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### **Intelligence-led policing (ILP) as a policing model in the fight against crime**

Are modern crime trends, the internationalization of crime, and its new manifestations forcing states to organize the police in a new way, and can Intelligence-led policing (ILP) respond to these challenges? In most countries, the police are organized in a traditional way, which means that the police react after a crime occurs. However, the traditional way of work especially expresses its limitation in the fight against transnational organized crime and terrorism. All this indicates the need to adjust police work to the existing circumstances and to find a new way of organizing work by which states will be able to fight successfully against crime. The ILP police model is based on proactive action. It focuses on the systematic collection and evaluation of information, through a process of quality analysis that is transformed into products of strategic and operational analysis, which will then serve as a basis for quality decision-making by police managers. Therefore, the real question is whether the ILP model can face these challenges and how to apply them in the daily work of the police. Experiences and results of the work of the police of Great Britain and the USA so far show that it can. Furthermore, citizens and the public increasingly demand that the police spend less money, and at the same time they expect better results. The ILP model is the one that enables the prioritization of tasks based on quality information, and thus the rational distribution of existing resources. Furthermore, the results of the Serbian police show that the implementation of ILP in the Balkan countries can be successful and have good results.

***Keywords:*** *Intelligence-led policing, strategic, analysis, proactive, decision-making*

## 1. INTRUDUCTION



Picture 1 – Intelligence-led policing (taken from <https://onlinedegrees.sandiego.edu/what-is-intelligence-led-policing/>)

Are modern crime trends, the internationalization of crime, and its new manifestations forcing states to organize the police in a new way, and can the Intelligence-led policing [ILP] respond to these challenges? In most countries, the police are organized in a traditional way, which means that the police react after a crime occurs. However, the traditional way of work especially expresses its limitation in the fight against transnational organized crime and terrorism. Unfortunately, the figures show that organized crime is on the rise and that terrorist attacks are becoming more common in the world. All this indicates the need to adjust police work to the existing circumstances and to find a new way of organizing work by which states will be able to fight successfully against crime. ILP is based on proactive action. It focuses on the systematic collection and evaluation of information, through a process of quality analysis that is transformed into products of strategic and operational analysis, which will then serve as a basis for quality decision-making by police managers. Therefore, the real question is whether ILP can face these challenges and how to apply it in the daily work of the police. Experiences and results of the work of the police of Great Britain and the United States [USA] so far show that it can. Furthermore, citizens and the public increasingly demand that the police spend less money, and at the same time they expect better results. ILP is the one that enables the prioritization of tasks based on quality information, and thus the rational distribution of existing resources.

All this imposes the question which we will try to answer and it is “Can the implementation of the ILP model in the work of police achieve better results than it is achieving now with the use of the traditional model”?

## **2. BACKGROUND**

Criminal is one of the biggest threats to the functioning of the modern state. This term most often refers to a crime, tort, criminal offense, as well as crime in general. Criminologist Paul Tappan defines **crime**<sup>1</sup> as “an intentional act in violation of the criminal law (statutory and case law), committed without defense or excuse, and penalized by the state as a felony or misdemeanor” (Tappan, 1960, p.10). If we look at crime from the historical aspect, we can conclude that it is a negative social phenomenon that is present in human society from its very beginning. Despite constant efforts to find effective models and means to combat crime, “modern society is burdened by the problem of crime to the extent that the fight against this phenomenon is considered a priority national interest in many countries” (Radulovic, 1999, p.13). Modern crime is characterized by a high level of organization and professionalism, and as we emphasized at the beginning, it is considered a major problem for both underdeveloped and developing countries, as well as for developed countries.

### **2.1. Intelligence work and crime**

Intelligence work is one of the oldest organized activities of human society, from the most primitive forms of society to the most developed countries and their alliance of the modern age (Ronin, 2009). Therefore, intelligence work is an activity that is constantly present in human society and represents a mechanism by which states protect their interests. States (regardless of their level of development and level of democracy) in their political system and system of government have a certain number of special services and agencies that have the task of covering their areas of activity, by which we mean intelligence and security (Sipkar, 2020). The primary task of these agencies is to constantly monitor and collect information related to the internal and external security of the country. According to the opinion of author Beridar “contemporary international relations and threats to global, regional, and national security systems (which certainly includes intensified terrorist activities) instruct states and regional organizations to invest significant human, scientific and technical potentials in the intelligence development system, and in particular in intelligence and counterintelligence agencies and activities”(Beridan, 2008, p.116). We must emphasize that

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<sup>1</sup> The word crime comes from the Latin word *crimen* which means crime

potential threats to the national security of the state are not only other enemy states or organizations, but that the threat can also be internal by its nature, and by that, we mean organized crime and corruption, economic crime, terrorism, etc. The author Djukic believes that to be able to protect itself from terrorism, organized crime, corruption, and other forms of threats, the state must have timely and quality intelligence (Djukic, 2017).

Because the fight against crime in general, and organized crime and corruption in particular, is the responsibility of the police, it is clear that police must also have developed intelligence capabilities. When it comes to the police, in particular, intelligence work has always been present in its work. Today, the police are gathering intelligence from various sources. The most common classification is into closed and open data sources.

- Closed data sources are sources whose access is limited and most often subject to certain regulations or rules. Closed data sources include informants, information obtained through special investigations (interception of telephone conversations, etc.), information obtained through an undercover investigator, data from police databases, the information resulting from international cooperation and exchange of intelligence, information from criminals who are in prison, forensic findings, anonymous reports, reports of crime by persons or businesses, etc.
- Open sources of data are all those that are publicly available to all citizens, like the Internet, social networks, newspapers, television, radio, etc. In general, which source will be used most often depends on the object in connection with which the data is collected.

Before proceeding, it is very important to clarify the terms data, information, and Intelligence. According to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE] authors, **data** are raw and uninterpreted observations and measurements. Examples are crime reports and other crime statistics, databases of offenders, and police tasks which include features of criminal activity that are easily quantified (the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE], 2017). Furthermore, we can define **information** “as pieces of raw, unanalyzed data that identify persons, organizations, evidence, events or illustrates processes that indicate the incidence of a criminal event or witnesses or evidence of a criminal event” (Carter, 2009, p.11). On the other hand, Intelligence would be data or information that have been evaluated, analyzed, and presented properly based on which decision-makers will be able to make a decision (OSCE, 2017). By adding new values to information through activities in the analysis process, Intelligence contains new knowledge that was not previously known to the police (Sebek, 2014).

## 2.2. The Concept of Intelligence-led policing

The traditional concept of policing implies a reactive approach to the problem, responding to crime after it has happened. Unlike the traditional concept, the concept of ILP implies a proactive approach to policing, that the police primarily work on the prevention of crime through its control. The approach involves gathering information, analyzing it, and making timely decisions, and setting priorities based on quality analytical products.

### 2.2.1. Historical development of ILP

From a historical point of view, the first beginnings of ILP are visible at the end of the last century. More precisely, this model is first being applied in the work of the British police, both in response to the terrorist threats that the United Kingdom has encountered, but also in response to the growing threat of organized crime. Many authors believe that ILP started in Kent, the United Kingdom [UK]. ILP was created on the one hand as a result of increased crime levels, especially burglaries in that area, while on the other hand due to the economic crisis at the time, the public demanded restrictions on spending public money, including money intended for police work (Anderson, 1997 as cited in Gul & Kule). Therefore, the police chiefs asked their police officers to obtain information from the informants, but also in other ways, about the perpetrators of criminal acts, and in that way to influence the reduced levels of crime. Besides, it has been noted that the majority of crime generally was committed by a smaller number of the same criminals (Anderson, 1997). In this way, they began to set priorities. But, in the beginnings of ILP during the 1990s, the best and most visible results were achieved by the police of Northern Ireland as a result of the problem with terrorism, which they encountered intensively. Of course, for the UK which has a long tradition of intelligence work the application of intelligence activities in policing (ILP) was not demanding, even more so it was a natural sequence of events. On the other hand, in the USA, which is also considered a pioneer in the application of ILP, the implementation process was not as simple as in the UK. Based on Carter's writing "historically, the vast majority of American law enforcement agencies have had no intelligence capacity or training on the intelligence process – intelligence was typically viewed as something only needed by the largest agencies" (Carter & Carter, 2009, p.4). It is considered that the events of 9/11<sup>2</sup> were crucial in the decision to implement ILP in the work of all agencies and services that have internal and external security of the country in their jurisdiction. The investigation regarding the 9/11 event determined that before the terrorist attacks, some agencies had certain information that indicated the attack, but that there was not enough cooperation and exchange of information between services, which resulted in a lack of

<sup>2</sup> On September 11, 2001, 19 militants associated with the Islamic extremist group al Qaeda hijacked four airplanes and carried out suicide attacks against targets in the United States.

better reaction to those tragic attacks. Today, most police agencies in the USA have implemented the ILP philosophy and business model in their work. For example, participants in the Program on Cyber Security Studies [PCSS]<sup>3</sup> in 2020 had the opportunity to see a presentation by Mr. Herbert J. Stapleton, Section Chief in the FBI's Cyber Division, who during the presentation emphasized the need for a more intensive exchange of information, better coordination and selection of priorities in the fight against global cyber-crime, and which is already applied by the FBI in its work. Thus, it can be seen from the above that the FBI is already applying ILP. After the successful implementation of ILP in the police work in the UK and USA, this model became generally accepted, and after that many countries began to implement it.

### *2.2.2. Defining Intelligence-led policing*

According to Serbian's authors "viewed broadly, the Intelligence-led Policing [ILP] model is a set of interconnected principles, procedures, standards, and methods that enable continuous improvement of the efficiency and effectiveness of operational police work led by specially designed, selected, and structured intelligence, which serves as the basis for strategic (long-term) and operational (short-term) decisions" (Kostadinovic & Klisarić, 2017, p.3). These authors believe that in a narrow sense, it is a system where intelligence is the basis for defining priorities, strategic and operational objectives in the field of crime prevention and suppression, as well as making appropriate operational decisions by police chiefs (Kostadinovic & Klisarić, 2017).

Also, author Prosser wrote that "ILP is most commonly seen by researchers and scholars alike as a continuous model of utilizing information gathered by officers in the field, which is then analyzed by a designated analyst with the goal of identifying trends and patterns that lead to preventing crime, apprehending criminals, and dismantling criminal organizations" (Prosser, 2019, p.8). By analyzing the works of authors who have dealt with ILP, we can conclude that there is no universal definition of ILP, but it is visible that most definitions are almost the same or similar. One of the definitions that may be acceptable, states "ILP can be defined as a collaborative law enforcement approach combining problem-solving policing, information sharing and police accountability, with enhanced intelligence operations" (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2007). Also, Ratcliffe wrote about ILP, where he states "Intelligence-led policing emphasizes analysis and intelligence as pivotal to an objective, decision-making framework that prioritizes crime hotspots, repeat victims, prolific offenders, and criminal groups. It facilitates crime and harm reduction, disruption, and prevention through strategic and tactical management, deployment, and enforcement" (Ratcliffe, 2008, p.89). Thus, we can say that ILP is a kind of business model and a managerial philosophy in which the

<sup>3</sup> Program on Cyber Security Studies [PCSS], is conducted by the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies.

central parts are intelligence, analysis, and decision-making.

The ILP can be best explained by one interesting model. The 3i Model introduced by Dr. Jerry Ratcliffe of Temple University is an approach to policing and resource allocation that places a great deal of emphasis on interpreting the criminal environment in order to influence decision-makers and create desired impacts upon the criminal environment (Fuentes, 2006).

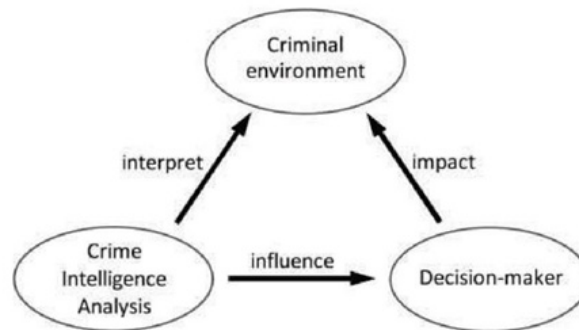


Figure 1 – 3i model (Ratcliffe, 2008, p.110)

So the essence of this model is that the criminal intelligence process takes place in 3 interconnected directions. The analyst analyzes the criminal environment and with the result of the analysis influences the decision-maker, while his decision is directed to the criminal environment.

### 2.2.3. Criminal intelligence process

An integral part of ILP is the criminal intelligence process (cycle). According to some authors, this process can have four stages (Stark) and up to twelve stages like in Serbian Intelligence-led Policing – Handbook (Kostadinovic & Klisaric, 2017). In this paperwork we will pay little attention to the OSCE model, according to “the intelligence process, traditionally called the *intelligence cycle*, describes and outlines six widely recognized standard steps used to transform raw data and information into value-added intelligence aimed for action” (OSCE, 2017, p.30).

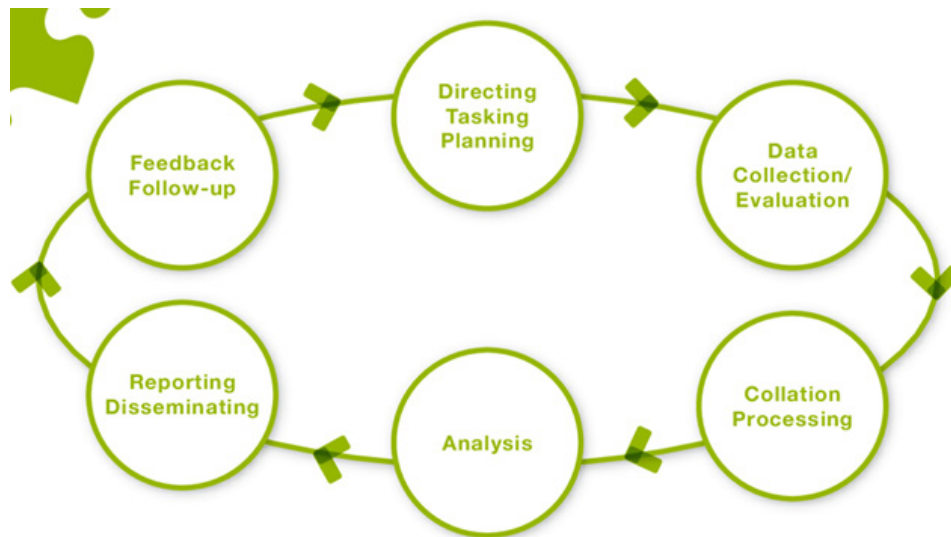


Figure 2 - Criminal intelligence process/cycle (OSCE, 2017, p.31)

It is clear that the criminal intelligence process shown above occurs in an ideal situation and that it is often possible in specific situations for this process to be realized a little differently, and because it is a rather dynamic process its phases often can be interlinked. In any case, this process can be applied in cases of operational/tactical tasks, as well as those related to strategic tasks, which will be discussed later.

- The first step in the criminal intelligence cycle should always be the phase of directing, tasking, and planning. This phase implies an active relationship between decision-makers (investigators, managers, etc.) and analysts, and within which decision-makers need to express clear needs, and to determine tasks. After that, they should together determine the project task, and make a plan on how to realize it.
- The second step is the phase of collecting and evaluating information. As with the previous phase, this phase also requires a plan, like outlining the sources from which information will be collected before implementation can begin. Potential limitations that may be encountered during data collection should also be taken into account when compiling the plan. After the collection, the collected data are evaluated and it can be done using the formally accepted evaluation systems. They are most commonly used 4x4 and 5x5x5.



EVALUATION OF SOURCE		EVALUATION OF INFORMATION	
A	Completely reliable in all instances	1	Accuracy not in doubt
B	Usually reliable	2	Known personally to the source but not known personally to official passing it on
C	Not usually reliable	3	Not known personally to the source but corroborated by other available information
D	Reliability cannot be assessed	4	Accuracy cannot be assessed or corroborated in any way (at this time)

Figure 3 - Evaluation system 4x4 (OSCE, 2017. p.35)

EVALUATION OF SOURCE		EVALUATION OF INFORMATION	
A	Always reliable	1	Known to be true without reservation
B	Mostly reliable	2	Known personally to the source but not to the person reporting
C	Sometimes reliable	3	Not known personally to the source but corroborated
D	Unreliable	4	Cannot be judged
E	Untested source	5	Suspected to be false

Figure 4 - Evaluation system 5x5x5 (OSCE, 2017, p.35)

- The third step is the collation and processing of the collected information. At this stage, information is been processed, linked, and transfers into the criminal intelligence database.
- The fourth step is the analysis phase of the collected data. This is a central phase in the criminal intelligence cycle because this phase transforms raw data into intelligence. The analytical process can have two phases, the data integration phase, and the interpretation phase, in which the analyst is giving meaning to the information.
- The fifth step is the reporting and disseminating phase. After the analysis, the analytical product needs to have the required intelligence and recommendations. The report must be accurate and clear to its user.
- and six-step according to the OSCE authors is the feedback phase. This phase implies that the users of the analytical product provide feedback based on which the analyst will know whether his analytical product has met the expectations of the users and whether appropriate decisions have been made based on that (OSCE, 2017).

### *2.2.4. ILP's Strategic and operational analyses*

Within ILP, we can distinguish two basic intelligence products, there are strategic and operational/tactical analyses. As we wrote earlier, the traditional model generally had a reactive approach while the ILP concept has its proactive part in addition to the reactive part. It is this proactive part that relates to strategic analyses. Therefore, “this includes generating information to decision-makers about the changing nature of threats, the characteristics, and methodologies of threats, and emerging threat idiosyncrasies for the purpose of developing response strategies and reallocating resources, as necessary, to accomplish effective prevention” (Carter & Schafer, 2020, p.235). An important part of ILP is the setting of policing priorities using National, Regional, and Local Policing plans. These plans should have details of the objectives and priorities agreed by the Police, the Government, and the Community. In practice, this work will be dealt with by the highest managers in the police organization, most often formed into a strategic group.

Operational/tactical analyses is focused on short-term and current objectives. Most often it refers to specific investigations, criminals and groups, and can be of a preventive and reactive nature. It may be a reaction to an incident, but it is first used to prevent crime (Sebek, 2014). According to OSCE Authors “operational analysis assists in the management and front-line enforcement of shorter-term tasks to achieve operational objectives and supports ongoing investigations. Operational analysis can include personal information on suspects” (OSCE, 2017, p.37).

### **2.3. Intelligence-Led Policing and Community Policing**

In their work, the police apply different models of approach to the problems they face. In this sense, there are different concepts applied in policing, and one of the most accepted is community policing. Community policing shows its beginnings in the 1950s<sup>4</sup>. There was a great dissatisfaction of citizens with the traditional work of the police, which was characterized at that time by too excessive isolation from the community, bureaucracy, focusing only on individual incidents, and excessive discretion (Simonovic, 2006). The community sought a new approach to policing. In response to community demands, a new approach to police work known as community policing has emerged. The characteristics of this approach were a greater connection between the police and the community, a democratic way of leadership, better control over the work of the police, as well as a proactive approach to solving problems. Community policing is focused on solving community problems, eliminating crime, and thus creating community trust in the police. Increased

<sup>4</sup>The first beginnings of community policing in the United States were recorded within the Detroit Police Department in 1950.

community trust can be the basis for better information gathering from the community about community-based crime. However, by some opinions gathering information could undermine the community's trust in the police because it could be considered that the police is taking advantage of the community's trust to collect the information from it. But, the fact is that the information collected by the police is used to fight crime, as well as local crime in the community, thus creating better living conditions. Therefore, we can conclude that Intelligence-led policing and Community Policing are complementary methods and that although they differ in approach, they also have common features, such as proactive orientation.

#### **2.4. Intelligence-led policing and Human Rights and Freedoms**

Human rights are universal values that are protected primarily by the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>5</sup>, but also by other international acts such as the European Convention on Human Rights<sup>6</sup>, etc. Therefore, human rights compliance is imperative in the police work because only in that way the trust gained from the community will be kept. According to author Sebek "the problem arises in determining the 'limits' of permitted activities in mutually contradictory goals: the first seeks to fulfill the basic purpose of policing, which is to protect society from crime, while the second concerns the preservation of privacy and their constitutionally and legally guaranteed rights and freedoms" (Sebek, 2014, p.154). In the ILP concept, some authors cite the example of ethnic profiling as something discriminatory and at the same time ineffective (OSCE, 2017). When applying this concept, various human rights may be violated, the most common of which is the right to privacy. To avoid violations of rights, the police must be guided in their work by the principles of legality, necessity, and proportionality. Therefore, the violation of rights can be only in cases when it is allowed by law, then only in cases when information could not be collected in another way and proportionally, that is only as much as is necessary to accomplish the required task. It is also very important that there is a legal remedy for citizens whose rights have been violated, as well as that there are adequate mechanisms to control the work of the police.

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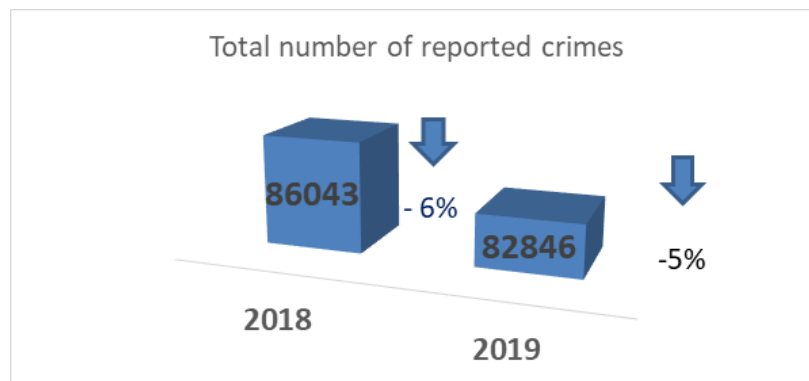
<sup>5</sup> The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a milestone document in the history of human rights. Drafted by representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world, the Declaration was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 (General Assembly resolution 217 A) as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations.

<sup>6</sup> The European Convention on Human Rights [ECHR] is an international convention to protect human rights and political freedoms in Europe. Drafted in 1950 by the then newly formed Council of Europe, the convention entered into force on 3 September 1953.

### 3. A SUCCESSFUL EXAMPLE OF ILP IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

In this part, I will pay attention to Serbia, which since 2018 has fully started to apply ILP in the work of the police. Serbia is located in Southeast Europe, has an area of 88 361km<sup>2</sup> and about 7 million inhabitants. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia has a total of about 28,000 police officers.

Serbia developed the ILP model under the mentorship of the Kingdom of Sweden but adapted it to the specifics of its organization. Because of the success of implementing this model, the representatives of the Serbian Police promote the ILP concept in the region of the Balkans<sup>7</sup>. In this paper, I use the data presented at the mentioned regional ILP conference, which shows the success of the application of ILP in the work of the police of the Republic of Serbia.

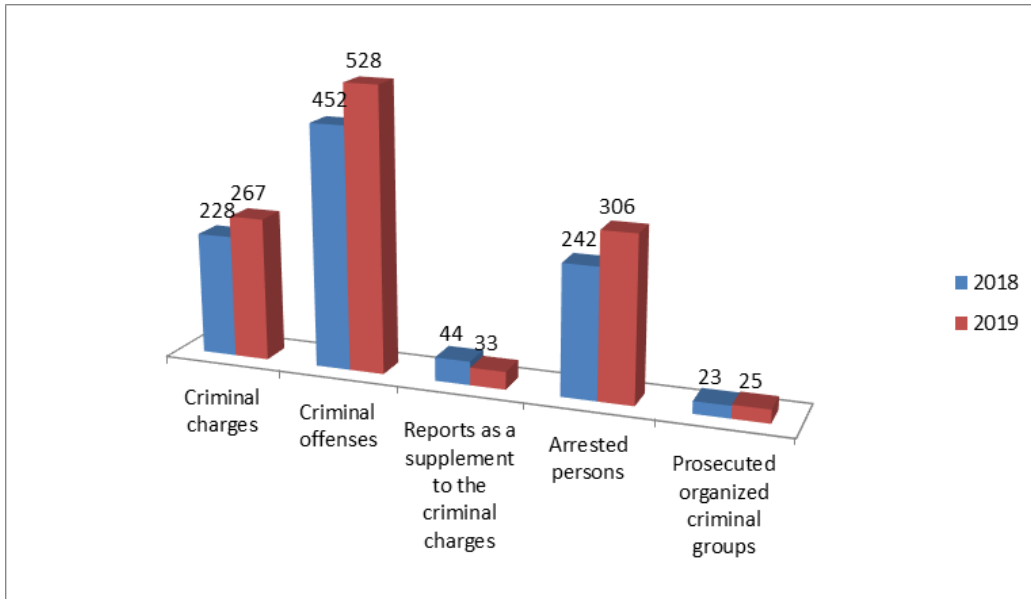


Graph 1 - The total number of criminal offenses for the period 2018-2019  
(Zivkovic et al., 2020)

The graph above, which contains graphs, shows the total number of crimes for 2018/2019, where we see that already in the first year of application of the ILP model, 6% fewer crimes were recorded compared to 2017 when this model was not fully applied. In 2019, the number of crimes is 5% lower than in 2018, which shows a declining trend.

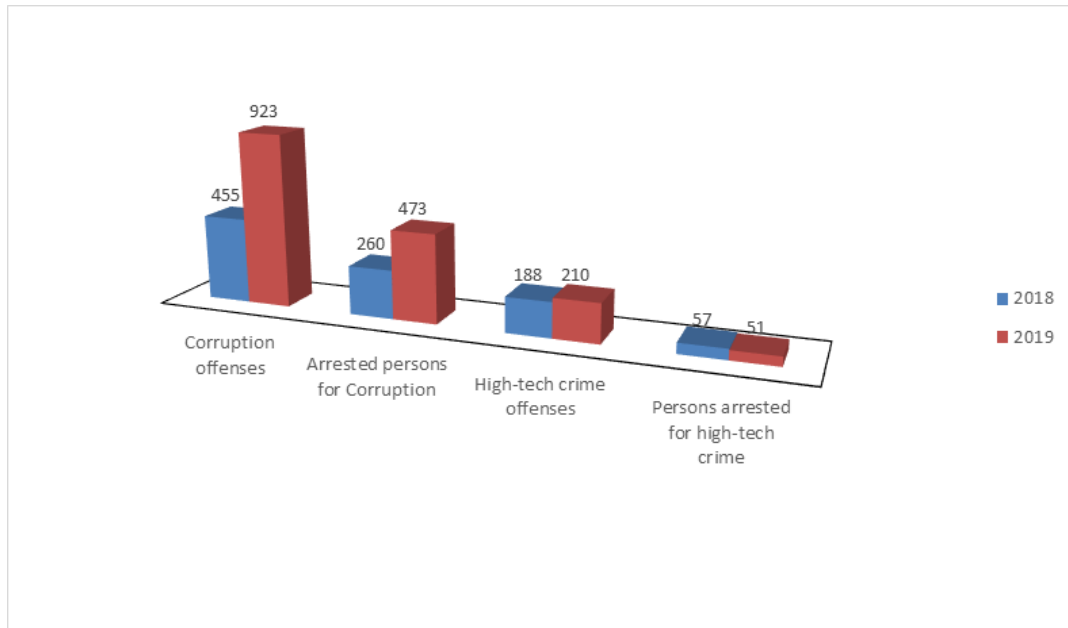
The Strategic Group in the Serbian Police, which was formed based on the ILP concept, in 2019 identified Organized Crime, Corruption, and High-Tech Crime as strategic priorities. Therefore, in that period, the special attention of all police officers was paid to these priorities, especially during the process of gathering information. The results are visible in the graphs below.

<sup>7</sup>In Banja Luka in March 2020, at the international ILP conference, representatives of the Serbian police presented data on their results for the period 2018/2019, which are used in this paper. The international ILP conference was organized by the Northern Ireland Cooperation Overseas [NI-CO] and founded by the British embassy in Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Graph 2 - Organized crime 2018/2019 (Zivkovic et al., 2020)

The chart indicating organized crime shows an increase in the number of criminal charges by 14.60% in 2019 compared to 2018, then an increase in the number of criminal offenses by 14.40%, 21% more people were arrested, and 8% more organized criminal groups were prosecuted. We can interpret this as a consequence of the strategic orientation to mark organized crime as a priority in the work of the police.



Graph 3 - Corruption and High-Tech Crime 2018/2019 (Zivkovic et al., 2020)

The graph showing corruption and high-tech crime also shows that in 2019, compared to 2018, 50.70% more crimes of corruption were recorded and that 45% more people were arrested, further 10.5% more crimes of high-tech crime were recorded and were arrested 10.6% fewer executors. It was stated that the strategic goal has been fulfilled. In 2019 the number of criminal acts of corruption and high-tech crime has increased, and we can interpret it also as a consequence of the fact that they have been identified as strategic priorities for 2019.

Also, according to the presented data, the goal after the first year of implementation of the ILP model was to achieve over 100,000 intelligence reports and this goal was also achieved because in the first year over 148,000 intelligence reports were made.

### 3. Conclusion

As a conclusion, we can state that even though a lot of police still apply the traditional model of policing, but under the influence of new forms of crime, and especially the challenges posed by organized crime, terrorism, and high-tech crime, more and more police are beginning to apply a new concept called Intelligence-led policing. We already wrote that the ILP police model is based on proactive action and it focuses on the systematic collection and evaluation of information, through a process of quality analysis that is transformed into products of strategic and operational analysis, which will then serve as a basis for quality decision-making by police managers, investigators, etc. Within this concept, we recognize the strategic and operational/tactical analysis where the strategic analysis is focused on long-term goals on certain strategic priorities, while the operational/tactical analysis is focused on short-term goals. During the research, we noticed that the implementation of ILP in Serbia reduced the total number of crimes, increases the amount of information collected, and by setting strategic priorities increased the number of reported crimes and arrested people as perpetrators in areas of crime that were under increased police activity. Therefore, based on what was written about ILP in general and especially based on data about practical results of the implementation of ILP in Serbia, I recommend to those police organizations that have not implemented this system so far to start the process of implementation, but before starting the process of implementation, it should be considered the specific characteristics of each state and its police organization and model of implementation should be adapted based on that.

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