



# Police Communication - ESP Exercise Book



## Language and Communication Tools:

- Strategic Communication
- Intercultural Competence
- Transnational Police Interoperability & Cooperation
- Comparative Policing
- Police Integrity & Ethics
- Human Relations: social cohesion & engagement strategies
- Community Orientated & Intelligence-led Policing



**SAINT | Security Sector Development**

*- the Human Dimension*

**Human Security, Human Terrain, Human Relations**

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# HPA Partner Interview

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## Personal Details

1. What is your name?
2. In which town/city/area do you live?
3. What are your main interests? (sports, hobbies etc.)

## Profession

4. What other employment have you had before joining the police?
5. What is your current assignment with the police and where? (i.e. your specific role)
6. What year did you join the police?
7. Why did you join the police?



## International Experience (leave blank if 'No')

8. Have you ever worked with police from another country in Germany? Yes / No  
If yes, please provide details:
9. Have you ever been assigned to work in another country or agency?  
(e.g. EUROPOL, Embassy, FRONTEX, Police Mission etc.)  
Yes / No - If yes, where and what was your position?

## Seminar

10. Do you have any specific police-related language needs from this seminar (e.g. tactical, legal, criminal, procedural, small-talk, report writing etc.)?
11. What are your expectations from this seminar?

# Crime and the Media



## Section 1: Discussion

### Explain the headlines:

- First impression: What do you understand from these headlines? What has happened?
- Why is certain language (words) used to describe an incident?

1. 4 bodies found in Camden County house; 6 arrested in drug raid nearby
2. Student kidnap case against bus driver on hold for mental review
3. Two arrested in woman's slaying
4. Search on for gunman in triple-killing
5. Robbery suspect takes hostages at Paris bank
6. Gunman Kills 2 Men; Mother, Unborn Baby Shot
7. Articles Hurt Search For Yates' Jurors
8. Life or Death for Cop Killer?
9. Five Killed In Murder-Suicide

## Section 2: Discussion

1. The number of copycat suicides is proportional to the amount of media coverage.  
**True or false? Why?**
2. The media influences public perception to crime and criminality (e.g. terrorism, sexual assault, burglary, racially motivated etc.).  
**True or false? How?**
3. The *London Riots of 2011* saw the active use of Social Media Apps to inflame, incite and direct civil strife and public disorder.  
**How can the police counter these strategies?**
4. Terrorist groups are often nothing more than:
  - A. Angry, disenfranchised young men?
  - B. Fundamentalist and/or Radicalised Muslims?
  - C. Organised Crime Syndicates (drugs, weapons, trafficking, migrant smuggling)?
  - D. Thugs and petty criminals?
5. In the public domain *crime statistics* list crimes committed by domestic residents, but do not reflect crimes committed by transient groups or external parties based abroad.  
Why? Should the public be given the real criminal statistical facts?
6. Based on media coverage, what is the main difference between the US Police approach to *Incident Management* (tactical, strategic, negotiation) to that used by your Police?
7. Does immigration have a direct influence on criminality?  
**True or false? Why?**
8.
  - A. Custodial sentences are the most effective means to punish / rehabilitate criminals?
  - B. What other options exist to the traditional prison system?
9. Should the police have a monopoly over policing, enforcement, law and order?



**To:** Amnesty Committee Advisors  
**From:** The Office of The President  
**Re:** List of Prisoners

## MEMO

**Note:** To protect the prisoner's identity from the media, names have been withheld. All are considered of comparatively little risk to society. With the exception of Prisoner No.7, all have already served 6 months of their sentence.

Also consider what steps could be taken as an alternative to or follow-up from the grant of Amnesty e.g. parole, probation, community service, fine etc. Please inform the President of your final decision.

<p>1. <b>20-year-old Student.</b> He broke into the police computer system and tried to erase his previous criminal record (some parking tickets). He was also charged with fraud after police discovered he had hacked into a pizza company's computer and ordered himself free pizzas for over a year. He is serving a five-year sentence.</p>
<p>2. <b>55-year-old Engineer.</b> He was charged with manslaughter* after he hit and killed a child while driving drunk. He has no previous criminal record. He is serving a 10-year sentence.</p> <p>* = involuntary manslaughter, negligent killing (UK) / 3<sup>rd</sup> Degree Murder (US)</p>
<p>3. <b>30-year-old solo mother of two.</b> She was charged with drug dealing when police found 500g of marijuana in her apartment. She says it was for personal use. She is serving a five-year sentence.</p> <p>Consider: quantity vs. national law; effect on family; role model.</p>
<p>4. <b>24-year-old student and activist.</b> He was arrested during an anti-globalisation protest and charged with terrorism. He is a leader of a non-violent social movement and did not participate directly in any violent acts during his protests. He is serving a three-year sentence.</p>
<p>5. <b>40-year-old businessman.</b> He was charged with fraud when police discovered that he had stolen over €2 million from his company using a false system of accounting. He is serving a 10-year sentence.</p> <p>Consider: <i>criminal intent and pre-meditation</i></p>
<p>6. <b>Unemployed woman.</b> She was arrested for stealing food from a supermarket. This was not the first time that she had stolen food, and she had been warned. She is serving an eight-year sentence.</p>
<p>7. <b>Prisoner of War.</b> He was taken prisoner during the last war with the country's neighbours six years ago. He was a marine and engineer and was responsible for bombing a small village in the mountains. He says he was following orders. The two countries are now at peace. He is serving a twenty year sentence.</p>
<p>8. <b>Landlord.</b> He was arrested for keeping a block of flats in very dirty, and some cases dangerous conditions. He was also renting the apartments to illegal immigrants and charging a lot of money for them. He is serving a seven-year sentence.</p>
<p>9. <b>Politician.</b> She was a leading member of the Ultra political party, an extremist group that believed criminals should be executed and immigrants expelled from the country. The Ultra party is very weak now. She was arrested for stealing party funds and is serving a 10-year jail sentence.</p>

Adapted from onestopenglish.com (2002)

# Police and Justice: Vocabulary Building



Place the grammatically correct word (*i.e. -ed, -ing, -ation, -ive*) in the spaces provided.

1. The *getaway* driver was arrested and charged as an \_\_\_\_\_ to the crime.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ **Policing** focuses on public interaction and support to help control crime and reduce fear, with the communities partnering to identify suspects and bring problems to the attention of police.
3. A “protection \_\_\_\_\_” (extortion) is an organised criminal activity in which crime syndicates demand money from businesses in exchange for the service of "protection" against crimes that they themselves commit if unpaid.
4. The **suspect** was \_\_\_\_\_ and read his \_\_\_\_\_: he was \_\_\_\_\_ that anything he said could be used against him in a court of law.
5. The witness was placed in \_\_\_\_\_ **custody**.
6. Judge Davis, authorised and issued the search \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Exhibit “A” was shown to the Jury and used as \_\_\_\_\_ by the Prosecutor.
8. The truck driver was caught \_\_\_\_\_ boxes of cigarettes across the border. His truck was \_\_\_\_\_ and the **contraband** \_\_\_\_\_.
9. During the football match police set up a number of random \_\_\_\_\_ to catch drunk drivers. All suspected drunk drivers were required to blow into the \_\_\_\_\_.
10. Being heavily **intoxicated** in a public place, the man was considered to be at risk and a **public** \_\_\_\_\_, therefore police decided that he should be \_\_\_\_\_ overnight in a Police Station \_\_\_\_\_.
11. Reports say that she was arrested last night and is now in police \_\_\_\_\_.
12. The suspect got into his car and drove away at speed. As the pursuing officer didn't have a vehicle close by, he waved down a passing motorist and \_\_\_\_\_ their car.
13. Records show that he's been **embezzling** money from the company over a period of years, so there is enough evidence for the Criminal Investigations Department to \_\_\_\_\_ him with \_\_\_\_\_.
14. The Officer was offered a \_\_\_\_\_ to turn a “blind eye”.
15. The street gang was charged with \_\_\_\_\_ **robbery** after attacking the man and taking his valuables.
16. Due to security issues as a result of public unrest, political protests and recent **rioting**, the area surrounding the parliament was \_\_\_\_\_ off with portable metal \_\_\_\_\_.
17. Private security was contracted to \_\_\_\_\_ the grounds and \_\_\_\_\_ the main entrance.
18. Blood, clothing and hair samples were sent from the \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_ for analysis.
19. Many Albanians went to Switzerland during the Balkans War seeking \_\_\_\_\_. When peace was restored many of these \_\_\_\_\_ returned to their homeland.
20. Yesterday the High Court reached the \_\_\_\_\_ of “not guilty”, \_\_\_\_\_ him of murder.

21. The man was charged with \_\_\_\_\_ after trying to **extort** money from the politician, by threatening to release photos to the media of him in the company of prostitutes.
22. Foot patrol, also known as “*walking the \_\_\_\_\_*”, is a form of Community Policing.
23. The \_\_\_\_\_ is the person primarily responsible for a criminal offense. Such a person is distinguished from others, who may be subject to criminal liability as **accomplices**, **accessories** or **conspirators**.
24. Upon liberation of their country many political activists and religious leaders returned home from \_\_\_\_\_.
25. The offender was last seen in the \_\_\_\_\_ of the main train station.
26. Police fired **water cannons** onto the **demonstrators** in an effort to \_\_\_\_\_ the crowd.
27. One man is suffering from serious chest wounds and the other is badly concussed. In connection with the case, one man has been charged with **attempted murder** and the other with \_\_\_\_\_ **bodily harm**.
28. \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ is the combination of two violent crimes: the threat of violence and actual physical violence.
29. The bank robbers took \_\_\_\_\_ to act as “human shields” between them and the police.
30. \_\_\_\_\_ means any *illegal* capture or **detention** of persons against their will, regardless of age, for \_\_\_\_\_; the term **abduction** can also be used.
31. A \_\_\_\_\_ is a swift operation by police for the purpose of making arrests, or conducting searches.
32. \_\_\_\_\_ is the commercial exchange of goods or trade. In terms of crime relates to drugs, stolen goods, and human beings.
33. \_\_\_\_\_ is deception made for personal gain, usually to obtain property, money or services. Also known as **larceny** (US) or **theft by deception** (UK).
34. \_\_\_\_\_ is committed using a computer and the internet to steal a person's identity, sell contraband, stalk victims, or disrupt operations with malevolent programmes.
35. \_\_\_\_\_ Crime is a general phrase meaning **fraud**, schemes, and commercial offences by businesspersons, confidence men, and public officials. Usually non-violent. For example consumer fraud, corporate fraud, tax fraud, and stock manipulation.
36. The officer submitted the \_\_\_\_\_ for discussion and correction.
37. Due to cases of \_\_\_\_\_ and **pillaging** following Hurricane Katrina, police authorities set in place a \_\_\_\_\_ between 2000hrs – 0800hrs to ensure home and business security.
38. Levels of infringement and criminal offences are classified as: \_\_\_\_\_ (e.g. reckless driving), \_\_\_\_\_ (e.g. burglary), and \_\_\_\_\_ (e.g. murder).

## Police and Justice Word List

accomplice	acquit	aggravate
arrest	assault	asylum
barrier	battery	beat
blackmail	breathalyser	bribe
caution	charge	checkpoint
commandeer	community	confiscate
cordon	crime scene	curfew
custody	cyber-crime	detain
disperse	draft	evidence
exile	extortion	felony
forensic	fraud (x2)	grievous
guard	holding cell	hostage
infraction	kidnap	loot
misdemeanour	nuisance	principal
protective	racket	raid
ransom	refugee	rights
secure	seize	smuggle
traffic	transnational	verdict
vicinity	warrant	white collar



## Case Studies

Although names have been changed, these are based on real scenarios.

### Discussion Exercise:

1. What are the issues facing the police?
2. Ethically, what options do they have?
3. What should they do?
4. What would they do?
5. What would you do?

### Case 1

(Germany)

Smith has kidnapped Susan and secured her in a sealed concrete drain. He has left her with very limited water; the summer sun is slowly turning the drain into a hot-box. He demands a large ransom from her millionaire father who promises not to contact the police in return for his daughter's life. Despite this, the father contacts the police, who persuade the father to let them control the handover of the money. Due to time pressure, in the handover Smith is immediately arrested, instead of more usual post-ransom surveillance. He is taken to a police station where he is questioned but refuses to admit his involvement in the case, or disclose Susan's location - but does state that he can imagine that she must now be dying from dehydration. Police are unable to locate Susan and are running out of custody time. They discuss whether they should exclude the solicitor from the interview and use some stronger tactics.

### Case 2

(Australia)

Jones is a serious offender whom police believe is part of an organised paedophile ring. The police are desperate to catch him and his network before they kill a child. They are contacted by Jones' daughter, aged 15, who offers to provide information to the police 'covertly'. The police debate whether to use the daughter as an on-site informant in view of her age, reliability, the family relationship to their suspect and the possible dangers to her.

### Case 3

(United Kingdom)

John is a local community-based police patrol officer. He is dealing with a series of complaints against an 11-year-old boy, who is racially harassing and abusing elderly residents in a housing estate. They demand that John takes some action and suggests a "good clip round the ear". The boy, when spoken to is rude, abusive and spits at John. John, angry and convinced that the boy will not respond to reason, slaps him hard. The boy's parents file an assault complaint against the officer. The local residents and local media support John's actions. Police Management have to decide what action to take against him.

# Police Integrity - Corruption and Ethics

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**Corruption** is a form of dishonest or unethical conduct by a person entrusted with a position of authority, often to acquire personal benefit. Corruption may include many activities including **bribery** and **embezzlement**, though it may also involve practices that are legal in many countries. Government, or 'political', corruption occurs when an office-holder or other governmental employee acts in an official capacity for personal gain.

**Police Corruption** is a specific form of police misconduct designed to obtain financial benefits, personal gain, and/or career advancement in exchange for not pursuing, or selectively pursuing, an investigation or arrest. One common form of police corruption is **soliciting** and/or accepting bribes in exchange for not reporting organized drug or prostitution rings or other illegal activities.



## SECTION 1: VOCABULARY

Match the words on the left with the explanations on the right.

Word	Explanation
1. Practice	A. To take (money that has been entrusted) for personal use.
2. Bribery	B. The power to enforce laws, exact obedience, command, determine, or judge.
3. Fraud	C. A deception deliberately practiced in order to secure unfair or unlawful gain
4. Solicit	D. To commit the criminal offense of inviting or provoking (another) to commit an illegal act.
5. Authority	E. A habitual or customary action or way of doing something.
6. Inducement	F. The practice of offering something (usually money) in order to gain an illicit advantage.
7. Violate	G. Disposed to lie, cheat, defraud, or deceive.
8. Duty	H. The actions of a person in response to external or internal stimuli.
9. Dishonest	I. To break, disregard, harm or disturb.
10. Behaviour	J. Something that encourages someone to do something by incentive
11. Embezzle	K. A course of action that is required by position, social custom, law, or religion.



**SECTION 2: GROUP DISCUSSION - Corrupt and Unethical Practices?** Decide if these are examples of corrupt, unethical or fraudulent? Why?

1. A woman pays a surgeon €500 to make sure her husband has an operation in a state hospital before the other patients who are waiting.
2. A man takes his car for its technical inspection. He pays the person who inspects the car so that it will be certified as roadworthy.
3. Two detectives are visiting a flat which has been burgled to collect evidence from the scene of the crime. The wife of the owner gives them a cup of coffee and some biscuits.
4. A US Sheriff's Deputy stops motorists who are driving too fast. He 'suggests' that they give money to the Precinct privately-run "Police Benevolent Fund" instead of issuing a ticket.
5. During the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany, McDonalds - a major FIFA sponsor - offers German Police Officers free soft-drinks in all its branches throughout the championship.
6. When traveling in uniform German Police Officers may ride for free on German Rail trains.
7. A local police officer arrives at work at 0630hrs, logs in, shaves, takes a shower, gets dressed, goes to breakfast and returns to the office ready for work at 0800hrs.
8. In their spare time three police officers give paid security awareness training to an international NGO. As a training aid they "borrow" police equipment from their department (e.g. simulation weapons, radios, protective vests etc.).
9. The wife of a highly ranked local police officer has been providing education services - on annual contract – to his department over the last few years. The wife is not known for the quality of her services nor to be price competitive.
10. When travelling through Cambodia, David was surprised that he had to pay a small fee to pass through police checkpoints. However, the fee also covered a police escort through to the next check-point several kilometres down the road.

# Police Integrity - Corruption and Ethics

## SECTION 3: COMPREHENSION

Read the table and fill in the gaps with sentences A to E below it.

Problem	Common Cause	Cures
Selective enforcement	Unenforceable legislation, unclear enforcement policy	
	Inadequate supervision and instructions	Enforce supervisory accountability and lay down clear instructions and delegated authorities
Administrative delay		Streamline procedures, set performance pledge and monitor progress
Leakage of confidential information	Inadequate control measures	
Public not aware of their rights and obligations		Enhance of transparency of policies and procedures

- A. Cumbersome and unnecessary procedures
- B. Establish proper security measures to safeguard confidentiality of information
- C. Inadequate publicity of policies and procedures
- D. Abuse of office
- E. Review legislation and develop realistic enforcement policy

### 4.2 Match the problems on the left with the short cases on the right.

1. Selective enforcement	___	A. A policeman stops a prostitute in the street. In exchange for a sexual act performed in a car park away from the main road, he lets her go without arresting her.
2. Abuse of office	___	B. A policeman stops a foreign car at a radar trap and accuses him of speeding. He tells the foreigner to pay him in cash immediately or he will seize his car.
3. Administrative delay	___	C. A journalist finds out that a well know politician's son has been arrested for using drugs. He bribes a police contact to find out which police station he's being held in to take exclusive photographs.
4. Leakage of confidential information	___	D. Six (6) people are arrested at a football match for a breach of the peace. Five (5) of them are charged and sent to court, but the son of a local politician is let off with a warning.
5. Public not aware of their rights and obligations	___	E. It normally takes between 6 months and 1 year to issue building permits. A businessman gives the official responsible 500 dollars to get it ready within 2 weeks.

# Police and Community Relations



## - The London Riots

Between 6 and 11 August 2011, thousands of people rioted throughout Greater London. The resulting chaos generated violence, **looting**, **arson**, and the mass deployment of police.



Protests began in the North London suburb of Tottenham, following the death of Mark Duggan - a local and **alleged** drug dealer - shot dead by police on 4 August 2011, during an **intercept** operation. As an ongoing investigation, transparency over the circumstances surrounding Duggan's death was drawn-out and murky, with police quickly accused of a cover-up.

The protest became **inflamed** after police **restrained** a sixteen-year-old girl who was alleged to have been acting in an aggressive and disorderly manner. Multiple violent clashes with police followed, along with the destruction of police vehicles, a courthouse, public transport and dozens of homes, as well as vandalism and looting businesses within the protestors own communities. In an environment of poor police response, gangs of vigilantes took to the streets to defend their homes and community against hooliganism.

The London Riots were also called the "Blackberry Riots" due to the role Blackberry Messenger (BBM), smartphones and social media played in **inciting** and strategically directing civil disobedience. Chaos reigned supreme.

In the aftermath some 4000 people were arrested, 2200 were formally charged. But the destruction and cost went well beyond material goods, damaging the relationship between the police and the communities it was sworn to serve and protect.

### Vocabulary Building 1: Match the word with the correct definition.

- |                     |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| A. <b>looting</b>   | B. <b>incite</b>    | C. <b>vigilante</b> |
| D. <b>arson</b>     | E. <b>restrain</b>  | F. <b>inflame</b>   |
| G. <b>intercept</b> | H. <b>aftermath</b> | I. <b>allege</b>    |

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| 1. _____ | to arouse or intensify violent emotion                |
| 2. _____ | one who takes law enforcement into one's own hands    |
| 3. _____ | a consequence, especially due to disaster             |
| 4. _____ | to hold back; control, prevent; to deprive freedom    |
| 5. _____ | the crime of unlawfully setting fire to a building    |
| 6. _____ | to accuse/claim that someone has done something wrong |
| 7. _____ | to provoke, stir up or urge on to action              |
| 8. _____ | to pillage and plunder                                |
| 9. _____ | to seize, obstruct, impede, interrupt, block, detain  |



## - What caused the London Riots

Of course, Mark Duggan's death was not the true reason behind the riots, merely the catalyst.

It is important to note that unlike civil disorder from years before,

*"There was no sense among the rioters of being part of a collective, no desire to change society, just an immature, anarchy-based desire to cause chaos and to profit from looting. The riots were not a protest in any way, but a mixture of confused rage, gang thuggery and teenage mayhem".*

Those who have no self-worth fear no consequence.

Root causes have been summarised as:

### 1. Social and Economic Inequality

Marginalisation, deprivation, lack of social mobility (ability to move up) and social capital (of little worth in society).

### 2. Weak Police Response

This outbreak of mass criminality was *"unleashed by an weak police reaction to the initial incident"*. Because the police didn't crack down right away, it essentially *"gave permission for dozens of thugs to come and loot and burn the neighbourhood."* When a mob sees that police can't control a situation, it *"leads to adrenalin-fuelled euphoria"*.

### 3. High Youth Unemployment

Given the range and coordination of the rioting, *"this was clearly an event with far deeper causes than simple random hooliganism"*. Most of the looters and vandals were under 20, destroying the same low-income neighbourhoods they live in. With few prospects, these kids clearly *"had nothing else to do with themselves, and no reason to fear or feel responsible for the consequences of their actions."*

### 4. Moral Poverty and Opportunism

What set these riots apart is the deliberate, consumer-like looting. Whereas all riots loosen inhibitions, *"looting tends to involve a wider range of people - children, women, older people - because it does not involve physical violence."* And as more people get involved, more damage is done, with little sense of responsibility or guilt.

### 5. Racial Profiling

To anyone who asked them, the rioters made it very clear what their motives were: *"repaying years of police mistreatment."* That's especially true in *"communities where there is a relatively high percentage of blacks"*. The anger black people felt at being stopped and searched more often, combined with *"continuing deprivation, growing unemployment, a feeling of lack of opportunity"* made for a *"toxic mix."*





## - Hypothesis: Culture

Culture can be defined as the “*the shared inherited and learned ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and knowledge which characterises a society, group or organisation*”. This is most commonly expressed through national, ethnic and religious identity - and is often the source of stereotype.

Another form of culture is *organisational culture*, which is commonly seen in specialist professional closed environments, such as the police and military. A culture to which you do not belong can be experienced but you'll seldom be part of it.

Sociocultural beliefs and attitudes become **entrenched** over generations, therefore cannot be easily changed or altered. To an extent, the same can be said with organisational culture (e.g. institutionalised sexism, racial profiling etc.). Factors influencing behaviour are often associated with social expectation, custom, peer pressure, and certain **Pavlovian** conditioning traits.

London's boroughs have large concentrations of both lower socio-economic and immigrant communities - communities which often display disproportionately low income, high unemployment, a largely unqualified workforce and **disenfranchised** youth. In examining London's immigrant groups, all have their own language, culture, perspective, and attitudes. As immigrants, integration and acceptance by the wider [host] community is slow, if not reluctant; similarly adopting local norms by these new groups are also slow, if not actively discouraged.

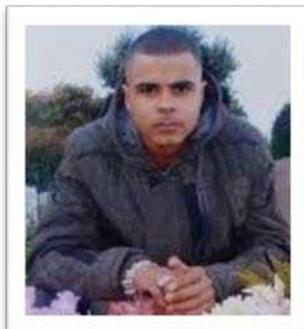
The London Riots exhibited a clash of two cultural types, represented by two unlike cultural groups: mixed lower socio-economic [groups] vs. an organisational culture - the “System”, **embodied** by the police.

In the eyes of the British public, police ideally serve the interests of the community - ‘policing by consent’, performing their role in a ‘*transparent and accountable*’ manner. However, by those on society's fringes, London's Metropolitan Police were seen to **personify** the attitudes of *white middle class England* – a class and lifestyle the lower socio-economic groups can only dream of.

“White middle class” England had the social expectation of the ‘others’ to **conform** and integrate. Those groups who did not (or could not) were looked down on with **disdain**, or treated with suspicion and fear. In London, those clearly of immigrant background, within the lower socio-economic areas, were regularly targeted by the police using ‘*stop and search*’ tactics. Such tactics were seen as hostile, racist and repressive – strengthening the idea that these groups and the immigrant community were barely tolerated ‘outsiders’ – of little worth or social standing.

What was not considered before or after the riots was how the police were seen as an organisation by those on society's fringes. Many immigrants originated from countries where police corruption, violence and victimisation are considered normal. Therefore, any police presence was viewed with distrust and fear, reinforced by MPS *racial profiling* and *stop-and-search* practices. However, other parties viewed the British police and justice system with disrespect, regarding it as soft and **impotent**.

Mark Duggan was shot during an armed police intercept as part of *Operation Trident*. Operation Trident targeted gun crime in London, with special attention to shootings relating to the illegal sale of drugs and crime in Afro-Caribbean communities.



At the time it was not clear if Duggan had a criminal connection, nor was it clear if he had a gun, or indeed if he had actually shot at a police officer. But the lack of police transparency, past experiences of racial profiling, and suspicion that it was a police cover-up was enough to spark protest.

With large elements of the community turning against them, the police did not know how to respond. The tactic of letting the situation ‘burn itself out’, and not provoking the crowd by keeping a discrete distance had the opposite desired effect: it reinforced the belief of police impotence, leading to an escalating of the situation.

After five days, and the deployment of over 44,000 police officers in London, the riots did eventually burn themselves out. But the financial and social costs were heavy. And community trust in the police – as an organisation and partner – disappeared as quickly as flat screen TVs during the looting.

In the aftermath the ‘blame game’ was played, but ultimately the riots were a monumental failure to re-connect with the communities and identify their priorities.

A bulk of the responsibility was shouldered by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) for lack of forewarning, poor preventative measures and weak response. However, immediately following Mark Duggan’s shooting (prior to the riots), the MPS did attempt to gauge the mood of the public by consulting community contact groups. But with budget cuts impacting Community Policing reliable engagement had been lost.

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## Vocabulary Building 2: Match the word with the correct definition.

- A. **impotent**
- B. **marginalise**
- C. **entrench**

- D. **Pavlovian**
- E. **personify**
- F. **disenfranchise**

- G. **embody**
- H. **conform**
- I. **disdain**

- |    |       |  |
|----|-------|--|
| 1. | _____ | to deprive a person of their rights as a citizen       |
| 2. | _____ | to push to the side specific groups of people          |
| 3. | _____ | lacking physical strength to act effectively; helpless |
| 4. | _____ | automatic behavioural response due to conditioning     |
| 5. | _____ | an idea or philosophy fixed in the cultural mind       |
| 6. | _____ | represent or symbolise [police as government]          |
| 7. | _____ | to become a visible form of an idea                    |
| 8. | _____ | to social fit in, to follow local customs              |
| 9. | _____ | to look down on a person or social group               |



## Comprehension Check:

Which statement is **True (T)**, **False (F)**, or **not stated (NS)** in the article?

1. People in Tottenham came together to protest after police shot Mark Duggan \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Mark Duggan was considered a threat by police \_\_\_\_\_
  3. The police were accused of covering up facts relating to Mark Duggan's death \_\_\_\_\_
  4. The protest turned to riots over the alleged police assault of a 16-year-old girl \_\_\_\_\_
  5. Urban poverty and social deprivation have nothing to do with the riots \_\_\_\_\_
  6. It's stated that police practiced *racial profiling* and *stop-and-search* tactics \_\_\_\_\_
  7. UK law enforcement is done so with the *consent* of the community they police \_\_\_\_\_
  8. The lower-class view police as a tool of repression \_\_\_\_\_
  9. Immigrants either fear or don't respect the role and authority of the police \_\_\_\_\_
- 

## Group 1: Discussion

1. How would your police have dealt with the riots (before, during, after)?
2. At present British police do not have large scale Riot Units, instead maintaining small rapid response teams, supported by all uniformed officers as and when required.  
What is your opinion of such a system? Is it an effective use of manpower?
3. Do you think rioting like this could happen in your state or country? Why? Why not?
4. What is the role of Community Police in preventing/deescalating such situations?
5. How does ethno-cultural diversity effect police relations in your community?
6. Are your police seen as a reflection of society?
7. Do such social conditions contribute to home grown *radicalisation* and terrorism?  
What are the typical identifying traits?
8. As a backdrop to the riots were allegations of police corruption, disproportional use of force and racial profiling (incl. stop-and-search tatics), leading to lack of trust.  
What measures would you take to reestablish faith and trust in the police?
9. What parallels do you see between the London Riots, and those witnessed in the US?

## Group 2: Assignment

At the request of the London Metropolitan Police, you have been assigned to give advice on how they should to deal with such civil disturbances in the future.

*Key issues:*

- trust
- community partnerships
- prevention
- intervention
- social media
- crisis communication
- de-escalation
- limitation/confinement
- strategies and tactics

The country's crime rate has decreased drastically in recent years after the police commissioner shifted to a focus on crime prevention instead of prosecution.

Mary Calam (London) and Roland Dillon (Melbourne)

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**New Zealand cut its crime rate by 20 percent** in four years while boosting public satisfaction with policing. The country's police chief attributes its "180-degree shift" to a prevention-focused approach - a shift that holds lessons for other public-sector transformations.

When Mike Bush joined the New Zealand police service as a cadet in 1978, it was an organisation focused squarely on prosecution. The ethos was: *"Catch offenders, lock them up, and forget about the rest."* Thirty years later, as deputy commissioner, he began the transformation of the service by putting prevention first - a transformation he has continued as commissioner.

For Bush, this transformation has been deeply personal. *"It went back to my reason for being a police officer,"* he explained. In a previous role as an area police commander, Bush piloted an approach of intervening early to prevent crime and using the justice system as the final option. He saw how that made the police service better at keeping the population safe - and gave his fellow officers greater opportunities to change people's lives.



When he was promoted to the national role of New Zealand Police Commissioner in 2014, Bush made that innovative work the foundation for a national project called "Prevention First." It soon became the cornerstone of the New Zealand Police's operating strategy and helped spur the transformation of the entire police service.

Prevention First was *"a 180-degree shift from where we had been,"* he recalled. Persuading a decentralised workforce of more than 12,000 to try something new was no easy task: Bush estimated that two-thirds of the workforce saw the new operating strategy as a threat. *"When people feel threatened, they are going to opt out, they are going to challenge, they are going to resist,"* he said.

As the numbers show, Bush was able to overcome this resistance and bring the service with him on the transformation journey. New Zealand's crime rate fell by 20% between 2010 and 2014, while public satisfaction with policing rose from 79% to 84% over the same period<sup>1</sup>. That has made New Zealand a global success story in policing - and a key case study in public-sector transformations.

In conversation, Bush reflected on three essential success factors of such transformations:

**1. committed leadership; 2. compelling communication, and; 3. capabilities for change.**

<sup>1</sup> *Policing Excellence: The Transformation of New Zealand Police 2009–2014*, New Zealand Police, December 2014, [police.govt.nz](http://police.govt.nz)

**McKinsey:** *We know from our research on government transformations that leadership commitment is critical in driving successful transformations. What did you do to demonstrate your personal commitment to the change?*

**Mike Bush:** People who delegate transformation out will never succeed. Unless the chief executive and leaders in the organisation own and champion the change, it will never happen.

Seeing senior leaders within that group championing the operating model of change makes a massive difference. Once people see you delegate transformation out, it is not important to your people because it is not seen as important to you. It's symbolic, because if you commit time, your people understand how important it is to you.

Being closely involved gives you a better understanding of where the barriers are and how to remove them. It brings that absolute, relentless focus. Because if you have your arms around something, you understand it. You're able to make things happen.

**McKinsey:** *That must have been a huge commitment in terms of your time.*

**Mike Bush:** My rule of thumb is - and I got this from others, so it's not my own rule - you need to dedicate at least 60 percent of your time inside the organisation to driving a transformation.

The police service in New Zealand is very decentralised, so it was critical for the leadership team to get out and about regularly to talk to officers and staff on the front line. And this starts right with new recruits. When we induct them, on day one, I meet with them all, which helps them understand our business.

**McKinsey:** *Can you give me an example of how that leadership commitment had an impact?*

**Mike Bush:** When we reached out for a mobility partner, I led the procurement and spoke to the chief executives of the major providers. I said, *"This is our vision. This is what we need—we do not want a provider or a supplier, we want a partner. We want to innovate. We want support."* So we wanted someone to come on the transformation journey with us.

Now three of the main CEOs that we approached all took different approaches. One quite rightly said, *"Too big for us."* The second thought, *"I got this in the bag. We're already there, no problem."* And the third company, the chief executives said, *"I'm going to own this. I'm going to champion it. I'm going to ensure that this happens. Because it's important to the organisation. And actually, I really like what they're trying to do."*

They won it. We're still really close partners. We're innovating. We're doing everything we said we'd do. Again, it was led from the top in our place. But it was championed from the top in their place as well. So that was worth it. What their chief executive did made the difference.

**McKinsey:** *Our research on government transformations highlights how critical communication is and that most organizations don't do it nearly well enough. How did you articulate the vision?*

**Mike Bush:** I spoke to another 40 new recruits yesterday, and I asked them why they joined. And the answer that always comes back to you is, “I joined to make a difference.” Understanding the “why” is critical. We reflected the purpose of policing right up front. The purpose of policing is to ensure people are safe and that they feel safe. Now, everyone in our business can articulate that. And we have performance measurements that are absolutely aligned to that. Reducing the number of people who are victims of crime is absolutely the *raison d’être* of policing, no one would argue with that - that’s the “be safe” part. But citizens are only going to “feel safe” if they trust the police - and we’ve set really high targets for trust, confidence, and satisfaction.



You also need to have the right plan to achieve the right outcomes. A big part of this is related to resource reallocation. A frontline officer who made an arrest for disorderly behavior could spend two hours preparing a file and then spend a day at court for a hearing, and yet ultimately there might still be no result. And we knew that prosecuting low-level offenses like these was not contributing to our vision of preventing crime and making people feel safe.

Implementing this new vision meant we took out 41 percent of the volume of referrals, which freed up capacity to dedicate to preventing people becoming victims in the first place, with more officers out on the street rather than in the office or waiting in court.

**McKinsey:** *And how was that vision communicated across such a large and geographically dispersed organisation?*

**Mike Bush:** In terms of bringing the organisation with you, the first mistake you can make is just assuming that because you have a good plan, and it is the right thing to do, that people are going to buy into [it]. It takes massive change management, massive leadership commitment, relentless communication and championing. It is continuous.

If you think about our new operating strategy, Prevention First, with victims at the center, that was a 180-degree shift from where we had been. From an organisation that was offender focused, that was prosecution focused - just catch bad people, lock them up, and forget about the rest. We went from being prosecution first to being prevention first. That, in some people’s minds, was absolutely the right way to go. But 60 or 70 percent of the organisation saw it as a threat to their traditional approach to policing.

I’ve been in the police service for 40 years. It was contrary to the organisation I grew up in. But I personally led the development of the new operating model. So I understood it. And it went back to my reason for being a police officer, for being in the New Zealand Police. So, my ability to say, “*That was then, this is now,*” was helpful. I was not parachuted in. This was the organisation I grew up in, and I understood its psychological drivers.

**McKinsey:** *Did you run into any roadblocks when communicating the vision?*

**Mike Bush:** Getting the messages right meant trial and error, and our messages evolved over time. At the start, people thought we meant enforcement and investigations were now less important than prevention work. We had to change tack, to make them understand that we know all the components of policing are important. It is just the order in which you think and act that makes the difference, putting prevention at the front and victims at the center.

For example, our detective branch saw their role as investigating serious crime and arresting serious and organised crime offenders. They thought, *“Prevention is in another part of the organisation.”* So it wasn’t communicated to them in a way that seemed relevant. If it’s communicated correctly, prevention becomes really relevant - arresting serious crime offenders quickly and effectively actually prevents further crime. Understanding the drivers of organised crime helps prevent a lot of other harm and crime. So we left quite a significant part of our organisation behind because the change was not championed by the leaders in that space, and it was not fully understood. That’s been corrected, and the detectives are massive champions now of our operating model.

**McKinsey:** *How did you go about building the new capabilities and ways of working?*

**Mike Bush:** We increased the training—whether it’s around prevention, whether it’s around response or investigation. There has been much more professionalisation of core policing skills, building a police officer’s judgment, and ensuring they bring their core skills and their intrinsic values to the job. It’s a two-and-a-half-year programme to roll out. We’ve got 12,000 through, soon to be 14,000 people.

It’s also about leadership skills, which is a big change for them as well. It’s going from a high-fear/low-trust leadership model, which is the model I joined under. Back then, you were scared of your bosses, and there was very little trust. But now we have moved - and it’s low-fear/high-trust. I’ve got to build capability in all my people, because I have to trust them when they’re out there day and night.

I’ve also learned to never assume. Never assume that because something is a better, and maybe even easier, thing to do, that people will adopt it. People adopt things for different reasons. The example I use is technology. You give everyone a smartphone. Tell them they can do whatever they like within the law on that device. And at the same time, use it for the policing purposes.

Never assume that they’re all going to adopt it. We only had a 50 percent uptake. So then we had to step back and say, *“How do we lead this change?”* So never assume.

**McKinsey:** *The last question: If you were speaking to someone who’s in a position like yours embarking on a five-year journey, what is the one thing you’d want them to know?*

**Mike Bush:** You have to own it and lead it. Without the leader, it will fail. Your leadership is critical, and you cannot delegate transformation. I’ve seen people delegate transformation and fail. It has to be central to your purpose.

## Relations with all communities must ‘deepen and broaden’ to prevent another terror attack

Tina Orr Munro, **Policing Insight** (12 December 2019)

In March 2019, New Zealand suffered its worst ever terrorist attack when 51 innocent people were murdered and dozens injured as they attended Friday Prayer. Speaking at the International Conference of Crime Prevention in Dubai, New Zealand Police Commissioner Mike Bush discusses the implications the attack had for his force’s ‘Prevention First’ policy.



On 15 March 2019, a gunman entered the Al Noor Mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, and opened fire on worshippers. Minutes later, he drove to the Linwood Islamic Centre where he again fired on those attending Friday Prayer. He killed 51 innocent people and wounded dozens more. This horrific act of terror was motivated by hate yet the perpetrator, who was legally in possession of the firearms, had never come to the attention of any of the authorities, including the police.

*“He had travelled to 70 countries. He had donated funds to ‘groups of concern’. He had joined a gun club and acquired semi-automatic firearms. You’d think that was enough to come to our attention. It wasn’t,”* says New Zealand Police Commissioner Mike Bush.

Commissioner Bush revealed that that attack shone a light on force’s “Prevention First” approach to policing. Introduced in 2011, Prevention First had previously proved to be successful, but in this instance, as Commissioner Bush says, it had not enabled them to “*get ahead*” of the attack.

**Prevention First** is the operating strategy for the New Zealand Police Service, placing “*prevention at the forefront of the organisation and people at the very centre*”. In practice, it shifts the service’s focus from prosecution to prevention although the two are not mutually exclusive.

*“Everything we do is important: preventing, responding, investigating and resolving. The principle here is that it is the order in which you think and act that makes the difference. If you put prevention at the front, you are honouring your reason for coming to work.”*

### Three-pronged strategy

The Prevention First operating model follows a three-pronged strategy. The first is to identify the **driver for demand**. *“You must understand what’s driving crime in your country, area or region. You must problem solve that and work in partnership with everyone that has the ability to resolve those drivers.”*

The second strand relates to **deployment**. Having a robust deployment intelligence model is critical, says Commissioner Bush, in understanding the demand on the business and the resources available for deployment.

The final strand relates to **changing police culture** which he described as a ‘long journey’.

*“How do you change the mindset of 13,000 people? It’s not easy. Having one jurisdiction is helpful, but it takes huge change management processes, championing that philosophy and proving that it actually works.”*

The Prevention First model was tested when, between 2015 and 2017, aggravated burglaries across New Zealand soared by 50%, leaving many victims living in fear. The force applied the model, using the *crime triangle of offender, location and victim*. Alongside a high focus on offenders, staff were also deployed across the country to reassure communities. Around 1200 of the affected businesses were visited and given crime prevention advice which led to substantial improvements in their security. Around 300 repeat victims were also identified. Technology also played a key role and the force managed to secure \$1.8m NZD (€1.1m) from the government to install CCTV cameras in high risk locations. Tackling the robberies was made a priority, nationally, but also locally.

*“Every district commander needed to understand what was going on in their area, address it and report back to the centre. When commanders are asked to account for what’s going and ensure they have the solutions, performance improves,”* adds Commissioner Bush.

The approach worked. Data for 2016 -17 showed a 40% decrease in armed robberies with 61% of the crimes resolved. Not only did crime come down, but perceptions of safety increased significantly as did trust and confidence in the police. Overall, Prevention First was successful. Then 15 March 2019 happened.

Listening to Commissioner Bush talk about the events of that day and the police service’s inability to prevent this horrific attack taking place, it’s clear that it still weighs heavily on the service. What was frustrating for the police is that the perpetrator wasn’t even on their radar.

*“This person – an Australian who had lived in New Zealand for two years and who had travelled to 70 countries – had never come to the notice of the authorities including the police, mental health and immigration. How do you get ahead of people like that?”*

The attack caused the force to reflect on the Prevention First model which revealed that while the police had many excellent relationships and partnerships with diverse communities, it wasn’t enough.

*“We have a big firearms community. This man was lawfully in possession of firearms used in that attack. He trained at a gun club. Did anyone in that community come to us? No. Would they have if we had better relationships? I think so.”*

## 'We need to do more'

Commissioner Bush view is that every law enforcement organisation has to “*deepen and broaden*” their relationships with every community, including the online community, if they are to prevent an attack like this happening again.

*“They [law enforcement] must be immersed in every community so you learn about the people that may pose a risk. You have to build that trust and confidence.”*

While the police were unable to prevent the first attack happening, they did succeed in quickly foiling a subsequent plot - and were also able to reassure communities, keeping them safe in the aftermath of the first incident.

*“We failed on one and succeeded on the other. Trust and confidence in the police rose by a significant amount because the way we policed this post event made people feel safe. People felt reassured.”*

New Zealand’s Prevention First model remains very much at the heart of its approach to policing, but Mr Bush says it now needs to go further.

*“We need to deepen it and broaden it. Everyone comes to work to ensure these things never happen. We need to sit and reflect. Are we doing enough? No, we need to do more.”*

(note: Mike Bush retires from the New Zealand Police in April 2020)

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## Discussion Questions

1. In the context of police as an organisation, define *change management*. Does it differ to Security Sector Reform (SSR)?
2. How does Mike Bush’s leadership-style and approach compare to the leadership of your police?
3. When implementing police reform and priorities, what style is more important *leadership or management*?
4. How open/resistant to change are your police (*ref. management/culture/personnel*)?
5. How does your country compare to New Zealand’s approach on “Preventive Policing”? Give examples of preventive policing strategies already used in your country.
6. Both NZ’s Commissioner Bush and the former Head of Community Policing in Manchester (UK), stated that community-oriented preventive strategies are the key to reducing crime, as well as countering violent extremism, radicalisation and terrorism (VERT). Agree / Disagree?
7. How do you measure the success in preventive policing?
8. If you were promoted to the Chief of Police:
  - a. how would you change police ideologies and organisational culture?
  - b. what policing areas would you focus on?

## County Lines Gangs: How Drug-Running is Fuelling Knife Crime

**UK criminals are using violence to force vulnerable teenagers to carry drugs from London estates to rural streets 200 kilometres away.**

Mark Townsend, Guardian (9 March 2019)

As always, they were gathered in Andover Square, the tree-shaded courtyard in the middle of the Islington, North London housing estate. Another group stood on a nearby corner; another loitered outside the tower blocks of the Six Acres Estate. *“You see? They have taken over the streets,”* said Fawzia Addou, one of a group of mothers escorting reporters around the streets of Finsbury Park, north London. The mothers, dressed in disguise, were pointing out the drug-dealing spots where their sons worked.



The dealers were everywhere: behind the bowling alley, outside the tube station, at the top of Finsbury Park Road, as well as the bus stop opposite City and Islington College.

The mothers cannot understand why the drug trade is so brazen, so open. They say the police know all about the locations because they have repeatedly told officers.

Those who could identify their teenage sons were almost grateful. Many other children, aged under 16, have simply disappeared. Some emerge weeks later, hungry, exhausted. Some have been beaten, stabbed, and are visibly traumatised.

They are the victims of “county lines”, a drug distribution system in which criminal networks exploit thousands of children and vulnerable adults to funnel hard drugs from cities to towns and rural regions across the country, often using the public transport network to move their illegal merchandise. The youngsters transporting the drugs are recruited by ruthless criminal organisations, who target them with a mixture of financial rewards and threats, often finding recruits outside schools or the pupil referral units to which they have been sent after being excluded from mainstream schools.

The destabilising influence of the county lines system has helped to drive fatal stabbings to the highest levels since records began. The mounting death toll has become increasingly politicised with government crisis meetings and warnings of a “national emergency”.

But the controversy has changed little on the streets around the Andover estate. The mothers, all Somalis who fled their country during the civil war in the 1990s, say they have been abandoned by the state.

Many of their children, they reveal, have asked to leave London because of the violence or have been sent to Africa for their own protection. *“We are refugees, if we cannot keep our children safe, we move on,”* said Kameela Khalif.

Community representatives estimate that hundreds of British teenagers have left for Somaliland or Somalia – a country that in the recent past has seen car bombings, airstrikes and a deadly siege – because the UK has become too unsafe.

## County Lines Gangs: How Drug-Running is Fuelling Knife Crime

Beyond its medieval centre, past St Benedict's church and the cobbled lanes, the west side of Norwich opens on to a network of housing estates. Here, among the streets of Heigham Grove, children from N4 – the London postcode of Finsbury Park some 180km away – have been discovered working county lines.



According to the latest police assessment, there are 27 county lines currently operating into Norfolk, most from London and most affecting Norwich, Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn.

A "hostile" strategy towards the drugs gangs, *Operation Gravity*, has seen 1,024 people arrested in Norfolk since November 2016. Analysis of these arrests produced a striking theme – the minority were locals. More than 800, in fact, did not have a Norfolk postcode. Of 18 girls, only three were from the county.

Further investigation found 500 gang members from London or elsewhere had recently left a criminal "footprint" inside Norfolk. "It was a bit of an eye opener," said Chief Inspector Sonia Humphreys, of the Norfolk Constabulary.

Most children from London arrive into Norfolk by train. Those from Finsbury Park and Islington, whose mosaic of multi-ethnic gangs include *Easy Cash*, *Kelly Gang* and *Andover Boys* travel from King's Cross (London) direct to King's Lynn (170km). Further east across the capital a competing Somali-led gang, the *Mali Boys*, uses Liverpool Street station to travel direct to Norwich (180km away).

The Mali Boys, run by Somali "olders", are symbolic of a new wave of commercially aggressive county lines operations which have attempted to gain a Norwich foothold. "Historically, we've seen a lot of violence when the Somalis come up," said Humphreys.

Transport Police are briefed to look out for young black children travelling alone to Norfolk, often using first class, often paying with cash. Gangs are increasingly aware such journeys can seem conspicuous.

"White British children are now being targeted because gangs perceive they are more likely to evade police detection," states an internal Norfolk Police document.



## County Lines Gangs: How Drug-Running is Fuelling Knife Crime

Although Norwich teenagers are increasingly joining county lines operations, recruits largely remain inner-city children exported elsewhere.

Last Wednesday, another seven Somali mothers gathered inside an Islington community centre to discuss their “lost generation”. Rakhia Ismail, Deputy Mayor of Islington is counselling 15 mothers who have lost sons to county lines and has dozens more terrified about trafficking.

Addou, part of a network of 13 parents whose children have been taken by drug gangs, estimated that half – possibly as much of 70% – of Islington’s Somali community had been directly impacted by knife crime and county lines. *“The ones not affected are worried because they’re next,”* she said. Addou’s son has been found in King’s Lynn four times. Groomed by gangs in a football park outside his school, the first time he disappeared she traced him to a local dealer. *“He said that he couldn’t come home until Tuesday. They were holding him.”* She sent the 15-year-old to Somalia then Kenya.

Sahra Amburo, a prominent member of N4’s Somali community, told how her 15-year-old was top of his class, a risk factor in itself because gangs target the most intelligent or popular, knowing friends will follow.

Her son vanished one Sunday afternoon in 2017. After obtaining his phone records, she tracked him to Essex where he was being held by a group of dealers. She flew him immediately to Somaliland. *“I took him away otherwise he would have been killed because they knew our address,”* she said.

Another described how she learned her 16-year-old son had been taken 200km away to Hemel Hempstead. She hung dozens of posters of his face across the Hertfordshire town. After three days the gang handed him over. *“Straightaway he said ‘please take me away from this country’.”*

Last Wednesday, a new development tormented the group. One of their sons, aged 19, who had been sent to Kenya for safety, was being enticed by a gang via Snapchat to return to N4. *“The drug dealers want him. If he returns, I will lose him,”* said Iana Ali. On Friday, she flew to Mombasa to persuade him to stay.

When a teenager was fatally stabbed earlier this year, 300 metres from the town centre, the deceased’s 15-year-old Somali friend was told he was next. Within two days his mother put him on a one-way ticket to Mogadishu. *“Now he’s walking the land, living free,”* she said.

All the mothers have learned that county lines necessitate violence. Exploited children hoping to rise up the criminal food-chain must exhibit escalating brutality. Nick Davison, Assistant Chief Constable of Norfolk Constabulary, outlined the concept of “ultra-violence” where younger recruits maintain status by executing acts of increasingly outrageous savagery.

Beatings turn to stabbings in the buttock, then the chest, the face. *“If you don’t, you become vulnerable to becoming a victim of that behaviour,”* said Davison.



## County Lines Gangs: How Drug-Running is Fuelling Knife Crime

Internal police documents confirm widespread violence – *“85% of forces report knives referenced in relation to county lines intelligence, 74% report firearms referenced”*.

Children who attempt to escape are tortured. A 16-year-old reported missing from London was found by Norfolk police in possession of a 15cm kitchen knife and 30 wraps of drugs. In custody they discovered his body was covered with scarring *“consistent with burns from boiling liquid”*.

And the gangs have long memories. The mother who rescued her child from Hemel Hempstead allowed him to return to London in November 2017, assuming he would be safe. Within days of arriving he was stabbed in the stomach, his assailant wiggling the blade inside the body to cause maximum harm. After 40 days in hospital he returned home and has not left since. *“Both my sons are too scared to leave the house,”* she said.

The family has received no counselling or trauma aftercare.

Others take drastic measures. One London gang member, stabbed multiple times, turned to religion to escape. Norfolk officers subsequently discovered he had travelled to fight in Syria.

The lack of safety has provoked outrage. *“We parents are fighting a war with the gangs to save our children,”* said Khalif. They argue that their sons have been denied a statutory right to a safe environment. *“The government must take responsibility,”* said mother-of-seven Addou. When her son was caught, he refused bail because it was safer in prison. Others complain their probation prevents them from leaving the country.

The mothers ridiculed government claims that there is *“no direct correlation”* between crime and police numbers. Davison, agreed that *“budgetary cut backs”* and the state’s inability to provide security outside the family had been adeptly *“exploited”* by criminals.

The mothers’ deepest grievance is police apathy. They, along with many in the community, have shared detailed intelligence with police. Since 2015, addresses, locations and movements of individuals have been offered that they say connect county line operations to its *“generals”*. *“I’ve told the police so many times but now I’ve stopped. I expect it be acted on, or at least given some feedback. It’s one-way communication,”* said Addou.

The Islington Somali Community (ISC) complains that eight neighbourhood police serve a ward, Finsbury Park, which has a population of 17,200. Dealing spots, others say, lie within an area of concentrated CCTV coverage. The breakdown in trust is so great that unsupported claims of collusion flourish.

*“Some parents believe that some police are working with the gangs because nothing is done,”* said Ali. There is also disquiet over the latest political outcry over knife crime, in particular that it took the death of a white teenager to prompt the outrage.

*“It is absolutely tragic but it has taken a white girl to get killed for this to top the political agenda,”* said Kalyfa Ismail. A year ago, three Somali youngsters in nearby Camden were knifed in 24 hours; two died and one just survived. *“Where was the emergency summit then?”* said Addou.

Another burning issue is the increasing evidence linking school exclusion rates and gang recruitment. Excluded pupils are 200 times more likely to receive a knife-carrying offence.

## County Lines Gangs: How Drug-Running is Fuelling Knife Crime

Abdiwahab Ali, director of the Somali Youth Development Resource Centre (SYDRC), is conducting pioneering research into the issue. Early estimates suggest half of Somali origin children excluded permanently in Camden enter the criminal justice system. Then there are the “units” – the pupil referral units accused of being fertile grounds for gang recruitment. Ismail described gang members waiting in lines outside Islington’s unit.

Bilan Hoseen, who works with excluded Somali teenagers, said many are too petrified to attend the local unit. *“They get a taxi there because they feel too unsafe to walk,”* he said.

Secondary schools have also been targeted by police with 10 of Norfolk’s 50 sites having a dedicated officer to spot vulnerable children. *“Through this we have discovered kids who have gone missing from high school in Norwich travelling to London to pick up drugs to support county lines activities,”* said Davison.

The exploitation of thousands of children provides the labour for county lines. Latest figures for the National Referral Mechanism, the government system to identify trafficking victims, revealed drug gangs helped prompt a 66% increase to 2,118 cases in 2017. But first the children must be groomed. They are usually targeted between the ages of 13-14, with the optimum age of 15-16.

Addou said the gang gave her football-mad son a new ball and the offer of protection. Months later he was running drugs in Norfolk. A caged artificial-turf pitch, 100 metres from Andover’s central square, is a well-known recruitment ground for N4 county lines operations. One mother on the Andover estate said her nine-year-old son was already receiving money for sweets from gangs. Others describe 14-year-olds wanting to *“do Deliveroo”* when they turn 16, a code for couriers drugs.

Fast food joints in Finsbury Park are targeted by gang recruiters. In Norwich, officers are told to be vigilant in shopping centres. Recruiters, said Humphreys, seek a *“chink in the armour”* of adolescents using techniques indistinguishable from child abusers. Internal briefings by police forces have highlighted video interviews conducted by youth worker Paul McKenzie with gang recruiters. *“It’s like listening to an exploiter of sexual abuse,”* said Humphreys.

Once hooked, their families are threatened with violence or they are trapped through debt bondage. Although a county line can make a gang up to £5,000 a day, mothers say there is scant evidence of wealth distribution. *“Our boys come home hungry, tired, cold. They are still growing, their clothes no longer fit.”*

Both Norfolk’s senior officers and Islington’s Somali mothers concur that the solution requires ambition. Davison, whose force has closed down 21 county lines, agrees the answer is bigger than the level of policing. *“We will not arrest our way out of county lines. It needs a whole system approach, offering young people alternatives,”* he said.

Beyond removing children from the country, the mothers list various solutions; more parental involvement in schools; safe spaces; more vocational education; a de-radicalisation programme for groomed children.

In the absence of a concerted new approach, both police and parents know that the teenagers of N4 will continue to surface in Norwich while their younger brothers on the Andover estate receive new gifts from the gangs in the square.

# County Lines Gangs: How Drug-Running is Fuelling Knife Crime

## Quick Facts

### What is meant by county lines?

Gangs in major cities seek new markets outside urban hubs for their drugs, primarily crack cocaine and heroin. Network expansion into the regions often comes with exploitation.

### Who are the victims of these operations?

Children and vulnerable adults are often coerced into ferrying and stashing the drugs. They can be homeless or missing people, addicts, people living in care, trapped in poverty, or suffering from mental illness. Even older and physically infirm people have been targeted. Gang members have been observed attending drug rehab to find potential runners.

### How do they target people?

Initially they can be lured in with money, gifts and the prospect of status. But this can quickly turn into the use of violence, sometimes sexual.

### How widespread are county lines?

NCA research shows police have knowledge of at least 720 county lines in England and Wales, but it is feared the true number is far higher. Around 65% of forces reported county lines being linked to child exploitation, while 74% noted vulnerable people being targeted.

### How many children are at risk?

Children without criminal records - known in the trade as "clean skins" - are preferred because they are less likely to be known to detectives. Charity *The Children's Society* says 4,000 teenagers in London alone are exploited through county lines. The Children's Commissioner estimates at least 46,000 children in England are caught up in gangs.

## By Numbers

↵	The number of county lines operating from London to Norfolk	27
↵	Total number of people arrested in Norfolk since 2016	1,024
↵	Number of gang members who left criminal footprint in Norfolk	500
↵	Islington Somalis affected by knife crime and county lines	70%
↵	Neighbourhood police serving Finsbury Park's 17,200 population	8
↵	Optimum age for recruiting children to work in county lines	15-16
↵	Increase in trafficked children, boosted by drug gang activity	66%
↵	The amount a gang can earn in a day from a county line	£5,000

## Discussion Questions

1. Do *county lines* exist (or similar) in your country?
2. How much influence and reach does gang culture have on youths in your country?
3. Is gang recruitment of children/youths similar in your country? (carrot or stick)
4. What role does ethnicity, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds play in recruitment?
5. How does your prosecution system typically deal with juvenile offenders? Does it work? Can you see alternative solutions?
6. What are your views on children and youths being sent fragile states for refuge?
7. At the request of the London Metropolitan Police, you have been assigned to give advice on how they should deal with county lines, including disrupting child recruitment.

# Kings of Cocaine: How the Albanian Mafia Seized Control of the UK Drugs Trade



**'They're sophisticated, clever – and they always deliver': from the ports of Europe to the streets of London, one criminal network is now at the top of the UK's £5bn trade**

*(based on an article by Mark Townsend, The Guardian, 13 January 2019)*



Something had happened the night before and the guys on the corner were keen to offer advice: *"You don't want to be hanging around here too long,"* one said, refusing to explain. They were standing near a tower block on east London's "Gascoigne Housing Estate", undisputed territory of **Hellbanianz**.

The gang, an Albanian street crew of drug dealers, is known locally for its violence and more widely for their social media output featuring Bentleys, piles of £50 notes and gold Rolex watches to help enhance its reputation and recruit "youngers". The Gascoigne Estate, built in the 1960s, is its historical home turf.

Hellbanianz belong to the "retail arm" of the cocaine trade. They are the street dealers and enforcers of the **Mafia Shqiptare**, the Albanian organised criminal syndicates who, the UK National Crime Agency (NCA) believe, are consolidating power within the criminal underworld and on their way to a near total takeover of the UK's £5bn (€5.94bn) cocaine market.

The gang's glossily produced rap music videos remind viewers *"HB are ready for violence"* and that they possess the necessary manpower and firearms. Even so, police sources say, Hellbanianz occupy the lowest position in the Albanian mafia.

To better understand the Albanians' remarkable rise in the UK one might climb to the 12<sup>th</sup> floor of the Gascoigne Estate's high-rise blocks. From there, the skyline of London, where much of their cocaine will be snorted, stretches west. In the opposite direction, several kilometres along the Thames, lie the mammoth container ports where their cocaine is offloaded in multi-kilo shipments. But it is across the Atlantic, to the jungles of Latin America, where the story of the Mafia Shqiptare starts.

How Albanians came to conquer the UK's cocaine market is a lesson in criminal savvy; the value of making friends with the world's most dangerous mafias; and the absolute threat of violence.

It began with a business model that was simple in concept, but sufficiently bold to subvert the existing order. For years cocaine's international importers worked separately from its wholesalers and the gangs. Pricing structure varied, depending on the drug's purity: the higher it was, the more it cost.

The Albanians ditched the entire model. They began negotiating directly with the Colombian cartels who control coca production. Huge shipments were arranged direct from South America. Supply chains were kept "in-house".

Intelligence obtained by British experts revealed that the Albanians were procuring cocaine from the cartels for about £4,000 to £5,500 a kilo, at a time when rivals thought they were getting a decent deal using Dutch wholesalers selling at £22,500 a kilo. The Albanians lowered the price of cocaine – and increased its purity. More massive consignments were brought into the UK.

## Kings of Cocaine: How the Albanian Mafia Seized Control of the UK Drugs Trade



Tony Saggars, former head of the Drugs Threat & Intelligence Unit at the National Crime Agency (NCA), spent 30 years analysing the rhythms of the global narcotics economy, said: *“What they have done very intelligently is say: ‘OK, we’ve got these margins to play with and we’re going to give a good slice of that to the customer.’”*

The *Albanian effect* has profoundly shaped the use, production and economy of cocaine. The drug is at its cheapest in the UK since 1990 and purer than it has been for a decade, which has caused record fatalities. The UK has the highest number of young users in Europe. More broadly, far bigger and more frequent shipments of the drug have been seized entering the UK as cocaine production in South America has hit record levels - up 31% on 2016.

Rivals to the Albanian gangs initially struggled to compete because they had an inferior, more expensive product. Their only option has been to buy cocaine sourced from the Mafia Shqiptare.

Saggars said: *“They have shown that you don’t have to be greedy to dominate drug markets. They’ve gone down the route of sustainable prices, good quality.”*

Mohammed Qasim, a Leeds Beckett University researcher in the drug trade, described the Albanian business approach as *“fantastic”*, adding: *“if they were a traditional listed business, they would be considered a Fortune 500 company.”*

Yet for the Albanians’ model to truly work it required control of Europe’s ports. For that the **Shqiptare** needed to collaborate with the **‘Ndrangheta**, the most powerful and globalised of the Italian mafias, which controls mainland Europe’s cocaine trade.

There is considerable evidence that not only are the Albanians working with the ‘Ndrangheta, but that they have formed the tightest of alliances. Sources say the Italian mafia consider the Albanians as equals. Saggars said: *“There’s a strong Italian-organised mafia link with Albanians now, Albanians are working with them – not in competition with them. Plus, historically, the Italians have good contacts in Latin America.”*

Rotterdam in the Netherlands is Europe’s largest seaport, with eight million containers passing through each year. Many arrive via the direct *“Colombian express”* route before crossing to the UK. The second busiest European port is Antwerp in Belgium, which connects to the Thames port of Tilbury, 24 kilometres from Hellbanianz territory.

## Kings of Cocaine: How the Albanian Mafia Seized Control of the UK Drugs Trade



Collectively, the Belgian and Dutch ports employ 240,000 people, an army of whom, police intelligence indicates, also work for the 'Ndrangheta and Mafia Shqiptare.

*"This gives the Albanians based on the near continent, direct access and control of it [cocaine] at the ports,"* said Saggars.

NCA describes Belgium and the Netherlands as *"key nexus points of consolidation and onward trafficking"* and confirmed Albanian groups were *"expanding their influence upstream"* – police-speak for strengthening their grip on international cocaine supply.

Anna Sergi, a specialist in mafia relationships, confirmed Albanians and the southern Italian crime group have joined forces. *"Whenever the 'Ndrangheta is shipping things over, they work a lot with the Albanians,"* she said.



In December 2018 *Operation Pollino*, named after the area of southern Italy where the 'Ndrangheta has its roots, arrested 90 suspects. Anti-mafia prosecutors described how the 'Ndrangheta relied on *"permanent groups working in ports and harbours"* along with Albanian criminal networks.

The most vulnerable point for drug smugglers is the port of entry. Security is tight, options are finite. Sources say that the 'Ndrangheta has outsourced this element of the supply chain to the Albanians.

*"You need the best people to get it out of port. If you are good at moving things then you stay ahead of your competitors – and the Albanians are good at this,"* said Sergi.

Yet even the most senior Albanians are caught sometimes. Klodjan Copja, 30, who ran a £60m cocaine imports syndicate, was jailed in 2017 after his couriers were intercepted meeting drug-laden trucks arriving in Kent.

One striking aspect of what the NCA term the Albanians' *"increasing prominence"* is their having – so far – avoided becoming involved in tit-for-tat feuds with rivals. The latest UK criminal threat assessment says that the Albanians are unusually skilled at developing relationships and *"forging links with other OCGs [organised criminal gangs]"*.

Such relationship-building has left Liverpool as the only part of England not routinely selling Albanian-sourced cocaine. Not only has the Merseyside port its own direct access to South America, Saggars says that its turf is jealously guarded by the city's own criminal gangs.

## Kings of Cocaine: How the Albanian Mafia Seized Control of the UK Drugs Trade



Also working in the Albanians' favour is their reputation for violence. Siggers says the backdrop of the Kosovo conflict has given them a *swagger* comparable to that of Irish criminals during and after "the Troubles" (IRA insurgency).

*"They are quite charismatic and known to prioritise relationship-building rather than competitive feuds. Also, when you come from a country where there's been conflict and you have a reputation for ruthlessness - the charisma is underlined with an element of 'actually, we do need to get on with these people',"* he said.

Qasim also points to how the Albanian are regarded in criminal circles. *"They are sophisticated, professional and they do what they promise. They always deliver,"* he said.

This has much to do with the Albanian code of *besa* – "to keep the promise" – but Sergi adds that the reputation of the Mafia Shqiptare must also be viewed through the ancestral code of *kanun*, the right to take revenge: that *"blood must pay with blood"*.

*"You most trust the ones similar to you,"* she said. The concept was meant to keep things internal, close.

Then the younger generation began making flashy videos and waving money around.

Some might recognise the faces from YouTube where Hellbanianz posts footage to try to lure "falcons" – fresh recruits - with shots of scantily clad women, wheel-spinning Bentleys and abundant wads of money.



Siggers said: *"The retail market is the get-rich-quick environment. If they're importing kilos for a few thousand dollars, imagine how much money those youngsters are turning over if they're selling at £40 a gram?"*

Before its account was closed in November 2018, Hellbanianz had 115,000 Instagram followers. The video for "Hood Life", which opens with a drone shot of the Gascoigne Estate, has been watched more than 7.5m times. The gang's lyrics discuss defending the area with "kallash" (AK47s) – and dishing out threats to rival Albanian gangs. A video, released in late October 2018, states they are *"ready for war"*.

Hellbanianz's high life – the bling, the violence – has created tensions within the Albanian community, particularly the provoking of police. The "Hood Life" video shows gang members surrounding a Metropolitan Police patrol car. *"This goes against the Albanian culture. Some of their higher end drug dealers, international traders, don't like this behaviour. It exposes their activities. They want to be low-key, making profits without being caught,"* said Qasim.

# Kings of Cocaine: How the Albanian Mafia Seized Control of the UK Drugs Trade



Another repercussion of the Albanian model has, say some, helped fuel escalating knife crime and drug disputes by making cocaine affordable to smaller, younger street gangs. A recent report said gangs were moving from *postcode rivalries* to commercial enterprises focused on dealing cocaine.

Meanwhile, so long as Mafia Shqiptare keeps delivering their cocaine, recruiting teenagers to the Hellbanianz gangster life has never been easier.

## Honour among thieves: gang's sacred oath of loyalty

**Besa is extremely important in Albanian culture, especially in the rural North where most of the gangs come from.**

- Just as the Italian mafia has the law of *Omerta* – silence – Albanian mobsters are governed by a code of honour they call *Besa*.
- Besa is the highest ethical code in Albanian culture and means “*keeping a promise*”.
- It is considered a verbal contract of trust.
- Muslim Albanians were honouring Besa when they helped protect Jews from the Nazis.
- Today, gangsters use the term Besa as a name for their “*code of honour*”.
- New recruits are required to take an oath that means each man gives his life to the rest.
- The close-knit nature of the gangs insulates them from outsiders and prevents police efforts to infiltrate their networks.
- Albanian gangsters have a much looser structure to their crime networks than their more famous Italian counterparts.
- Much like the Russian Mafia, Albanians are thought to work with a Leadership Council at the top of their criminal network.
- Each crime family will have a leader, known as the “*krye*” who chooses “*kryetar*” to work below them as underbosses.
- The krye runs an executive committee known as a **barjack** from which decisions are made on what businesses needs doing.
- Once decided, the orders are filtered down to the gangsters on the ground.

## Discussion

1. What parallels and differences do you see to the drug trade in your jurisdiction/area of operation?
2. Organised crime gangs tend to operate either in dedicated geographic territories or in specific criminal activities (e.g. prostitution, drugs, counterfeit/fake merchandise etc.). In your jurisdiction, which “gangs” are known to operate in specific crime?
3. What strategies do you police use to tackle gang and organised crime? Do they work? Could the approach be improved, and how?
4. How do you deal with/approach *codes of honour* such as Besa?
5. What kind of relationship/dialogue does your police have with crime gangs?



### **The Avalanche of Cocaine Hitting Europe**

**Drug syndicates are flooding Europe with very pure cocaine. Consumers need only send an encrypted text and a dealer will show up at their doorstep. And the authorities are all but powerless to stop them.**

DER SPIEGEL (28/11/2019)

The 4<sup>th</sup> of March is shaping up to be another gray and dreary winter day in Herzfelde, Germany. All is silent and still. The temperature is close to freezing and the town has just received a dusting of fresh snow.

A sound in the distance grows louder and materialises into a line of vehicles speeding down Rüdersdorfer Street. Police officers spill out. They bust down doors, canvas the area with sniffer dogs and begin tearing apart a VW bus and a Chevy Camaro. It was the snow that drew them -- not the stuff of snowball fights, but a pure, white powder that goes for €70,000 per kilo in Europe.

The authorities find 12.8 grams of cocaine stashed over a third-floor stairwell and another 214.3 grams in a garage. There are also micro scales, plastic vials and a shoebox full of cash. All an hour's drive east of Berlin.

At a gas station near the edge of town, they apprehend the man behind the illicit operation. He is identified as René F., 42, a car salesman-turned-drug-dealer.

F. didn't work alone. He employed his son Mike, his ex-wife Natalia and his new girlfriend's son, Otto. It was a flourishing family business that offered same-day delivery. One phone call was all it took for customers to place an order. In the Berlin nightlife scene, it's known as the "cocaine taxi."

Everything was going smoothly.... until the 4<sup>th</sup> of March.

### **More Cocaine Than Ever Before**

Cocaine. Coke. Charlie. An intoxicant for those with disposable income. A party drug. Not exactly the first thing that comes to mind when one thinks of Herzfelde, an otherwise sleepy village, population 1,750, in eastern Germany. The closest thing to nightlife here is a condom dispenser on Main Street.

If the raid earlier this year showed anything, it was how far-reaching cocaine's global supply chain has grown - and how limitless demand for the drug has become. Never before has there been so much cocaine on the market in Germany, in Europe or around the world. And the stuff available has never been purer. Some estimates put the average level of purity at 70% or higher. It's never been easier to obtain the drug, either. Consequently, more people are sniffing it.

## Drug Taxis

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The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (**EMCDDA**, Lisbon) talks of a "big boom". Germany's BKA has also recorded a "dramatic increase" since 2016. One Interpol investigator says in his 14 years on the job, he's never experienced anything like this. Things aren't likely to slow down anytime soon. "*The global cocaine flood has yet to reach its peak,*" warns Kevin Scully, chief drug hunter at the European headquarters of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). Quantities will "*go up again compared to 2018,*" he says. That goes for Germany as well.



That kind of forecast doesn't require complicated math, just simple logic. In Colombia, the world's No. 1 producer of cocaine, the amount of land used for cultivating coca has skyrocketed. The same is true for Peru, No. 2, and Bolivia, No. 3. (*source: United Nations*)

And all that cocaine has to go somewhere. In Germany, demand for cocaine has "*risen sharply,*" as Niema Movassat, Die Linke's drug policy spokesperson, points out. What's more: There is hardly a business more worthwhile for criminals. In South America, a kilo of coke goes for \$1,000 (€906.50). By the time it gets to dealers in Europe, they're paying \$25,000 to get it across the Atlantic. On the street here, that same kilo can fetch as much as \$70,000. There are few other areas of business that are more lucrative for criminals.

### A Well-Oiled Machine

The cocaine trade has become a well-oiled machine. It's almost as if the drug dealers had brought in business consultants to analyse their operations. Sure, there's still the usual violence, such as the recent murder of a lawyer in Amsterdam. But the industry has also grown more efficient. It relies on economies of scale and bulk purchases, precise divisions of labour and "just-in-time" supply chains. And, of course, it's constantly innovating - on the lookout for the next, even more sophisticated smuggling method. In the end, the cartels can sit back and rely on the power of the masses. The bigger the avalanche, the less important the things are that get in the way.

News reports of Customs (Zollamt) Officers seizing multiple tons of cocaine in a single bust - 4.5 tonnes in July in Hamburg, 1.5 tonnes a few days later - are merely symbolic victories. In truth, investigators know little about the perpetrators or their operations. What they do know is that the record amount of cocaine they found in 2018 was a reliable indication of the record amount of the drug they did not find. Interpol estimates that for all its efforts, 95% of shipments slip through undetected. As the volume of cocaine flowing into Europe grows, so do the concerns of politicians, who have long lost sight of the drug problem, of investigators, who openly admit they are powerless, and of doctors, who know just how dangerous cocaine can be. For this report, DER SPIEGEL spoke to coca farmers in Colombia and consumers in Germany about the reasons behind and consequences of the boom. Documents provided insights into how large-scale drug dealers set up their billion-dollar, B2B-like enterprises - and how small-scale dealers organise their local, B2C (business-to-customer) operations, distributing product in baggies and tiny vials.

## Drug Taxis

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Joao Matias, an analyst with the EU's anti-drug agency, estimates that snorting cocaine will increasingly seem normal. People's inhibition thresholds will become lower and consumption will increase. The effect this will have on Germany cannot be known for another few years. *"The effects of the cocaine flood are on the way,"* warns Karl Lauterbach, a health expert with Germany's Social Democratic Party. But he can say this much: *"Cocaine is cheaper, better and therefore much more dangerous than before. In the future, we can expect more deaths."*

### The Consumers

Lisbon is a perfect microcosm of the cocaine trade. During the day, down near the Tagus River, the EU's drug officials analyse the numbers. Come closing time, cocaine can be purchased with ease higher up in the city, in the Bairro Alto bar district -- however much you want, wherever you want.

Europe's anti-drug officials work downtown in a modern office building made of glass and white stone. There, they attempt to understand and explain the cocaine wave. According to the statistics, some 3.9 million Europeans took cocaine in 2017. By late 2018, that number had jumped to 4 million. That's not a dramatic increase, but the trend is clear.



Just over 2% of young people between the ages of 15 and 34 - the most susceptible age group when it comes to taking drugs - snorted cocaine in 2017. On a country level, the figures varied slightly. Only 1.2% of German youths do coke, for instance. That's considerably less than in Holland (4.5%), Denmark (3.9%) or France (3.2%). At first glance, these figures seem to suggest cocaine is a major problem in other countries but not in Germany. But the German figure is from 2015, before consumption really took off.

One thing alarming EU officials across Europe are waste water samples. "Water doesn't lie," says Laurent Laniel, the anti-drug authority's chief analyst. Of the 38 countries that had their waste water tested in 2017 and 2018, 22 reported increases in traceable levels of cocaine, which enters the water through people's urine. In Berlin, those levels were almost twice as high in 2018 as they were in 2014. In Dortmund too. Spikes were recorded on weekends in particular.

The Berlin police say this is because more people are taking cocaine, but European drug officials aren't so sure. It could also be attributable to the same repeat offenders simply doing more drugs or the fact that the cocaine on the street today is more pure. But one thing is certain: No other drug puts more people in the hospital in Europe. In Berlin, cocaine has overtaken heroin as the drug with the highest death rate. In all of 2018, 35 people died from using cocaine. By the end of July 2019, that number had already hit 25.

## Drug Taxis

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### Everything Under Control

Back in Bairro Alto, street dealers stand amid masses of party tourists, tapping their noses and asking unabashedly, "Cocaine, cocaine?" One puts his arm around passers-by, introduces himself as "Pablo Escobar," and boasts about having "the best stuff in town." It's all very casual. A gram costs 50 to 60 euros and you can even test it because, as "Escobar" and the others promise, it's "no shit" that they're selling here. Bairro Alto was where DER SPEIGEL ran into Lukas, a 27-year-old PhD student who uses an alias to cover up the fact that he does drugs.

He first took cocaine two years ago with some friends from college. Ever since, he has done it around 10 to 15 times a year, and only when there's something to celebrate: a birthday, their friendship -- sometimes just life in general. They do it when they want to feel prosperous and decadent. They only do 0.2 or 0.3 grams each, never more. Lukas describes his high: "You feel clear-headed. You know



exactly what you need to say or do. You let it all out. You feel like you have everything under control." Lukas says he has no trouble keeping his cocaine consumption under control. He doesn't think he could ever become addicted. He's also aware that the drug doesn't actually make him smarter, that it only feels that way. He has everything under control, so he doesn't understand why cocaine is so much more stigmatised than alcohol or nicotine. People get downright "hysterical," when they talk about cocaine, he says.

Lukas could be the kind of person who can use cocaine recreationally his entire life without becoming addicted. Or maybe not. A lot of a person's susceptibility to addiction has to do with their psyche. The phrase doctors use is "addictive personality."

Lukas might one day be 50-years-old and just fine. Or he might keel over and die. Heart attacks are one of the potential long-term effects of cocaine use. Unlike marijuana or hash, cocaine doesn't calm a person down. It pumps them up. It gets a person's heart racing and it attacks the heart and brain vessels. Officially, only 93 people died in 2018 in Germany from cocaine use. Their deaths were seldom caused by an overdose but by a collapse of their cardiovascular system. In many cases, no one suspected it was cocaine use that had come back to haunt its victims so many years later.

### Everybody Does It

For experts like the drug critic Rainer Thomasius from the University Medical Centre Hamburg-Eppendorf, this is what makes cocaine such a mixed bag: everyone can react to it differently. Thomasius says the drug has a "high potential for psychological dependence." For anyone who wants to escape their dreary everyday life and live in a world in which everything seems to be working for them, cocaine can be a seductive break. It offers a soothing, get-me-out-of-here experience that a person could crave again, again and again.

Nevertheless, no more than 10% of people who do cocaine are considered hardcore users -- the ones who snort the drug more than 50 times a year. Most are recreational users, people who have lives, jobs or families. They are managers, politicians, professors, creatives. You wouldn't notice at first glance that they use cocaine. In fact, you wouldn't even notice at second glance. To be sure, you'd have to examine their nasal septum for holes.

That these people appear to have their cocaine use under control, and not vice versa, may also be due to the fact that cocaine is expensive. Many people can't afford it until they start making money. For some, this isn't until they're 20, maybe as late as 25. By that point, according to Thomasius, a person's personality is more fully developed and their risk of addiction is lower. And yet, time and again, there are new users who become delusional after doing coke for only a short amount of time. People who, after a few years, can't concentrate on anything except the next line of blow.

### A Life Under the Influence

It wouldn't take much for Florian, a student from Berlin, to become one of these lost souls. Florian isn't his real name, but he did begin taking drugs when he was 20 and got sucked in by the club scene in Berlin, where dealers often stand in front of the bathroom stalls. For three years, Florian was an intense coke user. Today, he realises his habit isn't sustainable. Not unless he wants to become a junkie. *"This stuff makes me more self-confident the more I take. It can make me start acting arrogantly,"* he says. Once he was sitting with friends at a bar in Hamburg. The next table over was occupied by several Englishmen who wanted to talk. Florian kept giving them the run-around and felt better about himself with every rude remark. *"I enjoyed making a show of my arrogance. I was this cool guy who did the cool drug. And I increasingly acted this way even when I wasn't high,"* Florian says. He was impatient, aloof, contemptuous. *"I could hardly stand my own friends sometimes. And strangers? Forget it."*

Similar to Lukas, Florian considered himself to be a "fairly circumspect consumer" too at first. Then he noticed how his life gradually began to revolve more and more around cocaine. He remembers the time he was at a family get-together, sitting at a table outside with good food, drinks, good company, a nice atmosphere, *"and then I caught myself thinking how nice a line of coke would be right now"*. Florian hates the moments in which cocaine takes control of his thoughts and won't let go. He wants to take back control. He's only done coke once since January, he says. But quitting altogether? Why should he? Half the people in his philosophy department do cocaine, he says. Then there's his friend who works in a cafe and says he wouldn't be able to stand in the kitchen so long without a line every now and then. And the mother of one of his friends, who works at a casting agency. And an acquaintance of his father's, a businessman. There's even the young woman who he recently met while playing ping-pong and who seemed so inconspicuous -- even she does coke. Everyone does it, Florian says, and the quality is good. Plus, it's easy to get.

# Drug Taxis

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## *The Producers, the Big Dealers, the Small Dealers and the Investigators*

### **The Producers**

Colombia is the country where cocaine's global journey begins. From the fields of the province Putumayo, to the clubs of New York, Moscow and Berlin. Overlooking a coca plantation, on a wide porch he built just a few months ago, sits a man with a goatee and a cap. His name is Sneider, at least that's what everybody calls him. He gazes onto five hectares of green, chest-high coca shrubs. They are his pride and joy, his source of income, his life.

Sneider cleared the area himself. It was hard work not made any easier by the heat and humidity of the jungle. That's why he can hardly believe someone would ask him in all seriousness: Why don't you grow potatoes? Or coffee? Corn? Rice? Anything but coca. You might as well ask Sneider if he wants to hold his breath for 15 minutes to save the world's climate.

"Of course, I have to grow coca here," he says. "It's the only thing that makes enough money." It takes him between six and seven hours by boat to bring his harvest to the next large town. With potatoes or corn, he would barely make back the money he spends on fuel. And if he makes coca paste, he doesn't even have to leave home. The buyers come to him.

Sneider looks down a small embankment leading to the river, his only connection to the outside world. Way out here there is no electricity, no phones, no sewage system, no doctor. But also no police, no judges -- strictly speaking, no law. It's Colombia's age old problem. There's simply too much land for too little government. For Sneider, the coke farmer, this is less of a problem than a solution.

Left-wing FARC guerrillas have taken over control of the area again. Whether it's the FARC or the mafia, they all live from cocaine, more or less. For a while, it was less. The government was at war with FARC and since the mid-90s, it sent not only soldiers but also airplanes armed with the plant-killer glyphosate. They figured no coca meant no money. And if there was no money, there could be no guns. Of the 163,000 hectares of coca fields in 2000, only 48,000 were left by 2013.

### **More Land Than the Government Can Handle**

Then came the peace negotiations, and peace was good for men like Sneider. For one, it no longer rained glyphosat. And after the FARC rebels came the drug gangs, financed by the cartels in Mexico with their ravenous hunger for expansion. A Western intelligence service estimates there are 209,000 hectares of coca fields in Colombia today. "*The total area under cultivation has exploded,*" it says. Almost 70% of the world's cocaine stems from the fields of Colombia. The rest comes from Bolivia and Peru -- two more countries with more land than their governments can handle. A German investigator with the BKA had this to say about Bolivia in an April 2019 report that was supposed to remain confidential: "*Cocaine combatance is no longer taking place on a notable scale. There's hardly a shred of political will.*"

## Drug Taxis

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From the jungles of the major cocaine producers, the drug is transported to the coasts of South America, mostly to the container ports in the east. *"Brazil is pushing forward to dizzying heights,"* the BKA report states, going on to claim that Brazil has been the main hub for shipping cocaine to Europe since 2013. Along the supply route lies a country that doesn't even bother to pretend a hypocritical political will in the fight against drugs: Venezuela. Since the U.S. oil embargo was imposed, which removed the main lubricant for the country's economy - and the corrupt government of the populist Nicolas Maduro -- cocaine has become increasingly important as a substitute. *"Our investigations have shown that both members of the government and high-ranking military personnel are involved in drug trafficking,"* one U.S. drug hunter says of Venezuela. Europol has made a similar observation: *"More and more cocaine is flowing through Venezuela to Europe."* International drug gangs ensure unhindered passage across the Atlantic.

### The Big Dealers

When a police special forces (SEK) team smashed in the door to a house at 4 a.m. on 5 December 2018, Gioacchino (Gino) R., didn't seem particularly upset. It was not his first encounter with the law. *"Mr. R. seemed very calm and said he was familiar with the procedure from a former life,"* the State CID later noted. Gino R., a resident of Solingen, originated from Palermo in Sicily, Italy. He allegedly had family ties to the Calabrian 'Ndrangheta mafia and a catalogue of previous convictions back home for drugs, fraud and assault. He owed the most recent early morning house call by the police to his alleged role in a cocaine gang.



Gino was not one of the street gangs selling coke one gram at a time, but the kind of major dealer that rarely gets caught in investigators' nets. The kind that has its own people in South America and its own container transports to Europe. There were 84 arrests on that December day in 2018; 47 of those were in Germany alone. The sting, "Operation Pollino," offered rare insights into this otherwise clouded, large-scale business.

The public prosecutor's files reveal that for years, Gino R. had adopted the camouflage of a nobody. He came to Germany, lived with a relative in Lüdenscheid, helped out in a restaurant in Düsseldorf and earned less than €1,200 a month. Later, he worked on construction sites while his girlfriend worked as a cleaner so that the two would have enough money to last them until the end of the month. It was a life lived on the edge, like so many others.

But one thing did stand out to investigators. They wondered why a man, lacking of any other notable qualities, would act so "extremely conspiratorially". And another thing didn't seem to fit the bill: Gino R. had co-founded a company in January 2015 that supposedly imported charcoal from Colombia and wood from Guyana. Reddish wamara wood, hardly in demand in Western Europe and practically unsellable. Why would a man with no money, no command of German and no knowledge of timber - or business in general for that matter - pack something like this into an overseas container headed to Europe?

## Drug Taxis

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### Increasingly Brazen Smugglers

More money is made with cocaine than with any other drug -- 300 billion euros worldwide, according to German intelligence officials. Europe is the second-largest market after North America. A quarter of the world's cocaine users live in Europe. And where the demand is, the supply must follow. The authorities have seized quantities of the drug on sailing yachts, speedboats and fishing boats. Recently, a private jet with 600 kilos of coke onboard flew from Uruguay to Nice, France, and on to Basel, Switzerland. Premium shipping. On the lower end of the market, couriers hide the drug in condoms, which they swallow, and stuff it under wigs. They even conceal it in breast implants.

The preferred route to Europe, however, has long been the overseas container. One of the greatest seizures of all time -- 19 tonnes of blow confiscated in June 2019 -- was distributed between multiple containers onboard a freighter in Philadelphia. From there, the containers were supposed to head to Rotterdam. Thousands of containers like this can fit onto a single ship. Millions of them criss-cross the oceans. Each has enough room to hide a few hundred million dollars' worth of cocaine, depending on how full the gangs pack the containers and how much they stretch the goods later. Whereas drug gangs used to go to the trouble of concealing their product in things like pineapples, today they simply stow it in sports bags or boxes. In South America, they break into an already loaded container and toss in the cocaine. Accomplices in Europe will then retrieve it, usually while the container is still in the port. Investigators refer to this method as, "rip-on, rip-off." The companies that dispatched the container generally have no knowledge of what goes on.



Of course, this did not apply to Gino R. and his company. The fact that police busted in his door at 4 a.m. had to do with Giuseppe T., a mafia boss in Italy. The man with the nickname "Principale," or boss, was afraid of being liquidated by other mafiosi. In July 2015, he went to the police and told them everything, including about Gino's small company in western Germany and the 'Ndrangheta's larger operations in Colombia. During the last coke wave, drug barons like Pablo Escobar and the Ochoa brothers from Colombia dominated the supply chain to North America and Europe. Now the mafia and other European gangs have their own leaders in South America. According to Interpol, Albanians in particular are the new big players in the coke business. *"The groups in Europe want to get their stuff directly from the producers, so that they save on transport and get a bigger piece of the value chain,"* explains Interpol investigator Andres Bastidas. Sales representatives collect the money of the mafia families or dealer rings at home, put together a shopping list and buy in bulk overseas for everyone. The goods are divvied up later in Europe. The "Principale" said he had already scraped together €2 million to procure cocaine, including his own money and that of other mafia figures.

## *Drug Taxis*

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### **Charcoal, Wood, Then Coke**

The Colombians have highly specialised gangs that handle coke cultivation, the drug laboratories and transportation to the coast. They, too, have joined forces and formed cooperatives. *"This explains why cocaine is always found by the tonnes today,"* says Bastidas.

The first container of Gino R.'s arrived in Hamburg in early 2015. It contained 640 bags of charcoal emblazoned with the words, "Best Quality." Customs checked the goods and gave the green light. R. apparently didn't care much about his imported coal. By 2017, those same bags were still lying unsold in front of a warehouse in Hürth. The next container, which arrived in Antwerp in October 2015, had wood inside. This time, the freight was abandoned in Schwalmtal. This came as no surprise to investigators. These were trial deliveries to see whether the containers would make it through customs and to give the authorities a false sense of trust. New companies are regarded as suspicious. The more *clean* deliveries one has, the less likely future shipments will be searched.

The container with the cocaine arrived in Rotterdam on 6 December 2015, and was inspected. Customs officers found five boxes, a sports bag and a Samsonite suitcase lying on a stack of boards in the back. Sniffer dogs and a forensics test confirmed: cocaine. There were 82.3 kilos with 80% purity. This wouldn't pass for a large delivery nowadays, but investigators believe R. and his group intended to eventually smuggle 1.2 tonnes of the drug to Europe -- at least according to documents in the investigation.

At first, narcotics investigators in the Netherlands still assumed the company's founder, Gino R., had nothing to do with the shipment. But by May 2017, when someone using the name, "Toto," called R. on the phone to order 10 "bread rolls," the police believed Gino to be part of the gang.

### **The Small Dealers**

Florian, the student from Berlin, will never cross paths with dealers in the same league as Gino or Giuseppe. His contacts are at the end of the chain, the guys on the street delivering the "bread rolls." They often deliver via "taxi," as the courier services are known that take orders over the phone and send a driver with the goods within a half hour. A quick drive around the block and the driver asks, "All good, man?" Florian replies, "Yeah, I'm good." Then €50 changes hands, and in return Florian receives a tiny plastic vial filled with 0.7 grams of cocaine. *"See you next time."*

*"Most of the time,"* Florian says, *"the drivers are young"* and, he assumes, Turkish or Arab rather than Italian. But that's not the kind of thing you ask. *"They are incredibly polite, probably because the competition is so fierce,"* Florian believes. *"There is an unbelievable amount of 'taxis' in Berlin. Some friend always has a new number you haven't tried out yet."*

By now, the Berlin police have become aware of this fact as well. They have assigned "drug taxi investigations" into a special police department. There are 35 ongoing investigations. The Berlin police's chief drug officer estimates that some "taxi switchboards" handle more than 100 requests a day.

## Drug Taxis

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Some even offer their customers discounts to gain an edge over the competition. One text message reads, "Hey, it's me, Toni. I've got some great beer on offer again. Buy four, get one free." Buy four vials of coke, get the fifth one free. And while drug deals used to take place in small, isolated circles, the EU anti-drug authority has observed a "new quality in cocaine trafficking," because "social media is used relatively often to advertise cocaine." On the unchecked marketplaces of the darknet, customers can rate coke sellers and their product like they would on Amazon or eBay.

The coke taxi from Herzfelde wasn't as well-established as its competitors, but Rene F. and his family had only just begun. They began selling in September 2018. They got their product, according to prosecutors, from a man believed to be a member of the Rammos clan, an Arab criminal syndicate in Berlin. The fact that the source of the cocaine was so well known to investigators may have explained why police placed Rene F. and his family under observation from the very beginning. Before becoming a drug dealer, Rene F., like his wife, lived on welfare. Their son was learning to be a car salesman. According to investigators, none had any previous experience in the drug trade. The fact that such amateurs started their emerging careers with cocaine -- the most expensive of all drugs -- says something about the availability and the demand of the substance. In March, their brief stint as drug dealers came to a swift end. Rene was sentenced to four years and three months. The others were given probation.

### The Investigators

So was it a victory for investigators to celebrate? Not by a long mile, some say. In the port city of Antwerp, Belgium, they even have a joke for how little headway investigators are making: Did you hear? They found some bananas packed in cocaine crates at the harbour yesterday. It's a poor attempt at humour, but it says a lot about the situation in Antwerp. The fight against coke is lost, everyone says, whether at EMCDDA or in Antwerp itself. Antwerp is lost.

Though a lot of drugs enter Europe via Africa and Spain, the Belgian port city is considered Europe's main coke hub. It even surpasses Rotterdam and Hamburg. Of the 150 tonnes of cocaine confiscated in Europe in 2018, 51 were seized by investigators in Antwerp. By October 2019, that figure had already risen



to 42 tonnes. This can only mean one thing: nowhere do the gangs try to smuggle their drugs into Europe more often, and nowhere do they succeed so easily.

The port the smugglers love so much is the largest in the world in terms of surface area. It covers 120km<sup>2</sup> and it is designed to process containers as quickly as possible. Some 7 million of them pass through Antwerp every year. Nothing is permitted to tarnish the port's appeal to the rest of the world. Speed, investigators say, is even more important than safety. And a police task force with 40 officials can't do much to change the situation.

## Drug Taxis

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"Everything in the port that is good for the economy also benefits the criminal gangs," says Manolo Tersago, the task force's ranking officer. Asked what he would need to make a bigger difference, his answer is simple: more personnel "as quickly as possible." He simply doesn't have the resources to search for drugs, money or the people pulling the strings.

"For years, the port has been infiltrated by cartels from Albania and Morocco." As early as 2017, a confidential report by the Antwerp police described the port as an enclave over which the state had relinquished control to the drug mafia. "They don't shy away from anything," not even making death threats against police officers, chief investigator Tersago says.

### Bribing Port Workers

But things don't even need to escalate that far. The gangs earn so much money "they can buy anyone they want," Tersago says. And they do. Around 60,000 people work directly in the port. The gangs send recruiters to cafes and gyms. They're always on the lookout for people who can help them get the product out of the containers. Hauling a steel box to a remote location for a couple of hours costs a container stacker mere minutes, but according to Tersago's estimates, it can earn him between €25,000 and €75,000.

The jackpot for gangs is bribing a so-called selector, the Customs officer who decides whether a container is searched or waved through. A former selector earned €250,000 for every 100 kilos of coke he let slip through. But that was just one side of the coin. After his arrest in 2015, he said, "They knew everything about me, even where my children went to school."

A bribed Customs officer - what could be better for crime syndicates? In fact, business isn't all that much worse without them. Without a tip of where to look, investigators can easily get lost in the depths of a ship's holds. Late last September, three customs officers climbed into the belly of a 300 metre-long container ship in Hamburg. They had to use a 30mm percussion drill to loosen 20 bolts to open the hatch to the ballast tank. Five minutes later, they closed it. And that was just one hatch. The ship had hundreds of hatches like this. Thousands of hollow spaces. And that's in addition to the 14,000 containers when the ship is fully loaded. A few hundred of these ships arrive and unload their cargo every year. The port's annual capacity is 5.4 million containers. If one of them is up on the loading deck, in the second row from the top, boxed in by several other containers, how are customs officials supposed to get at it?

They could, of course, have it unloaded. Like in all large ports, computer programmes flag suspicious containers. They check whether the containers are from South America, what they allegedly contain and which company is importing them to Europe. Customs officials could have a container transported to an X-ray facility, which can process a good 100 units a day. But that takes time, and if nothing is found, as is usually the case, the question arises as to whether it was worth the trouble. The port of Hamburg, too, places a high value on speed.



"You have to be able to lose in this job," the customs officer says. The fact that they made the biggest find of all time in Germany last summer -- 4.5 tonnes -- certainly raised morale. They used to celebrate when they seized 20 kilos of coke. But did anything happen to the market because 4.5 tons of product didn't materialize? Have prices risen because there is less supply? Not even close.

"Despite record quantities seized, there has been no perceivable change in perpetrators' behaviour," the BKA wrote in April. This "only leads to one conclusion, that the pain threshold has not yet been reached." Günther Losse, the head of the Hamburg Customs Unit, says, "We suspect that the lion's share gets through." The BKA confirms: "This would mean that enormous quantities of cocaine must make it onto the European market." Investigators unanimously agree.

### No Good Solutions

Many narcotics officials have little hope of winning the fight. The head of Customs in Hamburg, Rene Matschke, says, "We never stumble upon fixed structures and therefore don't know who's doing the importing. We rarely get close to the bosses." Interpol's Andres Bastidas says, "It has become much harder to catch the big fish." Peter Keller, the chief drug investigator at the customs office in Cologne, says, "There's too much coke on the market and we can only find the tip of the iceberg."

Politicians are also to blame for the seemingly hopeless situation. The German Customs Investigation Bureau says they "aren't terribly interested anymore" in drug smuggling. Europol says the same thing: Drugs have "long disappeared from the agenda." In Antwerp, for instance, police officers were withdrawn from the port after the attacks in Brussels in order to hunt down terrorists. At Customs in Hamburg, more than 10% of ship inspection jobs are unfilled. The search for undeclared workers seems to be a higher priority.

In its search for answers, DER SPIEGEL approached Daniela Ludwig, Germany's federal drugs commissioner. She sees the root of the problem far away, in Colombia. She has nothing to say about Germany. Karl Lauterbach, the SPD's health expert, is at least willing to accept the criticism: "Investigators simply lack the means. The subject of drugs has not received the attention it deserves."

This has prompted the Green Party's domestic policy spokeswoman, Irene Mihalic, to call for more money to be allocated not only to police, but also to education and therapy. Movassat, Die Linke's drug policy spokesperson, proposes a much more radical solution: He's for decriminalisation and a government-controlled cocaine trade - a regulated tax. He says it's the only way to chip away at the narcos' global power and dry up their billion-dollar business.

That would be the most radical solution. And the most desperate. The fight against cocaine seems long lost, whether in the fields of Colombia, the ports of Europe or the streets of Berlin. The avalanche is here. What can possibly stop it now?

# Drug Taxis

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## Discussion

1. What are your views on the article?
2. Does the information surprise you, or is it well known?
3. Does the *Drug Taxi* phenomenon exist within your area of operation?
4. Do you agree that combatting the cocaine trade is a “lost cause”?
5. How do you view Niema Movassat’s (Die Linke) “*suggestion of decriminalisation and a government-controlled cocaine trade with a regulated tax*”? Would such an idea actually work in practice?
6. Similar to the idea put forward by Niema Movassat, several countries and states have legalised the sale of recreational marijuana. How has this effected society?
7. How agile and flexible are your police in adjusting to adapting criminal drug trade?
8. How effective is internal and transnational police cooperation? How could it be improved?
9. The illegal drug trade has always been associated with organised criminal gangs. What OGGs are the major players in your region? Is violence still a factor, or do the gangs now operate more like a business?

## Scenario

Drug Bust / Interrogation / Report Writing

## How drug wars in Ireland led to the murder and dismemberment of a teenage boy



Angela Dewan, CNN (7 February 2020)  
with Niamh Kennedy

Keane Mulready-Woods should have been celebrating his 18th birthday this week. But the Irish teenager's life came to an end last month, in a murder so brutal in nature that it has drawn comparisons with TV show "Narcos."

Ireland's ancient town of Drogheda has become the setting for feuds between drug-dealing gangs that have claimed three lives in grisly tit-for-tat attacks.

A day after Mulready-Woods went missing on a cold Sunday evening, parts of the boy's dismembered body were found in a Puma gym bag in north Dublin, 50 kilometres away.

It is understood Keane was abducted in the Ballsgrove area of Drogheda, County Louth, and taken to a house in Rathmullen Park where he was tortured, killed and cut apart. Other body parts were found in a burning car in the capital. Irish media reports say Mulready-Woods' limbs were in the bag, and his severed head, hands and feet in the burning car. His torso is believed to still be missing.

The murder paints a dark picture of Ireland's changing underworld, which is increasingly recruiting boys and young men to carry out acts of violence, often to enforce debt payments as the country's addiction to drugs like cocaine grows. Residents there say that years of economic austerity have left Drogheda without adequate social services and opportunities to keep young people off the streets,

The Drogheda drug feuds escalated in July 2018 with the shooting of a man linked to crime in the area. He survived the hit but was left paralysed. Tit-for-tat reprisals have been going on there ever since.

Gwen Fearon, a concerned Drogheda resident, also said austerity had left the town with a weakened gardaí (police) presence and not enough for young people to do.

*"If more money was put into youth clubs and youth training, it would keep the youth occupied and give them another interest. Instead they're out, being groomed by gangs," she told CNN. "Everything was cut when we went into recession. There's no funding, no money for drug outreach. This is just what happens when you cut police, resources and counselling for youth."*

# *How drug wars in Ireland led to the murder and dismemberment of a teenage boy*

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## **Drug trade being 'Uberised'**

A report on drug markets in Europe shows a growing trend in Ireland in the recruitment of boys and young men to carry out violence, as a means of intimidation to collect drug debts from users.

It also points to "hotlines" and social media accounts being established in towns and rural areas through which people can order drugs, in what the European drug agency calls the "uberisation" of the trade.

A three-tier hierarchy has evolved among Ireland's gangs, with *"a lower tier of highly disadvantaged young people generally involved in bullying, assaulting, stealing, vandalizing and spreading fear on behalf of the network,"* the report says.

A second tier involves young people engaged in *"high-risk, low-reward activities, such as transporting, holding or dealing drugs, carrying guns, and conducting shootings, beatings and serious intimidation"* on behalf of the top tier of *"serious players."*

In many cases, boys or young men who themselves are in debt to the gangs are recruited to begin repaying what they owe.

With the growing number of young people in Ireland's gangs, comes a change in the way rivals communicate. Young members are using Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat to taunt, embarrass and provoke their rivals.

The problem is, a lot of the information being spread is fake. Gardaí had to call on people to stop sharing a video claiming to show the murder of Mulready-Woods (gardaí later determined the video was not footage of his death).

Gardaí suspected, but did not confirm, that the 17-year-old had filmed an attack on a rival gang member coming out of a gym in Dublin. The Irish Times reported that the Dublin attack involved stealing the member's gym bag and a pair of black-and-white flip-flops, adding that several young gang members posted images of themselves on social media, wearing the flip-flops and mocking their rival.

When Mulready-Woods was dismembered, his limbs were also placed in a gym bag, along with a pair of black-and-white flip-flops in a clear message that the motive of the murder was revenge.

The problem is, no one really knows if he filmed or had anything to do with the initial attack.

*"This is really the first feud we've seen in the information age,"* Irish Times reporter Fintan O'Toole said. *"After Mulready-Woods was murdered, people were named online as being involved, but they weren't."*

# *How drug wars in Ireland led to the murder and dismemberment of a teenage boy*



## **Cocaine and the Celtic Tiger**

Violence between drug-dealing gangs appears to escalate not in times of poverty but in times of economic boom.

A study on cross-border crime between Ireland and Northern Ireland in 2018 found that cocaine use had returned to "Celtic Tiger" levels - referring to the economic boom period between 1995 and 2007.

It's been pointed out that employment, not unemployment, was playing a greater role in the violence. The problem has been worsened by the increase in employment, which meant there's more disposable income for people to buy and use recreational drugs. That's the other problem. It's not driven by poverty, it's driven by income.

The difference between 2007 and now is that the drug can be found well beyond big-city borders in the smallest of villages, the report said.

Despite these observations, a look at the "Moneymore" social housing estate<sup>1</sup>, at the heart of Drogheda's gang feuds, suggests poverty still plays a major role in the violence.



Homes there have been petrol-bombed, burned out and raided by police. Rivals send threatening messages to gang members through graffiti on the estate's walls.

A committee at the Louth County Council formed to address the violence in Drogheda said it was making upgrades to the estate to improve safety and the quality of life for its residents.

*"We need to work together to support and implement actions to repair this damage,"* the committee's chair, Joan Martin, said in a statement sent to CNN. She said CCTV cameras would be reinstated in the Moneymore area, and that the council was carrying out drug outreach programmes targeting young people living there.

But there just isn't enough funding to support the organisations addressing drug addiction in the community, says Brenda Kirwan, who facilitates a support group in Drogheda for the Family Addiction Support Network.

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<sup>1</sup> **Moneymore** is both bungalow and two storey homes. Built in the 1980s, the housing estate contains 244 houses, a boxing club, football club, community kindergarten and family resource centre.

## How drug wars in Ireland led to the murder and dismemberment of a teenage boy



The network support families of drug and alcohol addicts, and in Drogheda, it says it gets a measly €7,500 a year from the government to run weekly meetings, relief for family members, a 24-hour helpline and intimidation reporting service. The rest of the money comes from donations and fundraising. All staff members are volunteers.

*"The funding in this area needs to really go up a notch.... a huge notch,"* Kirwan told CNN.

She said a lot of families had been forced to send their children to other parts of the country, the UK and even as far as Australia to uproot them from the gangs they had fallen in with.

*"These people might have been enduring an awful lot of what's going on in the town at the moment -- people knocking at the door looking for money because a loved one owes money, they could have their house smashed up, they could have had their car smashed up, constantly being intimidated on the street,"* she said.

*"Youth services have been cut -- there are now a few more things for younger children, but once they're in their late teens, there's very little there. Even education in school needs to be prioritised more. Young people are dropping out of school because of drugs, so we need to do more to keep them in education, and to get educated about drugs, because it's so easy to get into, but it's so hard to get out of. We have to show our children that there's more to life than this."*

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### **Discussion**

1. How does drug retailing (dealing) work in your area of operation?
2. Can gang rivalry be as intense in your region as in Ireland?
3. How do these rivalries affect the community (if at all)?
4. What is the typical police response to such gang violence?
5. Is drug education the answer? (schools, media etc.)
6. Does drug rehabilitation work?
7. Frankfurt has its "drug clinics" situated in the heart of the famous Red Light District. Acknowledging this is a decision of the city (not police), what are the *pros* and *cons* of such placement?
8. What is the tie-in between the Red Light's OMGs and the drug trade? Is the Red Light District a "one-stop-shop"?
9. Concerning questions 7 and 8, what is the overall effect on the local crime rate?

### **Scenario**

Murder / Interview / Caution & Interrogation



*The facts are horrifying and widely reported: stabbings in London have never been more frequent and the rate is only increasing. But there's another statistic that's less well known: the murder rate is actually falling, rapidly so. To find out why, GQ visited St Mary's Hospital, where the busiest of London's four major trauma centres is helping stem the death toll of the knife crime epidemic.*

Stuart McGurk, GQ Magazine, 6 December 2019

### **Arrival**

The shift of Dr Stephen Metcalf had not even begun when he got his first knife crime victim of the day. He'd arrived as he always did, by bus and by Tube, from his home in Blackheath, South London, to St Mary's Hospital, Paddington, where he is a specialist in trauma and where the trauma was waiting for him. His shift didn't technically start until 8am, but Metcalf is a man who likes to be on top of things. It had just gone 7am.

The patient, lying in bay two of the resuscitation room, was in his late forties, heavysset, with a thick wooden cross around his neck, the only personal item that remained.

*"His pulse isn't strong. He's bleeding out,"* said Metcalf.

On the floor behind the patient were several empty bags of blood: he had already been given four pints of pure blood and four pints of plasma, a semi-clear, yellowish and essentially refined version of blood that contains platelets along with red and white blood cells. Both would be type O, the universal type used in trauma when there's no time to test the patient first. Until they fixed the damage they were "chasing their losses", trying to put back in what was flowing out. The man had been stabbed four times.

Like almost everyone that arrives at St Mary's "resus" room, he had arrived in an ambulance, though people simply walking in with knife wounds is not uncommon. But forget those scenes on TV in which an ambulance skids to a halt outside the main entrance and the staff run to greet it. Here, he would have been driven up a ramp to a small first-floor parking lot for emergency vehicles only and wheeled into resus directly, like a delivery.

The emergency team – usually consisting of five or six people, including a team leader, an anaesthetist, an orthopaedic specialist, nurses, a junior doctor or two – would have been paged and would have been stood quietly around an empty bed as their patient arrived to fill it. He would have been assigned a name before they knew his real one, to guard against confusion if, say, two John Smiths are ever there at the same time. He was to be "Oscar November" and wrist tags were waiting too.

Metcalf moved his hands to show me the injuries. *"He's been stabbed one, two, three, four."* Right torso, left chest, rear flank left and right. On the left flank, Metcalf pointed out, the wound was so deep *"you can put your finger [in] right up to the hilt"*.

## *Inside the hospital that's home to London's knife crime crisis*

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I'd first become interested in Metcalf's trauma team after reading a brief interview with him in the *Camden New Journal*: "The Medic Fighting To Save Young Victims Of Stabbings". But what really got my attention was this: Metcalf said he now treated a knife crime victim every week who, just a few years ago, would have died of their injuries.

In 2010, the National Health Service (NHS) decided to revamp how they did emergency medicine. Previously, there were 24 hospitals with accident and emergency units in London and you were simply taken to the nearest one.



*"In the old days, every hospital would take stabbings and shootings, but generally care was quite poor,"* Metcalf told me. *"The system wasn't set up for it."* Specialists had to be requested; scans had to be booked. Metcalf remembers at one of his first jobs, the room with the scanning machine would be locked at 5pm.

*"You'd be ringing, transferring, and the patient would be dead or a vegetable by the*

*time they got there. You want heart surgeons there, you want brain surgeons there, not [to be] transferring around."*

Which is exactly what they decided to do: creating 27 dedicated major trauma centres in England, four of them in London. Metcalf joined St Mary's to help set up theirs in 2012.

It is uniquely positioned, covering everywhere from Westminster (which saw the highest number of knife crime offences, 985, of any London borough last year) to Camden (which has seen a spate of teen stabbings in recent years) and all the way out to Watford. *"So we're the busiest,"* said Metcalf, *"and you get good at what you do a lot of."*

And so, with knife crime only getting worse – rising seven per cent in the 12 months to the end of June this year and a record high of around 44,000 incidents in England and Wales, up by a third overall since records began in 2010 – I wondered what the likes of Metcalf and his fellow doctors understand about knife crime that the rest of us don't. Beyond the rhetoric of politicians and the tears of grief-stricken parents and the misguided messages printed on boxes of fried chicken, what does our knife crime epidemic look like when seen through the eyes of knife crime's field hospital? What do they know that we don't?

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### **Trauma**

At 58, Metcalf calls himself the "queen mother" of the trauma unit. Most medics have left this kind of work by that age, but Metcalf can't stay away. When it gets really busy, when multiple stab or gunshot victims arrive at the same time, Metcalf said, for him, time slows down. *"Like The Equalizer. Have you seen that film?"* Metcalf has a broad taste in films. He is endlessly likeable and clearly much liked.

## *Inside the hospital that's home to London's knife crime crisis*

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Here's one thing Metcalf knows: many victims of knife crime have previous scars; rarely will it be the first time they've been stabbed. In this, Oscar November was atypical, his only marks the four fresh wounds currently losing him blood.

His age and nationality – he was from Eastern Europe and spoke no English, only understanding his situation via an interpreter – also set him apart from an issue that's worst among London's deprived youth. And yet, some things were typical. He was indifferent and calm, as most knife crime victims tend to be.

"These ones you never know. He was apparently attacked by three masked men," Metcalf said to me. *"I mean, who is attacked by three masked men? It sounds a bit dubious. He's sitting there like he's fine. I'd be crying for my mum."*

He had actually been stabbed in Hounslow, in South West London, way out of St Mary's catchment area, but had been picked up 13km away in Northolt. I asked the interpreter to ask what the patient had been doing at 6am when he'd been stabbed. *"He was meeting some friends,"* the translator told me. He was meeting friends at 6am?

*"He says he was due to do the paperwork for his insurance number and stuff. And they were going to help him with that."* He said he heard footsteps, stood to the side to let them go through and felt like someone had punched him and punched him again. He said nothing was taken. A police officer, as they always do in stabbing cases, stood vigil a few feet away.

Metcalf said that for all the hysteria about knife crime, the reality of treating victims – many of them in gangs and the disputes involving drugs – is not threatening.

*"People probably think they're all psychos. But having done this job for 20 years and talking to people who may be members of gangs, they're perfectly reasonable. You can have an intelligent conversation. They're no threat to me. They understand what they're doing. They understand the mortality of it. But for various reasons they've made a lifestyle choice they can't get out of."* The young victims will be visited by a worker from the "youth violence intervention programme" of charity Redthread. But they rarely talk to the police: *"You know they're going to go right back out and sort it out themselves. It's tit-for-tat."*

At its essence, trauma is about blood and the fight to contain it: the hidden bleeds from damaged organs and the obvious torrents from split arteries. Stabbing wounds – or "penetrating injuries" to use the medical term – are uniquely qualified to provide both. The worst-case scenario, for obvious reasons, is a perforated heart, a code red. If the heart has been punctured, Metcalf told me, they may need to call a surgeon down to open up right then and there – around two minutes of cutting, a scalpel for the incision then scissors to get through the muscle wall. *"Then the heart's right there,"* said Metcalf.

If the heart has been bled into, the pericardium – the bag that it's in – gets so tense it can no longer beat. But get the chest open quickly enough and Metcalf can cut the bag, get the clot out and stop the bleeding with his finger. *"You can save a lot of people that way. We've had loads of those. They go home four days later."*

## *Inside the hospital that's home to London's knife crime crisis*

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Being stabbed in the thicker part of the heart is, counterintuitively, better than being stabbed in the thinner part (it's harder to stop the bleeding in the latter). Being stabbed through both sides of the heart is almost unsurvivable.

Part of what makes St Mary's major trauma centre unique is its lack of indecision. *"You can normally save them if you're quick to get the chest open,"* said Metcalf. *"Most things aren't time dependent, but with bleeding and trauma it is. Stabbings of chests are critical in terms of timing. Everything is quick and fast. There's no hanging around."*



In the old system, said Metcalf, a lot of stabbing patients used to die *"because no one has the skill or inclination to open up their chest. You've got to have the training to do that. You only need a scalpel and scissors, but it takes balls."*

After replacing Oscar November's lost blood, the next priority was to stabilise further loss as best they could in order to take him for a full-body CT scan. This would determine whether organs had been penetrated and blood vessels severed. The process, standard in knife crime victims, provided *"instant gratification"*, Metcalf said. You know what you're dealing with.

Yet the wound to Oscar November's rear left was losing too much blood to merely be patched, even temporarily, and so was filled with medical foam – a technique first used in warzones and now co-opted for the war against knife crime.

*"A lot of what we do now has been learnt from Afghanistan, managing limbs and blood. It is like a military campaign, really,"* said Metcalf. Many of his trauma doctors now have direct warzone backgrounds. *"My old professor used to say you always need a good war to learn your trade as a trauma surgeon."*



Suitably stabilised, Metcalf and his team wheeled Oscar November out of resus bay two and turned right past a picture board that read *"Emergency Medical Consultant Team"*. Of the 17 people whose headshots are on it, Metcalf is proud that the majority have trained under him, before returning to practise here. *"That's good, isn't it?"*

Acute imaging services is on the third floor and so they were trailed by a nurse wearing a large backpack of emergency medical supplies, should something happen while in the elevator.

## *Inside the hospital that's home to London's knife crime crisis*

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It was now 7.30am. From arrival to being stabilised to going for a full-body CT scan had taken just 60 minutes.

The *Office For National Statistics* report about the latest rise in knife crime noted that the number of homicides where a knife or sharp instrument was involved had actually decreased – and by 14 per cent. *“Mainly,”* they wrote, *“driven by falls in London.”*

As Metcalf had put it to me earlier, *“If it wasn't for us, you'd have seen so many more murders from knife crime.”*

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### **Scans**

The last two weeks had been relatively quiet, at least for St Mary's. As *GQ* went to press, the hospital could not disclose how many stabbings they treat each week, but Metcalf explained that they experience irregular spates: *“When someone gets stabbed, they'll go for revenge. When you get a ganq member coming in, you don't know who's coming in after. You go into lockdown. There's a lot of tit-for-tat stabbings.”*

This time last year, working the 12-hour weekend shifts, Metcalf was getting around 15 stabbings a night. Recently, he said, the police have clamped down by using stop and search, so it's calmed down a little. But a few most days is average. As victims get younger, I'm told, trauma units are also seeing more in the mornings and in the mid-afternoon: when children are walking to and returning from school.

The majority of stabbings remains gang-related, but there are exceptions. The worst, Metcalf said, occurred a few years ago, when two youths on mopeds went around mugging then stabbing people, seemingly for fun. *“That was terrible. I was doing trauma that night. I must have had 50 [victims]... all stabbings. They were going around and basically at the drop of a hat just slashing and stabbing people really badly. And it wasn't even like, ‘Give me your phone’ and you fight them. It was really demoniacal what they were doing. Three an hour of bad ones, all over the place, just innocent people being stabbed in the street.”*

One victim was in a resus bay having an emergency thoracotomy (opening the chest) to save him, but died then and there. And in the opposite trauma bay, said Metcalf, was the person who'd murdered him. He'd come off his motorbike and had broken his leg. *“The guy who'd done it looked about 14. It was just horrific.”*

Metcalf tries not to take his work home, but sometimes he can't help it. He particularly remembers the time a 16-year-old with learning difficulties – a mental age of nine – came in. He had been stabbed in the chest.

*“They just stabbed him in the chest for no reason. When they say to you, ‘I don't feel very well,’ you just know it's not right. And he looked at me and he held my hand and said, ‘Will I be all right?’”* Metcalf told him he would be, but he knew he wouldn't. *“He was helpless, a child in an adult's body. And I lied to him. But I couldn't say he wouldn't. He had a through-and-through injury”* – through both sides of the heart.

## *Inside the hospital that's home to London's knife crime crisis*

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And Metcalf kept thinking about his mantra: *"If you're talking, you should survive. If you're talking, you should survive."* He had nightmares for three months thinking about that boy.

In the CT scan room, Oscar November was slowly passed through the huge, circular full-body CT scanner while the doctors and a radiologist watched on. The scanner also shows if bones are broken or fractured, but for victims of knife crime what they mostly look for is blood: the tell-tale darkness of organs punctured and vessels severed.

Metcalf has seen his fair share of horrific injuries, the kind that don't require scans to tell the doctors what's wrong: the time someone arrived with the top of their skull taken off by a samurai sword, for instance; or the person from the traveller community who had been grabbed and his arms and legs sawn off as he watched. But, through it all, his key motto is this: *"If you come in speaking, you leave speaking."* Both did.

The entry wounds on Oscar November didn't indicate anything as dramatic, but then Metcalf knows not to equate entry wound to injury. In his time he's seen perforations on the far right of the chest that have entered the heart on the left. When I remarked that must have been some knife, Metcalf shrugged: *"Sometimes they use a kebab skewer."*



The scan showed two major concerns. The first was the patient's colon, which had been perforated and would require surgery. He would likely require a colostomy bag, at least in the short term. Yet, among gangs, Metcalf told me, stabbing victims in the bowel is increasingly common and done on purpose to humiliate their victim.

*"If you stab someone in the guts and you perforate the bowel, as a surgeon you just can't close it up. Because it's contaminated with faeces, there is a risk of getting infected. Therefore you have a colostomy bag, so your bowel is brought out into a bag, at least temporarily. It may be joined at a future stage when the bowels are all sterilised and clean."* It even has a name: it's called bagging. *"So they will aim to try and not just kill someone, but permanently disable them."*

Of more pressing concern, however, was the blood loss from the wound behind the colon, where the knife had severed some key vessels. *"The wound at the back has hit an artery,"* Metcalf told me, *"and it's really hard to get there."*

Back in resus bay two Metcalf asked for more blood, to recoup what he'd just lost: *"Can we get a second pack, please? He's got ongoing bleeding."*

The plan was to take him to interventional radiology, where they would feed an ultra-fine wire through his blood vessels and deploy micro-coils or beads barely two millimetres thick in order to block up the vessels at the exact point they had been severed.

## *Inside the hospital that's home to London's knife crime crisis*

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Dr Robert Thomas, a tall, bespectacled man would be performing the procedure, explained this to the interpreter.

*"My plan is to access the blood vessel in his groin" – he gestured to the left side of the man's groin at the front – "and get a tube, a catheter, in. And then we get into the blood vessel that is causing the bleeding here" – he gestured to the man's rear, at the right – "and we block it with either little beads or with coils. The risks to him are very low, as the blood supply I want to block doesn't really supply much other than the muscles of the rib cage and the muscles of the tummy wall."*

*"I don't think he knows he's bleeding there,"* replied the translator.

*"Well,"* Thomas said, laughing, *"you should probably tell him that."*

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### **Arteries**

*"What we're doing here isn't keyhole surgery. It's pinhole surgery,"* Thomas told me as Oscar November was wheeled to interventional radiology.

The one-millimetre micro-catheter – essentially a long, impossibly thin cable system – would first be threaded up and over the aorta and then down into the artery that supplies the muscle of the right abdominal wall. Once there it would stop just shy of where the artery had been severed and deploy a "memory metal", which would uncoil upon being released and block the blood flow. Imagine trying to thread a wire through the cabling system of your house, starting at the garage, up around a bedroom, then down into the kitchen, all without leaving the garage once, and you start to appreciate the difficulty.

The technology isn't only used for stabbings – it also allows Thomas to deliver radiotherapy and chemotherapy directly into tumours, for instance, all through a 1.8 millimetre hole. In the room next door, they were realigning a ruptured aorta. But for knife crime wounds it's used to block severed blood vessels without the need for surgery. The only thing they don't often do is *"go above the clavicles [collarbones]. That's for neuroradiology, which happens at Charing Cross, but if someone's been stabbed in the face we will go up there if we have to."*

Not all bleeds are obvious. Recently, Thomas treated a 17-year-old semi-professional footballer who had been stabbed in the leg. The wound wasn't deemed serious enough to take him to a major trauma centre and so he had been taken to a smaller North London hospital instead. They saw he wasn't actively bleeding and so simply stitched him up and sent him home. Yet when he got in the bath that night, torrents of blood started flowing from the wound. The knife had severed a main artery; bruising had merely temporally sealed it. He was swiftly taken to St Mary's.



## *Inside the hospital that's home to London's knife crime crisis*

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Neck wounds are among the least survivable, but St Mary's has saved patients injured in that way. The old-fashioned method would have seen them cut into the muscle, find the bleeding artery and clip it. *"But he's a semi-professional footballer... It would have been career over."* So Thomas managed to enter in the left leg, thread a micro-catheter up and over and into the right leg, then block the severed artery with memory-metal coils. *"He's now got a full professional contract. He went home the next day."*

Having changed into scrubs, I was given a heavy lead outfit to wear to protect me from the X-ray machine Thomas uses to see where the micro-catheter is at any given time.

Above Oscar November were two screens. The one to the left showed a live X-ray of his chest and abdomen and the current position of the micro-catheter. But the X-ray can't pick up the blood vessels it's being threaded through. So every so often a "contrast" liquid will be injected, he will ask Oscar November not to breathe ("OK, stop!") and a snapshot will be taken that then appears on the right screen. This will be his only guide as to where the catheter actually is. He threads through the blood vessels near enough blind and it's only with each snapshot that he can be sure he's gone down the right path. All the steering of this micro-catheter system is done manually, via nothing more than dexterous thumb and finger twists near the entry point at the groin.

As blood vessels go, this was not a major one, just 1.1 millimetre in diameter (though its small size created its own problems: as the micro-catheter itself was one millimetre it didn't leave much wiggle room). One of the worst vessels that can be severed is the femoral artery in the leg, which can see you bleed to death in minutes.

Metcalf remembers a gang member who took a large knife out of his own pocket while getting out of his car at a petrol station and managed to slash his leg while doing so, cutting his femoral artery in the process. The blood flow is so intense it's impossible to tourniquet it (the process of stopping blood flow via pressure) and so the only way to stop it was to open up the chest and pincer the main artery direct from the heart. Despite their best efforts, the patient died a few days later.

As stabbings have become more common, so the instruments have become more creative. As well as skewers, screwdrivers are more popular than ever, even people getting stabbed in the neck with bike spokes (*"So attackers are not caught with a knife on them"*). People stab under the armpits more often than ever (*"They know it's harder for surgeons to get to"*). The worst in terms of potential arterial damage are so-called "zombie knives" (machetes essentially). They were banned in 2016 but injuries from them continue to show up in Metcalf's trauma room. *"A lot more of the wounds now are far more ferocious,"* he said, *"and the zombie knives are terrible. Those big knives, I mean, they're just horrific."*

The very worst are neck slashings – *"They can kill someone so easily"* – yet even here St Mary's has had success in saving lives. One of Metcalf's first cases after setting up the new trauma centre was a police officer whose throat had been slashed in Ealing, West London.

*"We'd only been open about a week. And as he came in the door, he arrested. He'd bled so much. Everything in his neck was sticking out. But we had all the blood ready."*

## *Inside the hospital that's home to London's knife crime crisis*

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A machine called a Belmont rapid infuser pumps blood incredibly quickly into a patient while warming it at the same time (*"If you have a lot of cold blood then you have problems"*).

*"And I know that 30 seconds later he'd have been gone,"* said Metcalf. *"That was one of the first weeks, so I thought, 'This is the right place to be.'"*

In less than an hour, Thomas, the radiologist, had successfully threaded his micro-catheter into each of the main severed vessels and stopped the bleeding with the micro-coils. *"This is our bread and butter,"* he told me later. *"The majority of our work is stabbings, as it's a single-point access and a single-point bleed."*

But the gangs, he said, *"are getting wise"* to the advanced pinhole procedures that leave little mark. *"They like to leave a stigmata from the stab. So what we're seeing now is a 'shanking' in the buttock. And the reason they do that is they want to rupture the sphincter muscles of the bum hole. Because it's a very complex muscular system in the rectum."*

*"Yes, the wounds have got worse,"* Metcalf told me, *"more targeted to cause harm, to cause long-term disability. It's terrible really."* Stabbing in the rectum, I'm told, is not only popular for the humiliation: in a crowd, stabbing from below means you don't expose yourself as much to being stabbed back.

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### **Surgery**

His bleeding successfully stopped, Oscar November was transported to his final procedure of the morning. It had just gone 10am. He was due in the emergency surgery room, theatre eight, kept free for just such a pressing procedure. If a patient arrives needing surgery instantly they will be taken "straight to eight", as it's known at St Mary's. This is for the worst of the worst.

Metcalf would not be doing the surgery himself – he was needed in trauma as yet more cases arrived.

*"What's the background to this?"* asked the lead surgeon after everyone had scrubbed up. *"He's not the usual demographic."*

*"He was just walking. He stood aside to let some kids run past him and he was just stabbed,"* said the anaesthesiologist.

*"Little bastards,"* replied the surgeon. *"A mugging?"*

*"It wasn't even a mugging."*

It was also not, most likely, entirely true.

They lifted him onto the operating table, shaved his stomach and – what's often omitted in medical dramas – placed his arms on pull-out rests, giving him the impression of a man lying on a sagging cross.

## *Inside the hospital that's home to London's knife crime crisis*

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On the whiteboard opposite, the following information had been filled out: patient name, hospital number and procedure – “laparostomy”. They were about to open up his stomach. Outside, the policeman waited.

Surgery is a secure place, but no place that deals in stab victims can be entirely without risk. Security was beefed up a few years ago after the gang violence from outside increasingly began to spill in. One stabbing would see the victim of a retaliation stabbing wheeled in not long after. Often, two more from the same fight would find themselves in the same trauma room. Sometimes, Metcalf told me, *“hundreds congregate. It's really scary for staff.”*

And so, the older, old-school security guards, hangovers from the previous era of A&E (Accident & Emergency)), were phased out and *“big, beefy guys”* were introduced. *“They're great because they punch first and ask questions later,”* said Metcalf.

Even in surgery, security is required. Some gang members have been known to go looking for their victims in the wards with knives. Others, while they're being operated on. *“We had that recently,”* Metcalf said. *“Someone tried to get into the operating theatre to finish someone off.”* Sometimes, gang members will walk straight into the ward and ask, *“Where is he?”* And while this could be someone else wanting to finish what they started, more often the staff will know them as friends of a victim. They enter the resuscitation room like a parent picking up a naughty child from school.

What you won't understand from TV about surgery is the smell. Not necessarily from the guts – though when they have been perforated, as they were here, they can smell pretty bad too – but of the act of cutting them open. On TV this is simply done with a scalpel, blood everywhere. In reality, the scalpel now only makes the initial incision: the bulk of cutting through the gut is done with a “hot knife”, essentially a soldering iron with an ultra-fine point that cauterises as it cuts. It's safer than a regular blade, but the smell – a mixture of burnt flesh and burning hair – stayed in my nostrils long after I left the hospital.

I watched as they took out his colon, it spilled over his stomach as they fed the length of it through their hands, looking for the puncture. They soon found it and stitched it up, but then did the same again, running it through their hands, looking for other holes they didn't know about. They didn't want to have to do this twice. Litres of saline solution were poured in and suctioned out in an effort to stave off infections. The stab wounds to the stomach were sewn up from the inside.

Like most stab victims, Oscar November could hope to go home four days later. Though, as one of the surgeons told me, after major surgery such as this, that will be the start of a likely eight-month recovery process.

I spoke to Metcalf again later. *“He's a perfect example of how seamlessly the team works,”* he said. *“He would have probably done very badly if he had gone anywhere else.”*

Just before 3pm, Oscar November was out of surgery. Another life saved.

Just after 3pm, I got a text from Metcalf: *“Another stabbing en route.”*

# *A Radical Approach to Tackling Knife Crime in Scotland*



**Leslie Evans talks about the success of Scotland’s Violence Reduction Unit (SVRU) in bringing down crime rates in Scotland. She outlines why violent crime is not just a policing issue, and should be treated as 'something to be cured rather than punished.** (5 August 2019)

In England and Wales the issue of knife crime has never been far from the headlines, with the continued loss of too many young lives. The statistics are stark. Last year, there were 209 knife-related fatalities in England and Wales – the highest since records began in 1946. At the time of writing, there have been over 20 fatalities from stabbings in London this year – real people and real families’ lives shattered.



Scotland has an important story to share, in how it reframed the problem and implemented a radical approach to tackling knife crime. As a result, key decision makers for England and Wales have been looking to Scotland to learn from our experiences with knife crime in a bid to refocus their efforts in tackling the problem. There has been political will from all sides and an impressive range of initiatives deployed. A Violence Reduction Unit has been set up in London with the promise of more to follow. Changes are being proposed to the laws governing offensive weapons. And community-based approaches have been introduced to provide positive alternatives for young people who are most at risk of becoming involved in knife possession and knife crime.

## ***The Scottish Context***

Each local context is unique, and Scotland has its own particular experience of these issues. Around 14 years ago, stabbings were considered a ‘Scottish problem’, with Glasgow gaining a dubious reputation as the UK’s capital of knife crime. At that time, young men were routinely turning up at hospital emergency departments with horrific knife wounds. Gang-related violence had become a depressing – and seemingly inevitable – way of life for many. In 2005, the UN and WHO published reports highlighting the issue and Scotland’s appalling record on violent crime.

In response, the authorities took the bold decision to form Scotland’s *Violence Reduction Unit* (SVRU). This was Scotland’s first independent centre of expertise on the issue, funded by central government.

## **A Different Approach**

The SVRU offered something different. It was independent of the police and so did not treat violence as a traditional law and order matter. Rather, it viewed violence as a public health issue – as a “disease affecting communities”. And because that disease is caused by poverty, inequality and despair – issues that lie outside the bounds of policing – the SVRU knew that an alternative approach was required, one that dealt with the root causes of violence and tried to prevent it happening in the first place.



The SVRU searched the world for possible solutions to tackle Glasgow’s violence. This included approaches being developed in Chicago (which involved mapping the epidemic curves of violence, in the same way that this method is applied to containing infectious diseases); and Boston (where gang members were given the option to renounce violence and get into education or work, or face tough penalties). In both of these American cities, traditional enforcement measures were being used alongside preventative measures, in line with the public health approach.

From the outset, the SVRU’s mantra was that violence is always preventable, not inevitable. By diagnosing violent behaviour much like any other disease, the SVRU analysed the causes, examined what works and developed solutions. Once evaluated, these solutions were scaled up to help other communities across the country.

## Prevention and Engagement

Iain Murray, who previously worked as a police inspector for the SVRU, neatly summed up this shift towards prevention in a media interview. From the start, he says, the SVRU attempted to “understand what the problems are”.

The police for years had been experts at detection and enforcement. I’d much rather be at the top of the cliff putting a fence up, stopping someone from jumping over, rather than at the bottom of the cliff waiting until they’ve jumped. That’s the public health approach as far as I’m concerned. You’re engineering out issues, rather than waiting for them to happen.

The SVRU was pioneering in another respect. It engaged directly with some of the most violent and disruptive young people in the country. It was – and still is – relentless in its approach. It drafted in former offenders – inspirational individuals – to share their experience. It encouraged

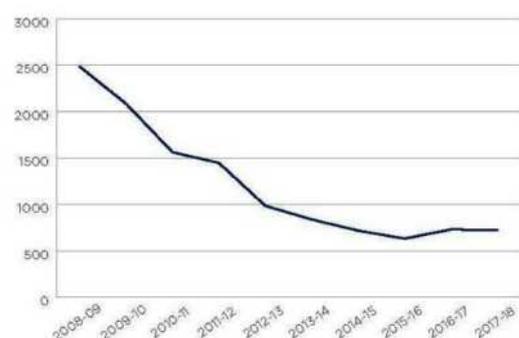


team-building and fostered empathy. It showed that there were alternatives to lives impoverished by gangs, alcohol and toxic masculinity.

As a result, behaviours began to change. Threats were replaced with respect. Rivalry and territoriality were replaced by compassion and hope. And, very gradually, some long-established gangs began to disperse.

The impact in Scotland has been profound. All the key indicators point towards a sustained long-term reduction in levels of violence. Most recently, the publication of Scotland’s Crime and Justice Survey showed that violent crime has reduced by nearly half in the last decade. Similarly, emergency hospital admissions for assault fell by 55% between 2008-09 and 2017-18. During the same period, the proportion of recorded serious assaults cleared up by the police has increased from 62% to 79%. Between 2006-07 and 2017-18 there has been a 65% decrease in crimes of handling offensive weapons (not used in crimes against the person).

Police-recorded offences of handling an offensive weapon not used to commit another crime, Glasgow City, 2008-09 to 2017-18



## *A radical approach to tackling knife crime in Scotland*



### **Range of measures**

However, we know violence remains a very real problem in Scotland. Scottish authorities know they must continue to work hard to sustain the downward trend. Domestic abuse and sexual violence remain significant areas for concern – as does the often toxic relationship between alcohol and violence, which still features in the majority of serious assaults in Scotland.

However, there has certainly been a shift in our focus in dealing with the problem. Stop-and-search as an early enforcement tactic had a role to play but, in Scotland, the emphasis has not been on tough enforcement; our police and authorities have long realised that we cannot simply arrest our way out of the problem. As such, stop-and-search must be used proportionately, alongside a range of other measures, such as prevention and education. Above all, the absolute focus is on policing by consent and community partnerships. This means that the police and authorities have actively sought to engage with young people at risk, built trust and forged better relationships with them.

### **Connecting with Young People**

The Scottish Government has an overarching policy aim to make Scotland the best place to grow up for all our children and young people. Over the last few years, the Scottish Government has connected directly with young people, not only through the SVRU but also through a range of programmes to prevent them from falling into violent lifestyles. Programmes such as *No Knives Better Lives*, *Police Scotland Youth Volunteers*, and *Mentors in Violence Prevention* all offer young people opportunities to engage and for their voices to be heard.

In terms of youth justice, the Scottish Government pioneered the *Whole Systems Approach*. This highlights the importance of different organisations and professions working together to support children and young people before situations reach crisis point. In *Getting it Right for Every Child*, we also have a national approach for improving outcomes and supporting the wellbeing of our children and young people by offering the right help, at the right time, from the right people.

### **Breaking the Cycle**

Since 2015, the Scottish Government has also supported a Navigator programme, now operational in four Scottish hospitals. The Navigators use the opportunity provided when people with chaotic lifestyles are admitted to hospital, to break the cycle and help them gain access to vital services. Many of these individuals are repeat victims of violence.

I saw the programme in action when I visited Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and heard vivid and unforgettable stories about how Navigators are empowering victims of violence and offering them a helping hand at those ‘reachable moments’. I was inspired by the commitment and compassion from both medical and non-medical staff. One consultant summed it up when she said it was “lovely, at last, to have hope for these patients when they leave hospital”. Kindness is a word that is not used often enough in the context of public services, but the work of Navigators certainly has kindness and compassion at its core.



### **National Performance Framework**

And kindness features in Scotland’s recently refreshed National Performance Framework. The framework has been in place for over a decade, ensuring that all policies are sharply focused on the achievement of national outcomes, with opportunities for all of Scotland to flourish. As with all work on violence, the Navigator programme is aligned to the achievement of an overarching national outcome (in this case, that “we live in communities that are inclusive, empowered, resilient and safe”). In this way, we describe the difference the approach will make, draw in funding and resources from different sources, and support partners to work together – collective and collaborative leadership with shared purpose.

With the National Performance Framework as our North Star, we can be innovative in how we tackle different issues, and more joined up in our work. For example, new approaches are being developed across Scotland’s public sector to minimise the impact of *adverse childhood experiences* (ACEs). As we know, ACEs can increase the likelihood of experiencing violence in later life.

### **Cure Not Punishment**

Scotland’s pioneering work to tackle knife crime shows what can be achieved when we take a creative and tenacious approach to improving outcomes. Above all, our experience in Scotland has taught us that we should treat violence as something to be cured rather than punished. This is the learning to share, and hold onto as we address the significant challenges that remain.

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### ***Discussion Questions***

1. What measures do you police use to counter youth violence and repeat offending?
2. What are your views on treating violence as a *public health issue*? Would this approach work in your country?
3. Which stakeholder organisations, groups and individuals should be involved in dealing with youth violence and repeat offending?
4. Are *adverse childhood experiences* (ACEs) a genuine factor in violent crime and repeat offending?
5. What are the key points raised in this article, that could be implemented elsewhere?



### Neil Basu calls for sociologists and criminologists to help tackle UK terrorism

Vikram Dodd, *Police and Crime Correspondent, The Guardian* (7 August 2019)



Britain's most senior counter-terrorism officer has said the police and security services are no longer enough to win the fight against violent extremism, and the UK must instead improve community cohesion, social mobility and education.

In his first major interview since taking up his post last year, the Metropolitan police assistant commissioner Neil Basu told the Guardian that up to 80% of those

who wanted to attack the UK were British-born or raised, which strongly indicated domestic social issues were among the root causes.

Grievances held by people who were "malleable" to terrorist recruitment were highly dangerous, he said, calling for sociologists and criminologists to take a leading role in helping police tackle the problem.

Basu, who is highly regarded by government and the civil service, is seen as the next potential head of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). His comments are a significant break in tone, if not strategy, about how to combat terrorism and prevent it from becoming a multigenerational struggle that damages the UK's social fabric.

Basu said the "Prevent" programme, which he sees as the most important plank of Britain's counter-terrorism strategy, had been "badly handled", but its work was vital and had to become more transparent and community led.

He also said extreme right-wing terrorism was rising, with an increase in nationalism since the Brexit vote potentially fuelling violence.



Giving his personal view on the best ways to reduce terrorism,

*"Policies that go towards more social inclusion, more social mobility and more education are much more likely to drive down violence ... than all the policing and state security apparatus put together. It is much more likely to have a positive effect on society.*

*The prescription for me is around social inclusion – it's social mobility, it's education, it's opportunity."*

Basu said counter-terrorism operations increased by 50% from 2015 to 2017 and have since remained at a high level. The terror threat is still severe despite Isis losing territory in Iraq and Syria.

Both Islamist and extreme right-wing terrorists have continued to recruit Britons, despite efforts to thwart them. *"Nothing I am saying remotely excuses these heinous acts of criminal violence,"* Basu said. *"But the deeper causes need examining. My teams are world class at stopping attacks and locking terrorists up. But we need to stop the flow of recruits into terrorism.*

## Counter-Terror Chief Says Policing Alone Cannot Beat Extremism



*Don't forget that 70%-80% of the people we arrest, disrupt or commit an attack here, are born and raised here. Born or at least raised here. That has got to tell us something about our society – that we have got to look at why they would be prepared to do that.*

*I want good academics, good sociologists, good criminologists ... to be telling us exactly why that is."*

Basu accepted many people went through negative experiences without ever dreaming of committing violence, and some terrorists came from middle-class backgrounds and seemingly wanted for nothing.

But he said some people were more "malleable" than others to terrorist recruitment and there were common themes. *"It might be everything from high anxiety, to lack of confidence, lack of education, things that may have happened to them when they are young, bullying, racism, bigotry, lack of opportunity, early experiences with law enforcement even, domestic violence,"* he said.

The counter-terrorism network Basu heads had been stretched by the high volume of terrorist activity from Islamists. On top of this and right-wing extremism, he said there was a growing threat from states such as Russia, following the Salisbury novichok poisonings.



Forensics officers remove the bench where the former Russian spy Sergei Skripal and his daughter were found in Salisbury.

*Photograph: Will Oliver/EPA*

Basu said there was no one path that led to terrorism and a list of factors could result in violence if not checked at some point. *"All of those things will be as relevant to a terrorist cause as they will be to other people of violence in other crime types,"* he said. *"Policies are up to the government, but must tackle education, access to health, not disproportionate outcomes in criminal justice, feeling like you've got an opportunity to get on in life".*

Basu added: *"These are wider societal problems. They are not paying more police and more security services to stop more terrorist attacks. That's not the cure for this. Like every other aspect of law enforcement, we [counter-terrorism policing] are a suppression tool for a problem. We are dealing with the symptom and we do need to deal with the root causes of it."*

While the majority of the terrorism threat was from Islamist extremists, far-right propaganda could help create a tolerant environment for some to commit violence, he said, and society needed to determine how much of that rhetoric was acceptable.

*"At the moment, we seem to be accepting a level which I think is potentially breeding some intolerance,"* he said. *"That intolerance, for a small number of people, can spin up very quickly to a violent act, and we have some examples of that. We have some very awful examples of that."*

He said that despite its importance, "Prevent" had been the least successful part of the UK's counter-terrorism strategy so far, compared with the other three strands – Pursue, Protect and Prepare – which were all "outstanding".

## Counter-Terror Chief Says Policing Alone Cannot Beat Extremism



Prevent, which critics have called a “toxic brand”, needed “*better communication, more transparency [and] an ability not to create a vacuum for people to attack it, by not actually trying to defend it*”.

Asked whether Prevent, in its early years, when headed by a former senior intelligence officer, had come across as turning a community into a security issue, Basu said: “*Not when it started. It morphed into that. It started off as a safeguarding, vulnerability programme. It was, in my view, badly handled.*”

*This won't be won by government or by people like me. It will be won by people who walk into community halls up and down the country and explain.”*

Basu rejected notions that British Muslims should “assimilate” and defended the rights of religious conservatives of all faiths, saying: “*Assimilation implies that I have to hide myself in order to get on. We should not be a society that accepts that.*”

He added: “*You should be able to practise your religion without suffering some condemnation of that; so my view is, do no harm. And that does not matter whether you are conservative Islamic, conservative Christian, conservative Hindu, conservative Sikh. You should be able to practise your culture or religion openly and still be accepting of others, and others be accepting of you. That is a socially inclusive society.*”

### Discussion Questions

1. Some people believe that large scale and/or long-term immigration changes the face and culture of a country. YES / NO. If so, if that necessarily a negative thing?
2. Does the presence of immigration translate to an increase in felony-level crime and violent extremism, radicalisation and terrorism?
3. In July 2019 the UK introduced a threat level system to assist security services in determining appropriate responses. Does your country have something similar?

<b>Low</b>	an attack is highly unlikely
<b>Moderate</b>	an attack is possible but not likely
<b>Substantial</b>	an attack is likely
<b>Severe</b>	an attack is highly likely
<b>Critical</b>	an attack is highly likely in the near

4. In the case of a terrorist attack:
  - a. what are the steps for police response?
  - b. which department(s) would have jurisdiction?
5. Due to its prominence in the media, we tend to associate terrorist attacks with Islamic extremism. Accurate / Stereotype – or context?
6. European members of ISIS are attempting to return home from Iraq and Syria. Should they be allowed to return home? If so, what steps should be taken (ref. rehabilitation, detention etc.)?
7. As per the article, Right Wing and Nationalist-inspired crime is on the rise. According to both the FBI and the UK's NCA, nationalist crime accounts for up to 70% of violent extremist and domestic terrorism. Why? How can police counter right wing extremism?
8. Beyond Islamic and Nationalist extremism, other forms of ideological terrorism exist?

**Liberté, égalité, fraternité:** the Constitution of the Fifth Republic (1958) establishes France as a secular and democratic state, that holds equality among its peoples as unchallengeable. However, France takes this stance a step further regarding culture, ethnicity, religion, and gender - anything that distinguishes one community or individual identity from another - as a private concern, not an issue of State. Admirable as the intent of absolute equality is, ignoring individuality and difference creates its own problems.

*“Although minorities should not be singled out by the State, neither should they be ignored. Refusing to acknowledge that they exist leads to alienation and creates parallel communities – just as the Britain’s staunch multiculturalism has done”.*

Megan G. Oprea, “How France Grew Its Own Terrorists” (2015)

While Britain refuses integration in their society, France treats all citizens as one. Both approaches produce similar results: disaffected and isolated from mainstream culture.

Case in point, French Muslim youth are embracing their Muslim identity more aggressively and openly than their parents’ generation. Those who strictly adhere to Islam believe their faith should regulate all aspects of their lives, including law, governance and public expression of faith. The French State’s policy of not acknowledging such differences - and the total secularisation of society - is by default alienating over five million Muslims (7.5% of the population).

Contrary to policy aims, the growing immigrant communities are far from integrated, having become a discontent Islamic sub-culture.

The 2004 law banning religious symbols in public schools provoked national controversy as it was specifically seen as a ban on the Nijab (Islamic headscarf) – and an attack on Islam.



October-November 2005 saw widespread and prolonged rioting among the Arab-immigrant suburbs of Paris, Lyon, and Lille by socially alienated youth. In identifying reasons, the appropriately named "The October Riots in France: A Failed Immigration Policy or the Empire Strikes Back?" (2006) states that,

*“The French immigration experience is markedly different than those of other European countries, as France is tainted by colonial history, republican idealism, a rigidly centralised government structure, and deep-seeded traditions of xenophobia”.*

The article compares French immigration policy to that of the colonial ‘mission civilisatrice’ (civilising mission),

*“...rather than accept cultural differences, the French government demands that all its citizens adhere to a rigid and exclusive ‘French’ identity.”*

And further emphasises that,

*“Government social structures meant to ease the inequality between social classes, such as public housing and education, generally do more to aggravate problems than to solve them; public housing is woefully inadequate and the education structure institutionalises the poor quality of schools in immigrant communities”.*



The result: stunted social cohesion, marginalisation, low social capital, rage and extremism – the latter of which is channelled through Islamism.

Extremist Islam considers itself at war with Western Ideology - a view which appeals to young Muslims who wish to reject a Western culture and society they believe rejected them. This gives them *raison d'être*, as expressed in the terrorist attacks on Charlie Hebdo (7-9 January 2015) and multiple locations around Paris (13-14 November 2015). Notably, by the end of 2015 over 1700 French citizens had joined ISIS as jihadi fighters.

Young men (and women) who join Islamist movements often do so:

- growing up in a country they believe has never wanted them
- feeling excluded from mainstream society
- over a sense of injustice or grievance
- for a sense of belonging, group status and identity
- where the future appears bleak, searching for meaning in their lives
- believing that Islamic values should be implemented in all spheres of life
- where unemployment is high, the [comparative] standard of living is low
- as becoming a jihadi fighter washes away their sins - an attractive offer to the faithful

Of the latter, it should be noted that crime and terrorism are not exclusive; in the absence of a sponsor, it's more than often criminal activity that funds domestic terrorism.



Based on past immigration mistakes Germany is taking proactive steps to address such integration issues, including social and security concerns, whereas France is still coming to terms with ethnic disparity and domestic terrorism. The challenge, from both a government policy and policing point of view, is finding acceptable compromises, and understanding that ethnicity and culture strongly influence

the way in which people engage, interact and respond. Integration and acceptance is a two-way street, based on the expectations of both host and immigrant communities.

Taking this a step further, the Criminal Justice System needs to appreciate that,

*"...commonly held ethical values are a reflection of culture, and are not interpreted by each society in the same way. Nevertheless, many societies, lacking the West's legal institutional knowledge, have long held human dignity as their core principle".*

*"Shades of Grey in the Thin Blue Line" (2014)*

What is acceptable practice in one culture, may be illegal in the West. *"Policing a Diverse Society"* highlights entrenched cultural themes that can pose legal issues in Western society:

- arranged and/or forced marriages
- honour-based crimes (e.g. killings)
- gender
- domestic violence
- food and alcohol
- sexuality
- education
- corruption
- modes of dress
- Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

Dealing with many of these issues goes beyond the black and white of legal or illegal, right or wrong, requiring the 'buy-in' of leaders from within their own communities.

Extract from *"The Human Dimension: Rehabilitating the Human Terrain System"* (Simon de Saint-Claire, 2016)

## France Combats Extremism with Secularism

By Cindy Pom (GlobalPost, 8 July 2019)



When the first shots rang out at the Bataclan concert hall in Paris, France, Aurélie Gilbert knew exactly what they were. *"I know some others said that it sounded like firecrackers. For me, immediately, I thought that something terrible happened — like shots fired,"* said Gilbert, 46.

In November 2015, heavily armed gunmen stormed the Bataclan during a live concert and killed 90 people. The gunmen were part of coordinated attacks throughout Paris that took the lives of 130 people and injured 494 others. ISIS later claimed responsibility for the attacks.

Although Europe has not seen such a large-scale attack since then, terrorist attacks have persisted in the region, and the problem is especially troubling in France.

For the last few years, French authorities have decided to double down on deradicalisation efforts with strict assimilation methods, a watchlist, and a "terrorism hotline" to report suspicious behaviour.

Of the 511 people arrested in the European Union for religiously inspired or jihadist terrorism in 2018, 273 were in France, according to Europol, the EU agency responsible for law enforcement cooperation.

In January 2015, an attack on the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo left 12 people dead and 11 others injured. Just two days after Charlie Hebdo, terrorists held 19 people hostage at a kosher supermarket before murdering four Jewish people.

Islamist terrorism in the EU was responsible for 17 attacks in 2015 and 13 in 2016, followed by a spike of 33 in 2017, before subsiding slightly to 24 in 2018.



While French authorities grapple with the best approaches to deradicalisation, there have been some major missteps along the way.

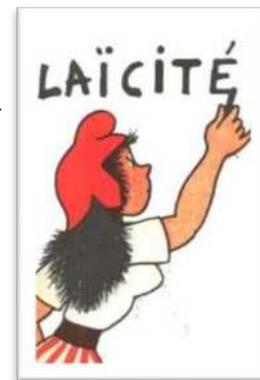
### Strict Secularism

In April 2014, the French government created a "terrorism hotline" for the public to call in reports of people potentially radicalised by ISIS and related groups. The following year, they began tracking suspected citizens with a special security watchlist called the FSPRT (in English "File for the Prevention of Terrorist Radicalisation").

Names reported on the hotline often appear on the FSPRT. As of April 2019, 11,152 actively monitored individuals appear on it. They represent varying degrees of threat — from suddenly exhibiting withdrawn behaviour to more serious actions such as contacting ISIS or traveling overseas to areas controlled by ISIS.

In 2017, France also opened its first centre for deradicalisation in Pontourny, central France, in the Loire region. The centre operated on a volunteer basis; local authorities around the country could refer individuals who were exposed to radical ideology, and these youth could decide whether they wanted to go.

## France Combats Extremism with Secularism



But the nine participants - all Muslim - were expected to stop eating halal food. They studied French history, philosophy and literature; they wore uniforms and sang the French national anthem. The programme tried to replace extremism with a strict form of secularism. The result was a failure; the centre closed within a year.

In February 2018, the French government presented a new plan to combat the Islamist threat in a 60-measure document entitled “Prevent to Protect”. The plan, presently in place, calls for a cross-disciplinary approach, including the reinforcement of secularism in schools and a “greater awareness of radicalisation” in the workplace.



The plan relies on the concept of *laïcité* — the French term for a strict strand of secularism that involves the complete and total separation of church and state.

*“The problem with the French approach is not so much omitting religion. What is more problematic is the enforced secularism,”* says Raffaello Pantucci, of RUSI, a London-based think tank on defence and security issues.

*“Most people radicalise for a variety of personal reasons, with religion or extremist ideas providing a useful frame for them to articulate their unhappiness through. For some, religion is a solace which helps. To instead push a line which aggressively pushes religion to one side can have a counterproductive effect,”* Pantucci adds.

### From Hotline to Rehab

Associations working closely with the French government also rely on the concept of *laïcité*.

Sauvegarde 93 (Protection 93), situated in a Parisian suburb, is an association that tries to deradicalise young people. Launched in 2015, it operates out of a modest, plain building close to Seine-Saint-Denis, one of the poorest suburbs in the country and whose official administrative number is 93. It's here where some of the Bataclan gunmen rented a flat to plan their attack and where a few suspects were eventually killed in an anti-terror raid.



Through a team of social workers, psychologists and special educators, Sauvegarde 93 focuses on combating radicalisation through an approach that entirely omits religion from the equation.

*“We try to understand both the person who has become radicalised and how to help them come out of that process,”* says Zohra Harrach-Ndiaye, Sauvegarde 93's director. *“We don't take the approach of saying, ‘They're caught up with an ideology and therefore we have to replace it with another ideology’. We must not imagine the radicalized person as someone whose thoughts we have to empty and replace with something else. That's not the method,”* she explained.

Harrach-Ndiaye points to the success of such an approach by referring to the case of a 24-year-old man who converted to Islam. The man's father was worried about his son's troubling behaviour and called the terrorism hotline a few years ago. Authorities were concerned and placed his son on the watchlist. Sauvegarde 93 was then called to intervene, providing psychological help, sessions with social workers, accompanying him to see a doctor and helping him find a job to integrate back into society.

## France Combats Extremism with Secularism



After three years working with the young man, Harrach-Ndiaye says there have been marked changes in his demeanor.

*“He just signed a work contract. He’s thinking about getting a bigger apartment, getting married. He’s playing sports again, eating better. And something that is visible is that he has cut his beard,”* noting that this physical transformation was indicative of his transformed views from religious to secular.

Harrach-Ndiaye admits there have been some failures with the programme — noting seven cases in which, despite interventions, the individuals subsequently went to prison for planning attacks or disappeared from France, presumably having gone overseas to join a terrorist group.

So far, the organisation has worked with 111 people who appear on the watchlist, which Harrach-Ndiaye admits is a small amount compared to the 11,000 citizens currently active on file.

*“France is doing a lot. But I think we aren’t doing enough for other kinds of attacks, like homegrown domestic attacks,”* says Gilbert, who now belongs to a victim support group after the horrors of Bataclan.

Gilbert also points out, correctly, that it is impossible for authorities to monitor every citizen on the security file 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

*“This is something that we keep on thinking (about) on a regular basis. This is a risk that we know is very common,”* she says.

Asked whether she expects more attacks will occur in France, she didn’t hesitate to respond: *“Yes, for sure.”*



### Discussion Questions

1. What steps can be taken to mitigate illegal cultural practices?
2. What are your views on the given causes of violent extremism?
3. What role does religion play in the governance of your country?
4. What are your views on *laïcité* – enforced secularism?
5. Does your country practice ethnic profiling?
6. How does your country integrate minorities?
7. How does your country rehabilitate radicalised individuals and former jihadis?

# The Crisis of Police Militarisation

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## *“Do Not Resist”*

Based on articles by: Dexter Filkins, The New Yorker, 13 May 2016, and Stuart Miller, The Guardian, 30 September 2016

When the Chechen-born Tsarnaev brothers set off a bomb at the finish line of the 2013 Boston Marathon, killing three people and wounding 264, New York filmmaker Craig Atkinson looked on with as much horror as anyone else. But he noticed something else, too: Boston Police Department armored vehicles and heavily armed officers - dressed like combat soldiers - deployed onto the streets, fanning out across neighbourhoods as though they were an infantry division engaged in Afghanistan. Atkinson asked himself, when did local police forces, in their equipment and tactics, come to resemble armies of occupation?

The answer Atkinson came up with is “Do Not Resist,” a documentary film that traces the transformation of police departments across the United States into forces that often look like occupying ground troops - and all too often act like them. Watching “Do Not Resist,” is an eye-opening experience. The film takes a series of events that might appear unrelated - the heavy-handed police response to the demonstrations in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014; the use of heavily armed SWAT teams in South Carolina to carry out routine drug arrests - and shows that they are part of a pattern that has taken hold in many police departments across the country. *“What we discovered is that there had been a massive change in the tactics used by SWAT teams,”* Atkinson told me. *“And that happened as the federal government was giving away military equipment to police departments.”*

Atkinson is not the first person to detail the militarization of America’s police<sup>1</sup>. But he is the first to provide a visual account of how police forces across the country have changed - and how they are using the extraordinary weapons they’ve been given by the Pentagon.

This is demonstrated in a scene in which the Richland County Sheriff Department’s Special Response Team (SRT) practice close quarter combat (CQC) with assault rifles and submachine guns. It shows the SWAT teams enjoying the adrenaline rush of military-style training with heavy weaponry and armoured vehicles. One officer justifies it all by stating the need to be ready for ISIS, WMDs and *“situations like what they had in Missouri”*, saying that civil protests necessitate the use of armour and assault rifles.

The practice of donating unused military equipment to local governments began in 1997, when the *1033 program* was included in an otherwise unremarkable Department of Defense (DOD) budget authorisation. Under the 1033 program, the DOD publishes a list of surplus equipment that is available to local governments. But the turning point - as with so many other issues - came after 9/11. Since the 90’s, the DOD has donated some \$5bn worth of equipment. But the over-all value of military equipment acquired by police forces is actually much higher: local governments have received approximately \$34bn in grants from the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to buy their own military equipment from private suppliers<sup>2</sup>. That brings the total to \$39bn - more than the entire defence budget of Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Times*, the *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, and the *Marshall Project* did it earlier.

<sup>2</sup> Oversight of who receives the equipment, and type have proved to be non-existent, with criminal organisations posing as law enforcement – as uncovered in a media sting

## The Crisis of Police Militarisation

The 1033 and DHS programs have resulted in local governments around the country acquiring an astonishing range of military equipment, including armoured personnel carriers, assault helicopters, M-16 assault rifles, grenade launchers, and infrared gun sights, all of which were designed for combat. Among the vehicles routinely given to police departments is the MRAP (mine-resistant ambush-protected), designed to survive roadside bombs. According to the *Marshall Project*, some 600 MRAPs have been handed out to local authorities around the country; they cost about a million dollars each.



The Marshall Project has broken down DOD donations by county and city<sup>3</sup>. It turns out that NYPD has acquired surprisingly little under the 1033 and DHS programs: just two armoured personnel carriers and some non-lethal gear. The Brevard County Sheriff's Department (Florida) scored big, getting its hands on nearly \$7m worth of equipment, including thirteen helicopters, two armoured personnel carriers, and 246 assault rifles. In 2014, the Los Angeles Unified School District announced that it would return the three grenade launchers it had acquired but would keep its armoured personnel carrier and 61 assault rifles.

As the Pentagon was gifting free military equipment, something else was happening, too: there was explosive growth in SWAT team deployments, often armed with the same military equipment that was obtained from the federal government. According to Atkinson, SWAT teams were deployed about 3000 times a year across the country in the 1980's. By 2005, they were deployed 45,000 times a year; in 2015, as much as 80,000 times.

In one scene, the Richland County Sheriff's Department deploys its Special Response Team (SRT) to raid a home in a run-down neighbourhood where the inhabitants were suspected of keeping marijuana. The SRT members, who are dressed in military uniforms, helmets, vests, and assault rifles - smash the doors and windows, enter the house, and arrest the tenant's son. SRT seize \$873 in cash from the suspect, which he tells police is needed to purchase gardening equipment for his landscaping business<sup>4</sup>. They end up finding 1.5 grams loose marijuana (enough to fill a teaspoon). The suspect's mother tells the filmmakers, "they tore down the house. My son went to jail for a gram and a half that they shook out of a bottom of a book bag." The lead TRT officer says with a shrug that drug raids are a "50-50 proposition in terms of finding something worthwhile".



<sup>3</sup> <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2014/12/03/the-pentagon-finally-details-its-weapons-for-cops-giveaway#dod-graphic>

<sup>4</sup> Surveillance had misinterpreted frequent references to *grass* and *weed* as meaning marijuana

## The Crisis of Police Militarisation

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Atkinson states that the raid in South Carolina was typical of the dozen he went on with law enforcement officers from across the country. Atkinson shows that particular raid because he wanted to demonstrate how *civil asset forfeiture*<sup>5</sup> has spiralled out of control. For all the military equipment and tactics that were used, very little in the way of criminal activity was ever discovered. “*We kept going out, but we never found much of anything,*” he said. “*Do you know the type of ill-will generated in these communities?*” he says. “*It makes the police seem like an occupying force.*”

The picture that emerges from “*Do Not Resist*” is that the acquisition of military equipment and the use of SWAT teams for routine arrests are feeding on each other - that heavy weapons are encouraging police to act in ways they otherwise would not.

Defending militarization, FBI Director James Comey gives a speech about “*so-called warrior cops, a term I have heard, and the militarization of police*”. Through an anecdote he states that “*monsters are real*”, to justify the need for these weapons. Unfortunately, the editing is selective: the clip ends before Comey importantly adds that “*the issue is the way in which we use it – when and how we deploy advanced equipment; when and how our officers are trained to use that equipment. The way we do it matters enormously.*” But Comey does not speak out for stronger gun control as a means to reduce the need for such equipment and attitudes.

“*Do Not Resist*” is interspersed with scenes from Ferguson, Missouri, where large demonstrations began after a police officer shot and killed Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager. When people gathered in the streets to express their anger, police moved in with armoured vehicles, riot gear, pepper spray and tear gas. Not surprisingly, events escalated.



Garry McCarthy, then Chief of the Chicago Police Department, told President Obama’s *Task Force on 21st Century Policing* that the heavy-handed response by the police had recklessly provoked Ferguson residents. “*What happened in Ferguson - the actual practice of how the demonstrations were handled - I think we were all embarrassed, quite frankly, in law enforcement,*” McCarthy said. “*In my book, if you fire tear gas, you’ve got a riot right now. You don’t have a demonstration.*”

For more than a century, US Federal Law has prohibited the military from being deployed inside the United States against American citizens. The far-sightedness behind that distinction is obvious, not least because while the military is trained to use maximum force, the police, ideally, should only use as much as is necessary to protect themselves or local citizens. “*Do Not Resist*” shows that the distinction between the two has been severely eroded.

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<sup>5</sup> where police confiscate goods and money for their own use before a suspect is even found guilty

# The Crisis of Police Militarisation

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## Class Discussion: *Warriors vs. Guardians*

1. What are the issues at play?
2. What is the consequence of Police Militarization?
3. In the film, Dave Grossman plants the image of law enforcement as “*Super Heroes - constantly under threat - who need to meet force with superior force*”. What are your thoughts?
4. How do you view the US Defense Department’s 1033 programme and DHS grant?
5. How does militarized civilian law enforcement affect Community Relations?
6. What role does culture play?
7. How is a *search warrant* conducted in your country? When do you think an aggressive *no-knock* search warrant should occur?
8. What strategies would you employ to reform US Law Enforcement? What would be your priorities and focus areas?

## The Gladbeck Hostage Crisis

The Gladbeck hostage situation unfolded over 54 hours in the summer of 1988, after Dieter Degowski and Hans-Jürgen Rösner, both already convicts and armed, robbed a branch of Deutsche Bank in the Ruhr valley town and took hostages away in cars and a hijacked bus. Three people, including two teenage hostages, and a police officer whose vehicle crashed, were killed.



The gangsters' odyssey, from 16 to 18 August 1988, involved a road chase from the Ruhr, northwards to Bremen, and into the Netherlands before they were intercepted by police special forces on a motorway near Bonn.

The incident is notorious for becoming a media circus in Germany and the Netherlands.

### Chronicle

#### 16 August

In the early morning two armed and hooded offenders broke into a branch of the Deutsche Bank in Gladbeck before opening hours.

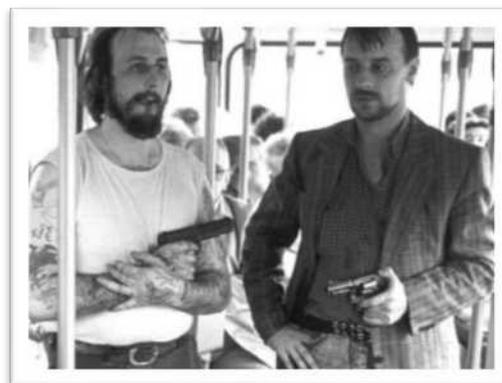
At 8:04 am an emergency call was made by a witness to the police. A parked police car was seen by the offenders as they left the branch. They went back into the bank and took two bank clerks hostage, demanding a car and ransom money, firing their guns into the air several times.

A radio station was the first to conduct an interview with them as the hostage crisis was happening. After several hours of negotiations, the abductors were given 300,000 DM and a white Audi 100 as a *getaway* car. At 9:45pm the getaway started. Marion Löblich, the girlfriend of Hans-Jürgen Rösner, boarded the car in Gladbeck.

#### 17 August

After driving on the autobahn to Bremen, the abductors stopped and hijacked a public-transit bus with 32 passengers at 7:00 pm on 17 August. The media interviewed the abductors and the hostages without any interference from the police. Some hostages had a pistol pressed against their throats.

After the release of five hostages, the bus was driven to the autobahn service area of Grundbergsee, where the two bank clerks were released.



Two police officers arrested Marion Löblich, who was using the toilet. Demanding an exchange, Degowski and Rösner threatened to kill a hostage every five minutes. After the expiration of the ultimatum they shot a 15-year-old Italian boy, Emanuele Di Giorgi, in the head; he was said to be protecting his sister. Löblich was about to be released by the police on demand of the abductors but arrived too late because of a broken handcuff key and poor police communication. An ambulance arrived 20 minutes later, but the shot teenager died two hours later in hospital.

After this incident the bus was driven to the Netherlands. During the chase a police car collided with a truck, leaving one police officer dead and another injured.

# The Gladbeck Hostage Crisis

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## 18 August

At 2:30am on 18 August 1988, the bus entered the Netherlands. At 5:15am two women and three children were released, after the Dutch Police refused to negotiate as long as children were being held hostage. At 6:30am Rösner and Degowski were given a BMW 735i. The new getaway car had been prepared with a "kill switch", so that the engine could be stopped by remote control. While attempting to escape, Löblich and the bus driver were injured.

During a stop in Wuppertal the abductors went shopping at a pharmacy.

After stopping in a pedestrian area in Cologne at 10:30am, the car was surrounded by media and shoppers. Some reporters offered to guide the abductors on their way or to hand them pictures of police officers to prevent trickery if hostages were exchanged. A reporter - Udo Röbel - guided the abductors to a nearby rest area on the autobahn and accompanied them for several kilometres.

On the A3 close to Bad Honnef, a few kilometres before the state border between North Rhine-Westphalia and Rhineland-Palatinate, a police car rammed the getaway car at 1:40pm and rendered it immobile, triggering a gunfight. During the firefight, one of the hostages, Ines Voitle, was able to exit the car, the other - 18-year old Silke Bischoff - was fatally shot (presumably by Rösner). Soon after the abductors were arrested.



The remote control intended to stop the car engine was not used as the responsible police officers had forgotten to take it with them. Across the state border in Rhineland-Palatinate, Federal Police Special Forces (GSG9) were in position waiting to take action.

## Trial

On 22 March 1991 Rösner and Degowski were pronounced guilty by the regional superior court of Essen, receiving life sentences. Löblich was sentenced to nine years. In 2002 the Higher Court in Hamm ascertained "*guilt of a very serious nature*" and Degowski's sentence was increased to 24 years. In 2004 the same Higher Court refused an application for parole and a request by Rösner to shorten his sentence. The court also declared a state of "preventive detention" ("Sicherungsverwahrung"). In October 2015, Rösner was allowed to leave prison for four hours the first time in 27 years. In November 2017 he went into a resocialization programme. Degowski was released from prison on 15 February 2018 with a new identity.

## Aftermath

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On 20 November 1988, the Bremen Minister of the Interior Bernd Meyer resigned over mistakes by the police. Several years after the incident, there was a public discussion at a local police academy about the incident with the judge who had sentenced Rösner and Degowski to life in prison and journalists including Udo Röbel, the reporter who had got into the vehicle with the hostage-takers and went with them, giving them directions out of Cologne. The judge praised Röbel for having prevented a potential bloodbath in Cologne. This was not a view expressed in the official report into the incident by a parliamentary enquiry in the state of the North Rhine Westphalia, which commented negatively on the journalists' ethics.

Emanuele de Giorgi was buried in Italy; his family returned there to live in late 1988. Silke Bischoff was buried in the family grave of her grandfather. Ines Voitle survived, but suffers from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression.

# The Gladbeck Hostage Crisis

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## *Exercise – Lessons Learned*

### **Group Discussion A:**

1. Identify what went wrong with the police decision making process, including interagency cooperation and coordination.
2. What role did politics and public opinion play?
3. What effect did the media have on the case?
4. Make recommendations for the future handling of such cases.
5. If your group had been responsible for establishing the Incident Command System (BAO):
  - a. What steps would you have taken?
  - b. What would your priorities have been?

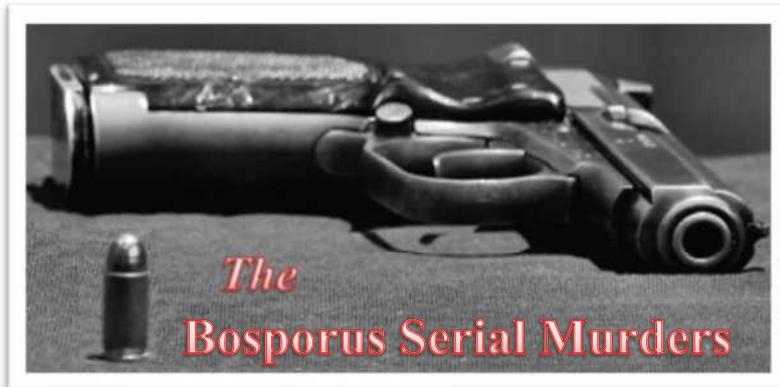
### **Group Discussion B:**

Your group are on duty and have been informed that a 15-year-old girl - Jessica Sims - has been reported missing (for the last 18 hours). She left home upset after arguing with her parents about not being allowed to go to a party. The parents have had little luck in finding her: she's not answering her cell phone, and as they are new to the area (6 months) don't know their daughter's friend's last names.

1. What are the first steps you would take to discover her whereabouts?
2. Through enquiries you've established that *foul-play* may be involved? What happens now?

## Crime and Social Relevance

### - Bosphorus Serial Murders



The **Bosphorus Serial Murders**, a.k.a. the *Döner Murders* - the term used by the German media - were a series of attacks that took place in Germany between 2000 and 2007, leaving ten people dead and one seriously wounded.

The attackers called themselves the National Socialist Underground (NSU - *Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund*). The primary targets were **ethnic** Turks, but one Greek and one ethnic German policewoman were also killed.

The victims were mostly small business owners, including kebab vendors and greengrocers. They were murdered in daylight with gunshots to the face at close range with a *silenced CZ 83* pistol. According to the parents of a Turkish victim who worked in an internet café, for much of the investigation police solely concentrated on the probable link to Turkish organised crime.

Policewoman Michèle Kiesewetter, was also shot and killed, whilst her patrol partner critically wounded. Other crimes, including two bomb attacks and 15 Bank robberies, have also been credited to the group.



German authorities identified three suspects (L-R) **Beate Zschäpe**, **Uwe Böhnhardt** and **Uwe Mundlos**, as responsible for the murders.

According to Rainer Griesbaum, *Acting Attorney General* of Germany, the suspects had Neo-Nazi links.

Böhnhardt and Mundlos were found dead by police after they robbed a bank on 4 November 2011.

Zschäpe surrendered on 11 November 2011. She has been charged with murder, attempted murder, **arson**, and belonging to a terrorist organization. Zschäpe said she was only willing to **testify** if she was considered a state witness, with **mitigation** of sentence. The police discovered an **alleged** hit-list of 88 names that included "*two prominent members of the Bundestag and representatives of Turkish and Islamic groups*".

# Crime and Social Relevance

## - Bosphorus Serial Murders



### The Victims

**Enver Şimşek**, was a 38-year old businessman with Turkish roots who operated several flower stalls in southern Germany. When his employee running the stall in Nuremberg went on holidays, Şimşek himself stepped in, and on the afternoon of 9 September 2000 was shot in the face by two gun-men, and died from his wounds.

**Abdurrahim Özüdoğru**, was killed on 13 June 2001 by two shots in the head. Özüdoğru, who worked as a machinist in Nuremberg, had been helping out in a tailor's shop. The murder was discovered by a passer-by who looked through the tailor's shop window and saw the body sitting in the back, covered in blood.

**Süleyman Taşköprü**, aged 31, died in his greengrocer's shop in Hamburg-Bahrenfeld after being shot in the head three times on 27 June 2001 between 10:45 and 11:15 a.m.

**Habil Kılıç**, aged 38, on 29 August 2001, was shot at point-blank range in his greengrocer's shop in Munich-Ramersdorf. He was married and had a daughter.

**Mehmet Turgut**, died instantaneously when shot three times in the head and neck with a silenced CZ 83 on the morning of Ash Wednesday, 25 February 2004, between 10:10-10:20 in Rostock-Toitenwinkel. Living illegally in Hamburg, he was visiting Rostock and had been asked by an acquaintance to open up a kebab shop that day. Because of his link to Hamburg, Rostock police made the connection to Süleyman Taşköprü, thus establishing the term *Döner Murders*.

**İsmail Yaşar**, aged 50, owned a kebab shop in Scharrerstrasse, Nuremberg. On 9 June 2005 he was found dead at approximately 10:15 with five gunshot wounds.

**Theodoros Boulgarides** was killed in his Munich locksmith shop on 15 June 2005 between 18:15 and 19:00. He left a wife and two daughters. A Greek, he was the first non-Turk to die.

**Mehmet Kubaşık** was found dead in his Dortmund kiosk in the early afternoon of 4 April 2006. Like the majority of the other victims, he had been shot in the head.

**Halit Yozgat**, who ran an internet café in Kassel, Hesse, was also shot in the head with a silenced gun (6 April 2006).

However, during Halit Yozgat's murder, an agent of the Hessian Office for the Domestic Intelligence Agency was present. The agent first claimed to have left the premises shortly before the murder, but later changed his statement when presented with witness testimony concerning his presence when the murder happened. His involvement with the case gave rise to suspicions that government agencies might be linked to the organisation responsible for the murders or that there were rogue elements within German intelligence circles.

# Crime and Social Relevance

## - Bosphorus Serial Murders



### Officer Michèle Kiesewetter

On 25 April 2007, Officer Michèle Kiesewetter and her duty-partner were attacked in Heilbronn during their lunch break. Officer Kiesewetter, aged 22, died on site and her partner was critically wounded but survived with no memory of the attack. Both were shot involving directly aimed headshots at point blank range while sitting in the patrol car with the shooters approaching their vehicle from both sides. While in the other cases the motive is assumed to be xenophobia and racism, it was initially unclear why Kiesewetter and her partner were attacked; theories include a variety of motives, however it appears there was a personal link between Kiesewetter's uncle (a police officer from Oberweissbach, Thuringia), and the alleged perpetrators - who also came from Thuringia – as well as for the acquisition of firearms. The duty-pistols of Kiesewetter and her partner were found on 4 November 2011 at the caravan where Böhnhardt and Mundlos died, giving rise to the belief that this attack was linked to the *Bosphorus Serial Murders*.



### Ill-fated robbery

On Friday 4 November, 9.15am, two armed men stormed into a building society in the east German town of Eisenach. One was wearing a black balaclava, the other a gorilla mask. They demanded money, punching a bank teller before grabbing €70,000 from the safe then hopping on to bicycles they had propped up outside. They knew what they were doing – it was their 15<sup>th</sup> bank robbery in 12 years.

The thieves pedalled furiously, but not fast enough. Someone spotted them shoving the bikes into a white camper van and called the police. Soon 13 patrol cars were on site. Officers were hiding behind a wall in the car park when they heard two shots. Smoke appeared from the VW camper van's roof. When officers opened the door, they found two bodies: one was shot in the head, the other in the chest.



## Crime and Social Relevance

### - Bosphorus Serial Murders

#### Beate Zschäpe

At 3pm, 177km east in the Saxon town of Zwickau, a house in quiet Frölingstrasse exploded. Minutes before the blast ripped through the upper floors of No 26, a woman had rushed to the neighbouring house carrying two cages. She shoved them into the hands of a girl who answered the door and said: "Look after my cats; I'll be back very soon." Joseph Hergert, the girl's father, told the local paper: "She had her phone pressed to her ear, said 'I'm phoning the fire brigade,' and ran away. Shortly afterwards, we heard a bang."



By Saturday evening, German police had unearthed a link between the crime scenes in Eisenach and Zwickau. The two dead men were Uwe Mundlos (38) and Uwe Böhnhardt (34) - two of the most wanted neo-Nazi terrorists in Germany.

Officers joined the dots and figured out that the woman who offloaded the cats in such a hurry was not "Susann Dienelt", as her neighbours knew her, but in fact 36-year-old Beate Zschäpe, who had been on the run with the two Uwes since 1998, after their bomb making factory was discovered in their home town of Jena.

Three days after the two men's deaths, on Monday 7 November, Zschäpe turned up at a police station in Jena, flanked by a lawyer. "*I'm the one you're looking for,*" she said.

Detectives were so sure that the **perpetrators** of the "Döner Murders" were foreign gangsters, probably from Turkey, that they codenamed the investigation **Operation Bosphorus**. The victims' relatives were told their loved ones probably had mafia connections and were in all likelihood mixed up in a drug-smuggling **racket**.

That was until the police sat down to watch salvaged DVDs from the Zwickau explosion.

The bizarre DVDs used the Pink Panther to lay claim to the nine Döner Murders. The cartoon character is shown going on a "tour of Germany", counting down the murder victims, some of whose bloody corpses had been photographed, freshly murdered. The killers introduce themselves as the National Socialist Underground (NSU), "*a network of comrades united under the motto 'actions instead of words'.*" They then threaten future attacks "*if there are no fundamental changes in politics, the press and in freedom of speech*".



# Crime and Social Relevance

## - Bosphorus Serial Murders



There are claims that NPD activists had known for years where the trio were hiding. One ex-member told the German tabloid Bild that he had seen Zschäpe at a NPD Christmas party after she went on the run in 1998, and that she had also turned up at an event in Georgsmarienhütte, near the Dutch border, in March 2004. "*The Nazis thought she was hot stuff,*" said the man, who claimed she was known as a founder member of the National Socialist Underground.

In 2010, a CD entitled Adolf Hitler Lives was being circulated among right-wing extremist circles. According to the taz newspaper, the CD included a song called Döner Killer, which included the lyrics: "*Nine times now he has struck/There is fear and horror at every kebab stall/... Nine are not enough.*"

Despite all this, the German authorities still claim they had no idea where the trio had been living since 1998; less still that they were responsible for the Döner Murders.

However, there is growing evidence to the **contrary**. It emerged that an agent from the Hessen branch of the Verfassungschutz, Germany's **domestic** intelligence service, was present in April 2006 when Mundlos and Böhnhardt are believed to have shot dead a 21-year-old Turk in a Kassel internet cafe. Then, the German TV channel MDR claimed that local police had located them in the town of Chemnitz, near the Czech border, in 2001, but were not given authorisation to arrest them in time. There are also numerous reports that they were seen in the early 2000s in Winzerla, the rundown suburb of Jena where they had spent their formative years.

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Beate Zschäpe, the sole survivor of post-war Germany's deadliest neo-Nazi terror cell, was sentenced on 11 July 2008 to life in prison for the murder of ten people in a seven-year campaign of shootings and nail bombings across Germany.

The verdict brought an end to a marathon five-year trial over the crimes of the National Socialist Underground (NSU) that raised serious questions about the German police's failure to realise it was dealing with a homegrown terror cell, and over how much German intelligence knew about the group's activities.

There was brief applause in the Munich court room as the verdict was handed down, but the 43-year-old Zschäpe showed no reaction.

She was found guilty of the racially-motivated murder of nine immigrants shot dead between 2000 and 2006, and the killing of a woman police officer who was shot with the same gun in 2007. She was also found guilty of a series of nail bombings which targeted immigrant communities, including one on in Cologne in 2004 in which 22 people were injured.

## Crime and Social Relevance

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### - *Bosporus Serial Murders*



The court also found Zschäpe was a fully active member of the NSU.

Lawyers for Zschäpe argued she was not involved in the murders. After refusing to speak for the first two and a half years of her trial, she admitted helping the two men and claimed it was because she was in love with Böhnhardt. But she claimed she knew nothing of the killings.

The court rejected her claims and found she was fully complicit in the group's campaign of shootings and bombings. The attacks could only have been carried out with the assistance of Zschäpe, and she was an accomplice of "essential importance", Judge Manfred Götzl found.

The killings had "Nazi racist motives" and were designed to spread "fear and insecurity" among immigrant communities, the judge found. The NSU also hoped to inspire other extremists to carry out similar attacks.

Four others were found guilty of lesser offences of aiding the terror cell. Ralf Wohlleben was jailed for ten years for providing the group with the gun used as the murder weapon. Another defendant named only as Carsten S under German privacy laws was jailed for three years for helping provide the gun. Holger Gerlach was jailed for three years and Andre Eminger for two and half years for providing help to the group's terror campaign.

But critics argued the trial had left unanswered questions over how much German intelligence knew about the NSU, after it emerged in hearings that several intelligence informants were in contact with the group, and an intelligence officer was close to the scene of one of the killings.

German authorities as a whole still have some very difficult questions to answer about how and why they failed to stop the fugitives' 13-year run of violence which resulted in 10 murders – including the killing of a police officer and a series of attacks on Turkish immigrants, 14 bank robberies and at least two nail-bomb attacks.

*"Today's verdict is only one piece of the puzzle. As long as the extent to which the authorities knew and the involvement of the intelligence services is not cleared up, the state has failed,"* Victor Perli, an MP from the opposition Left Party said.

# Crime and Social Relevance

## - Bosphorus Serial Murders



### A. Define the following words/phrases:

1. ethnicity	
2. Attorney General	
3. arson	
4. mitigate	
5. allege	
6. perpetrator	
7. racket	
8. contrary	
9. domestic	
10. adjutant	
11. custodial	

### B. Discussion

Race relations and immigration are already an issue within both Germany and the European Union.

1. From a policing perspective, does immigration:
  - a. Promote criminal activity?
  - b. Pose a [national] security threat?
  - c. If so, how should these issues be dealt with?
  
2. All EU States have seen a surge in the popularity of nationalist political parties, and it is well known that core support comes from *far-right* groups. Germany is well known as being *centre-left* in its generalist politics but is likewise facing *far-right* challenges in the east of Germany.

Why do you believe this phenomenon feature so prominently in East Germany?

# Crime and Social Relevance

## - Bosphorus Serial Murders



3. It has been stated by German media that local law enforcement is unable to operate effectively against the neo-Nazi movement in east German states. Three reasons have been given:
  - a. lack of political will
  - b. sympathy
  - c. lack of resources

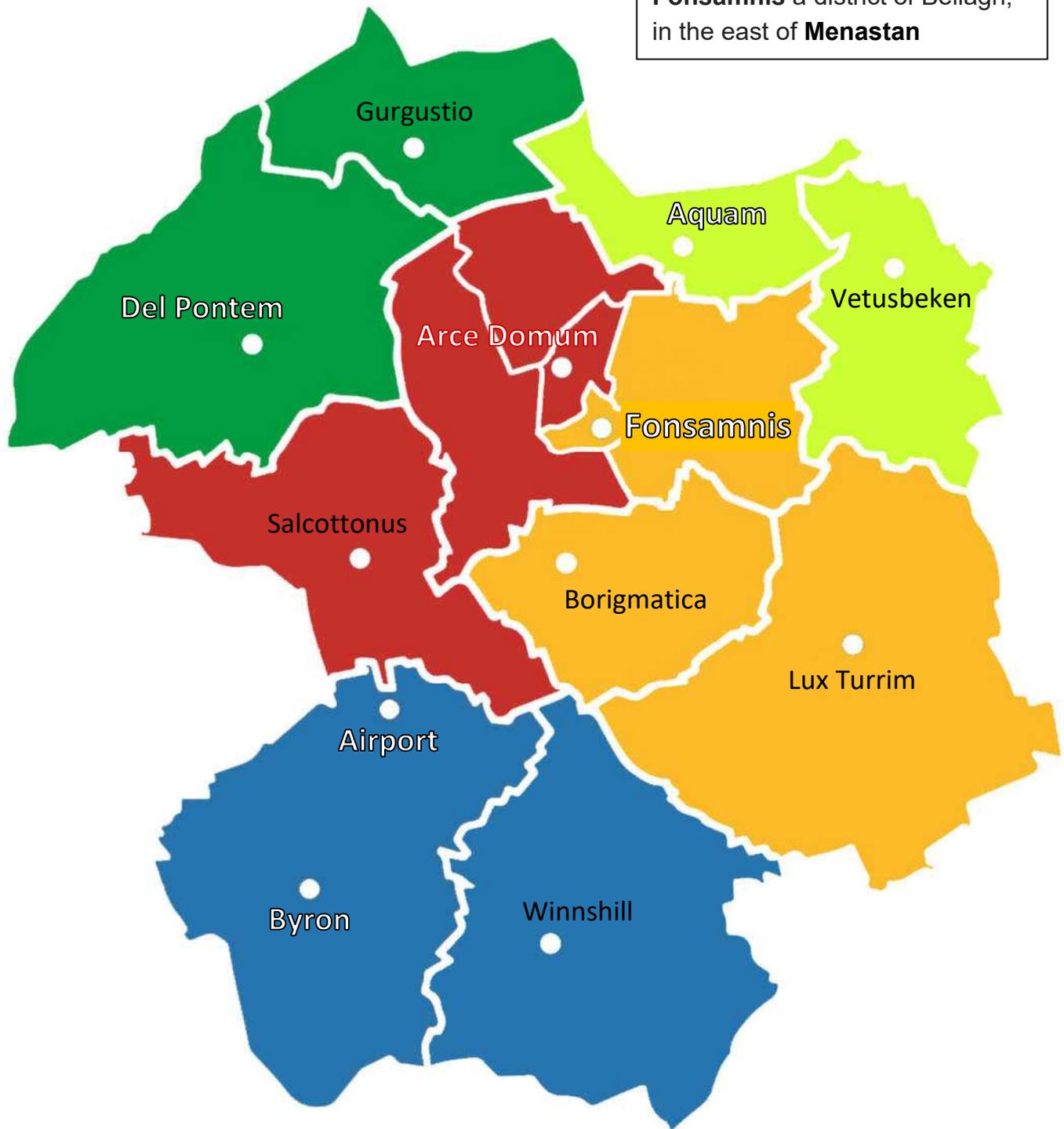
What is your opinion?

4. Germany is no stranger to extremist groups such as the Red Army Faction (RAF), however since the 1990's extremism has been more closely associated with Islamist groups such as the Islamic State (IS/ISIL/ISIS), Al-Qaeda, Taliban, Al-Shabab and Boko Haram. With racially motivated *hate crime* on the rise within the EU, how should authorities counter violent extremism?

5. Extremism:
  - a. What are the root causes?
  - b. What attracts people?
  - c. What is a typical profile?



**Fonsamnis** a district of Bellagri, in the east of **Menastan**



Total Area:	1,245.27 km <sup>2</sup>
Population (31/12/2016)	
Total:	305,198
Density:	250/km <sup>2</sup>

# Fonsamnis District: *Station South*



## Uniformed Patrol Strength

(per 8 hour shift = 3 shifts in 24 hours)

Area Station	Population	Operating Hours	Patrol + Shift Leader(s)	Patrol Vehicles	Alert Status
<b>Fonsamnis HQ</b>	148,677	24/7	24 + 1	6	
<b>Airport</b>	* 1,200±	24/7	2 + 1 +1	1	
<b>Arce Domum</b>	25,757	24/7	12 + 1	2	
<b>Byron</b>	21,657	0600-2200hrs	2 + 1	1	
<b>Del Pontem</b>	31,949	0600-2200hrs	2 + 1	1	
<b>Aquam</b>	15,695	0600-2200hrs	2 + 1	1	

## Alert Status Legend

<b>Hot Spot (violence, drug-related crimes)</b>
<b>Raised Awareness</b>
<b>Former Crime Hot Spot</b>
<b>Normal</b>

\* 8-hour average of 850,000 passengers per year + Flight Crew + Airport Service Personnel.

### Task:

As a move to tackle increased criminality in the District's south, the District Administrator (responsible for all local governmental services) has authorised the reallocation of Patrol Service personnel and resources. In the past the Fonsamnis HQ Station has provided additional cover for Day Stations (as required), at a loss of a patrol team/vehicle within their own area of responsibility (AOR). Travel times from Fonsamnis HQ to satellite areas vary from 20-40 minutes.

The District Administrator has tasked you with composing workable suggestions and recommendations for:

1. the creation of a *new* Police Station;
2. the strengthening and expansion of an existing station; or
3. an alternative "third" option not previously examined.

*Considerations:* you may only draw on existing personnel and resource strengths (i.e. to build up a new solution, numbers need to be drawn from other stations within the district).

*Note:* Abovementioned strength numbers exclude non-Patrol Service Personnel:

- Community Police Officers i.e. one seasoned officer based in all satellite towns
- All Criminal Investigation Departments and Traffic Police are based in Fonsamnis HQ
- Fonsamnis does not have its own Formed Police Units (Riot Police) or Police Special Forces, but can call upon those of Bellagri - the regional authority (50km north).