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Sustainable Institutional Development and Combating Trafficking in Persons through the Lens of the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP)

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SUSTAINABLE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND COMBATING TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS THROUGH THE LENS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE TRAINING ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (ICITAP)

Eric Beinhart[1]

INTRODUCTION

Millions of men, women, and children are victims of human trafficking world-wide at any one point in time. [2] The magnitude and pervasiveness of human trafficking demands an integrated approach to combating trafficking in persons (CTIP) and this is manifested in the 4 P Model, which is widely employed by the international donor community throughout the world.[3] The four Ps are: Prevention, Protection, Prosecution, and Partnership.[4] These building blocks cover the entire international development spectrum to include: agriculture, health, economics, criminal justice, community development, democracy and governance, and more .[5] Human traffickers destroy the lives of individuals, families, and entire communities by preying upon the poverty of victims and their families and trap people in lives of slavery.[6] People typically associate police with the investigation and prosecution of trafficking-in-persons (TIP) cases, but this assumption fails to encompass the critical role police should play in combating TIP through prevention, protection, prosecution and the building of partnerships.[7]

Police can work closely with citizens and civil society organizations to help implement civic education programs, community and school intervention programs for at-risk youths, and public meetings to discuss crime problems in an effort to prevent TIP. As first responders to crimes, police play a vital protection role by connecting TIP victims with medical and social services.[8] Police also strengthen the connection between rule of law and education, social services, civil society and local governance. In terms of prosecution, CTIP programs often place too much emphasis on building the capacity of police to investigate TIP cases. Teaching investigative skills to police who work in an agency that lacks basic policies and procedures, fundamental leadership and management principles, and consistent staffing patterns is akin to trying to teach babies how to run before they can crawl. [9]

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[1]Eric Beinhart, ICITAP Senior Training Advisor

[2]*Trafficking in Persons Report*, U.S. DEP'T OF ST. (2013), *available at* http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/rm/2013/211833.htm.

[3]Eric Beinhart, *The Multiple Roles of Police in Combating Trafficking in Persons*, USAID IMPACT BLOG (Aug. 3, 2011), [hereinafter "Beinhart"], http://blog.usaid.gov/2011/08/the-multiple-roles-of-police-in-combating-trafficking-in-persons/.

[4]*Id*. *See also* Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, 22 U.S.C. § 7101 (2000) (outlining the 4 P Paradigm).

[5]*See* USAID, *Counter-Trafficking In Persons Field Guide* (Apr. 2013) at 17, *available at* http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/C-TIP_Field_Guide_Final_April%205%202013.pdf

[6]*Id*. at 25. "With a lack of economic opportunities, individuals become more vulnerable to trafficking situations." *Id*.

[7]Beinhart, *supra* note 3.

[8]*Accord. Law Enforcement Support*, DEP'T OF HOMELAND SEC., (last visited Mar. 27, 2015) (stating that the ability of law enforcement "to recogniz[e] key indicators" is the first step to identifying victims and therefore save a life).

[9]Beinhart, *supra* note 3.

The term: "sustainable institutional development" is constantly used by the international donor community.[10] At its most basic level, sustainable institutional development refers to programs that improve the functioning of organizations with external inputs to the point that the organization is functioning at a sufficiently high level that the external inputs are no longer needed. Typically, donor countries provide monetary inputs to host countries without focusing on developing the long-term sustainability of host country governmental institutions. People think of millions and even billions of dollars as being the main external input necessary to achieve sustainable institutional development, when in reality, intangibles such as enlightened leadership, strong political will, and good communication between governments and the citizens they serve are much more important factors in effective criminal justice development. Donor countries must promote these intangibles if they expect to promote sustainable institutional development and they must factor in host countries' culture, history, and governance styles.

This article focuses on the comprehensive analytical process required to establish the conditions necessary to promote sustainable institutional development for CTIP or any other type of law enforcement development program. This article is not a technical analysis of CTIP, but rather a collection of ideas meant to encourage a broader discussion about how CTIP programs might be conceived, designed, implemented and evaluated in such a way that conforms to the guiding principles of sustainable institutional development. It begins by presenting an analytical framework that is a road map for promoting sustainable institutional development and it will then flesh out a simple and practical, yet innovative way that police can serve as development multipliers in the 4 P CTIP model (Prevention, Protection, Prosecution, and Partnership Building) to help promote good governance in their efforts to combat TIP.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE TRAINING ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (ICITAP)

ICITAP is part of the Criminal Division of the U.S. Department of Justice.[11] Its organizational mission is to work with foreign governments to develop professional and transparent law enforcement institutions that protect human rights, combat corruption, and reduce the threat of transnational crime and terrorism.[12] In doing so, ICITAP supports both national security and foreign policy objectives.[13]

ICITAP was established in 1986 to assist in building criminal investigative capacities of police forces in Latin America.[14] In its early years, ICITAP worked in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, where the program remained primarily focused on providing criminal investigative training.[15] However, this all changed in 1990, after the 1989 overthrow of President

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[10]Ian Scoones, *Sustainability*, *in* DECONSTRUCTING DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE BUZZWORDS AND FUZZWORDS 153, 154 (Andrea Cornwall & Deborah Eade eds. 2010).

[11]*See* ICITAP, *About ICITAP*, DEP'T OF JUST. (Jun. 30, 2014) (hereinafter "About ICITAP"), http://www.justice.gov/criminal/icitap/fact-sheets/2014/about-icitap-fact-sheet.pdf
[12]*Id.*
[13]*See Id.*
[14] *See* ICITAP, *ICITAP's Historical Milestones*, DEP'T OF JUST. (Jan., 2012) (hereinafter "Historical Milestones") http://www.justice.gov/criminal/icitap/fact-sheets/2012/2012-historical-milestones.pdf
[15] ABOUT ICITAP, *supra* note 11.

Manuel Noriega in Panama.[16] Working with the new Government of Panama, ICITAP initiated a development process to create a new national police force that would function effectively within the larger criminal justice system.[17] The Panama Program was followed over the years by large-scale law enforcement institutional development initiatives in countries such as Haiti, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Indonesia, Albania, Kosovo, Iraq, the Philippines, Pakistan, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras.[18] Since its inception, ICITAP has worked in more than ninety countries.[19]

ICITAP programs are designed in partnership with the host countries. Program implementation methods include pre-program on-the-ground assessments; program planning, management, and review; curriculum development; classroom training, seminars, and workshops; internships; equipment donations; donor coordination; and on-the-job training and mentoring provided by embedded long-term technical advisors.[20] Law enforcement development is often mistakenly associated only with training. While training is an important element of the sustainable institutional development equation, the list above assists in demonstrating the equal or greater importance of other elements.

II. ANALYZING LAW ENFORCEMENT INSTITUTIONS AND LARGER CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEMS

Rigorous analysis is necessary to create the conditions under which sustainable institutional development can take place. People generally look to a one or two-week on-ground assessment as the key element in building a successful criminal justice development assistance program. However, the reality is that such a short time frame only offers assessors a cursory glance at a host country's criminal justice system, cultures, political and socio-economic roadblocks to development, etc. A much deeper analytical process is needed to identify the opportunities and challenges associated with this kind of endeavor. The following seven steps represent a new and more effective model for conducting an in-depth analytical process that will allow one to gain the necessary insights to promote sustainable institutional development. It is important to distinguish between promoting and achieving sustainable institutional development. Achieving sustainable institutional development requires that a host country have strong political will, a stable and consistent political process, and good leadership. ICITAP promotes sustainable institutional development cognizant of the fact that the host countries where it works are responsible for achieving sustainable institutional development.

A. Desk Research, Outreach, and U.S. based interviews

The analytical process begins by collecting preliminary information on a country's current criminal justice system and the programs that other donor countries are implementing. This first step is critical. A tremendous amount of data on foreign criminal justice systems is available on the internet and at the Library of Congress. For background material, researchers will also find that a number of police departments in developing countries have their

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[16] Historical Milestones, *supra* note 13.
[17] *Id.*
[18] *Id.*
[19] About ICITAP, *supra* note 11.
[20] *Id.*

own police officers stationed at their embassies in Washington, D.C. These officers will provide excellent insights about the criminal justice systems of their respective countries and setting up meetings with them is not difficult to do in most cases. Reaching out via e-mail to other donor countries that are implementing criminal justice development programs in the countries in question is another good source for background information that can lead to telephone calls or video teleconferences to further clarify important points about how the countries' criminal justice systems operate. Reviewing existing assessments and program plans is an important part of this process because it may serve as a tool for understanding the evolution of a county's criminal justice system. It can also prove very useful to contact local NGOs in different
countries that are working with police or actors throughout the entire criminal justice system.

B. *The Assessment Mechanism and Pre-Assessment Process*

A variety of criminal justice assessment mechanisms for developing countries exist in both the U.S. Government and among the international donor community. ICITAP differs from other police development entities, however, in that it advocates developing an assessment mechanism that can be sent to criminal justice actors before an on-the-ground assessment is even conducted. This pre-assessment process is essential because it allows you to make contact with host country criminal justice officials, impress the officials with your knowledge of the current situation in their country, and demonstrates that you are serious about conducting a truly in-depth assessment. Some useful questions for the assessment mechanism might include the following:

1) What are the major crime/security threats in the country?
2) How can the coordination between police investigators and prosecutors be improved?
3) Describe a case that was successfully prosecuted due to good coordination between police and prosecutors.
4) Describe a case that failed because of poor coordination between police and prosecutors.
5) Are there forensic means to analyze physical evidence? If so, describe.
6) Can circumstantial evidence be used to prosecute cases? If so, describe.
7) Is plea bargaining possible under current law?
8) Is a tracking system (either paper or automated) in place that monitors how long prisoners are kept in remand before being charged with a crime, and how long those that are charged with a crime wait in prison before going to trial? If so, describe.
9) Are people being held on remand imprisoned with convicts?
10) Are there any programs that explain to citizens how the criminal justice system should work and what their rights are within the system?
11) Is joint training ever conducted that includes police, prosecutors, and magistrates/judges?
12) Does the police agency have a use of force policy in effect?
13) Is the concept of force options taught to police?
14) Are there current policies and procedures in place for the police?
15) How are police officers instructed on those policies?
16) Describe the basic academy and how it functions.
17) How do the police identify and train instructors?
18) How many full-time instructors do they have?
19) How often are they rotated back to regular assignments?
20) Do police instructors train their replacements before being reassigned?

21) Do the officers receive regular in-service training? What topics are taught and stressed? What methods are employed to conduct the training?

22) Do the officers receive regular in-service training on proficiency skills such as firearms, use of force, baton, crowd control, public order management, handcuffing, use of less lethal munitions and chemical munitions, pursuit driving, emergency management, and active shooter situations?

23) Do police receive training in crime scene protection? If so, please describe:

24) Is there a significant case backlog in the courts?[21]

25) Does the police agency have a Police Law or similar guiding document in place?[22]

26) Does the police agency have internal oversight mechanisms in place?[23]

27) How is police/community engagement?[24]

28) Do citizens trust police? (ethics, corruption, etc.)[25]

29) How is the female/minority recruitment carried out?[26]

It is important to note that there are many survey organizations throughout the world asking some of these same questions. The answers they collect will give important insights on the criminal justice systems from the citizens' perspective.

Other critical elements to include in the assessment mechanism are the management, investigative and functionary ratios of the host country police agency and the budgetary processes.[27] The Management Ratio is the percentage of personnel that are responsible for the management of the organization at various decision making levels.[28] It is generally desirable in a police department to have ten to fifteen percent of personnel responsible for managing the organization.[29]

The Investigative Ratio is the "percentage of personnel that has direct and indirect responsibilities for conducting, assisting, facilitating, pre-, in-process and post-investigation processes, to include forensics."[30] This ratio determines the potential of any assistance being sustainable when it comes to investigative development.[31] The tenure of investigators, personnel rotation policies, career tracks, internal training or certification processes, investigative processes and protocols, laws and regulations regarding the ability of police and prosecutors collaborating

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[21]E-mail from Raymond Rivera, Assistant Program Manager in Colombia, ICITAP, to author (Feb. 19, 2015 at 3:47 pm) (on file with author).

[22]E-mail from Douglas Madden, Program Manager in Serbia, ICITAP, to author (Feb. 19, 2015 at 10:57 am) (on file with author).

[23]*Id.*

[24]E-mail from Jeffrey Thomas, Senior Law Enforcement Advisor for Afghanistan, ICITAP, to author (Feb. 17, 2015 at 4:03 pm) (on file with author).

[25]*Id.*

[26]*Id.*

[27]E-mail from Jerry Heuett, Program Manager in Indonesia, ICITAP, to author (Feb. 19, 2015 at 3:49 pm) (on file with author).

[28]*Id.*

[29]*Id.*

[30]*Id.*

[31]*Id.*

on investigations, evidentiary procedures, lab processes, etc. are also all important factors in the sustainability of investigative development.[32]

Functionary Ratios are the percentages of personnel who are involved in specific police line functions, such as patrol operations, community engagement, and tactical response such as public order management. The functionary ratios will expose police departments that are still operating under a colonial model with sworn officers serving as coffee and tea servers, electricians, drivers, etc. and force tough questions to be answered, such as: what are police officers' authorities, tasks and responsibilities?[33]

In terms of budget processes, it is important to know the percentage of the national gross budget allocated to the police organization. Additionally, assessors should seek to determine the percentage of the budget spent on human resources and salaries, the percentage spent on procurement, and the percentage spent for operations.[34] Determining the three ratios and budget percentages should be initiated in the pre-assessment phase and confirmed during the on-ground assessment.

ICITAP can then review the responses to the assessment mechanism and gain insights into the criminal justice realities that exist in the country. The failure of a host country's officials to respond to the assessment mechanism may foreshadow a difficult working relationship with the host country. Once ICITAP has reviewed the responses to the assessment mechanism, it can set up, with the U.S. Embassy's assistance, a video teleconference with a maximum of 15 police, prosecutors, magistrates/judges, and prison officials. The assembled host country officials, a member of the U.S. Embassy and ICITAP officials would then be able to conduct a video teleconference discussion about the criminal justice system. The resulting dialogue would be invaluable in properly tailoring the on-ground assessment and would also be extremely educational to embassy staff that need to know how the criminal justice system functions. By allowing the host country officials a voice in this process, an indispensable working relationship would develop because they would recognize that the team is taking their views and concerns into consideration when finalizing the on-ground assessment process.

Such a forum not only streamlines the on-ground assessment, but also prevents expending extra energy, time and resources because all of the major actors involved in a country's criminal justice system are cooperating in one discussion. This is particularly important because many donor countries send teams out that conduct assessments, but they then fail to ever implement programs, thus giving rise to the phenomenon of assessment fatigue. Host country officials get the impression that assessment teams are only going to spend an hour with them and then formulate their own project proposal, so they decide that dialogue with the assessment teams might be a waste of their time. Although this video teleconference will require effort on the part of the U.S. Embassy, it will improve coordination and simplify logistical issues during the on-ground assessment. It also helps narrow down the area of focus for discussions based on the responses from the background research and assessment questionnaire. The U.S. Embassies provide invaluable data that can be mined during the pre-assessment stage, ranging from cables that give detailed information about the status of police, to host country investigators

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[32]*Id.*

[33]*Id.*

[34]E-mail from Jerry Heuett, *supra* note 26.

who work on the Regional Security Officer's staff who often served for many years on the police department.

C. On-Ground Assessment

With information gained from the desk study, outreach, local interviews, the host country officials' response to the assessment mechanism and the video teleconference, ICITAP can create a plan for a truly efficient and revealing on-ground assessment. The assessment team will be able to target specific people they will need to interview and particular entities, such as NGOs, community groups, religious and community leadership, and human rights commissions (particularly as related to TIP) with whom they need to meet. The on-ground assessment is the perfect time to ask what the host country police agency thinks it needs to succeed. Too many times the USG hits the ground with an idea of what the host country needs instead of eliciting information from the officials about what they believe they need to succeed.[35] A monitoring and evaluation expert should accompany the assessment team so that ideas about evaluating a potential program can be fully explored. This will include, for example, checking to see whether local universities, government agencies, and think tanks have the ability to develop quality surveys and interpret the resulting data.

D. Crime Threat Analysis

A crime threat analysis is the first step in understanding the issues that police and the entire criminal justice system in a country face. Understanding the major crime problems that exist throughout countries, regions, and communities is paramount to building a police force that can protect people and property while maintaining respect for the human rights and dignity of those they are sworn to protect and serve, by effectively responding to those threats. When conducting a crime threat analysis it is important to get the views of a wide variety of police and government officials as well as the opinions of citizens and civil society groups. Surveys may serve as a useful tool to measure the opinions of a variety of different groups as is tracking newspaper, radio, and television articles about police and their relationships with citizens.[36] While the crime threat analysis is being conducted it is also critical to do a deeper analysis of the organizational and systemic obstacles for development in the law enforcement organization that were identified during the assessment.

E. Job Task Analysis

Once a crime threat analysis and an analysis of the organizational and systemic obstacles have been conducted, it is crucial to look at the way a police service is structured. A country's police service should be organized in such a way that it can effectively combat the identified crime threats. The way to determine this is by conducting a job task analysis of existing personnel by reviewing how personnel are recruited, trained, disciplined and promoted. The job task analysis establishes minimum standards for each position and should ultimately result in the development of job descriptions that explain the roles and responsibilities of every position in the police department. Policies and procedures should reflect these recommendations and serve as

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[35]E-mail from Jeffrey Thomas, *supra* note 23.
[36]E-mail from David Snodgrass, Curriculum Developer, ICITAP Headquarters, to author (Feb. 15, 2015 at 8:34 am) (on file with author).

the nerve center for a police department in the sense that they provide guidance not only for how each individual position operates, but also how the organization as a whole should function. The policies and procedures should be clear, directive, easily accessible and transparent.

In many countries there is little correlation between the jobs that police are hired to do and the real needs for service that citizens and governments have of their police. As an example, many countries with colonial traditions cling to a police structure that is designed to serve the state rather than citizens. This can be seen in a variety of countries throughout the world where sworn police officers work as cooks, drivers, coffee and tea servers, and electricians. The jobs they do have nothing to do with preventing, reducing, or solving crimes. The "*Ratio of Police to Citizens Fallacy*" can significantly magnify the negative impact of this situation. The ratio of police to citizens is one of many measures used to evaluate the capacity of a police department to function effectively. It has been asserted that the ideal police to citizen ratio is 1:400.[37] Since this is but one of many measures of police effectiveness, it should never be used as an isolated evaluative tool. While the set ratio makes sense in major cities such as New York, Los Angeles, or London, etc., where the organizational infrastructure is relatively healthy, it is a deceptive and deceiving statistic when dealing with national police forces in developing countries.[38] For example, the ratio of police to citizens for a national police force might be 1:1000, while at the same time, the ratio of police to citizens for the same country in its major cities might be 1:400.[39] This simply means that the ratio of police to citizens in urban areas is higher than it is in rural areas, just as it is in the United States and other developed countries.

The reason for describing this phenomenon as "*The Ratio of Police to Citizens Fallacy*" is because international development donors have used the ratio to justify significant increases in police forces in developing countries. Using this metric alone would indicate that the police force of Country X, with a police to citizen ratio of 1:800, should be doubled in order to achieve the 1:400 ratio. The problem, however, lies in the fact that many sworn police officers are doing jobs that have nothing to do with police work and in many cases, they are not being paid a living wage and may make as little as $40 a month, that is, when they get paid. This emphasizes the importance of a good job task analysis, because the analysis might reveal that the size of a police force is sufficiently large. For example, if fewer sworn officers worked as coffee and tea servers and more performed patrol duties or investigative assignments, a police organization would function better.

The most troubling element of the ratio scenario though is that in countries where police are not paid a living wage, increasing the number of police officers to correspond to a set ratio can increase police corruption. This can be easily demonstrated by the fact that doubling the number of police in a country whose police department has a set amount of resources, would dramatically reduce the salaries of its personnel. This would lead to police on the street resorting to more petty corruption in order to survive. This is contrary to every stated tenet of the international donor community to promote good governance and reduce corruption.

F. Training Needs Analysis

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[37]*See, e.g., Kenya starts recruiting 10,000 police officers*, SABAHIONLINE.COM (Jul. 14, 2014), http://sabahionline.com/en_GB/articles/hoa/articles/newsbriefs/2014/07/14/newsbrief-05.
[38] *See id.*
[39] *See id.*

A good training needs analysis will lay out the minimum standards for entry level, mid-level and senior police personnel and will also include a system for tracking professional development records and conducting routine records keeping. Training helps police organizations communicate and operate efficiently in order to protect people and property and maintain the peace. It is critical to analyze the training infrastructure in terms of how instructors are developed in the organization, what curricula are being employed and taught, and how academies function. Conducting this training needs analysis would help determine what training is relevant to help move the institution forward by identifying training gaps for specific positions and vulnerabilities of the organization as a whole. The analysis will be used as a road map to develop curricula that conform to the policies and procedures of the organizations, as well as internationally accepted professional standards and industry standards.

It is important to note that the training needs analysis is the last element in the analytical process. While some donors focus first on providing training and equipment donations, this approach is antithetical to promoting sustainable institutional development because a good institutional foundation must be constructed before training can be reasonably considered. When these foundational issues are unresolved, positive effects produced by training will be minimal.

ICITAP's Program in Colombia has developed a four-quadrant approach that includes a Legal Framework that promotes the development of necessary laws to implement criminal justice development programs, Organizational Development in which structural and systemic changes are institutionalized, Resource Development which focuses on the resources of the organization to include personnel, material and infrastructure, and Practical Implementation which puts into practice the knowledge, skills and abilities using standards that reflect good practices.[40] This four-quadrant approach is an excellent depiction of the entire development process and vividly illustrates how it should occur.

D. Program Implementation Plan

Now that all the in-depth analysis has been done, it is time to develop a program implementation plan that will support sustainable institutional development. This is where theory meets reality, because funding availability will always dictate the scope of the overall program. Thus, a program implementation plan must be developed that realistically maps out the development within the funding parameters that will determine its scope. The program implementation plan must have clear goals and objectives, and it must contain both output and outcome performance indicators, with a significantly heavier emphasis being placed on monitoring and evaluating specific outcome indicators.

III. THE IDEAL ANALYTICAL MODEL AND A PRACTICAL APPROACH TO SUSTAINABLE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The analytical model presented above is complex and requires considerable commitment from both host countries and international aid donors. The discussion thus far has focused on an analytical process required to create the conditions necessary to achieving sustainable institutional development. Next, this article will discuss a specific strategy that promotes

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[40]E-mail from Carl Risheim, Program Manager in Colombia, ICITAP, to author (Jan. 27, 2015 at 4:42 pm) (on file with author).

sustainable institutional development by linking senior, mid-level, and line officers in a coordinated effort to improve police organizations' capacity to provide effective service. The initiative can also form the cornerstone of a good community-policing program. Some people associate community policing with specific projects such as bicycle patrols, Neighborhood Watch, police sports leagues for troubled youth, or school police resource officer initiatives.[41] These are examples of engaging citizens to prevent, reduce and solve crime, but are not ends in themselves. Community policing is an overarching philosophy that seeks to build a relationship of trust between police and citizens by having them work in partnership to reduce, solve, and in some cases prevent crime, and to solve other community problems through constructive dialogue and action. This philosophy holds that by developing effective communication channels and proactive engagement mechanisms with the public and other stakeholders, police will further understand the actual and potential criminal threats that exist in communities that they are sworn to serve and protect.

IV. ROLL CALL TRAINING ("RCT")

RCT, first developed in 1949 by the Los Angeles Police Department, is an ingenious way to promote sustainable institutional development.[42] Police who lack a basic understanding of what they should be doing coupled with citizens who do not understand what police should be doing, will never form the sort of trusting relationship necessary to ensure security in a democracy.[43] From ICITAP's perspective, the two main pillars of roll call training are:

1. Police and prosecutors present roll call training to police to improve their knowledge of police skills and policies and procedures; and
2. Police, as part of a robust community based policing program, teach citizens and civil society groups what police should be doing.

This dual approach maximizes the strengthening of democracy and good governance.[44] RCT can be used to train on any number of subjects, including: CTIP, election security, use of force, gender based violence, basic criminal investigation, basic forensic techniques, proper interviewing techniques, media relations, leading a community meeting, community policing, and mediation, to name only a handful of subjects. Roll call trainings are limited only to the imagination of the instructor.[45] In many countries, literacy rates are so low[46] that roll call training is the only practical way to present training because in most cases, it is presented orally using a very short lesson plan. Since the lesson plans are so short, roll call trainings can easily be presented in a variety of different "local" languages. Skits and role-play exercises can be used

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[41]*See Community Policing Defined*, U.S. DEP'T OF JUST., *available at* http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/Publications/e030917193-CP-Defined.pdf.
[42]*See* Richard Simon, *The Roll Call Training Program of the Los Angeles Police Department*, 40, J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY 507 (1949-1950), *available at* http://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3708&context=jclc.
[43] *See id.*
[44] *See* Amber Davis *et al.*, *Microtraining and the Sierra Leone Police: An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Cascade Training*, USAID 1, 13 (Dec. 3, 2012) *available at* http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pdacx405.pdf.
[45]*Id.* at 24.
[46]*See The World Factbook 2013-14*, CIA (2013), *available at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2103.html#xx.*

effectively for roll call training. There is no need for specialized training facilities, as any open space where people can gather will suffice as a classroom. In addition to police using RCT to train themselves, police can also use RCT to teach members of the public, civil society groups, etc. on any number of topics about what police should be doing. This will help the public hold police more accountable for their actions.

Below is an example of a RCT lesson plan about RCT that ICITAP developed for an Election Security Program in Sierra Leone in 2012. It provides information about roll call training in the proper format for presentation. The questions at the end of the RCT test knowledge of the material.

Objectives
1. Students will be able to explain the concept of roll call training.[47]
2. Students will see how roll call training can be relevant and useful for improving the Sierra Leone Police as an organization.[48]

Narrative
Traditional police training is very expensive. It requires trained personnel to travel to central locations and there are costs associated with travel, food, and lodging.[49] In response, in the United States, the concept of roll call training was developed by police agencies many decades ago as a complementary method of police training. When police personnel gather for roll call at the beginning of a shift, first line supervisors—corporals and sergeants—present five to thirty five minutes of training on a particular law enforcement topic.[50] In the District of Columbia, prosecutors provide roll call training to police investigators on subjects such as how to improve the coordination between police investigators and prosecutors on car theft cases.[51] This roll call training, if done consistently, can add several weeks of training over a one-year period and it is scheduled into the normal operations of police stations. In addition to teaching necessary police skills, roll call training can be a very effective means of disseminating policies and procedures from the top of a police organization down to people at the station level. In this regard, roll call training can promote institutional development within a police agency.

The Sierra Leone Police (SLP) force is extremely under-resourced and faces tremendous challenges in providing security before, during, and after the presidential, parliamentary, municipal and local elections. These elections were all scheduled to take place in Sierra Leone on November 17, 2012. A good roll call training program aims to teach police at the station and post level about proper conduct around the elections. This can also provide the basis for a parallel initiative in which community outreach officers present roll call training modules to community groups and citizens as civic education. This dual impact is truly a way to maximize scarce SLP funding. Ten master roll call training instructors deployed to the districts and taught prospective instructors there, including community outreach officers. Those district instructors then trained supervisors at the station and post level and they in turn trained their personnel. This

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[47]*See* Davis, *supra* note 44 at 13.

[48]*Id.* at 18.

[49]*Id.* at 24.

[50]*Id.* at 14.

[51]*Community Prosecution*, DEPT. OF JUST. (last updated Feb. 25, 2015), *available at* http://www.justice.gov/usao/dc/programs/cp/cp.html.

three-phase rollout was relatively efficient and cost effective. Roll call training can never replace traditional police training, but it can serve as an important complement that can make the SLP a better functioning organization.

Summary

Roll call training is a practical and cost effective way to improve the skills of police officers at stations and posts, truly the grass roots level of any police organization. In addition, RCT can disseminate important police policy information throughout an organization. Sierra Leone had a unique opportunity to launch a pilot roll call training strategy that focused on both police training and civic education.

True/False Questions

1. Roll call training is more expensive than traditional police training.
2. Roll call training is targeted at mid-level managers.
3. Roll call training can contribute to institutional development.
4. The SLP cannot adopt a roll call training program.
5. Roll call training is designed to completely replace traditional police training.

V. A CTIP ROLL CALL TRAINING PROGRAM

The most efficient way to pursue roll call training is through a cascading, train-the-trainer approach. A core group of roll call instructors can train other instructors in a regional format until roll call instructors are trained down to every police station and post. Another beauty of roll call training is that when dealing with national police forces, it is possible to synchronize the RCT so that a monthly, quarterly, or annual schedule is distributed to all police stations and posts indicating the dates when the same topics will be taught at all the stations and posts. This *"synchronized roll call training"* would be a good promotion of consistent sustainable institutional development. This process would open the door to a scientific national evaluation on the impact of RCT.

It is possible to develop many different types of roll call training to promote CTIP awareness depending on the law enforcement needs of an individual country. These roll call objectives may include how to conduct CTIP investigations, victim interviewing, and police dealings with non-government organizations ("NGO"). Additionally, prosecutors could also provide valuable roll call trainings to police on how to properly investigate CTIP.

VI. SUSTAINABLE EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

A common weakness of law enforcement and criminal justice development programs is the lack of rigorous evaluations that are conducted on the programs themselves. When evaluations of U.S. projects are completed, they are typically done by American consulting companies, think tanks, the USG agencies themselves, or American universities. There is a great need to develop the capacity of host country universities to conduct unbiased random sampling evaluations that yield data over an extended period of time in order to reveal program impact. This is particularly applicable in the area of combating trafficking in persons.

When conducting program assessments, international aid donors should seek out university staff that have expertise in baseline data collection and the design of evaluation frameworks. For example, in 2002 a professor at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique developed a very good community survey for an ICITAP community-policing program. His students conducted the survey in person with citizens from three neighborhoods in Maputo, collecting baseline data and then follow-on data at the conclusion of the project. This was an inexpensive initiative that drew on host country expertise and provided an excellent learning experience for university students. While the survey was not part of a comprehensive impact evaluation, it yielded constructive analytical data. In terms of CTIP, police and citizen knowledge about CTIP can be measured before and after roll call training is presented. Community surveys can be conducted that are designed to measure people's confidence in police handling of TIP cases. The same surveys can be conducted with NGOs that provide victim assistance.

By working with a specific professor or academic department at a college or university, the international donor community can help establish classes in which the students focus exclusively on evaluating CTIP programs under the supervision of a professor. In this way, data could be gathered on projects over many years that would result in stronger analytical bases for proper evaluation. Overall, trafficking-in-persons is a complicated, highly politicized transnational crime. One of the major problems with designing and evaluating anti-TIP programs is the paucity and unreliability of baseline data on TIP victims. Governments and NGOs often question the accuracy of each other's statistical data. Accordingly, if universities can provide expertise for the collection of baseline data and project evaluation, a more objective atmosphere would be created in which to evaluate overall program effectiveness.

CONCLUSION

Effective criminal justice sector reform is an exceedingly complex process that usually takes years to bear significant results. In particular, achievement of genuine sustainable institutional development requires careful thought and purposeful program design. I believe the seven steps articulated in this article provide the best framework for assessing, analyzing and designing criminal justice reform programs that will create the conditions necessary to promote sustainable institutional development in host countries.

While significant amounts of money are dedicated to CTIP each year by the international donor community, foreign aid coffers are shrinking and competition for scarce funding is increasing. Every CTIP law enforcement and criminal justice development program should be closely scrutinized to see if it is actually promoting sustainable institutional development. Roll call training represents one means of   efficient and cost effective promotion of sustainable institutional development. The international donor community should more regularly include roll call training as a program element because it has potential to increase police officers' capacities to do their jobs effectively while also educating citizens and civil society groups about what police should be doing.