reality and the main reforms introduced in this field. The relations between the police and the Arab minority in Israel form the central theme of the book and of the lessons and insights gained from different countries. The Or Commission, the official commission of inquiry established following the events of October 2000, described these events as an “earthquake” and a nadir in the unhappy relationship not only between the state and its Arab citizens, but also

between the police and Arab citizens. The Or Commission received a broad mandate, and its examination included not only the events that led to the death of 13 Arab demonstrators shot by the police, as well as the death of one Jewish citizen, but also the deeper factors behind the events. Among the profound causes of the events, the commission noted the presence of ongoing discrimination against the Arab public in Israel by “Israeli governments through the generations.” However, the main part of the report was devoted to the problematic status of the police among the Arab public and the changes required in this regard. The commission identified a widespread perception of Arab citizens as an enemy among the police, and explicitly established that “the level of service provided to the Arab public by the police was lower than usual in the Jewish sector” (Chapter 1, Part 1, p. 49). The commission emphasized the need for a thorough change in the attitude of the police toward the Arab sector, noting that “the police force is aware that it is often not perceived in the Arab sector as a body that provides a service, but rather as a hostile body that serves an inconsiderate regime (Chapter 6, Summary and Conclusions, p. 14). The events of October 2000, the Commission’s report, and the processes the police have undergone since these events form the backdrop against which we seek to examine the issues raised in this book.

In many places around the world, the worst moments in police-minority relations have sometimes become a positive turning point that has created a willingness on the part of all involved to act in order to secure change and to take responsibility. An effective and fair police service that attends to public order is a basic need of any community, and personal security is the right of every citizen. As we will discuss below, unequal policing is manifested not only in a harsh and violent attitude toward minorities, but also in neglect that damages the everyday lives of these citizens and forces them to live in the shadow of rising crime. This leads to a loss of personal security and a loss of confidence in the state and the police, whom citizens expect to protect their lives and property. The low level of trust in the police among the minority group hampers its functioning and sometimes reinforces racist attitudes within the service. In turn, the impaired functioning of the police further exacerbates mistrust, creating a vicious circle that is very difficult to break. Accordingly, reforms for improving the effectiveness and legitimacy of the police among minority groups are a mutual interest and a worthy target. These insights apply not only with regard to the Arab minority in Israel, of course, but also to other weakened groups.

This collection of articles is intended for any reader interested in learning about the influence of key policy issues on everyday life and society in Israel; for those interested in public policy issues in the multicultural context; and for those involved in various aspects of policing and related fields. Some of these articles, or earlier versions thereof, were published in the past in English in international journals. Due to the important contribution they can make to expanding discourse in Israel on the subject of policing and society, we decided to translate these articles into Hebrew for publication in this

book. Other articles were written specially for this book and are published here for the first time. In general terms, the articles address various aspects of policing, with an emphasis on aspects relating to policing in multicultural contexts. The collection is organized along three axes. The first theme presents theoretical issues that position the subject of police-minority relations within a broad context and discuss the key dilemmas and power bases of multicultural policing. The second theme presents several case studies from various countries, offering a comparative view of the developments and reforms introduced in various places with the goal of addressing the diverse challenges that face multicultural policing. The third theme considers the subject of relations between the police and the Arab minority in Israeli reality, including recent studies that have practical ramifications for the subject of the police and minorities in Israel, with an emphasis on Arab citizens. These latter articles engage in discourse with the theoretical and comparative aspects discussed in the first two axes. As would be expected, most of the articles can be classed in more than one theme, and some of them address all three. Accordingly, the division of the articles into chapters was based on our perception of the overall reading experience of the book and on our desire to emphasize certain aspects of the articles by presenting each one in a particular context. At the same time, each chapter of the book is independent and the chapters need not be read in sequence in order to understand the material.

From Nation State to Multicultural Reality

The classic model for police work is based on a “one size fits all” approach, including the implementation of reactive strategies for the war on crime, regardless of the nature of the crime and the environment in which it occurs. In recent years, this approach has been subject to academic and public criticism questioning its efficiency.³ Like other public organizations, the police are often required to cope with a multicultural reality that influences its working methods. This reality requires a re-examination of various aspects of the way in which the police force is organized and of its working procedures and contacts with different communities it encounters in the course of its work.

The modern nation state was based on the aspiration to ensure a correlation between the borders of the state, the borders of the nation, and collective identity. Accordingly, national ideology positioned national identity, with the political loyalty derived therefrom, above the other identities it ostensibly bridged, such as those of gender, religion, and class. This correlation between state and nation could resolve the problems of identity not only as a theoretical or cultural problem, but also with regard to practical aspects relating to everyday life. Civil equality was supposed to be manifested in the various institutions of the state and in a uniform set of obligations and rights for all citizens. However, contrary to the expectations of scholars and policy makers, the processes of “modernization” (including rising standards of education, industrialization,

and urbanization) did not erode ethnic and religious identities. These identities remained significant and relatively stable and have continued to pose challenges for the state and its institutions. The cultural variance faced by many countries is the result of the inclusion and annexation of different cultural and national groups by the state, creating national minorities, as well as by significant immigration creating ethnic minorities that sometimes find it difficult to secure a place within the existing social order and struggle for equality and recognition. These voices from the margins serve as a constant reminder of the ambivalent character of national identities⁴ and of multicultural reality. The demands raised by minority groups continue to fuel often stormy public debate regarding the status of the nation state, minority rights, and the need for state institutions to address the culture and nationality of different groups within the state.

Multicultural reality presents the state and its various institutions with a significant challenge relating to the response to the needs and demands of minority citizens and groups. The challenge relates not only to how to secure equal rights for individuals, but also how to ensure cultural recognition enabling individuals and groups to preserve, manifest, and transmit their unique cultural identity.⁵ Accordingly, cultural freedom is a liberty that relates to the right to groups to preserve or adopt a way of life they find appropriate.⁶ Demands for recognition are raised by national minorities that claim the right to self-determination;⁷ immigrant groups that demand to be allowed to integrate without assimilation;⁸ and ethnocultural or indigenous groups that were marginalized during the process of nation building and the consolidation of the state. Multicultural reality thus challenges the institutions of the democratic nation state due to the tension between belief in the unity of the nation, or in its capacity to create such unity, and the need to manage a complex society and cope with the diverse and sometimes contradictory needs of different groups within the state. As a result, multicultural reality is translated into discussion of the overall political framework, as well as debate concerning the allocation of resources, equal opportunities, the provision of public services, and individual as well as collective rights. Multiculturalism is not confined to a specific demand but often also includes a value-based critique of the institutional arrangements in the public sphere, which are in many cases perceived as damaging a cultural minority or denying it its rights.⁹

The adoption of multicultural policy is often motivated by a clash between the traditional structure of the state and society and demographic and cultural changes that often undermine not only consensus regarding the definition of national identity but also the role and functioning of service-providing institutions, which are forced to change in order to contain cultural variance.¹⁰ In 1989, for example, the Australian government adopted the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, which is based on three pillars: The right to maintain and express cultural identity; the right to social justice and equal opportunities; and the need to tap the economic potential and capabilities of all Australian citizens. Multicultural policy was restricted by the demand for a commitment

to the Australian nation, acceptance of the basic principles of Australian society, and acceptance of the right of others to express their culture and world view.¹¹ This declaration of principles was translated into the symbolic representation of the groups in the emblems and institutions of the state, as well as in access to services and resources, involvement in relations between communities, and the granting of an opportunity for cultural expression.¹² In Canada, in which multiculturalism became official policy in 1971, four key policy goals were defined: Supporting the culture of ethno-cultural groups; helping these groups to overcome obstacles on the way to integration; encouraging encounters between different groups; and helping immigrants to acquire an official language.¹³ As the foundation of Canadian multiculturalism, it was established that all citizens have the right to preserve their culture and to share it with others; that their language and culture deserve preservation and strengthening with the assistance of state institutions; and that all the institutions of government must adopt policy enabling all groups to integrate and encourage understanding and respect for diversity in Canadian society. This policy has been translated into various collective rights granted to minority, indigenous, and immigrant groups and into obligations incumbent on the various institutions of the state.

In other instances, manifestations of racism in key institutions led to profound discussion regarding minorities and regarding multiculturalism as an alternative to the existing order. In Britain, for example, manifestations of racism against minorities in the police led to extensive discussion regarding “multicultural Britain” and ways to enable different groups to integrate in society. According to the authors of the report “The Future of Multicultural Britain,” the main obstacles to the integration of minority groups were not a lack of motivation on the part of the groups themselves but racial discrimination, limited possibilities open to these groups, and the lack of political will and institutional adjustments to enable their integration in society. The Parekh Commission saw its main goal as transforming “the winds of multiculturalism” into a deliberate process of change and summarized its vision in the following terms: “We believe that it is both possible and necessary to create a society in which all citizens and communities feel appreciated and enjoy an equal opportunity to develop their capabilities and rich lives, receive a fair share of collective responsibility, and help to create community life in a spirit of fellowship, shared identity, and a sense of shared unity that go together with a love of diversity and difference.”¹⁴ Accordingly, the recommendations related not only to constitutional and administrative reforms but also to changing the definition of British identity in order to enable the inclusion of the various groups.

Even in countries in which cultural and ethnic identities did not have a formal place, their manifestation has raised the need for reforms in the various institutions of state. These reforms sought, on the one hand, to encourage participation and accessibility in the various groups and, on the other, to create and maintain a common denominator and solidarity around the state. The need to address multiculturalism has presented the

different state institutions and the police in particular, with significant challenges regarding the ability of these institutions to represent the different groups and to meet their needs and demands while maintaining the rules of the democratic game and a commitment to equality.

Police, Society, and Community

In many countries, the police, like other public institutions and organizations, have adopted new operational modalities regarding its relations with the public and with the different communities that comprise the public. Earlier perceptions and models positioned the police as an organization holding exclusive expertise and responsible for defining crime and formulating appropriate strategies for fighting crime. This position of expertise was based on the prevalent assumption that the general public lacks the knowledge that could enable it to participate in defining the police's objectives and goals, and that the police must fight crime without public involvement or interference.¹⁵

The change of approach that began in the 1970s was essentially due to the adoption of a perception that viewed the community as a potential partner in the work of the police. In various locations the police identified a need to involve the community after other reforms intended to improve its effectiveness (such as increased personnel, a greater emphasis on foot and motorized patrols, and a reduction in the response time and the duration of routine criminal investigations) failed to secure an impact on crime rates.¹⁶ It was argued that police effectiveness was also dependent on public legitimacy, manifested in a willingness to report crime, to identify suspects, and to condemn lawbreakers.¹⁷ The perception of police work also changed: rather than responding to events, the police sought to **solve problems**, including the identification of problems and planning how to address these in a preventative manner. This led to the emergence of **community policing** as a leading cross-organizational approach. Community policing is based on the development of trust and partnerships between the community and the police; attention to maintaining public order and providing service; and the involvement of citizens in the struggle against crime and public disorder, including the adoption of shared responsibility and the use of common resources.¹⁸ The desire to involve the public in the police's work and to create partnerships obliged the police to reorganize and to build new mechanisms while for the first time enabling communities to participate in shaping police strategies and defining its priorities.¹⁹ This type of reorganization of the police requires constant contact and open dialogue with citizens in order to reinforce trust in the police and enhance its public legitimacy. In several locations, it was found that the adoption of community policing practices enhances citizens' trust and confidence in the police.²⁰ However, the adoption of the concept of the "community" as a partner and stakeholder in policing processes raised questions regarding the nature of

the community and, no less importantly, regarding a reality in which different communities may have differing perceptions of the police and its role.

The perception of community policing as the policing of distinct communities raised challenges in the process of involvement and integration. For example, it was found that the use of “trust” (or “confidence”) in the police as a generalized index is problematic, since different groups have different perceptions as to what constitutes proper policing, reflecting distinct concerns, interests, and experiences. For some groups, policing is judged according to its effectiveness and its practical outcomes (the provision of security for citizens); while for others policing is also judged in terms of the attitude it shows toward citizens and its commitment to equality.²¹ In the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Finland and also in Israel, gaps were found in the ways different groups perceive the police. The level of trust among ethnic minorities and immigrant groups tends to be lower.²² The gap between the level of trust in the police among minority groups and the level of trust in the majority population obliges the police to listen not only to citizens in general but also to the needs of distinct communities, and to be willing to change its patterns of action.

The Police in a Multicultural and Multiethnic Reality

Involving civil society in the work of the police relates not only to questions of efficiency and effectiveness but also to issues of fairness and legitimacy that were particularly significant in locations that had seen clashes between the police and minority groups. Tensions and disagreements between minorities and the state are liable to emerge for numerous reasons, including economic, religious, and political factors. The police force often finds itself at the center of such confrontations. The relations between the police and minorities are also influenced by the relations between the state and minorities and by the functions imposed on the police by the state in this context as the body responsible for public order. In multicultural and multiethnic societies in which certain groups protest against their inferior status or struggle to maintain their identity while challenging the existing order, the tensions between these groups and the police are liable to result in open confrontation. A descent into violent clashes between the police and minorities is the result not only of suspicion and hostility, but often also suggests that the state and the police were not properly prepared to cope with the task of policing in a multicultural reality and failed to change the perceptions and working methods of police personnel. In some cases police personnel themselves overreacted due to ingrained discrimination, leading to tragic results and further eroding the relations between the police and the minority.

The nature of police work, which often entails confrontation with citizens, may foster an organizational culture in which police personnel perceive themselves as responsible for order and develop hostility toward those citizens they regard as disrupting public order.²³

Weitzer (2005) claims that police work is one of the few examples of a field of work in which the lower echelons enjoy more freedom of action than their superiors, due to the nature of their functions and the difficulty in supervising the work of police personnel in the field. Accordingly, the instruction to “maintain public order” can be interpreted in various ways and translated into different policies; in some cases, the result is discrimination.²⁴ The frequency of improper conduct by police personnel toward minorities is unknown since most of the interactions between the police and minorities are not documented or supervised, hampering orderly and systematic monitoring.²⁵ Crime rates may be higher among minority groups that suffer from poverty, and this may be interpreted by the police (with the assistance of the media, politicians, and other stakeholders) as reflecting the cultural characteristics of the group. Such an interpretation impedes a professional approach and makes it harder to find effective solutions to problems and heightens the walls of alienation between the community and the body providing the service. A “them and us” approach on the part of the police may also develop into an organizational culture that protects police personnel who have behaved improperly and may influence the general attitude of police personnel toward members of the minority group. In such a culture, a harsh approach toward minorities is defined as part of the “war on crime,” thereby justifying rule breaking and deviation from written procedures.²⁶

Perceptions of the police are often connected to collective identity. While dominant groups tend to be more supportive of the police and to demand stricter enforcement,²⁷ minority groups tend to have a more reserved attitude toward the police and to show a higher level of suspicion. This collective attitude is manifested not only in general perceptions concerning the functioning of the police, but also in the interpretation of specific incidents, including encounters with police personnel. As a result, a negative perception of the police and the anticipation of discriminatory and unfair treatment are liable to lead to certain forms of behavior toward police personnel, in turn causing a harsher response on their part, thereby confirming the expectations.²⁸ The police perception of the minority groups among police personnel may also influence such interactions, leading to escalation (or “the exacerbation of the incident,” to use police jargon) in instances that might otherwise have ended without any special difficulties.

Negative perceptions and prejudices regarding the police are not necessarily due to personal experience, but may sometimes stem from second-hand experiences or from a communal or collective sense that the police is “against us.” The hostility and strict attitude of the police toward individuals from the minority group is liable to have a multiplying effect, transforming the specific experience into a broader problem that encourages the emergence of collective perceptions of discrimination. In the case of immigrants, a suspicious perception of the police may be the product of negative experiences in their country of origin, but sometimes it reflects their encounter with

police personnel in the country to which they have migrated. Ethnic minorities are liable to perceive the police as enforcing an order that serves the dominant group and perpetuates their own inferior status, or as a body that subjects them to a deliberately discriminatory and aggressive policy. Thus, for example, the police in Northern Ireland prior to the reform was perceived as a key emblem of sovereignty by the Protestant majority and as an alien and hostile body by the Catholic minority.²⁹

The marginal status of minority groups and the discrimination they face at the hands of the state or the police reinforce their negative perceptions regarding the police. Ethnic and racial minorities are more likely to be stopped, questioned, and searched by the police than other groups.³⁰ The use by the police of racial profiling, whether deliberately or otherwise, exacerbates the sense of alienation toward the police, and this is further accentuated when manifestations of gross racism draw public attention to the relations between the police and minorities. In Britain, for example, the murder of Stephen Lawrence, a young Black man, by white racists and the dismissive treatment of his parents by the police exposed racism in the police and led to the establishment of a commission of inquiry on the subject. In the United States, the filmed beating of Rodney King by personnel from the Los Angeles Police Department revealed attitudes in the police toward African-Americans. In France, the death of young men of Muslim origin who were fleeing the police also led to major demonstrations reflecting the level of anger in these communities.

Too Much Policing... Or Too Little?

Public trust in the police is vital for its work, which often relies on cooperation from the public.³¹ Accordingly, the alienation of minority groups may on the one hand impair the ability of the police to function and act properly among these groups and on the other deny minority groups the police service they require – in most cases even more than other groups. The focus of the problem in police-minority relations is the combination of two apparently contradictory phenomena that influence these relations: overpolicing and underpolicing.

“Overpolicing” refers to the unfair treatment of minorities manifested in the excessive use of force or in discriminatory policy. Overpolicing may form part of the organizational culture of the police, but may also be the product of ingrained stereotypes among police personnel or ingrained racist attitudes in society as a whole, translated into structural discrimination against these minorities, which are then labeled as a group to be treated firmly and with suspicion. Negative attitudes toward minorities sometimes become a self-fulfilling prophecy due to the application of racial profiling. In other words, suspicion of criminal activity is based on skin color, ethnic affiliation, or another identifying sign, leading to the selective and discriminatory execution of arrests and searches against this group as a collective. For its part, the minority group develops a sense of suspicion and

hostility toward the police, and difficult encounters between police personnel and minorities feed mutual negative perceptions and exacerbate the tension between the two sides.³² Chapter Two discusses this aspect in greater detail.

“Underpolicing” refers to neglect of minorities and their needs. The police allocate limited resources to minority neighborhoods, which are also often disadvantaged neighborhoods. The definition of such neighborhoods as “problematic” is liable to lower the level of services provided in these areas and to lead to a different attitude toward crimes that occur in them. This attitude may evolve into a police policy based on a preference for “containing” crime within these neighborhoods while investing resources in maintaining order outside their confines. As a result, the police service provided for the minority group is not egalitarian and law-abiding citizens living in these areas are forced to suffer a high level of crime and violence. These citizens do not see the police as offering a solution to these problems but as one of the reasons for this reality. Accordingly, minority groups may develop an ambivalent attitude toward the police, demanding that it take action in certain areas while expressing reservations regarding other enforcement operations. African-Americans and Hispanics in the United States, for example, expressed broad support for increasing the number of police personnel patrolling their neighborhoods on foot or by vehicle, but were less enthusiastic about the use of force and increased penalization, since they identified a tendency to discrimination in these areas.³³ Ethnic minorities may therefore suffer from a combination of underpolicing and overpolicing: a high level of crime in their neighborhoods and frequent arrests on suspicion of crime outside their neighborhoods. As a result, these groups express a low level of trust in the police and limited willingness to cooperate with it. This situation may descend into violence when the police seek to undertake arrests within the neighborhoods or to block protests by the minority group. These phenomena are exacerbated when the minority believes, often with justification, that the state is using the police in a discriminatory manner, for example by adopting a different policy regarding protests by one section of the population as opposed to other groups.

Mistrust of the police leads to difficulties in solving crimes within communities that do not trust the police and hampers the ability of the police to contain violent outbursts among minority groups. In 1992, the Los Angeles Police Department was powerless to respond to a wave of violence that erupted after the acquittal of the police personnel charged of abusing Rodney King, an African-American citizen. Over 50 citizens were killed in six days of rioting, many more were injured, and enormous damage was caused to private and public property. Order was only restored after army troops intervened.

Identifying the problem or problems is the first step in processes of reform that seek to focus efforts on the real needs of communities. For various reasons, attention is sometimes focused on cases that highlight manifestations of police racism or violence,

although the broader problem may actually be one of underpolicing and neglect, which impact everyday life. The willingness of the police to be attentive to the needs of communities, on the one hand, and to examine its own working methods with minority groups on various levels, on the other, is a precondition for reform.

Police, Minorities, and Reform Processes

The history of policing provides numerous examples of instances when police forces around the world were able to thwart reform programs or to denude them of any effective content.³⁴ In the main reforms of community-based policing we examined, the changes relating to minority communities were just part of broader processes of a greater focus on citizens by the police and of a transition from a quasi-military approach and a masculine organizational culture to an egalitarian perception emphasizing service, accountability, cooperation, and integration in the police's work with different communities. Opposition within the police to such changes may be due to various motives relating to its desire to maintain its independence and to a conservative organizational culture that seeks to avoid change. However, the police operate within a political environment that obliges it – sometimes reluctantly – to respond to “bottom-up” demands by citizens and “top-down” orders by policy makers.

The difficulties encountered by the police in responding to outbreaks of civilian violence and manifestations of police racism may serve as catalysts encouraging elected officials or circles within the police itself to seek to introduce changes. Elected officials, who are attentive to the electors' voices, may demand greater transparency and accountability on the part of the police. Alternatively, the police force itself may choose to embark on a course of change in order to strengthen its standing and improve its ability to act among minority groups. Such change may be manifested in comprehensive reform, which can be expected to encounter opposition from the police, or in more superficial and localized actions intended to placate public opinion. In the latter case, it can be expected that the relevant group will respond with limited trust and that the changes will have little or no impact on its relations with the police. In other cases, processes of reform in the police form part of a more comprehensive reform of the public service on the national level, binding the police alongside other bodies.

In Canada, constitutional changes defining the country as “multicultural” also obliged the police to adopt multicultural policy.³⁵ “The government of Canada recognized cultural diversity as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society... [Accordingly] the police are obliged to provide effective services that are adapted, sensitive, and equally accessible to all parts of the diverse society in Canada.”³⁶ In Northern Ireland, the “Good Friday” peace agreement emphasized the need for “institutions and policing arrangements of professional, effective, and efficient police services that are fair and unbiased and free of political interference.”³⁷ It is worth noting that the subject of

policing in Northern Ireland was considered one of the most complex and controversial issues and, accordingly, it was decided that it would be arranged separately after agreement had been reached regarding the arrangement of additional areas of the public service. In the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the High Commissioner for Minority Affairs published a series of recommendations for multicultural policing. The importance of the recommendations and decisions adopted relates, among other aspects, to a commitment by the member states to multicultural policing. In Australia, a committee established to examine this issue established that “while diversity makes Australia a fascinating, lively, and colorful society, it also challenges service providers such as the police to provide relevant, culturally-sensitive and accessible services to all Australians, regardless of their origin.”³⁸

In most cases, there is agreement in democratic countries regarding the basic principles of efficient policing (minimum use of force, without prejudice, and in a fair and accountable manner). However, differences can be seen between minority and majority groups in society regarding the interpretation of these basic principles and their translation into practical policy. Surprisingly, little is known of the level of support of the public as a whole, and of specific groups within the public, for various reforms that could improve the service provided,³⁹ despite the fact that reforms must be consistent with the specific needs of communities if they are to secure the required change. Processes of reform, whether originating within the police or from external pressure applied to the force, are intended to improve the relations of trust between the police and minority groups, to improve the service provided to minorities by the police, and to create patterns of mutual cooperation. However, despite the declarations, undertakings, changes in working patterns, and good will, these changes do not always secure their intended goals.⁴⁰ Accordingly, such processes must also be examined in terms of the actual outcomes they secure. Oakley identifies four challenges facing the police in a multicultural reality: To provide appropriate services to the different groups; to recruit minorities to the police so that it reflects the composition of society; to improve the police’s image among minorities; and to address police racism and violence toward minorities. Similarly, Stening⁴¹ proposes the following six steps: The heterogenization of the police; cultural sensitivity training for police personnel; introducing anti-racist policing in the police; re-examining working patterns liable to lead to structural discrimination; creating contacts between the police and minority communities; and including minority representatives on the bodies that supervise the police.

Chan argues⁴² that significant change in the police’s working methods toward minorities can only be secured by means of a combination of external pressure, effective police leadership, and political commitment to the process. Localized strategies such as multicultural training or police recruitment can be expected to have an extremely limited impact on minority-police relations. Processes of change in the police intended to improve the relations between the police and minority groups must address the routine

working methods of the police on issues relating to minorities, the ethnic composition of the force and the place of minorities in its ranks, and the ability of minorities to influence police policies both internally and externally. The question of influence is closely related to the ability to supervise the police and audit its patterns of action. At the same time, the police must re-examine its working methods and consider the impact these have on minority groups. The working methods that require re-examination and reconsideration include, by way of example: Procedures for arresting suspects; supervising the work of police personnel to ensure that the procedures are implemented; and the effective processing of complaints by minorities concerning police behavior. In order for the reform to endure in the long term, the relations with the community must be institutionalized. Formalizing relations of cooperation between the community and minorities can be manifested in regular meetings between commanders and police personnel and citizens; establishing consultative bodies with a defined status on various levels; involvement of the community in police work in community policing frameworks;⁴³ and citizen supervision of police work including representatives of the minority group.⁴⁴

The Police and Arab Society in Israel in the Early 2000s

As we noted above, the events of October 2000, the report of the Or Commission, and the processes undergone by the Israel Police since these events largely form the context to the writing of this book. In our opinion, an understanding of this context is vital by way of background before reading the articles and reflecting on effective policing in Israel. Before describing the articles included in the book, we will present several key points that form part of this background.

We should note that even on the domestic level, the problem of trust between Arab society and the police, which was revealed in its full severity during the discussions of the Or Commission, is not confined solely to the relations between the police and Arab society. This same pattern of mistrust also characterizes the police's relations with additional minority groups, such as Haredi society, Ethiopian immigrants, and other groups involved in political protests and campaigns. Moreover, even citizens who do not necessarily belong to minority groups complain of a deteriorating sense of security. Nevertheless, the police's relations with Arab society include unique dimensions relating to an extremely profound social rift and, accordingly, they constitute our principal theme of reference. We assume that reform leading to an improvement on this aspect will radiate and influence additional circles, enhancing the ability to address additional social rifts. These comments are made against the backdrop of the broader context of relations between the Jewish majority and the institutions of government and Palestinian-Arab society; the deterioration of these relations over the past decade ("the lost decade of Jewish-Arab relations," as it has been dubbed by sociologist Sami Samuha); and the

struggle for civil and collective rights, which presents challenges for the various institutions of state, and particularly for the police.

The Or Commission

The Or Commission, named after its chairperson Justice Theodor Or, was an official commission of inquiry established to examine the clashes between the security forces and Israeli citizens in October 2000. The commission was established by the president of the Supreme Court on November 8, 2000, following a decision by the Israeli government and after a public outcry against the initial decision to appoint a public committee without any legal authority or independent status. The mandate given to the commission was to investigate the sequence of events and occurrences and the factors leading to these occurrences. The report of the Or Commission was published on September 1, 2003. The report notes several deep causes of the occurrences; presents general policy recommendations and personal recommendations relating to officials in the system; and focuses on offering recommendations to the Israeli government, the Ministry of Internal Security, the Israel Police, and the leadership of the Arab population in Israel. The commission divided its conclusions and recommendations regarding the Israel Police as body into three key issues:

1. The mutual relations between the Israel Police and the Arab population;
2. Policy planning on the strategic level by the Ministry of Internal Security and the Israel Police;
3. The routine functioning of the police on the headquarters, district, and local stations level – methods and means.

The Lapid Committee

On September 14, 2003, two weeks after the submission of the personal recommendations of the Or Commission, the government decided to adopt these recommendations. Regarding the recommendations for policy changes, the government established a committee headed by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice MK Yosef (Tommy) Lapid (the “Lapid Committee,”) which was charged with formulating policy within 60 days. The Lapid Report was eventually submitted to the government in June 2004 and approved on June 13, 2004. The committee’s report is divided into two chapters. The first chapter discusses the committee’s recommendations regarding the Arab sector, including a proposal to establish an authority for the advancement of the Arab sector; plans to integrate young Arab men and women in civilian national service; the advancement of master plans and outline plans for Arab communities; plans to promote coexistence and encourage tolerance; and a proposal for holding state events.

This chapter also includes a decision regarding leadership in the Arab sector and reviewing the status of implementation of government decisions relating to the Arab population and investigations by the Department of Police Investigations relating to the citizens killed in the events of October 2000.

The second chapter of the Lapid Report examines aspects relating to the Israel Police and includes a list of proposed decisions by the Israeli government on the following twenty issues:

1. The implementation of the recommendations of the Or Commission regarding officials in the Israel Police.
2. The deployment of the Israel Police in the Arab sector and the provision of services to this sector.
3. Relations with the Arab sector – internal informational actions in the police.
4. The actions of the Israel Police relating to dialogue with the Arab sector and information activities.
5. The actions of the Israel Police in the field of reporting and documentation.
6. The execution of debriefings by the Israel Police – implementation of recommendations.
7. The confidentiality of debriefings held by the Israel Police – implementation of recommendations.
8. The Israel Police's operational theory regarding disturbances.
9. Responding to disturbances – personnel training, guidance, and inculcation of methods.
10. Responding to disturbances – aspects relating to the consolidation of the force and personnel.
11. Response to disturbances – aspects of consolidation of the force and the means available to the police force.
12. The policy of the Israel Police regarding the blocking and opening of routes.
13. Enhancing discipline during the operational conduct of the Israel Police.
14. Formulating and updating the procedures and guidelines in the Israel Police.
15. Intelligence in the Israel Police in the context of disturbances.
16. The interface between the Israel Police and the Israel Security Agency.
17. Command and control – actions of the Israel Police in the sphere.
18. Documentation of incidents in the sphere of disturbances.

19. The area of education to values and enhancing professional among police personnel.
20. An accompanying public forum for the Israel Police.

Differences between the Or Commission Report and the Lapid Report

It is worth noting several significant differences between the work of the Or Commission and that of the Lapid Committee established to continue the examination of its recommendations. It can be argued that the Or Commission set a precedent for an official committee by casting light on some basic issues concerning the relations between the state and the Arab minority, and offered recommendations reflecting a recognition of past failings and the need for a fundamental change in the perception of and relations with Arab citizens. By contrast, the attention to these issues by the Lapid Committee was no more than a faint echo of the work of the Or Commission. The Lapid Report was widely perceived as one that denuded the recommendations of the Or Commission of any meaning, including by members of the commission itself, in light of several public comments they have made since this time. The Lapid Committee was appointed in order to continue the examination of the recommendations raised by the Or Commission, but significant differences can be seen in the character and nature of operations of the two bodies. The Or Commission was active for a period of almost three years and enjoyed considerable trust among the Arab public and full cooperation from the families of the victims and from the local and national Arab leadership. The Lapid Committee, however, was active for a much shorter period, did not win such trust, and did not secure any cooperation with the Arab public. The report of the Or Commission, whose members included two judges (one Jewish and one Arab) and an expert historian, has a broad theoretical and historical character and raises substantive issues concerning the nature of the relations between the State of Israel and the Arab minority in the state. Conversely, the report of the Lapid Committee, which comprises seven government ministers (four of whom had voted in the government against the establishment of the Or Commission) presents a series of policy proposals to be implemented by the State of Israel, and focuses on several additional recommendations not included in the commission's report.

The Or Commission report discusses the fundamental problems faced by Arab citizens within society and within the state – problems that formed the background to the events of October 2000 – and touches on the character of the Arab minority and its self-image in the context of its situation within the State of Israel. The report examines the sequence of factual events and the liability of all sides involved for the tragic developments. For the first time in an official public report, the document does not confine itself to examining national, social, and economic aspects, but also considers the policies of all the Israeli governments that led to deliberate neglect and discrimination and recommends a fundamental change in this policy. On the subject of land, for example, the report

recommends that the Israeli government adopt a policy of “distributive justice.” To use its own language, the Or Commission report considers the Arab narrative relating to the establishment of the State of Israel – the Nakba and its ramifications for the Palestinian-Arab people and for its existence in Israel as a national minority. The Lapid Report, by contrast, presents a series of earlier government decisions and asserts that these have already implemented the decisions included in the report of the Or Commission.

Although the Lapid Report was intended as an instrument for the formulation of practical policy, it does not include any timeframes or details regarding new budgets for the implementation of its recommendations. This is its main weakness. As a result, the definition of objectives and tools for the implementation of the recommendations is complex and does not include effective mechanisms for implementation and supervision. As a result, the Israel Police diverted internal budgets and relied on new resources received in a manner that prevented the proper implementation of the recommendations and plans, and certainly prevented their full implementation. The Lapid Report establishes that the policy of the Israeli government is to secure “genuine equality of rights and obligations for citizens of the state, Jews and Arabs alike,” and recommends a series of tools which, in the authors’ opinion, can help enhance the integration of the Arab population in Israeli society at large. These tools include civilian service, which the committee implicitly associates with equal rights. By contrast, the equality of rights that forms the focus of the report of the Or Commission is not conditional, but is examined as part of the essence of a democratic regime. The Lapid Report proposes the expansion of activities to promote coexistence and the holding of a “Tolerance Day,” alongside focused action to advance the economic development of Arab society, including the establishment of a special statutory authority to realize this objective. Regarding personal liability for the tragic events of October 2000, which resulted in the death of 13 citizens, the Or Commission instructed the Military Police Criminal Investigations Department (MPCID) to investigate the events. By contrast, the Lapid Report does not even mention this subject, despite its far-reaching ramifications for the relations between Arab society and the police. The MPCID later decided, with the backing of the attorney general, not to continue its investigation into the events, thereby closing the investigative files. As for personal recommendations concerning the functioning and conduct of several officials, the Lapid Committee adopted verbatim the recommendations of the Or Commission. As an aside, we should note that the decision to close the files, and the accompanying compromise settlements reached between the state and the relatives of some of the victims, have in no way met the demands to investigate the incidents and prosecute those police personnel involved in the lethal use of firearms. Indeed, the decision to close the files led to an additional demand to investigate the factors and circumstances that led to this step.⁴⁵

From a comparative perspective, other examples can be found of demands presented to the state and police that continued to overshadow the relations between the majority

and minority groups over a period of years, and even decades, until a solution acceptable to both sides was found. In Northern Ireland, for example, 40 years and several commissions of inquiry were needed in order to reach a satisfactory conclusion, from the standpoint of the Catholic minority, in the investigation surrounding the incidents of Blood Sunday. This investigation related to the killing of 13 young, unarmed Catholic demonstrators by the British security forces. As part of the agreements that formed part of the reform in policing introduced in Northern Ireland, a special unit was charged with “policing the past” within the office of the police ombudsman for public complaints. The unit has considered the reopening of investigative files in cases involving fatalities as a result of shooting by police personnel.⁴⁶

In Israel, prominent organizations within Arab society (including Adalah, Mossawa, and the Supreme Monitoring Committee for Arab Affairs) have consistently demanded the reopening of the investigative files relating to the incidents of October 2000. In 2011, a policy study undertaken by the Israel Democracy Institute added its voice to this criticism, arguing that in at least three of the cases investigated in the study the decision to close the file was unjustified. The study notes that the investigations applied an unprecedentedly high burden of proof and that incriminating evidence was interpreted in a biased manner.⁴⁷ It is not impossible that in the future, depending on the course events take, additional voices and evidence will lead to the reconsideration of the decision to close the investigative files.

Despite the above-mentioned problems, the recommendations of the Lapid Committee relating to policy decisions for the implementation of the recommendations of the Or Commission constitute an important milestone in the work of the Israel Police regarding its relations with Arab society. The Israel Police is working to promote and implement the plans presented by the Lapid Committee and has announced its full acceptance of these plans. Monitoring of the implementation of the Lapid Committee’s decisions is undertaken by the headquarters divisions and field units, while data is collated by the Planning and Organization Division. The division provides a periodic update on these issues, emphasizing the gaps that remain and the planned activities. These reports, known as “Lapid status reports,” budgetary shortages are the main explanation provided for the continuing gaps between the plans and their implementation in the field. However, there can be no doubt that since the events of October 2000, the Israel Police has undergone processes of systemic change, and in particular organizational changes and the formulation of clear procedures relating to the operational aspects of the police response to disturbances, the holding of debriefings, and the documentation of events. The areas in which changes have been introduced relate mainly to the following two key axes:

1. **Recognizing the need to change the perception of the relationship with Arab society.** This requires the strengthening of the police’s perception of itself as a body

responsible for providing a service for the Arab public and the expansion of its efforts to enforce the law, particularly by enhancing its presence in Arab communities and by establishing a target of recruiting Arab police personnel and volunteers. The police is also promoting the development of plans to enhance its familiarity with the Arab population and is holding informational and educational activities within its ranks to promote values, including courses, training, and in-service programs. One of the main means adopted by the police in this context is the expansion of the presence of the community police in Arab communities. This issue will be examined in depth in this book.

2. **Developing the Israel Police's operational theory, particularly with regard to disturbances.** This development has led to organizational and systemic change in the areas of police preparations and intelligence and the activation of forces and means. In particular, it has led to the formulation of new policy relating to the blocking of traffic arteries and the use of less lethal means: Control and command of forces, documentation, debriefing, and the drawing of conclusions. These actions have been accompanied by the establishment of the Strategic Planning Division in the Ministry for Internal Security.

In terms of practical outcomes, several achievements can be noted, some of which are evident, quantitative, and identifiable. These include such areas as the writing of guides and procedures, the development of regular training programs, the acquisition of innovative equipment, the development of kits for field and command forces, and so forth. Conversely, the recommendations to deploy police points and ensure additional personnel enhancing the police presence among the Arab population have been implemented in an extremely partial manner. Other changes, particularly in terms of perception – such as the attitude to the Arab population at various interfaces and educational programs – are harder to quantify and measure. Despite the steps taken, it is impossible to ignore the fact that indices showing the level of trust in the police in Arab society remain low, demanding further consideration and action. It must be recalled that processes of change in the nature of policing are long term by nature; considerable investments are needed in order to realize the objectives established by the Or Commission and the Lapid Committee.

The Articles in the Book

Chapter One

This section of the book includes several articles that focus mainly on broad-based issues and professional dilemmas relevant to police forces in general. The subsequent sections will present articles illustrating the ways in which these issues may be manifested in different countries and contexts.

Changing working patterns in the police in general, and in the context of minorities in particular, demands a desire for change. This desire may be internal, within the organization, or it may stem from a political decision, including a demand to bring the police under civilian supervision in order to allow the different groups to demand their rights. The civilian supervision of the police is a sensitive and complex issue, as explained in Scott Wortley's article, which opens this chapter. Supervision forms part of a process to transform the police into a civilian body; when it is required, it obliges the police to address not only specific instances of violent police personnel, but also systemic problems. The nature of police work mitigates against the development of accountability and supervision, since the police enjoys extensive powers that are also enjoyed by the individual police officer on the ground. Accordingly, the basic goal of civilian supervision is to enable citizens to monitor police work and thereby to reinforce the professional management of the force.⁴⁸ The inclusion of representatives of the minority group in supervising police work is perceived as vital for reinforcing trust in the police, particularly in the context of the processing of citizens' complaints and the investigation of police personnel accused of violating civil rights.⁴⁹ However, despite the logical assumption that independent civilian supervision of the police is more effective in reinforcing public trust in the force, it should be noted that this assumption has yet to be tested in empirical terms. Wortley's article presents five models for the civilian supervision of police work and discusses the reasons behind police opposition to civilian supervision, as well as the public and organizational benefits that may accrue from effective supervision of this type. However, Wortley argues that the question of civilian supervision, particularly with regard to minority groups, has not yet been adequately studied; a substantial research effort is required in order to select the optimal form of supervision. Nevertheless, we would note that the issue of national affiliation is particularly relevant in developing a model for effective civilian supervision and in evaluating its efficiency. Studies examining the functioning of regulatory bodies⁵⁰ have identified a clear failure of enforcement when the "responsive model" is used to motivate enforcement. Such a model renders the grounds of nationality particularly vulnerable to the inherent disadvantages of this approach. The efficiency of a supervisory body that relies on initiative on the part of the injured party – i.e. the submission of a complaint – rather than on a proactive model in which the state or the supervisory body initiate and support the motivation of

enforcement will lead to the ongoing failure of both enforcement and supervision. Numerous obstacles face the victims of discrimination in submitting a complaint or claim: Lack of awareness of their rights; lack of trust in the legal system; cultural and linguistic obstacles; the chilling effect of prior failures of enforcement, and so forth. In many cases these obstacles prevent victims of discrimination on the grounds of nationality from making use of the mechanisms available to them.

Ethnic profiling is an example of a pattern of action which on the one hand provokes resentment and frustration among minorities, but which at the same time it is difficult to gauge and control, since it is embedded in the daily work of policing and perceived by the police as justified, and indeed vital for its work. Ethnic profiling forms part of the phenomenon of overpolicing that leads the police to adopt an excessively suspicious approach to individuals who belong (or who are perceived as belonging) to certain minority groups, to treat them in accordance with distinct and discriminatory criteria, and in many cases to detain and arrest them without any real cause other than their “suspicious” affiliation to the minority group.

The article of the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) offers a critical examination of the practical aspects of the use of ethnic profiling and of its impact on the individual, the community, and the police. According to the authors’ definition, ethnic profiling is “the manner in which representatives of the police, security, immigration, or customs authorities consolidate suspicion or law enforcement actions on generalization relating to racial, ethnic, religious, or national origin, rather than on individual action or impartial evidence.” In order for the use of ethnic profiling to be considered justified, the study continues, it must meet three tests of judicial review: efficiency, proportionality, and need. According to the authors, ethnic profiling injures not only minorities labeled as “suspicious,” but also police work itself, since it creates alienation from and resentment of the police on the part of the members of the minority groups and impairs their willingness to cooperate with the force. Moreover, the study covered in the article found that ethnic profiling is not particularly efficient, despite its image as an “essential evil” among the police, and sometimes among the public. The reason for this is that, on the one hand, this approach is applied in blanket form to numerous individuals who are not associated with any unlawful activity, while on the other it ignores numerous other individuals who are involved in such activity but do not belong to the groups labeled as suspicious. As noted, this method impairs trust in the police and willingness to cooperate among entire communities that are labeled as suspicious. The article presents two case studies that help illuminate the phenomenon of ethnic profiling. The first case study relates to the issue of the measurement and study of the phenomenon, while the second relates to a study undertaken in cooperation with police forces in Britain, Spain, Bulgaria, and Hungary on the subject of strategies for enhancing the efficiency of police stop and search operations. The study found that stop and search rates were higher among minority groups and immigrants, while conviction rates among these populations were

not higher than those in the majority group, and in some cases were significantly lower. The reexamination of the existing procedures and actions to teach and train police personnel to work in accordance with operational protocols led to a substantial reduction over the six-month period of the study in the discrepancy between stop and search actions relating to majority and minority groups. At the same time, a significant increase was seen in the rate of efficiency stop and searches leading to positive enforcement outcomes.

The article by Badi Hassaisi and Ronald Weitzer examines the issue of the ethnic composition of the police and the significance of recruiting and representing ethnic populations in the different functions and ranks. The first part of the article presents a comprehensive review of the issue of the composition of the police in terms of minorities. The second part presents the findings of a survey on attitudes among the Arab public in Israel regarding the question of joining the police force. By including this article in the chapter examining principled issues of concern to police forces around the world, we sought to emphasize the universal dimension of the question of police recruitment. The subject of the recruitment of Arab citizens to the police raises questions in the context of domestic Israeli discourse regarding the status of the Arab minority, but tends to ignore the global character of this challenge, which is actually shared by many police forces around the world. In many places the police force tends to be homogenous in ethnic, national, and gender terms in a manner that fails to reflect the composition of society as a whole, and particularly the presence of minority groups. Such police forces may be characterized by an intolerant organizational culture and may find it difficult to cope with a multicultural reality that demands organizational flexibility and recognition of the "other." In addition, minority groups are liable to see this kind of police force as an alien body. Solving the problem of homogeneity requires the integration of minorities in the police through enhanced recruitment, together with mechanisms ensuring their integration and inclusion in all positions. A further requirement is training for all police personnel focusing on ways to cope with multicultural reality inside and outside the force.⁵¹ Recruiting members of minority groups to the police may contribute to the legitimacy and effectiveness of the police among these groups; however, recruitment policy must examine the impact of the recruitment of minorities both on the work of police personnel and on public perceptions. In most cases recruitment in itself does not constitute a solution to the problem, for various reasons. Firstly, in the absence of broader changes, minorities may refuse to join the police force. Secondly, the channeling of minority recruits to marginal positions may make only a slight contribution to improving the image of the police among these groups. Thirdly, in the absence of changes to the organizational culture of the police, minority recruits may find themselves forced to choose between adopting existing patterns or abandoning hope of promotion to significant positions. Accordingly, the recruitment of minority police personnel may have little or no impact on the working practices in the police force or on its image

among minority communities. The article presents the findings of an attitude survey undertaken by the authors relating to the issue of the integration of Arab police personnel in the Israel Police. The researchers' conclusions reveal a complex reality and raise additional questions concerning the effective use of personnel in a multicultural and multiethnic reality. By way of example, it was found that only one-third of the Arab respondents in the survey prefer Arab police personnel in their communities. Accordingly, the researchers note, the benefit of increasing the proportion of Arab recruits to the police may be limited. Nevertheless, it is possible that the proportional representation of all sections of the Arab population (Muslims, Christians, and Druze) may have a symbolic importance that can lay the foundation for more profound processes capable of enhancing the sense of involvement and influence in the conduct of the police force.

In addition to the question of the composition of the police force, effective policing reforms also involve changes in the training of police personnel in the relevant training frameworks. Haberfeld's article argues that training police to cope with multicultural issues and defining appropriate working methods require deeper and more comprehensive change that must be implemented with the assistance of the minority group itself. Haberfeld explains that in the United States, as in Israel, multiculturalism constitutes a challenge and there is an urgent need to recognize the importance of including meaningful and obligatory training on coping with multiculturalism as part of the basic training of police personnel. "Multicultural training" has become a key concept in many police districts in the United States. Alongside general aspects, such training must also include a familiarization with the relevant minority groups; the development of official ties with community leaders; and the formulation of guidelines for a coordinated response to public order incidents. In the United States and elsewhere, various models have been developed over the past two decades for coping with diversity and for understanding the specific needs of different communities and showing awareness of their sensitivities. It should be ensured that multicultural training is relevant to police work and adapted to respond to the types of challenges police personnel can expect to encounter in their work. In addition to providing basic information and a familiarization with the different communities, training should offer an opportunity to examine issues of racism and discrimination in their broadest sense and to consider the connection between these issues and police work. A further conclusion that emerges from the article regards the great importance of integrating these issues at different points along the continuum of training from the earliest stages. It is important to avoid the compartmentalization of multicultural training in distinct training modules (see also Ellison's article below). In her article, Haberfeld reviews various multicultural training programs for police personnel, some of which she was involved in developing; she argues that the adoption of such programs by the police could help strengthen trust in the police among minorities.

Second chapter

What can we learn from the experience of other countries regarding police-minority relations and reforms introduced to improve these relations? The articles in this chapter focus on several democratic countries that have attempted to cope with the challenges of policing in a divided society.

Graham Ellison's article examines the police reform implemented in Northern Ireland since 1999 as part of the peace process between the Protestant majority and the Catholic minority. In Northern Ireland, policing formed a central component of the conflict. The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was perceived by most of the Loyalist and Protestant community as the "defender of the nation," while most Catholics viewed it as the "symbol of oppression." The article focuses on the recommendations of the Independent Commission on Policing established as part of the peace process. The commission proposed a series of changes in police institutions and procedures in Northern Ireland, including: a redefinition of police powers; police governance, control, and responsibility; training, human rights, and changing the emblems of the police force; changing the composition of the force; and supervising the processes of change. According to Ellison, an examination of the process eight years after the publication of the commission's report shows that the process of reform in Northern Ireland was successful to a certain degree and offers lessons and practical principles that may be applicable in international contexts. However, the pace of change decelerated over time, particularly due to developments in the public arena and in civil society. In some areas, Ellison's analysis reveals gaps between the implementation of the report and the spirit of the commission's recommendations, which sought to achieve more comprehensive change and emphasized the recruiting of systemic and public support for the reform actions taken by the police. Since this review, further reports have confirmed the improvement in some of the aspects where the report found progress to be inadequate. For example, regarding the goal of increasing the number of Catholic police personnel, the reform has met the defined targets, despite the concern noted in the article; the same was true in other areas. Ellison's article provides a comprehensive picture of the reform steps and presents their underlying rationale, thereby enabling an understanding of the complexity of the reform process and of the importance of public monitoring and supervision of implementation. This perspective enables the reader to gauge the steps required in order to ensure the successful implementation of public policy reforms.

The point of departure of the article by Clements and Jones is the crisis created in police-minority relations in Britain due to the police's handling of the murder of Stephen Lawrence. The article reviews the "legacy" of the committee of inquiry established following the incident, whose recommendations have led to changes in police training.

Manifestations of institutionalized racism in the British police in the 1990s forced the police to confront the phenomenon, in part by means of recommendations to change police training programs in order to address racism. Despite the good intentions behind these changes, Clements and Jones argue that the recommendations were excessively generalized and vague in character. A significant gap remained between the rhetoric and content of training courses and the implementation of the recommendations in police work in the field. Criticism of police training processes led to organizational change and the inculcation of new methodologies, such as “emergency workshops.” These workshops provided police personnel with an opportunity to simulate an emergency event demanding real-time decision making and transformed the issue of addressing police racism into an integral part of training. The workshops enabled the participants to develop collective and personal strategies for coping with emergency events. An important component in the training programs developed in response to the Lawrence case is the induction of a procedure requiring the command echelon to examine the manner in which its decisions impact on different communities, and how individuals and communities may react to these decisions.

The Canadian experience illustrates a different process for implementing policing reform. In this case, the motivation for reform was the introduction of a change in the overall perspective of multicultural public policy. Guy Ben-Porat’s article on this subject is based on a research study conducted in Canada focusing on interviews with Canadian police personnel. The interviews were conducted in order to study the manner in which the police relate to indigenous ethnic groups and migrant communities. As in Britain, committees established to examine policy-minority relations and the ability of the police force to provide egalitarian and fair services for all citizens have identified defects in its functioning. Moreover, the police itself recognized that organizational change is needed in order to strengthen its legitimacy among various population groups and to adapt to demographic changes in the country. The study indicates three key aspects that have been integrated in the reform processes in Canada: Changing patterns of police recruitment in order to enrich cultural diversity in the police force and enhance the involvement of minority groups; changing working patterns in the police by means of training programs and the reexamination of discriminatory policing practices; and providing minority groups with a voice in processes of shaping policy and supervising police work.

In October 2005, following the death of two youths of African origin during a police chase, France faced a wave of riots and violent clashes between minority communities and the police. Surprisingly, perhaps, Marseille remained relatively calm during this period, despite the fact that its population includes more immigrants and minorities than any other French city, including a large Muslim population of African origin – the community at the center of the wave of violence, and one that faces some of the highest unemployment and poverty rates in the country. Despite the serious potential for an

eruption of violence in the city, this did not transpire. Although a profound sense of discrimination can be found in Marseille, the common urban space shared by all groups functions as a moderating factor lowering feelings of mutual alienation. Lastly, the relative calm in the city can also be explained by reference to the Marseille police force, which has adopted a multicultural approach to its work that encourages contacts with the communities. Conversely, Schneider notes that the reduction of friction and tension between the police and African or North African citizens comes, in part, at the cost of underpolicing with regard to drugs offenses and other crimes. As she emphasizes, such a situation is far from ideal, though it is vastly preferable to the reality in other parts of France. Schneider's article examines the profit and loss balance of the policing model adopted in Marseille in the wider context of the developments in the city. One of the conclusions of her analysis, and an important point for public policy makers, is that ethnic boundaries between different groups are not artificial, and that the "policing of ethnic boundaries," to use her term, can to a large extent activate or obscure these boundaries.

Chapter Three

The main challenges facing multicultural reality were presented in the first two chapters by means of theoretical discussions and examinations of various case studies. These challenges are also manifested in Israel in the relations between the police and Arab citizens. Although this platform is not the only one that may be used to examine the issue of majority-minority relations in Israel, it is certainly one of the most sensitive ones, and possibly the most challenging.

The opening article, by Guy Ben-Porat and Penny Yuval, presents a study including interviews with focus groups and an attitude survey on the subject of the relations between the police and the Arab minority from the perspective of Arab citizens. The study identifies perceptions of both overpolicing and underpolicing, and focuses in particular on the attitudes of Arab citizens regarding police reforms: changing attitudes among police personnel; changing police training; introducing new methods for the police's work with minorities; and formalizing relations of cooperation between the police and minority communities. As in other places around the world, the findings of the study show that the Arab population perceives itself as suffering simultaneously from overpolicing and underpolicing. Overpolicing relates to two principal areas – inside and outside the Arab community. The main problem is encountered outside the community, where Arab citizens feel that the police discriminate against them by means of ethnic profiling. Underpolicing relates to the problems of crime and violence within Arab communities which, the citizens feel, are neglected by the police. The analysis of the findings shows that underpolicing is of even greater concern to the Arab population than overpolicing. This may indicate an avenue for improving the relations through the thorough uprooting of crime in Arab communities. The findings also show support for the

principles behind the various reforms, recognition of the need for police services, and even support for recruitment to the police force. Although these findings relate to an attitude survey, rather than to a factual examination of the situation in the field, they are extremely important. These findings not only indicate the aspects on which such a factual examination should focus, but also highlight aspects that may help shape the interaction between the community and the police and ways to improve the relations and identify appropriate methods of action.

In some cases, the professional terminology used to analyze policy may obscure our feelings regarding underlying realities. A careful study by Riyad Tibi and Said Tali focusing on two cities, Lod and Taybeh, provides a clear portrait of the problems of overpolicing and underpolicing; the problematic relations between the police and the Arab minority; and the price paid by the Arab citizens for these relations. Interviews with residents and public figures in both cities yield a depressing picture of crime and violence, together with a sense of impotence on the part of the authorities in general, and the police in particular. In Lod, a mixed Arab-Jewish city with a Jewish majority, Arab residents' claims focus mainly on the aspect of overpolicing, manifested in a harsh attitude on the part of the police. In Taybeh, an Arab city where local government is struggling to cope with the challenges of managing the city, the residents also attributed crime and violence to police impotence and to underpolicing reflected in the neglect of the city's needs. The focus on these two cities raises questions regarding similarities and differences in different contexts and the steps needed to create change in each of these contexts.

Violence against women is prevalent among large sections of Israeli society, as in many other parts of the world. The research literature on this subject suggests that domestic violence has always suffered from underpolicing, particularly in minority communities. The article by Edna Erez, Peter Ibra, and Oren Gur examines the police response to domestic violence in Arab society in Israel from the perspectives of all the involved parties – victims, offenders, and police personnel – and describes their perspectives on domestic violence and state intervention. The article illustrates the challenges of enforcement in the specific context of this issue, but also casts light on the complexity of the broader relations between the police and the Arab minority. In 1991, a government committee submitted its recommendations for reforms in policing policy relating to instances of domestic violence, with the goal of strengthening the standing of women complainants and the penalization of offenders. While large sections of the Jewish public welcomed these changes, many voices from the Arab community condemned and criticized the decision, for reasons discussed in the article. Despite the recommended policy changes, many battered women in the Arab community continued to decline to submit a complaint due to their fear of social sanctions. Moreover, entrenched prejudices and stereotypes among police personnel regarding violence against women in Arab society reinforce their doubts regarding the efficiency of the police response to these offenses. Even when complaints are submitted, a combination of these attitudes

and doubts, police priorities, and the manner in which it formulates its processing of such complaints has sometimes mitigated against a rapid and efficient police response. The reality of domestic violence is particularly complex in the case of minority groups whose relations with the police tend to be dominated by suspicion and hostility. In light of this unique complexity, the researchers claim that this reality demands focused study of the issue in order to formulate appropriate policy.

“Community policing” is a philosophy, strategy, and policy whose principal goals are efficient control of crime by the police, a reduction in the sense of fear, and an improvement in the quality of life in the community. Since the 1980s, community policing has become a widespread policy in many democratic countries. Danny Gimshi’s article on this subject begins by reviewing the development of community policing. In the second section of the article, Gimshi develops his argument that this form of policing constitutes the proper response to the problems of policing in Arab society in Israel. Community policing developed as the result of the crises encountered by conventional (professional) policing and the crisis of trust between various police forces and the public they were charged with protecting and serving. The author explains that this model of policing includes such aspects as partnerships between the police and the community, an emphasis on the non-offending population, attention to maintaining public order and providing a service, and the involvement of citizens in the struggle against crime and disorder. This takes place within a framework of shared responsibility and through the use of shared resources. Accordingly, community policing is above all community-oriented policing, that is to say – policing that derives from within the community, based on its capabilities and activated according to its needs, through the creation of partnerships between the police and individuals, groups, and organizations in the community. The article argues that quality community policing can reduce tension and conflicts between the police and the Arab public by maintaining police services that enhance the trust of the Arab public in the force, thereby enabling residents to accept law enforcement operations, including those that include the use of force.

The final article in this chapter, by Amikam Harpaz, provides an additional perspective on community policing, presenting an attitude survey conducted among personnel in the Israel Police. In some respects, this article mirrors the study presented at the beginning of Chapter Three regarding attitudes among Arab citizens. Harpaz seeks to examine the nature of the attempt to implement the community policing approach in Israel and to consider whether this attempt meets the promise of reducing alienation between the police and the Arab community. His study found a correlation between the attitudes of police personnel toward Arab citizens and their positions regarding community policing. Positive attitudes toward community policing and toward behaviors reflecting support for community policing were found to be related to positive attitudes toward Arab citizens. Furthermore, police officers were found to have more positive attitudes toward Arab citizens than non-officers. Harpaz suggests that this finding may be due to the

different nature of the interactions between these personnel and Arab citizens. In the case of officers, the interaction is more consistent with the principles of community policing. It is difficult to reach an unequivocal conclusion as to whether the implementation of community policing strategy leads to changes in the attitudes of police personnel toward the Arab minority. Despite this difficulty, however, the study recommends the full and careful implementation of the principles of community policing in Arab communities, since this offers considerable potential to mitigate mutual negative attitudes on both sides and to reduce the accompanying tension.

Community-Oriented Policing – Where Next?

Our goal in presenting the articles collected in this book was to highlight the complex nature of police work in contemporary society, with its characteristics of heterogeneity and tension – and particularly in Israeli society, which faces profound rifts. We also sought to emphasize the importance of community-oriented policing in the context of Israel reality, as a tool for improving police capabilities by increasing public involvement and trust in the work of the police force. The adoption of this strategy is particularly significant for minority groups such as the Haredi and Arab communities: various surveys have consistently shown that these two population groups have the lowest level of trust in the police. There is nothing revolutionary about this assertion. Since as early as the mid-1990s, serious efforts been made to apply the philosophy of community policing in Israel, reflecting awareness of this reality. Regrettably, however, community policing as a horizontal strategy has never taken root as part of the Israeli perception of policing as it has done in other locations around the world. From our discussions and joint work over the years with police personnel, members of the community, and professionals involved in processes to develop police-community relations, we are aware that the absence of a firmly-established community orientation is the source of considerable frustration.

The feasibility of adopting such a strategy is not dependent solely on the police and the institutions of government. It also depends on the actions of various communities and civil society organizations in promoting a community agenda and encouraging cooperation with the police in order to move processes forward. Such actions will be based on an awareness of the heavy price paid in the absence of cooperation. Moreover, and as described in many of the articles, such processes are influenced by the social and political climate within which they are implemented. Nevertheless, the police can, if it so chooses, serve as the vanguard for these changes and can make a real contribution not only to improving the relations between the police force and minority communities, but even to moderating the tensions that accompany different rifts within society.

A practical attempt to develop community-oriented policing in Israel must take into account the changes that have occurred over recent decades in the police and in the environment in which it operates, and the processes that have led many police forces to

adopt the strategy of community policing over this period. Against the background of these changes, it is important to consider the best way to adapt the community policing approach for implementation in Israel and to integrate it with additional strategies, such as CompStat (a target-based management method), policing based on problem solving, evidence-based policing, and so forth.

Bayley & Nixon identify several characteristics of policing and its work environment in 2000 by comparison to the 1980s. These characteristics reflect an erosion in the state monopoly of control over policing, as well as changes in public policing that may impede the implementation of community policing approaches. The erosion in the state's control of policing is due to processes of decentralization of policing tasks as reflected in the internationalization of policing (the presence of more numerous and powerful international policing bodies than in the past, alongside additional international enforcement mechanisms); a substantial growth in the use of private policing bodies (as well as the hiring of police personnel for private policing tasks);⁵² and greater involvement of businesses and citizens in policing tasks (particularly in areas that have already effectively implemented the community policing strategy).

The changes in public policing relate to the dramatic development of technological capabilities available to the contemporary police force and to the scope of use of these tools. This may create further challenges in realizing the goals of community policing. On the one hand, such changes may be needed and may help reinforce the effectiveness of the police in such areas as solving crime (the installation of CCTV, DNA identification, data mining, and so forth). On the other hand, these capabilities may lead the police to rely increasingly on internal resources and centralized decision making, reducing the motivation to involve communities in decisions. A further factor is that terror threats have increased during this period. Although terror experts recognize the importance of working with communities, and particularly with minorities, the presence of anti-terror units increases centralization and a lack of transparency in decision making.

As the result of these and other changes, and since the importance of community policing has never been internalized in the Israeli instance, our assessment is that policing in Israel is approaching a turning point. It is being required to meet the growing expectations for community involvement, but at the same time its technological and information gathering capabilities are liable to drive a wedge between the police force and the public. The presence of similar tensions served as the motivation for the development of community policing in its earlier stages. In this context, and in the broader context of the reality of the Israeli occupation, the relations between the police and the minority communities in Israel (and particularly the Arab citizens) are liable to deteriorate. The current challenges can to a large degree be seen as the latest manifestation of the inherent tension in police work, whereby effectiveness and legitimacy combine to dictate the degree of success.

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- 1 Savage, 2007, p. 6.
 - 2 Weitzer & Tusch, 2006, p. 37.
 - 3 Weisburd & Braga, 2006.
 - 4 Maclure, 2003.
 - 5 Parekh, 2000.
 - 6 Dwivedi, 2001.
 - 7 Kymlicka, 1995.
 - 8 Soysal, 1998; Koopmans & Statham, 1999.
 - 9 Tiryakian, 2004.
 - 10 Thompson et al., 1998.
 - 11 Ibid.
 - 12 Ibid.
 - 13 Kymlicka, 1998.
 - 14 Parekh, 2000, p. x.
 - 15 Weisburd & Braga, 2006, p. 13.
 - 16 Bayley & Nixon, 2010.
 - 17 Bayley, 1994.
 - 18 Gimshi, 1999, p. 43.

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- 19 Skogan, 2007.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Worall, 1999.
- 22 Albrecht, 1997; Bowling & Philips, 2003; Egharevba, 2006; Jefferson & Walker, 1993; Chakraborti & Garland, 2003; O’Conner, 2008; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004, p. 17; Wortley, 1996.
- 23 Weitzer & Tuch, 2006, p. 4.
- 24 Weitzer & Tuch, 2006, p. 3.
- 25 Weitzer, 2005.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Weitzer & Tuch, 2006, p. 3.
- 28 Ibid., p. 13.
- 29 Ellison, 2007.
- 30 Mauer & King, 2007; Walker, Spone & DeLone, 2000; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999.
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- 32 Findlay, 2004.
- 33 Weitzer & Tuch, 2006, p. 14.
- 34 Ibid., p. 124.
- 35 Findlay, 2004.
- 36 Quoted in Casey, 2000.
- 37 McGarry & O’Leary, 1999.
- 38 Quoted in Casey, 2000.
- 39 Weitzer & Tuch, 2006, p. 37.
- 40 Ellison, 2007.
- 41 Stening, 2003.
- 42 Chan, 1997, p. 14.
- 43 Amir, 2001; Weissbrod, Shoham and Gideon, 2001.
- 44 Perez, 1994; Stone & Bobb, 2002; Wortley, 2003.
- 45 Statement by Adalah, The Legal Center for the Rights of the Arab Minority in Israel, which has been assisting the families of the victims of the October 2000 events, on the 12th anniversary of the events.
- 46 Additional information is available in the concluding report of a study trip to Northern Ireland by the Israel Police; the report may be downloaded from the website of the Abraham Fund Initiatives.
- 47 Saba, 2013.
- 48 Walker, 2001, p. 9-11.
- 49 Perez, 1994; Stone & Bobb, 2002; Wortley, 2003.

⁵⁰ Steiner, 2013.

⁵¹ Desroches, F.J., 1992; Stevens, 2007; Coderoni, 2002; Tinor-Centi & Hussain, 2000; Lewish, 2005.

⁵² Bayley & Nixon, 2010.