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## Introduction

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# Introduction

*Monica den Boer and Emile Kolthoff*

Ethics and security: fierce enemies or intimate friends? Often, the two realms are portrayed as juxtaposed, as a contradiction in terms. Security is associated with tough, masculine, primary and instrumental values, whilst ethics is more often associated with soft, supplementary, and pragmatic values. Posed this way, the importance of ethics is often regarded as secondary to that of security. In an era where security measures have mushroomed, the relationship between the two may have come under increased pressure. Anxiety about terrorism, organised crime and public disorder have shifted security policies towards wider prevention and selective repression. Multi-lateral co-operation has become more fashionable and has been accompanied by the promotion of public-private security co-operation as well as civil-military co-operation. Technological means have made it possible to subject citizens to an electronic gaze in various contexts of their lives. Despite the creation of a universal international law framework, human rights instruments, accountability and supervisory mechanisms, infringements of those rights and rules are daily business in a wide range of security surroundings.

Soldiers, secret agents, cops, parking officers, sky marshals all have to work in situations which entail particular personal, emotional, physical and humanitarian challenges that may lead them to behave in a manner that conflicts with accountability and legitimacy. Generally, security officials – whether they are employed in the public or private sector – are endowed with a power position in relation to citizens. Depending on their functional competences and mandates, they can investigate, scrutinise, question, corner, fine, pursue, prosecute, arrest, injure or even kill individuals who are expected to co-operate. These security professionals are also exposed to several changes in the security climate: a community police officer may have to expand his focus from ordinary business to recognising the early signs of radicalisation and marginalisation, which may bring him into a different relationship with citizens who live within that community; an intelligence analyst can use several new technological means to access sensitive data of individuals and may have to find a new balance between his professional and his private opinion; a soldier who partakes in an expeditionary force may be forced to let go of an ethics-based ‘hearts and minds strategy’ in violent encounters with insurgents.

Although this book is not an ethics guide for the individual security official, it seeks to link the challenges they are exposed to by analysing the transformations that have taken place within the security landscape. Authors of this book each highlight these shifts from a particular perspective. Den Boer opens with a chapter on the shifts in security, in which she views the merger between internal and external security in combination with new anxieties as main driving mechanisms for modern day security arrangements that are bolstered by undercurrents such as globalisation, privatisation, pluralisation and hybridisation, and which together form dominant motivators for the increased focus on prevention, pro-activeness and pre-emption, managed through risk assessment and large-scale surveillance. Ethical challenges that may arise from this new security paradigm for instance relate to the value of equity and proportionality as well as the presumption of innocence.

Kolthoff introduces a focus on integrity violations – in particular corruption – and re-addresses the relevance of the universal human rights framework. He principally maintains that integrity is a crucial value in the police organisation as it acts as a mediator in society. One of the leading questions is to what extent integrity can be guaranteed in a borderless world, in which we face a wide variety of governance structures, cultures and security situations. Compliance with the human rights framework offers the best guarantee, but there is also a continued need for shaping ideal conditions on the work floor of law enforcement organisations, such as managerial responsibility and shaping a reflexive and open climate.

Intelligence and security organisations have assumed a more prominent role in the security landscape due to the renewed attention for international terrorism and radicalisation. Starting from the assumption that intelligence has become booming business since 9/11 and that it may have a transformative impact in matters of peace and war, Den Boer describes the dilemmas faced by the intelligence and security agencies. These may include the pressure for politicisation due to bureaucratic or foreign policy pressure, technical or systemic failures, or the temptation to indulge in electronic surveillance without investing in human intelligence. By looking at official inquiries into the role of intelligence agencies before and during the 2003 invasion in Iraq, she points out the negative effects of complacency in the verification of intelligence and the selective political interpretation of the intelligence that has been made available in situation reports. The chapter furthermore addresses the governance of multi-lateral co-operation between intelligence agencies and law enforcement agencies, particularly in a European setting, and advocates a continuous reflection on ethics standards in operations performed by intelligence and security services.

In his chapter on the 'Jack Bauer culture', Hoogenboom analyses the imbalance between publicity, privacy and secrecy. He addresses the tension produced by the legitimate need of governments for 'functional secrecy', or their requirement to collect intelligence in order to support democracy, and the infringement of civil rights if the search for intelligence collections gets out of control. He argues that within the growing family of intel-

ligence gathering agencies, there ought to be more room for moral reflection. Some of the ethical challenges are particularly pressing in the production of 'grey' intelligence, which is situated between the public and the private agencies.

In his essay, Miller delineates the ambiguities and seductions to which police officers may be exposed. In a clear and linear fashion, he illustrates examples of misconduct within the police services, which can vary widely in character. Miller distinguishes regulatory frameworks from systems aimed at enhancing integrity, such as the guarantee of professional rights, duties and virtues in an open reporting climate. These systems contain elements such as intelligence-gathering (concerning misconduct) and risk-assessments (concerning vulnerabilities of the police organisation or of the individual police officer). One of the most important factors is that there should not be a punitive climate when it concerns reporting of alleged misconduct by fellow police officers.

Verweij focuses on military ethics. She begins by raising the question of whether ethics and the use of military power are perhaps a contradiction in terms. By analysing the basic principles in historical thinking about how to subject war to binding international rules she develops a philosophical framework for the judgement of the 'rights and wrongs' of modern war. She arrives at the conclusion that the spreading of 'Western' values by means of 'moral crusades' is not justified and legitimate if support for these values is absent, and if the strategy chosen for the dispersion of these values is controversial. Legitimate authority, lasting peace and the proportionate use of violence are crucial ethical parameters for the justification of intervention by military means.

As eager observers of the internal security architecture in the European Union, Bruggeman and Den Boer study the ethics implications of the measures that have been adopted for the control of organised crime, terrorism, irregular immigration and illegal border crossings. Starting with an analysis of international codes on law enforcement ethics, they seek to transpose this discussion about the integral importance of ethics to the agencies and instruments that operate at EU level, including Europol and surveillance instruments. They argue that the preventive logic and the trans-boundary character of law enforcement co-operation requires *ex ante* reflection on the compliance with ethical standards, as well as renewed European attention for ethical police leadership, recruitment and training. Moreover, Bruggeman and Den Boer emphasise the appreciation by practitioners of good practices, evaluation and ethics cycles.

Van Buuren studies the attention for ethical values in the strongly growing private security sector, which has also become trans-boundary and thus more hybrid in nature. He identifies a number of public values which the state would normally consider in delivering security to its citizens. By projecting public values such as inclusion, non-profitability, accountability, democracy, and oversight, he marks several ethical ramifications of delegating hitherto public security tasks to the private security industry. Interestingly here, private security (read forensic accountancy) services are instrumental in investigating alleged misconduct, fraud and corruption within the public security agencies.

In the closing chapter, Huberts searches for a grand ethics design. He observes that within national and international theatres like the UN, there is plenty focus on integrity and ethics in the law enforcement agencies. At the level of public ethics, he distinguishes policy ethics (the 'what') from the integrity of governance (the 'how'). Both grand ethics as well as 'elite' and 'street level' ethics are required as the professionals within security agencies are endowed with special powers which mark the monopoly of violence, but also because they are the front line mediators who often work on the edge of 'dirty policing'.

As the outcome of an international seminar held at the VU University Amsterdam in August 2009, this book may serve as input for further discussion in learning and training environments of security professionals who are active at all ranks. More empirical findings will be generated by follow-up research in the context of the EU FP-7 sponsored INEX work package on value dilemmas of security professionals, as well as the composition of an informed handbook on police ethics for the Asian-European Foundation ASEF. Only constant deliberation about value dilemmas in academic and practitioner environments will nourish a truly reflective ethics-based security culture.