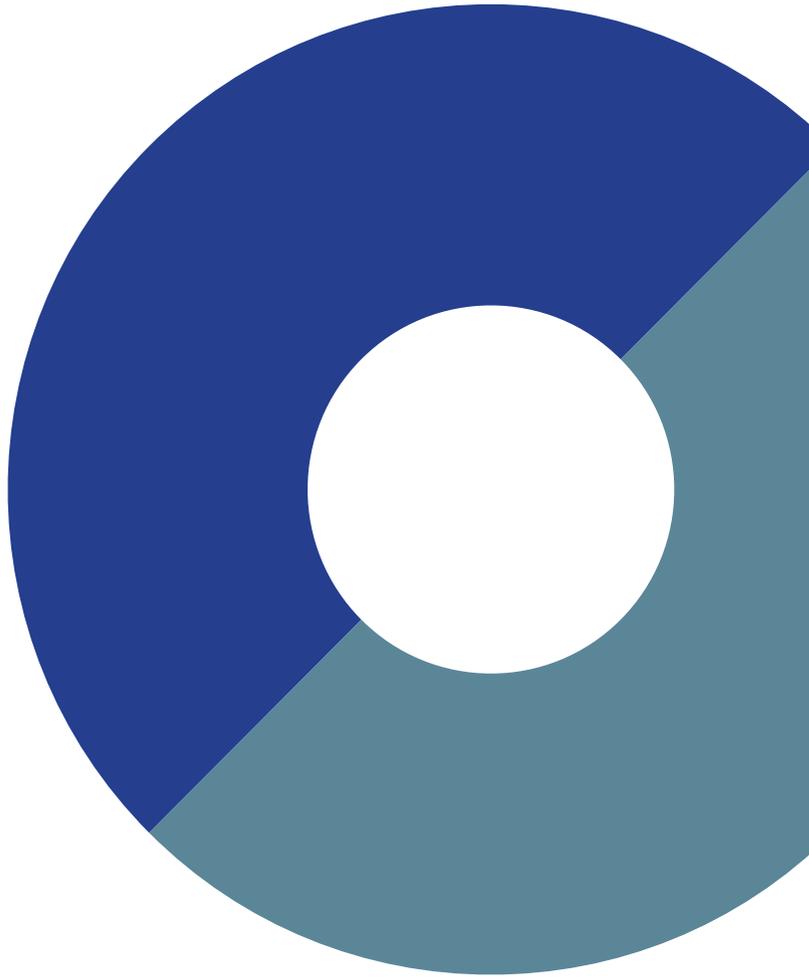




European
Forum *for*
Urban
Security



Police-population relations: challenges, local practices and recommendations

Good relations between citizens and their police are a decisive factor in the population's feeling of security; they are also key in enabling the police to work efficiently and with serenity. Because cities play a central role in local life, they can contribute to bridging the gap between them by acting as intermediaries. This publication presents an overview of the major challenges linked to this subject, as well as a series of good practices and recommendations.



This publication was published by the European Forum for Urban Security (Efus) and is an outcome of the project Improving Police-Population Understanding for Local Security (IMPPULSE), which was carried out in 2014-2015. It was produced by Carla Napolano, Véronique Ketelaer and Mark Burton-Page, Programme Managers, under the direction of Elizabeth Johnston, Executive Director, and with the contribution of the project experts, Yves Van de Vloet and Caroline De Man, as well as the project partners.

The use and reproduction are royalty free if for non-commercial ends and on condition that the source be specified.

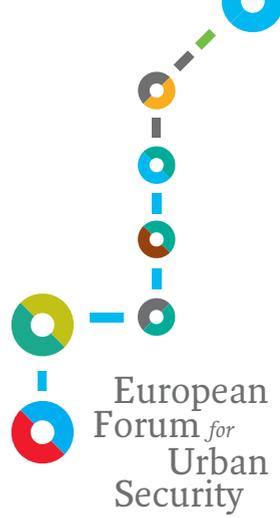
Editing: Nathalie Bourgeois & Aled Bryon
Translation: John Tyler Tuttle & Nathalie Elson
Layout: Michel & Michel - micheletmichel.com
Printing: Cloîtres Imprimerie, Saint-Thonan - France

ISBN: 2-913181-47-3
EAN: 9782913181472
Legal deposit: March 2016

European Forum for Urban Security
10, rue des Montiboeufs
75020 Paris - France
Tel: + 33 (0)1 40 64 49 00
contact@efus.eu - www.efus.eu



This project is co-funded by the European Commission, Directorate General for Home Affairs - ISEC 2012
This publication only reflects the views of the authors, and the European Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.



Police-population relations: challenges, local practices and recommendations

Acknowledgements



The IMPPULSE project was successfully carried out thanks to the commitment of the representatives of the partner cities – Amiens (France), Aubervilliers (France), Barcelona (Spain), Lisbon (Portugal), Milan (Italy), Nantes (France), Toulouse (France) and the Brussels Capital Ixelles Police Zone (Belgium).

We thank the local elected officials and their teams for having shared their experience and knowledge, as well as the project experts for their valuable contribution. In addition to the European Commission and its financial support without which this project and this publication would not have been possible, we would also like to thank all the people who received us during the field visits or who were guest speakers at the final conference held in Brussels, on 16 and 17 November 2015.

Project partners

Gilles Nicolas, Lionel Edmond (Nantes, France), Clément Stengel, Loïc Résibois (Amiens, France), Jean-François Monino, Patrick Lebas, Lucie Chevalley (Aubervilliers, France), Cécile Lafontan (Toulouse, France), Bettina Merelle (Brussels, Belgium), Marco Granelli, Andrea Carobene (Milan, Italy), Josep M. Lahosa, Elena Más (Barcelona, Spain), Carlos Manuel Castro, Paulo Caldas, Maria Manuel Monteiro, Carmen Ávila (Lisbon, Portugal).



Experts

Caroline De Man, Yves Van de Vloet (Belgium), Chris Williams (United Kingdom), Roger Vicot, Vanina Hallab, Hibat Tabib (France), Yves Patrick Delachaux (Switzerland).

Other contributors

Miguel Belo, Cláudia Cruz, Mónica Diniz, Joaquim Gordicho, Cristina Rocha, Ulrich Schiefer (city of Lisbon), Maura Gambarana, Tullio Mastrangelo, Antonio Barbato (city of Milan), Dominique Lopez, Gaëlle Lancelot (city of Nantes), Philippe Close (city of Brussels), Christine Vanriet, Patrick Declerck, Jean-Marc Huart, Christophe Slits (Brussels Capital Ixelles Police Zone, Belgium), Noemí Canelles (Barcelona), Evaldas Visockas (Law Institute of Lithuania), Nicolas Niscemi (AFPAD), Els Enhus (Faculty of Criminology, Free University of Brussels, Belgium), Patrick Charlier (Inter-Federal Centre for Equal Opportunities, Centre interfédéral belge pour l'égalité des chances, Belgium), Frank Schoenmakers (Brussels association Maison Arc-en-Ciel), Khaled Boutaffala (association Atmosphères, Belgium), François Peybernes (Allô Toulouse), Claude Lizotte (Montreal Police, Canada), Rebekah Delsol (Open Society Justice Initiative), Emile Dejeansart (Permanent Committee for the Control of Police Services, Comité permanent de contrôle des services de police, Belgium), Sybille Smeets (Faculty of Criminology, Free University of Brussels, Belgium), Arnaud Colombié (General Secretariat of the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Crime Prevention, Comité interministériel de Prévention de la Délinquance, France), as well as the officers of the Barcelona Guardia Urbana, Spain, and the teachers and staff of the youth centres Submari i Martí and Codolar and the youngsters who took part in the Barcelona project.

Table of Contents



Foreword..... p8

Introduction p10

Chapter 1: Observations and challenges..... p13

I. Acting on the causes of crime and preventing it:
a shared approach at an international level..... p14

II. A versatile, responsible police close to citizens p18

- ▶ Territorial network p18
- ▶ Partnership..... p20
- ▶ Development of versatility p21
- ▶ Accountability and quality of police work p23
- ▶ Community policing: a priority? p26

Chapter 2: Responses p29

I. Training police officers in contact with citizens p31

II. Raising awareness of citizens about the role of the police p37

▶ Improving police-population relations with work
on mutual representations and better citizen understanding
of the role of the police p37

▶ Developing a specific communication strategy aimed
at the public and the media p39

III. The approach targeting specific population groups p55

▶ Projects targeting an aspect or specific group
in police-population relations p55

▶ Police-young people relations and other target publics p55

▶ Participation of inhabitants p69

Chapter 3: Recommendations p73

**Chapter 4: Leads for the implementation
of a project and its evaluation p81**

Country profiles p91

References and bibliography p121

Foreword



For more than 15 years, European cities within the European Forum for Urban Security have examined the determining factors in relations between the population and the police, as well as the tools and practices at their disposal for strengthening them. Too often, relations between these two key stakeholders in urban security are marked by tensions in daily life (reception at police stations, taking victims' statements, etc.), and at times even conflicts around exceptional events. The goal of serene police-population relations is fundamental for making citizens feel safe and enabling the police to carry out its work efficiently. The whole community thereby benefits from a peaceful atmosphere.

As a third party, the city can play the role of intermediary to contribute to improving these relations. By enabling and promoting dialogue within the entire population, local elected officials can contribute to easing tensions and to facilitating dialogue between the police and the population.

Taking into account the different contexts of police organisation, the culture and history specific to each country, the diversity of resources that can be mobilised, and police doctrines, we hoped by means of this project to reply to the following questions: What are the keys to good police-population relations? How can projects undertaken by local authorities contribute to reinforcing these relations, or even, in the most extreme cases, re-establish them? We have sought to propose answers that are concrete without being exhaustive or prescriptive.

The IMPPULSE project demonstrated that any initiative aiming to improve population-police relations must be co-constructed and integrated into a long-term strategy. Work at the European level, and the distancing that it implies, allowed for a constructive analysis of a subject that is often politically sensitive when broached at the national and local levels.

This project, however, is only one step in a broader task that must involve numerous other stakeholders and institutions. We hope that it will be the starting point for future collaborations on the local as well as national and European levels.

Elizabeth Johnston
Executive Director

Introduction



The terms of the police-population relation debate are not strictly the same across Europe and depend on administrative and political contexts, operating methods of the police institutions, jurisdictions allotted to the police forces as well as cultural differences concerning the involvement or participation of inhabitants in public policies and in particular those touching on urban security.

But at the local level, the issue of police-population relations in Europe arises in fairly similar terms since the citizens' daily concerns are relatively similar. Thus, the local authorities, very close to everyday problems, will find it worthwhile to compare initiatives across Europe.

The issue of the link between police and populace comes down to raising the question about neighbourhood policing (how does the police interact with the community?) as well as the question of the citizens' perception of their police (which comes down to their confidence in the police's ability to deal effectively with local problems) and finally that of citizen involvement in police action (which refers to the question of inhabitants' involvement in public policies in general and those of prevention and security in particular).

The publication *Police-population relations: challenges, local practices and recommendations* is the result of work carried out between 2014 and 2015 within the framework of the European IMPPULSE project. Starting from the experience of partner cities in the project — Amiens, Aubervilliers, Nantes, Toulouse (France), Barcelona (Spain), the Police Zone of Brussels Capital Ixelles (Belgium), Milan (Italy) and Lisbon (Portugal) — and from the point of view of experts who accompanied this work, it presents an overview of the major challenges linked to the role of cities in improving police-population relations.

The aim of this publication is to present examples of pilot projects that can contribute to improving these relations over the short and medium terms. These pilot projects were designed according to the local needs of partner cities and were carried out with the help of European experts.

It also includes leads and indicators for evaluation that can be used by any European municipality confronted with these challenges. Finally, it presents a series of recommendations established by the European cities that participated in the project.

Chapter 1



Observations and challenges



I. Acting on the causes of crime and preventing it: a shared approach at an international level



The determination of local, national and European governments to improve the relations between the police and the citizens is not new. This has arisen from the citizens' questions on the preventative and repressive role of the police, more specifically those by members of the civil society involved in associative practices to strengthen social cohesion and to reaffirm the right to live safely in a welcoming public space. Indeed, civil society is more and more watchful and demanding of the police and above all, makes its opinion known.

For the past twenty years, these preventative approaches have translated into a wish to develop new doctrines, including one based on a police-population partnership, a better knowledge of the areas concerned and a new conception of the police organisation, more specifically by decentralising in deprived neighbourhoods.

The Anglo-Saxon concept of community policing is founded on the principles of "policing by consent" that was established in Great Britain in the 19th century by Sir Robert Peel, according to which police officers are citizens in uniform who act for and within the population, and with its consent. Community policing contributed, in particular in Anglo-Saxon countries, to the emergence of new dynamics including "expanding the police responsibilities, taking better account of social demands, a stronger partnership with the general public and other institutional actors on safety, territorialisation of action and organisational decentralisation¹."

Crime phenomena are thus contextualised and related to a deprived socio-economic background and the deterioration of urban infrastructure. This approach will inspire European prevention policies. In France, proximity has been considered a priority for urban police forces

1- David Lloyd-Williams, "Community policing: Local and Regional Authorities guaranteeing a new partnership", Council of Europe Report on social cohesion, 14th plenary session, Congress of Local and Regional Authorities

since as early as 1992. The Villepinte Symposium, organised in 1997, addressed the “coproduction of security as close to the citizen as possible².” In Belgium, the concept of *community policing* was taken from the Anglo-Saxon model and the Dutch experiences.

Five key principles are recommended:

- ▶ **External orientation**, i.e. better integration of the police within the population and identification of needs and expectations;
- ▶ **Problem solving**;
- ▶ **Partnership development**;
- ▶ **Accountability** for justifying police actions, i.e. transparency and mandatory accountability;
- ▶ **Empowerment**, which widens the police mandate in order to meet the demands of the general public and direct the latter towards the adequate departments³.

In Italy, the Decree of 24th November 2000 specifies a closer relationship between the State police and local residents. Experiments of community policing areas were carried out by various municipal police forces, such as in Modena, Turin and Milan. Spain for its part adopted the *Plan Policía 2000* through which community police became the reference.

This willingness to deploy community police forces would also be found in the Canadian police organisation, especially in the “Gendarmerie Royale” which provides local policing in rural areas and provinces. The Ministry of Public Security of Quebec would adopt a draft ministerial policing project in December 2000 resulting from a broad consultation of municipal, police and community partners. This document is particularly interesting because it incorporates the four major principles of community policing:

- ▶ **Rapprochement with citizens**: “When more visible and closer to the population within their communities, community policing often manages to reduce the population’s feelings of insecurity and restore their confidence.”

2- French Ministry of the Interior, “Safer cities for free citizens”, Actions from the Villepinte Symposium, 24th and 25th October 1997

3- Seron V., Smeets S., Smits M., Tange C., “Police de proximité : un modèle belge entre questions et pratiques, Politeia, Centre d’Études sur la police,” 2003

- ▶ **Partnership with other institutions:** “This is therefore to set up a functional collaboration between partners from different backgrounds and for various issues. This partnership must be built. It will set the police force within a network of organisations and institutions capable of making significant contributions to the understanding of crime and feelings of insecurity at a local level.”
- ▶ **The problem-solving approach:** “This approach makes use of analytical methods for crimes that have occurred in order to produce audits and security statuses of the areas covered. These methods involve grouping and carefully analysing sometimes seemingly unrelated issues, finding common causes or convergences and implementing appropriate solutions in a correctly thought through manner.
- ▶ **Reinforcement of preventative measures:** “To prevent crime, it is accepted that each factor causing the crime in the first place must be targeted in a simultaneous and complementary manner. It is also accepted that the police has no jurisdiction with regards to interventions on each of these factors. Furthermore, its influence is marginal on factors⁴ related to social and economic development⁴.”

>> Beyond a community policing concept, what is the reality after several years of practice?

Over the past 20 years, the police have evolved. At first, it was mainly primarily reactive, arresting criminals and bringing them to justice. Their role is now more aimed at preventing criminal acts, notably by developing situational prevention and social prevention initiatives (in partnership with neighbourhood associations, schools, victim support groups). The police have deployed technical preventative measures, particularly in the prevention of burglary and car theft or by installing technical surveillance networks.

The concepts of community policing, community police officers, and neighbourhood police are now characteristics of most police forces in Europe and North America. They have also extended to countries that

4-“Vers une police plus communautaire”, ministère de la Sécurité publique du Québec, December 2000

were until recently governed by authoritarian regimes and have evolved towards more democratic systems (Central Europe, Northern Africa), which led them to rethink their police organisation.

The publication of the *Guidebook on Democratic Policing* by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) should also be noted⁵. The guidebook states: “One of the major characteristics of democratic policing lies in the idea that the consent of the public is essential. The prerequisites for public support are as follows:

- ▶ Transparent police operations
- ▶ Maintaining good communication and mutual understanding with the public the police is in charge of serving and protecting.”

The position of UN Women about community policing should also be mentioned: “It focuses on communities. It is both a concept and an organisational strategy according to which the police and communities work together to solve issues related to crime, public order disruption and security in order to improve the quality of life for all members of the community concerned⁶.”

>> A first assessment of the police-public relations approach

Even though we can detect common trends from one country to another, drawing up an inventory of the police-population relations approach on an international level is limited by two factors: a particularly wide field of research and a lack of comparative analysis of practices implemented after reforms in the policing system. In some countries, the police is now decentralised or organised at a local level, such as Belgium, or at a supra-communal level such as Germany with its 16 Länder police forces. Across the Atlantic, the U.S. as well as Quebec have local police (Local Enforcement Agencies). However, other countries have kept a national police tradition, even though there has been some degree of decentralisation, such as in France, Spain and Italy. These countries also have local and municipal police forces. However their skills are limited particularly in the administration of justice and for the protection of public order.

5- “International standards for police forces: Guide for a democratic police”, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Geneva, 2009

6- “Community policing. Virtual knowledge centre to end violence against women and girls”, UN Women, 2010

At an international level, it is therefore impossible to make a joint analysis of the relations between the police forces and the population they are supposed to serve.

Through contacts with various police agencies, citizen groups, researchers and elected officials, we have assessed the principles of community policing used by the police forces in several countries by confronting them with real-life practice.

These principles should however not be considered as isolated or separate from other basic tasks such as searching for offenders, leading criminal investigations, fighting against organised crime and maintaining public order. As highlighted by David Lloyd-Williams, who administered North Yorkshire county local police (UK) for ten years and often acts as consultant on these issues, “community policing does not rely on specific responsibilities, but rather on the police forces’ versatility of skills and interventions in order to respond fully and suitably to the demands they receive. As such, community policing is not preventative, deterrent nor punitive; it is everything at once⁷.”

We have decided to compare various police practices by relating them to the founding principles of community policing as defined in France, Belgium and Quebec.

II. A versatile, responsible police close to citizens



1. Territorial network

>> Social territory, police territory? Territoriality, a police-population meeting place

From a policing point a view, territories are split into administrative areas that may sometimes overlap the limits of towns, municipalities,

7-David Lloyd-Williams, “Community policing: Local and Regional Authorities guaranteeing a new partnership”, Council of Europe Report on social cohesion, 14th plenary session, Congress of Local and Regional Authorities

sectors, divisions, and blocks as defined by an administrative mapping which may not necessarily match territories as seen by the local population. Furthermore, in cities, territories are often also defined according to the movements of the population and the places where people gather (commercial areas, concentration of entertainment venues, etc.).

A misunderstanding of the geo-spatial population flows may result in unsuitable locations for police activities: "It is essential to understand the interactions between the police and residents, including when the latter move from one neighbourhood to another⁸." At the best of times, this lack of social and spatial approach is compensated by the knowledge gained on the ground by the police forces who already have a certain understanding of an area.

It is however vital that the police reinforce their analytical means not only to locate crimes and offences but also to integrate certain relevant parameters, such as the time at which the crimes are committed. This provides a strategic analysis and allows the police to adapt locations to the actual situation on the ground.

The same goes for the exchange of information between neighbourhood services and research services. It has occasionally been noticed that information was reluctantly provided, causing tensions between the district police and colleagues assigned to analysis and research.

It should be noted that a well established neighbourhood police force has a good ground understanding of the area in which it works and will immediately notice certain discrepancies, such as the presence of certain foreign vehicles in the neighbourhood or the concerns expressed by local shopkeepers or local associations.

Local safety audits looking at the typology of the areas (population, age, buildings, equipment, etc.) but also observations made by locals (syringes discovered by cleaners, destruction and damage to street furniture...) are at the basis of analytical tools.

8- Easton M. "Multiple community policing, why?", University of Ghent, Academia Press, 2009

2. Partnership

It is important that the police are in constant contact with the population: the police are not *facing* society but are part of it. Challenges for the police have revealed it would be a serious mistake to believe they can solve issues such as those caused by truancy, violence within a family, parallel economy, ethnic conflicts, drug trafficking or radical movements.

Even though the police are in charge of preventing and fighting against these phenomena, they cannot be solely responsible for their prevention. They have neither the means nor the legitimacy to do so. A partnership with residents, who are users of the urban space, is relevant but the police do not always have the means to build such a partnership. Furthermore, this partnership culture must be shared by every police department and not only those who are assigned to deprived neighbourhoods. It is equally important that the police hierarchy promote these partnerships as part of a process aimed at bringing the public and the police together.

To be legitimate, such a partnership should reflect the diversity of the people involved and should not only be based on those demanding police initiatives. It is therefore important to build partnerships that are not only offered to those willing to work with the police and to recognise the diversity of the population while being careful not to stigmatise certain individuals or groups who have a negative perception of the police.

“A policing action that relies on dialogue is difficult when the population is split into different races, classes and lifestyles. If, instead of seeking interests in this diversity, the police worked with specifically selected individuals, their action will no longer be neutral. It is easy for the police to focus their community policing on assisting people with whom they have affinities or shared views. Local priorities that are reported would then only represent those of a part of the community and not of the entire population⁹.”

9-Loubet Del Bayle J.L., « Police et proximité ou le paradoxe du policier », Cahiers de la sécurité, n° 4, April-June 2008

A partnership cannot be created spontaneously. Some people do not wish this partnership, after having sometimes had difficult relations with the police, such as an unsuitable reception at the police station or repeated stop and searches perceived as stigmatising.

Furthermore, some foreign populations may have a feeling of distrust because of their personal negative experiences with the police in their home country, especially when they come from war-stricken areas or non democratic countries where the police are seen as a threat.

Even when there is a will for a working partnership, it is still important to recognise the diversity of the populations (different values, social statuses and rights). If not, the partnerships will be limited and serve no practical purpose.

Police-population partnerships could develop around specific topics with a voluntary commitment of the different partners and with classroom sponsorships. These would allow police officers to meet with school children and explain their missions, but also to better understand the problems faced by the families. Police officers may take part in local cultural or religious events and thus get a better knowledge of the various communities of the neighbourhoods or cities they serve. This is also the case with experiments involving youth, families and the police during sports and leisure activities during school holidays.

Such partnership initiatives help establish or strengthen the dialogue between the population and the police. The police can therefore better understand the expectations and reluctance of the population in terms of safety, while citizens can better understand the complexity of police missions.

3. Development of versatility

>> Reinventing a police force with an integrated approach combining prevention, deterrence, enforcement and sanctions

Preventative, dissuasive and repressive approaches have often been presented as different, even contradictory. The debate on the role of the police is too often seen as an opposition between an all-repressive and an all-preventative approach. This debate concerns both those respon-

sible of the internal organisation of the police force and stakeholders whose mission it is to develop an approach centred on social cohesion, such as municipal prevention services, youth programmes and support services and citizens' associations.

The occurrence of major criminal offences, clashes with the police forces or the publication of crime statistics strengthen the opinion according to which the preventative approach is secondary or even ineffective with regard to policing. Community policing has been caricatured as a social work that is distant to the main tasks of the police.

On the other hand, other elected representatives have put the deterioration of the situation in certain neighbourhoods down to the fact that the police are too removed from the population. They argued this has caused a feeling of distrust, which leads to an increase in the number of incidents.

In reality, the police need to be flexible and respond to issues with various approaches, whether preventative or repressive. This includes reclaiming the urban space, the visibility of police services and anticipating criminal actions. An analysis of the situation experienced in Belgium by local police forces revealed there are tensions between those who see the role of the police as mainly crime fighting, i.e. where the police are focused on quantifiable results (number of arrests and prosecution), and those officers dedicated to community policing.

“Police officers still very much see their work as crime fighting, whereas other tasks that do not correspond to this model, and by extension, any services and police forces (neighbourhood police) appointed for this community policing, are not valued and considered somewhat archaic¹⁰.” Community policing seems to be considered secondary, or even illegitimate, by supporters of a more aggressive policing.

In certain cases, an important gap can be seen between district police and emergency police services. This results in tensions within police forces. For example, it should be noted that community work carried out over the long-term in certain underprivileged neighbourhoods can

10- Smeets C. and Tange C., « Le community policing en Belgique : péripéties de la constitution d'un modèle de travail policier », International police executive symposium, 2009

be undermined by an inappropriate approach by other departments of the same police corps tasked with maintaining public order or providing reinforcements, when these act without consulting their colleagues working in the community.

The need to develop community policing is often increasingly undermined when staff allocated to this task are transferred to other tasks, such as law-keeping missions or other similar activities.

Tange explains: “Because of their versatility, community police forces can also be considered as jacks of all trades therefore justifying that tasks no one wants to carry out are handed over to the community police inspector. Community police forces may also be considered as a back-up for other activities and services¹¹.”

The pattern of invalidating community policing has been highlighted in the Belgian National Security Plan. The following recommendation was drawn from this study: “It should finally be noted that community work, which is essential for maintaining security in the police zones (local police forces), should be encouraged. It is often still perceived as low status by police officers and sometimes given up by the authority for the benefit of tasks that are deemed more urgent or essential. These missions should be better defined and comply with specific standards for greater harmonisation in the police zones¹².”

4. Accountability and quality of police work

It is up to the police to ensure everyone has the right to security and equal treatment. Police work should be included in improving services to citizens and incorporate forever changing social issues. This is made more complex by the fact that citizens have a perception that mainly depends on their experience in dealing with the police.

There is also an opinion according to which the police should be able to resolve every issue or problem. The limits of policing work should therefore be correctly identified in order to redefine the role of the police in relation to the responsibilities of the justice system, elected officials and citizens.

11- *Ibid.*

12- National Belgian Security Plan, 2012 / 2015

For example, the application of laws and regulations on truancy cannot be effective without a proper assessment of the education system and of the work opportunities it offers to young people. In this framework, the police must be involved in a partnership with schools, educational support structures and parents. The same goes for immigration policies. It is up to the police, in charge of applying the law in terms of residence and work permits, to listen to everyone, irrespective of race, sex or nationality.

In the current context of mass influx of refugees in Europe, the role of the police seems tremendous when authorities are struggling to manage these migration flows in a fluid international context.

The same applies to housing or work issues. How can police work be effective with vulnerable populations that are affected by high unemployment and are likely to enter illegal economic circuits or labour trafficking, without a close collaboration with non-police services?

The budgetary situation of States, towns and federal entities faced with the collapse of public resources has led to an underfunding of public policies including those related to security. Now, choices often have to be made between continuing prevention and community policing initiatives or fighting against organised crime and labour trafficking. Voices are raised to emphasise the fact that community policing initiatives are reaching their limits, especially with the redeployment of staff now dedicated to fighting against terrorism, radicalism and organised crime, to the point of jeopardising the work done over the past few years. This is proven by the stagnation, or even the decline of European funds for prevention projects in favour of initiatives aimed at strengthening border control, as shown by the Frontex programme.

The development of a policing policy focused on the police-population relations is now affected by the fact that funds are increasingly allocated to more centralised and coercive approaches and disconnected from community policing.

13- Bottamedi C. « Une police de proximité qui s'éloigne de plus en plus », *La Libre Belgique*, 25 May 2011

>> Are police departments now able to meet citizens' expectations?

Given the fact that many specialised tasks are transferred to other services, should we be afraid the police are no longer able to meet legitimate citizens' expectations?

As discussed by Divisional Commissioner Claude Bottamedi from Belgium, "It seems that the many, even contradictory citizens' expectations, which are all relevant to the core mission of the police, are no longer the real priority contrary to what the public is told. Citizens still expect the police to be involved in tackling antisocial behaviour, neighbourhood conflicts, and public disorders. However, these are not a priority in local policing policies¹³."

>> A "disempowered" police caught between a rock and a hard place?

The type of issues involved can lead to a shift of police policies towards only repressive actions. In this case, unsuccessful actions will be blamed on policies, the justice system and institutions unable to ensure law enforcement.

Monjardet illustrates this evolution in the following terms: "In essence, the police forces request additional means to deal with rising crime, and they get them. Then, based on the belief their activity is exclusively repressive, they blame the society upstream (family and school failing in their socialisation role) and the justice system downstream (considered too lenient). For a large majority of police officers, prevention means arresting offenders and handing them over to the justice system. For these officers, any additional task is considered a threat that dilutes their profession into undistinguishable social work. On the contrary, for elected representatives who echo their constituents' opinions, what matters is crime prevention, not resolution¹⁴."

14- « Réinventer la police urbaine. Le travail policier à la question des quartiers, au risque des espaces publics », Les annales de la recherche urbaine, n° 83/84

5. Community policing: a priority?

The actions of community policing are fundamental in ensuring good relations between the police and the population. During their many exchanges over the course of the IMPPULSE project, partner cities have highlighted the fact that quality police-population relations include all policing functions, such as interventions, judicial work, maintaining public order or receiving the public in police stations and providing the required support to victims. Furthermore, cities have emphasised the fact that an increase in organised crime, terrorist attacks and radicalisation – which affects most European cities (Madrid, London, Oslo, Copenhagen, Paris and Brussels notably) – has led to calls for reallocating the workforce. Yet, even though it is obvious that the police must adapt to these developments, which it is supposed to prevent and fight, questions arise about the availability of means for a correct implementation of community policing.

It is wrong to consider that police forces should be affected in priority to the fight against terrorism. Indeed, this option is all the more unfounded that, in terms of terrorism, the police forces cannot work blindly. Precisely, community work is essential to gather information such as suspicious license plates, feedback gleaned during meetings with local stakeholders or during foot patrols in the neighbourhoods. This information is then analysed in depth by the specialised services that double check it with data from other police or investigation departments, for example data on the suspects' financial situation or dwelling.

However, the work undertaken during the IMPPULSE project showed that while local elected representatives still consider that the quality of police-population relations remains a priority, the institutional support to community policing is generally less important today than a few years ago.

>> Police funding of its local policing tasks

It is interesting to compare two very different funding models: the Belgian and French ones.

In Belgium, the 1998 Act on policing states that, “The integrated police

service guarantees a minimum service on the entire territory of the Kingdom to the authorities and citizens.”

The Belgian police are organised according to a two-tier integrated policing concept: the federal police, with almost 16,000 officers, are active on the entire territory for specialised missions such as border control and the fight against terrorism. The judicial police work in support of 195 community police forces, more specifically for any investigation required throughout the country. Local police with more than 33 officers provide services such as interventions, local searches, community policing, maintaining public order and support to victims. These local police forces work in support of the federal police, in particular with regards to maintaining public order.

Local elected representatives and local police officers have jurisdiction both in terms of administrative as well as judicial police and may seek support from the federal police. The latter can even seek support from local police forces in certain cases.

In recent years, local elected representatives have expressed their concerns about the co-funding of local police forces, which are largely financed by cities (more than 60%), and also the mobilisation of local staff to support the federal police. The overall assessment is that community policing is the Achilles heel of the reform. Thus, the Union of Towns and Municipalities (Union des Villes et Communes) have called for further action by the federal State.

This situation is even more complex because the richer municipalities may incur additional policing costs while the ones that are particularly weak socially and economically are not able to increase their share of co-financing.

In France, there are no accounting statistics on local police forces. However, unlike Belgium, the municipal police do not have jurisdiction for judicial policing or maintaining public order.

Faced with the evolution of crime and the citizen demand with regards to security, and given that the national police and *gendarmerie* cannot cover all aspects of community policing, many mayors have opted to strengthen their community policing and/or to rely on video surveillance.

The share of local authority spending for security has increased between 2005 and 2015, a trend which is bound to increase with the demand for security and according to new missions that could be allocated to mayors in this area. But the level of debt of many French municipalities can lead them to make choices that do not match the need to develop positive relations between citizens and the police.

These new approaches whereby local elected representatives are more directly involved in security policies cannot absolve the national police and the *gendarmerie* of their responsibilities. Currently, several European countries are considering assigning police duties to private security companies. This raises ethical questions, does not guarantee a better quality of service and does not compensate in any way the lack of relations between the population and the police. Not to mention that such an option is not necessarily more cost-effective.

Chapter 2



Responses



Pilot projects developed by partners are based on the observation that the relations between the police and the population are often compromised for different reasons: the citizens' misunderstanding of the role and powers of the police, the lack of specific training for the police, the difficulties met by the police when having to tackle minor offences, or even the too few opportunities for dialogue and debate between citizens and the police.

Trust can also be used to define the relations between the police and the population. This is mainly due to the fact that “the population trusts the police to take appropriate actions to address the issues in their area.” By extension, this raises the question of the perception of these “issues”. How can we match the reality of crime in an area (insecurity *de facto*) with the feeling of insecurity (experienced or perceived)?

Citizens often ask “What is the police doing?” Similarly, the issue regarding the lack of follow-up and response after a complaint is often mentioned and contributes to the fact that citizens do not perceive clearly the work of the police. Another issue relates to the training of police officers: how are the relations between the police and the population addressed? Are the police officers trained to approach various types of people? Are they trained in dialogue and mediation according to a situation?

As a response to these questions, European cities partners of the IMPPULSE project have set up pilot projects to produce short-term results based on expectations expressed by citizens with regards to their city and the public service provided by the police. These projects have allowed the different partners to innovate or strengthen existing actions as part of a European approach, through the eyes of their peers and outside experts.

I. Training police officers in contact with citizens



For an adequate response, the police must not only be correctly trained for emergency situations and reactivity when faced with a specific issue, but also be able to listen, analyse a problem as well as communicate and mediate with citizens. The citizen often believes he is lacking information with regards to police action. He has little understanding of the realities of police work and generally contacts the police in times of crisis when in a distressing situation. It is therefore essential that the police officer on the front line be able to analyse these situations in a professional manner and respond in a timely and adequate manner, showing that he can provide a solution to the citizen's demand and reassure that person. If the police officer is unable to provide a solution directly, he should refer the person to a relevant and effective alternative.

To do so, apart from the basic police training, additional training is often required and organised in-house locally. In several European countries, police officers can be seen lacking basic skills: correctly writing a report, knowledge of security laws and regulations even though these are complex and constantly evolving, convention on Human Rights, principles of public service, professional attitude, listening skills, proactive qualities, etc. However, these skills are essential to ensure good relations between the citizen and the police and to improve trust.

Educational and information tools may be necessary for easier field work. Laws are constantly changing and police officers must regularly update their knowledge of regulations and the reality in the street. This includes new services provided by the municipality or socio-demographic changes in certain neighbourhoods.

“First Contact: what if it was you?”: training project developed by the Brussels Capital Ixelles police zone

Background and problem

With this project, the Brussels Capital Ixelles police zone wanted the police officers to be the first ambassadors of the police by providing a quality welcome and care, as should be perceived by citizens.

The first and often only contact that every citizen may have with its local police force will determine his future feelings towards that service.

Whether a first contact takes place in a police station, when working in the streets or at a victim’s home, the police officer must provide the public (offender, witness or victim) the same quality of service.

Unfortunately, despite the training already in place, failings are regularly observed.

Objective

The training project “First contact: what if it was you?” is aimed at improving the first contact between the police and the citizens, and therefore, improve the way the general public sees their local community police.

Activities and strategy

This project is part of an overall staff training project.

It is based around two major features: creating videos and setting up an interactive training.

The most complicated situations have been identified (racism, rape, etc.) and four videos entitled “What if it was you?” were filmed, each presenting a caricature of unsuitable police behaviours.

These clips were exclusively designed and performed by staff members of the police zone and are the basis of an interactive training pro-

gramme using the “dilemma training” approach. The aim is to bring police staff to recognise behaviours to be avoided, explore the causes and formulate better alternatives so that, ultimately, they provide feasible and effective professional policing.

Project leader and partnership

This project is the result of an active collaboration between all of the departments of the police zone, with the support of the executive directors.

Results and outlook

The “First contact: what if it was you?” training course will be included into the traditional training programme from 2016 onwards. It will be assessed on a continuous basis.

The community patrol guide: project developed by the Brussels Capital Ixelles police zone



Cover of the community patrol guide

Background and problem

This project stems from the fact that front line officers lack certain specific theoretical knowledge, on public nuisances for instance, usually due to a lack of interest, practice or because of an overload of information and legislative changes. However, these officers cannot patrol the streets without having this information readily available.

Objective

The aim of this project is to strengthen the police officers' professionalism and efficiency during their law enforcement tasks. Thanks to a handy pocket-size guide, police officers can rapidly look up the required procedure whenever necessary, confidently take action and fine for the various offences described in the guide.

Activities and strategy

The project consisted in preparing a practical intervention guide, published as a paperback, that every police officer on patrol would take on his round. A digital version can be directly downloaded on smartphones. This guide describes some 20 actual cases the officers may encounter, providing a simple and immediate answer to any question they may have. The guide is available in both national languages (French and Dutch). It will also be used during in-house training on dealing with public nuisances. In the event of changes to the legislation, the information included in the guide will be immediately updated.

Project leader and partnership

This project is led by the Directorate General of the police zone, in collaboration with front line officers experienced in their areas - who provided information for the guidebook - as well as the computer graphics department for the graphic design.

Results and outlook

The "patrol guide" was distributed to police officers on duty and will be handed out to every new officer on patrol.

“Effective communication, a bridge to citizens”: project developed by the city of Milan

Background and problem

In Milan, the main demand of the population is to see more police officers patrolling the streets. The 2013 report by the Eurispes Institute shows a 73.2% level of public distrust towards public institutions. However, the level of trust in the state police reaches 75% and up to 76.3% for the *carabinieri*, which are the second national police authority.

The aim of the Milan municipality is to strengthen the relations between the police and the population by means of a field presence and a series of initiatives such as community policing, a call centre and regular communication with the general public via Twitter and the press, through press releases and press conferences as well as a digital newspaper.

One of the initiatives implemented as part of the IMPPULSE project was to develop a specific training course for the police officers working in the emergency call centre who are regularly facing extremely varied requests from citizens with all kinds of background. Every year, the centre receives between 250,000 and 300,000 calls of all kinds, such as drivers having had an accident, local residents complaining about a badly parked vehicle or night time racket.

Sometimes, the caller may not be satisfied by the answer, the answer may be incorrect or the communication between the caller and the police officer is of poor quality.

This problem was identified through residents' complaints to the Milan municipality. They generally declared they felt their claim was not heard or misunderstood. On the other hand, police officers mention stressful working conditions when faced with situations they are not always able to resolve.

Objective

The aim of the “Effective communication: a bridge to citizens” training course is to improve the skills of police officers from the emergency call centre by providing them with the tools to respond as effectively as possible to the demands of citizens who often call when in a state of panic or very irritated. The goal of the project is to reduce tensions between the police and the citizens during these telephone discussions.

Activities and strategy

The training is aimed at 150 police officers working at the call centre. Some of them work full time in the control room while others divide their time between the call centre and field work. It was decided not to split these two groups as police officers work just as much in the call centre as they do coordinating the patrols driving around the city.

Interactive courses have been set up, based on actual calls from residents. They have been created by a team of psychologists who already frequently work with the local police in Milan. Participants were asked to identify the strengths and weaknesses when handling calls in order to work out what good practices are. They also received basic training in proactive and assertive communication and listening techniques.

The police officers were divided into groups of 20 people for easier discussions during the sessions. Twelve hours of training was given to each group. Each participant received a booklet summarising the main recommendations acquired during the training course.

Leader of the two projects and partnership

The Department of Urban Security and Social Cohesion of the city of Milan led the project in partnership with the local police and a team of psychologists from the Centre for Research and Studies in Psychotrauma.

Results and outlook

At the beginning and at the end of the course, an evaluation questionnaire was handed out to every participant: 79% (out of 152 responses) felt that the topics discussed during the training course were “very useful for their work” and allowed them to acquire new professional skills. For 72%, the course was deemed “very useful” while only 1% declared it “not useful at all”.

Therefore, almost every police officer from the call centre said the training had allowed them to improve the quality and performance of their work.

II. Raising awareness of citizens about the role of the police



1. Improving relations between the police and the population by working on mutual representations and on a better understanding by the citizens of the role of the police

Several studies have examined the images the police and the population have of one another. It is generally found that citizens have a poor understanding of the tasks and operation of police services. It is also noted that police officers sometimes have a biased image of citizens, both youth and adults.

These communication and representation issues generate real tensions between the police and the citizens and have adverse consequences on the way the police operate. These create a frustration among the citizens when their expectations are not met, for example when they go to the police station with queries on other institutions such as the municipal administration, hospitals, fire services or local authority landlords. Furthermore, when citizens ask the police to intervene in matters that are not within their competence, it becomes obviously impossible

for the police officers to devote the time and resources needed to their own tasks.

Some of the major trends¹⁵ with regards to the perception the police and the population have of one another in Europe are summarised below¹⁶:

Opinions police officers have of the population

- ▶ The perceptions of the population's attitude (friendly or hostile towards the police) are assessed by the police according to age, social status, neighbourhood, profession, origin, etc. The younger population, especially those from immigrant families, are a specific category that has a relatively constant derogatory speech towards the police.
- ▶ Views within the police vary widely, including favourable opinions about the population whatever its social and demographic origin.

Satisfaction and dissatisfaction of the population with regards to the police¹⁷

- ▶ In Europe, surveys have shown the population is mostly satisfied with the police.
- ▶ The population, also seen as a heterogeneous group, attaches considerable importance to fairness in the methods or procedures used by police officers. The legitimacy of the police is based on this.
- ▶ The over 60s have a better image of the police than younger people. This can be explained by the fact that young people are more often in contact with the police when they are subjected to controls or fines.
- ▶ People from ethnic minorities have varying perceptions. However, the police are generally perceived as repressive. This population aspires to a "gentler" police in their dealings with them, but expects a "stricter" police for events they would complain about.

15- Man, C., "Interactions entre policiers et population dans l'espace public. Des ajustements du cadre de l'expérience policière aux routines d'interactions ordinaires", PhD thesis in criminology, under the supervision of Sybille Smeets, presented on 6th March 2015.

16- Hendrickx, T., Smeets, S., Strebelle, C., & Tange, C. (2000). "La police de proximité en Belgique." Bilan des connaissances. Les Cahiers de la sécurité, (39), 7-27

17- (Van Roosbroek, 2008, 65); (Easton et al., 2009, 132); (Enhuis et al., 1988b, 3; Cornet et al., 1987, 3; Moniteur de sécurité, 1997, 19)

- ▶ Despite its heterogeneity, the expectations of the population are focused on a few common points: the population wants to be in contact with pleasant police officers; objectivity and neutrality are greatly appreciated; the public wants a police force that is seen and accessible¹⁸.

What young people think of the police

- ▶ The younger population are generally suspicious, even fearful, of the police, which leads them to believe they would not be protected by the police should they become a victim.
- ▶ Negative perceptions are generally based on their encounters with police officers, when these occur in public places, such as identity checks for example, when the encounter can be viewed negatively.
- ▶ The young admit that police involvement is also justified. They make a distinction between the "good" and the "bad" police. A good police officer will demonstrate certain qualities, but is also respectful, smart and takes initiatives. The younger population expect the police to behave correctly without hoping for impeccable behaviour.

2. Developing a specific communication strategy aimed at the public and the media

A communication effort is needed to create a space where the police and the population can meet and exchange, to explain the role of the police and to inform the general public on the work and achievements of the police. A communication strategy of public authorities specifically designed with the media also helps explain and raise awareness about the police. The way insecurity is portrayed in the media and the relations between the police and the media is fundamental to the image of the police among the population. In this sense, the way the police is portrayed in the media and in works of fiction (novels, films, songs, etc.) should better reflect the daily reality as well as showcase community policing activities.

18- (Jamouille et Mazzochetti, 2011, 300) ; (Spaey, 2004, 102) ; (Delens-Ravier et Thibaut, 2003, 34) ; (Dirikx et al., 2012, 202) ; (Van Aerschoot et De Schrijver, 2008, 70) ; (Verwee, 2012, 195) ; (Easton et al., 2008, 5)

Communication plan on the emergency call number “17” aimed at the Nantes population: project developed by the city of Nantes, France

LES ADVENTURES DE SUPER 17
CHAP. II. BON USAGE

ELEMENTS A PRECISER

- 1 IDENTIFIER AUPRES DE L'OPERATEUR**
NOM, PRENOM, DOMICILE
Je m'appelle ...
Je suis domicilié...
- 2 PRECISER L'ADRESSE DES FAITS**
Je me trouve à telle adresse...
- 3 PRECISER LES FAITS MOTIVANT L'APPEL AU 17**
Préciser quelle est la nature des faits ou la nature de la menace (violences en cours, précision s'il y a usage ou menace avec arme, dégradations volontaires en cours, menaces...)
Dans la mesure du possible:
Préciser qui sont les personnes concernées et leur nombre
Combien de victimes ?
Combien d'auteurs ?
- 4 COMMUNIQUER LE SIGNALEMENT DU OU DES AUTEURS**
Type (européen, nord africain, noir africain...) Age approximatif, taille.
Description physique (préciser certaines particularités (porteur de lunettes, moustache, barbe, piercings...)
Description vestimentaire (type et couleurs de vêtements)
Si l'auteur est en possession d'un véhicule ou d'un 2 roues (le préciser en essayant de communiquer la plaque d'immatriculation, la couleur, le type de véhicule...)
- 5 PRECISER QUEL EST LE DEGRE DE DANGEROUSITE**
Agression en cours ou passée, auteurs sur place ou en fuite, attitude hostile...

LES NUMEROS A CONNAITRE

112 Numéro d'appel d'urgence européen
Si vous êtes victime ou témoin d'un accident dans un pays de l'Union Européenne.

15 Le Service d'aide médical urgente (SAMU) Pour obtenir l'intervention d'une équipe médicale lors d'une situation de détresse vitale, ainsi que pour être redirigé vers un organisme de permanence de soins.

17 Police Secours
Pour signaler une infraction qui nécessite l'intervention immédiate de la police.

18 Sapeurs-pompiers
Pour signaler une situation de péril ou un accident concernant des biens ou des personnes et obtenir leur intervention rapide.

114 Numéro d'urgence pour les personnes sourdes et malentendantes
Si vous êtes victime ou témoin d'une situation d'urgence qui nécessite l'intervention des services de secours. Numéro d'urgence accessible par FAX et SMS.

Les numéros d'appel d'urgence permettent de joindre gratuitement les secours 24h/24. Mais, trop d'appels passent et les Agents Téléphoniciens sont trop souvent surchargés. Chaque année, plus de 3.000.000 interventions sont réalisées par les sapeurs-pompiers, soit 9600 interventions par jour. Quand au SAMU, il reçoit près de 2500 appels par jour. Or, nombre d'appels ne ou correspond cependant pas forcément à des situations d'urgence. On estime que, dans plus de 30% des cas, la réponse appropriée consiste seulement en une information ou un conseil médical.

Information flyer on the “17” number

Background and problem

For the population of Nantes, the main way to contact their police services is through the emergency call number “17”.

Although the service is operating satisfactorily, some aspects – lack of time given to each call, irrelevant calls and lack of knowledge of the departments to which the call should be redirected – cause problems and frustration for callers as well as for police officers.



To rectify this, the city of Nantes implemented two pilot projects:

- ▶ a communication plan on the actions carried out by the police following a call to the emergency number “17”;
- ▶ the redirection of non-emergency calls to the appropriate services through better mutual understanding among the different services.

There are approximately 200,000 calls each year to the 17 emergency number. This represents half the population of Nantes. This large number of calls is not only related to situations requiring a police intervention: this is also due to the fact that this service is the first line of call for the general public because it is easy to access and open 24/7 all year long.

The Information and Command Centre receives and redirects the calls. The team includes 31 specialised police officers. They ensure continuous operation and occupy several positions: reception of incoming calls and management of crews in the streets, search through police records, and communication with the police forces deployed to ensure public order when there are large events.

The response capacity of the police forces is stable at an average of 32,000 per year. This represents approximately one call in six. The average response time is eight minutes, which is overall satisfactory. However, in reality, the response varies according to the availability of the police crews and their geographical location at the time of the call.

During partnership meetings between the city of Nantes “Prevention Mission” department and various police departments from the central police station, it was highlighted that the population as much as the operators of the Information and Command Centre experience some difficulties and frustration. The police officers have pointed out that the difficulties in carrying out their work is mainly due to the lack of time they are able to allocate to the callers, to the fact citizens do not really know how to use the 17 emergency number and that the partners or telephone operators do not always know where to redirect non-urgent requests. The population perceive this as a lack of listening and time given by the police officers and feel that response times are long (whether an intervention is needed or not).

>> Pilot project 1: communication plan on the police actions following a call to the emergency number “17”

Objectives

Through the implementation of a communication plan about the action of the police following a call to the 17 number, the aim of the city of Nantes is to inform residents about the conditions justifying an emergency call. This improvement in understanding and using the 17 number will free up this telephone line as well as the police officer in the Information and Command Centre. They will then be able to better deal with truly urgent calls.

Activities and strategy

The project is part of the local strategy for public peace, which is jointly developed by the municipality and the State as part of the territorialised annual agreement for public peace (Contrat annuel territorialisé de Tranquillité publique, CATTP).

The project consisted of three phases over 10 months: diagnosis, implementation and dissemination.

In order to communicate and clarify the use of the emergency call number, professionals and elected officials from the city of Nantes involved in the project have chosen to move away from institutional rules by adopting humorous tone through the woes of “Super Hero 17”, a cartoon character specially created and illustrated on posters.

This campaign was launched and supervised by the city council together with the European Forum for Urban Security (Efus), so as not to mobilise the police on this project.

In order to provide a neutral external perspective, the city of Nantes has chosen to use the services of Sebastian Carceres, an Argentinian cartoonist who had already worked on educational projects for young people and institutions.

His work comprised three storyboards developed from three separate scenarios. They were then printed on posters and flyers.

The young people from Nantes' deprived neighbourhoods who sometimes experience tensions with the police were involved in the process through a partnership with a local association. The aim was to involve 15- to 16-year-olds to the project to show them how the national police operated and allow them to meet with police officers at the Information and Command Centre. This idea was for the youth and the police to meet one another and overcome certain stereotypes.

Following these meetings, a fourth storyboard was produced by youngsters with the help of the cartoonist. Several articles were published on this in the local press.

The dissemination phase consisted in distributing the cartoons to all categories of the public most likely to call the 17 number. The cartoon was therefore distributed:

- ▶ in public reception areas: 10 points at the national or municipal police; 11 points at the city council and district city councils; in the shop of Nantes' main public transport company, the TAN; 15 points at the main social landlords' headquarters and agencies; the High Court and the two Houses of Justice and Law of the city of Nantes.
- ▶ During individual meetings between the three police-population delegates of the national police, all the national highway police officers and 30 mediators from Nantes' deprived neighbourhoods.
- ▶ During public meetings: events promoted by the national police such as Security Week; four public police-population meetings and meetings with residents as part of the implementation of the petition protocol or more informal encounters in front of housing estates (around 20 per year).

A poster campaign was also carried out in the various structures mentioned above and in socio-cultural centres around the city of Nantes.

>> Pilot project 2: the redirection of non-emergency calls to the appropriate services through better understanding of the different services

Objectives

The aim of this second pilot project is to promote mutual understanding between different departments in charge of security and public peace and the Information and Command Centre so that everyone understands better the work and constraints of the others.

Activities and strategy

This action is part of the local strategy for security and public peace in the city of Nantes.

A series of meetings were held between the various departments of the city and the wider borough, during which participants prepared the forthcoming work and agreed on how to collaborate. The following attended these meetings: officers from the national and municipal police, from the municipality and the Greater Nantes (métropole), including those in charge of the night enforcement brigade and the Crime Prevention Mission, neighbourhood mediators and officers of the public transport crime prevention department.

Leader of the two projects and partnership

This action was led by the Nantes city council, through its Crime Prevention Mission, part of the Public Peace Management department (Direction de la tranquillité publique). The national police, first senior management then the front line officers, were closely involved. Several partnership meetings were held during the course of the project.

In order to share the objectives of the two pilot projects, an agreement was signed between the state police and the municipality of Nantes.

Results and outlook

As the project has been part of a partnership policy deeply rooted in the territory for several years, it can be considered over the long-term.

Work to build the inter-institution knowledge completed the pilot project.

The documents produced were to be distributed throughout 2015 and 2016.

If the flyers are well received by the population, this media may be used for other issues related to this topic.

Citizenship Space (Espace Citoyenneté): project developed by the city of Amiens

Background and nature of the problem

To reinforce the concept of public service, the city of Amiens created a Citizenship Space to facilitate access to rights and meet the need of residents, associations, professionals and institutions for information on citizenship, or direct them as appropriate to the relevant structures and services.

Objective

This space is intended to serve as a place for meetings and exchanges among residents in order to anticipate the fears and tensions through dialogue and social links, by promoting tolerance and above all, with the commitment of everyone.

Activities and strategy

In addition to the existing furniture and equipment of the Citizenship Space, more equipment will be provided according to the missions of this structure in order to guarantee its proper operation. To this end, funds will be taken from the 2016 budget.

The Citizenship Space will receive residents and be operated, for the municipal part, by a representative of the Department of Security and Prevention of Urban Risks, a representative of the Local Democracy Department and a Project Manager. Their main tasks will be to plan the actions needed, coordinate the different stakeholders in the network and welcome the citizens.

The Citizenship Space will provide an opportunity for residents to be active citizens and promote tips and solutions for better living together. The information provided will cover every field of citizenship. The Citizenship Space welcomes anyone interested in citizenship issues by raising their awareness, and providing information and advice. It also organises communication, education and awareness-raising actions and constantly offers information leaflets. This Citizenship Space also facilitates access to rights and meets the need of residents, associations, professionals and institutions for information on citizenship. It can also direct them as appropriate to the relevant structures and services.

The Citizenship Space is also a place that allows networking and coordinating different prevention and partnership arrangements in order to create synergies. This is done through workshops or conferences on site or externally.

The House of Road Safety (Maison de la sécurité routière), which is run in partnership between the Préfecture, the Departmental Council (Conseil départemental) and the Amiens city council, is also located in the Citizenship Space. Its function is to be a place for information and exchange on road safety, open to anybody interested in this issue.

Project leader and partnership

This project is led by the city of Amiens and its Security and Public Peace Delegation.

In order to ensure that all citizens have access to all matters of life in the municipality, the Point for Access to Law, another municipal scheme which has been accredited by the Departmental Council for Access to Law (Conseil départemental d'Accès au Droit) is also installed in the Citizenship Space. Its role is to inform all citizens about their rights and to offer mediation when needed.

Results and outlook

The Citizenship Space was due to be inaugurated at the beginning of 2016. The creation of this entity is testament to the commitment of the city of Amiens towards the population since this place dedicated to citizenship will work to encourage and facilitate the involvement of residents in the life of their city.

The goal is to foster the inclusion and participation of all citizens in the life of their city. In this sense, the Citizenship Space will foster social links and encourage residents to network, while showing that each and every citizen is valuable for the city.

“Communication” Action Project, developed by the city of Aubervilliers

Background and problem

With this project, the municipality of Aubervilliers responded to the need to create and develop a municipal communication system to inform the population and the police of all the work put in place to strengthen and improve their relations.

The city wanted to encourage discussions so that the population would take into account the issues the police station is facing daily and that the police would know the territory and its specificities.

This project is based on a series of observations identified during security meetings between the mayor and different municipal departments as well as the police station but also from encounters with the residents.

Objective

The project objective is to inform the population of the daily issues and constraints faced by the police and allow the police officers to better understand the territory in which they work, as well as its characteristics.

These actions are tools that improve or create communication channels with the general population as well as a smaller number of people interested in engaging in these issues.

The aim of this project is also to raise awareness among residents that they must reclaim the public space and that the police are not exclusively responsible for this.

Activities and strategy

The city held five meetings over a period of six months with the police, the residents and some local elected officials to explain the missions of the two police forces (national and municipal) and the difficulties they face. Approximately a hundred people, some who are already involved in various neighbourhood committees and others informed through articles in the local newspaper, attended these meetings.

All activities led by the city on the topic were covered by articles in the local newspaper *Aubermensuel* (30,000 copies sent to residents and 5,000 others made available at strategic points in the city). The information was also relayed through various brochures and on the website of the city.

During the project's closing seminar, to which every participant took part, the work of everyone was highlighted, their commitments explained and the work paths for the future presented.

Project leader and partnership

The Prevention, Victim Assistance and Public Interventions department of the municipality of Aubervilliers led the project together with the local police and the police superintendent, *Aubermensuel*, the Local Democracy and City Policy department and the Communications management.

Results and outlook

The IMPPULSE project allowed the city to work on the police-population issue. This is a starting point and this topic should be included in the new Local Strategy for Crime Prevention 2015-2020.

When asked about the awareness-raising meetings in which they took part, the group of residents felt these had been interesting even if they had not always given concrete answers to their questions. They nevertheless expressed the wish to see these meetings continue and even offered to set up actual projects with the police.

The idea of creating a website dedicated to all the tasks and actions of the Security and Prevention management department, including the municipal police, was eventually dropped as part of the overall redesign of the city's website. However, the municipality's website includes further information on the police as well as practical facts on the police station.

Living safely: a guidebook for the local police, a project developed by the city of Milan

Background and problem

In Milan, the relations between the police and the population are generally positive and marked by mutual trust. However, the city wanted to set up a project to clarify the role of the local police and for citizens to better understand the services offered by the police. Indeed, most misunderstandings between the police and the population are generally due to the lack of knowledge about the rules of intervention and jurisdiction of the local police.



Objectives

The aim of the local police guide *Living Safely* is to allow citizens to better understand and properly use all the services provided by the police.

Cover of the guidebook Vivere in sicurezza : Guida alla Polizia Locale (Living Safely: Guidebook for the Local Police)

Activities and strategy

The guide produced by the city seeks to explain what citizens may ask the police and how they can get in touch with the police department. It contains a series of information sheets that present all activities carried out by the local police and all contact phone numbers.

The biggest challenge was to inform the residents about the guide. To do so, the city targeted certain categories of the population such as the elderly, more specifically through “training sessions” provided by the local police to senior citizens on the prevention of fraud and theft. The guide was also sent to the local press and is available for free download on the city’s website. It is also available in police stations and public buildings and is distributed during neighbourhood meetings.

Project leader and partnership

The Urban Security and Social Cohesion Department of the city of Milan has led the project, which was carried out in partnership with the Communication Department of the local police in Milan.

Results and outlook

It is difficult to accurately measure the results of this project. However, for the residents, the guide has definitely clarified the police skills and the proper use of emergency numbers.

“Interact for better action”: project developed by the city of Toulouse



Logo for the Allô Toulouse service

Background and problem

The city of Toulouse has a call centre running 24/7, which is designed to meet the many and varied demands of its users (250,000 calls per year), more

specifically regarding incivilities, disturbances to public peace and security issues. In 2015, approximately one in six calls resulted in a referral to a security service (national or municipal police).

Indeed, the previous tool (Peace Office) was not fully satisfactory. A major reorganisation of the call centre operation was carried out to provide Toulouse with quick and effective responses. This tool was recently renamed “Allô Toulouse”. In this context, the city of Toulouse carried out an experience based on automated feedback to the users of Allô Toulouse.

Objectives

There were several objectives to this project:

- ▶ To improve and reinforce communication among users by providing them with a monitoring and individual feedback system relating to insecurity or disturbances to public peace.
- ▶ To improve the response procedures for the Allô Toulouse operators in terms of safety issues, nuisances, incivilities and disturbances to public peace.
- ▶ To value the expertise and work of Allô Toulouse operators and supervisors by setting up collective participatory approaches (visits to partner departments, working on arguments and responses, changes in technical tools, management, training).
- ▶ To ensure the adaptation and evolution of the existing responses and intervention methods of the municipal front line services.

Activities and strategy

Through the implementation of modernised, revised and strengthened communication modalities, the residents are more receptive to the answers given by the community to their issues via Allô Toulouse. Their perception of the response, as well as that of stakeholders involved in its implementation, is now more positive and better understood.

The aim of the project was to implement a systematic feedback from

Toulouse residents who use Allô Toulouse, specifically those calling for insecurity and public peace issues. To do so, the software used by the Allô Toulouse management had to be updated.

Management prepared the specifications stating the requirements for the software so the callers could follow up on their complaints. The new software was introduced in October 2015 after a test phase.

Together with their supervisors, a team of four operators is now specifically in charge of contacting the callers whose complaints didn't get a solution or warrant an intervention to explain the reasons for the lack of intervention or the delayed response.

At the same time, several working processes have been implemented, including:

- ▶ An "inter-department coordination" process to redefine the cooperation frameworks and formalise the response, intervention and feedback procedures;
- ▶ An "argument" process: drawn from the experience of Allô Toulouse operators gathered in working groups, a number of recurring problem situations were identified and together with the municipal police, new response procedures were defined;
- ▶ A "monitoring" process: through role playing and simulations, operators were able to improve their response procedures;
- ▶ Renegotiation of the response and intervention delays and formalisation of the cooperation procedures between the Allô Toulouse management and other involved departments and partners.

A communication system dedicated to changes implemented by the Allô Toulouse management was also set up.

Project leader and partnership

The city of Toulouse initiated the project which is led in-house by the Allô Toulouse management. The entire team was mobilised throughout the process: management, supervisors, operators, IT project managers, analysts, etc. The various community departments that handle the requests of users are also involved. This includes the city

police for cases relating to security and public peace.

The National Police is also involved more indirectly.

The Allô Toulouse management is currently* revising its cooperation procedures with several partners. A new agreement should be signed with the National Police to include a more efficient exchange of information.

Results and outlook

Initially, the project launched a phase of reflection within the different departments of the community, including the Allô Toulouse management, on how to improve communication with users, especially with regards to security and public peace issues. It quickly became clear that residents had high expectations, but also that operators wanted to provide users with the most appropriate and relevant response.

The software used for feedback is likely to be included into the future mobile application dedicated to Allô Toulouse and will be given a specific section on the website of the City of Toulouse.

III. The approach targeting specific population groups



1. Projects targeting a specific aspect or group in population-police relations

It is established that certain specific groups in the population (youth, ethnic minorities, homeless people, LGBT** community) require a special approach because, in addition to other factors of exclusion, their access to the police departments is not as easy as it is for the rest

* At the time of going to press (January 2015)

** Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender

of the population. A target group approach allows the police to better understand the needs and modes of operation of a specific community and therefore to adapt its response accordingly.

This is the case for the LGBT community who is too often reluctant to file a complaint for aggression for fear of ridicule and stigma at the police station. The same goes for youth and ethnic minorities who complain about racial profiling. This may also be the case for tourists (temporary citizens) who require, for example, that the police forces improve their language skills to communicate and be able to assist them.

A more proactive approach involving more specifically the target audience in police activity can also be considered for easier dialogue. The necessary safeguards should be provided to avoid abuse and to prevent those without the appropriate power to take over police activities.

2. Relations between the police and youth and other public targets

During a study¹⁹ on perception, the youth emerge as a specific category within the population, overhyped when it comes to their negative perception of the police and overrepresented in the police officers discourse when they designate those who, in their view, are the most hostile towards them. "The security injunction, whatever its form, therefore focuses criticism on police practices (harassment, provocation, violence and police blunders). The risk is to reduce the social question to a confrontation 'issue' between the police and the youth, even though the population from these deprived neighbourhoods are fundamentally more subjected to the brutality of employment, housing policies and others, and to the restriction in social policies²⁰."

Young people and crime are too often represented as "youth" (specifically young men) from "difficult neighbourhoods", from a poor background, "different", and causing difficulties. It is difficult for these young people to escape that stigma. However, the youth are not the

19- Proteau, L., "Vision doctrinale et divisions pratiques : de quelques contradictions structurelles entre proximité et police", *Journal des anthropologues*, 2007, Paris, n° 108-109, pp. 249-277.

20- *Ibid.*

only ones to be stigmatised; this is also the case for police officers in sensitive neighbourhoods. These difficult relations will continue if the entire society as a whole and the community is not involved in a mediation project. There are promising practices to be tested with the full cooperation of institutions.

As stated in the Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee²¹ on 'Urban areas and youth violence': "The appropriate choices and specific training, if possible in line with European benchmarks, of the social, legal and police stakeholders, should be ensured and continually updated on the basis of multi-institutional and multidisciplinary cooperation against a background of exchanges between countries, especially with a view to establishing dialogue and relations between the police and young people". It is indeed obvious that youth violence is an area of work that needs the involvement of both local and European stakeholders.

While the younger population appears to be an excessively depreciated category, others are made "invisible" even though they are in regular contact with the police during checks and fines. These include the homeless and travellers, two types of people regularly in contact with the police.

These are people who are "politically defined, according to a reductive representation of insecurity²²" as "threatening figures²³". They may be people who operate in the low-income groups without necessarily being part of specific ethnic groups. Police officers who are in contact with these groups generally attribute their specific characteristics, such as "problem behaviours and on this basis proceed by differentiation²⁴", i.e. these people targeted by the police are treated in a specific and separate manner, which may amount to discrimination. However, it must be noted that "target" categories which are part of the proactive activity of the police are not the only ones to suffer from adverse police attitudes. Indeed, women, the elderly and those perceived as middle-class can also be affected by the negative perceptions of the police and sometimes practices that are not always very understanding²⁵.

21- Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on 'Urban areas and youth violence' (2009/C 317/06)

22- Mary, 2001, 38

23- Smeets, 2003, 39

24- Easton et al. 2008, 5

25- Ericson 2005 (1982), 228.

This is to say that great vigilance is needed when choosing a population to target. Targeting one category of the population rather than others (in place of or in addition to) could lead to further targeting that category without it benefiting from being the centre of attention.

It therefore seems appropriate to consider the population categories that combine several exclusion mechanisms, including that of not having access to quality relations with the police.

Youth and authority: project developed by the city of Barcelona

Background and problem

The economic crisis has had an impact on the Catalan population, particularly on the younger people in working-class neighbourhoods. A high unemployment rate and austerity measures implemented by the authorities in social care have taken their toll on family resources, which generates tensions in these neighbourhoods. One effect of this is the increasing deterioration of the relations between young people and the public administration, and in particular with any representative of the “authority”, such as teachers or police officers patrolling in public spaces.

The Barcelona project was focused on the concept of authority in the broad sense, because tensions are often an expression of complex social conflicts.

Objective

The aim of this project was to improve relations between the youth and police officers and teachers by working on communication and mutual understanding. This project is intended to be replicated in other parts of the city and other cities.

The initiative also aims at giving teachers and police officers the required communication tools and training to help them in their daily work with the younger population.

Activities and strategy

This project used the “critical encounters” methodology developed in London (UK) and Gouda (NL) by the My City My World project.

Through workshops including fun activities, teenagers, police officers and teachers can communicate in a neutral context, where the usual relation of authority does not apply. This enables a constructive dialogue between the three groups. Existing conflicts may emerge and mutual stereotypes and prejudices can be dispelled.

Over a period of six months, groups composed of about fifteen youngsters, four policemen and four teachers met regularly. The workshops were prepared and led by two leaders (man and woman) in collaboration with the youth. They took place in a neutral environment (a youth centre).

They included three stages:

1. Preparation: before the workshop, the youngsters met the leaders to decide on the subjects to be discussed;
2. Discussions between the young people, the police officers and the teachers under the supervision of the two leaders;
3. Assessment of the session: The police and the teachers meet with the leaders to assess the session.

Before implementing “critical encounters”, a preparation phase was necessary. This was used to connect educational or youth centres with teams of youth workers to develop a preliminary diagnosis using the “focus groups” method and carry out a short training session for the leaders. Throughout the project, an assessment was carried out through surveys, in-depth interviews and observations.

In order for the project to be replicable, a series of conclusions were drawn from the results of workshops and the assessment. These findings were then presented publicly.

Project leader and partnership

The project is led by the Prevention Department of the municipality of Barcelona, in partnership with the *Guardia Urbana* (municipal police) and El Submarí (La Marina neighbourhood) and Martí Codolar (Horta neighbourhood) youth centres. The project was also carried out in partnership with the Open Society Initiative, which funded part of the activities.

Results and outlook

Thanks to the workshops, the police, teachers and youngsters developed a better understanding of one another in an environment promoting mutual respect and trust.

The municipality of Barcelona is planning to expand the project to three more groups in three other neighbourhoods.

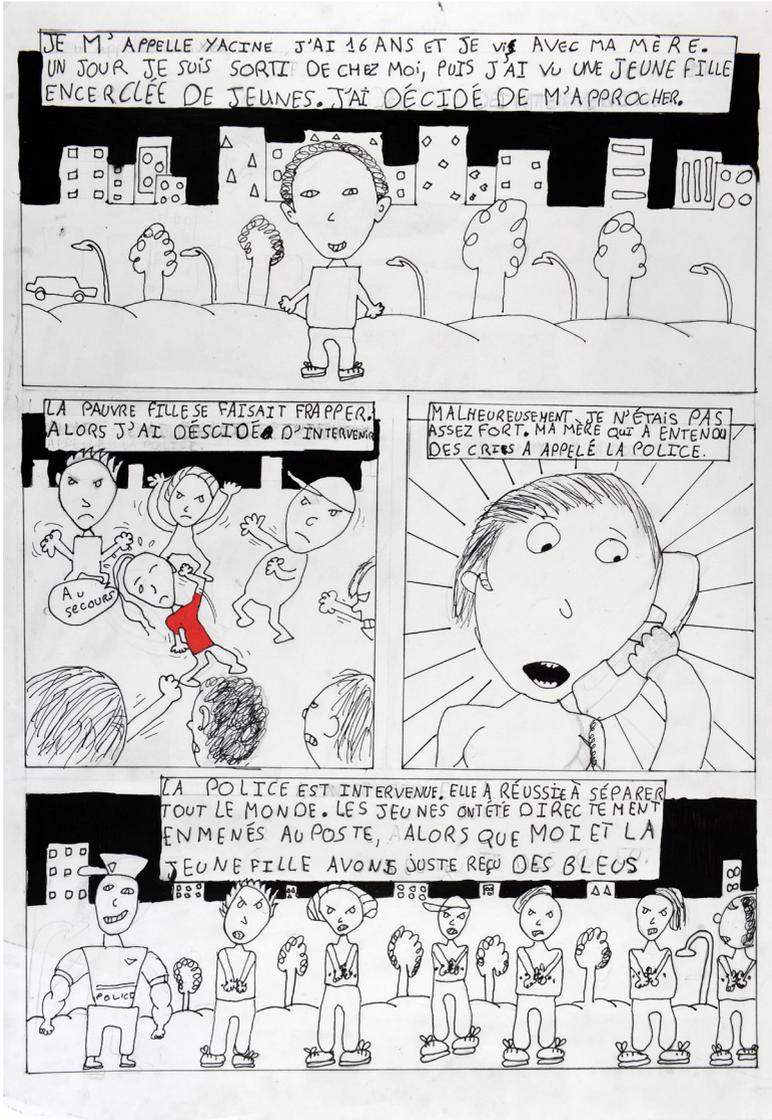
Cartoon workshop: project developed by the city of Aubervilliers

Background and problem

One of the main priorities of the municipality of Aubervilliers is to reduce tensions between the police and young adults.

Objective

The aim of the project was to create spaces for the youth and the police officers to exchange and “deconstruct” existing representations on both sides.





Drawings by young residents of Aubervilliers made during the cartoon workshops with Berthet One

Activities and strategy

The municipality organised several cartoon workshops with Berthet One, a former inmate and now well-known cartoonist. These brought together about 20 teenagers, aged 11 to 17. The aim was to discuss, through the use of drawing, the idea the youth had of the police. The workshops were held in the “Maison des Jeunes“ during school holidays so that the youngsters could take part.

At the end of each workshop, an exchange was organised around a snack with the police superintendent and her deputy. They helped dispel some misconceptions on both sides.

Project leader and partnership

The Prevention, Victim Support and Public Interventions department of the municipality of Aubervilliers led the project in partnership with the Municipal Youth Office, the Prevention Club and Berthet One.

Results and outlook

The youngsters created 17 storyboards that talk about actual and/or imaginary situations. Many of the young people drew cartoons about police controls in public spaces, both those they experience and those they witness.

They felt really valued by the fact that the highest police officials in Aubervilliers came to meet them. Many expressed their surprise when they realised these were two women.

Above all, it is clear that the work started here (fighting against misconceptions between the youth and the police) remains immense. However, it was a concrete first step in the right direction.

The "Pedestrian Licence": project developed by the city of Aubervilliers

Background and problem

This project is part of the initiative of the municipality of Aubervilliers to work on the relations between the youth and the police at a young age.

Primary school pupils (aged 8-9) start going out in the street alone. It seemed vital to raise their awareness of the dangers of the street. The purpose of the action is to make each pedestrian-pupil aware of his/her responsibilities through a participatory method.

Learning how to walk alone in the street is not innate; the children need guiding through the pitfalls to be avoided in a constantly changing environment. They also need to be given the rules to follow for pedestrians and users of public space.

Objectives

The aim of this project is to help school children aged 9 to 11 to safely acquire habits and attitudes to allow them to safely travel alone.

Activities and strategy

The project was carried out over several stages:

- ▶ intervention of a municipal police officer in the classrooms;
- ▶ study in the classroom with their teachers;
- ▶ discussion with a municipal police officer on the topics of “the dangers in the street”, using the photolanguage method;
- ▶ practical test in a city park, organised by the municipal police and composed of three workshops: a trip on foot, “recovery position” and “protect, alert, help”;
- ▶ assessment, as a multiple choice questionnaire in class, led by municipal police officers;

- ▶ official presentation of the “Pedestrian licence” at the City Hall by an elected official, followed by a snack and the giving of presents related to pedestrian safety.

Project leader and partnership

The project was led by the Prevention, Victim Assistance and Public Interventions department of the municipality of Aubervilliers in partnership with the National Education system and the municipal police. Daytime mediators and parents were also asked to accompany the pupils between the school and the location where the practical test took place.

An insurance company provided educational kits.

Results and outlook

The feedback from teachers and heads were positive. They highlighted the fact that the action had helped improve the relations between the children and the municipal police officers. In 2015, 460 pupils from 22 classes from various schools of Aubervilliers took part in the project. The municipality intends to renew this project after 2015.

A film about the rapprochement between the police and youth: project developed by the city of Aubervilliers

Background and problem

This project is the continuation of an action-research, “Dialogue between the Police and the Youth in Aubervilliers”, initiated by one of the two project managers of the Youth Department (Mission Jeunesse) of the municipality in 2011 as part of a university research. The Local Youth Council was already involved in a reflection on this topic through workshops including youth workers, police officers, elected officials, sociologists and the younger population of Aubervilliers.

The Youth Project managers had noticed that the police had a poor image among the younger population because of the difficulties the police had to face in some deprived neighbourhoods (for example, the Territories Security Brigade who patrols on specific areas). Many young people have internalised the idea that their “territory” is an area where situations could get out of control. This finding led the municipality to involve the local Youth Council in the project.

Objective

By mobilising the youth through educational measures and an analysis of citizenship, the aim of the project was to review the mutual images the youth and the police had of one another and to promote a dialogue in order to overcome the logic of confrontation. The idea was also to encourage greater social cohesion in deprived neighbourhoods, including through the participation of the local Youth Council.

Activities and strategy

One of the central ideas of the project was to make a film and to create and feed a medium aimed at easing tensions between the police and the younger population.

Through dialogue, consultation and proposals for implementing actual measures for their fellow citizens, the local Youth Council of Aubervilliers wanted to become a “laboratory” of participatory citizenship. Young members of the Council have to comply with a moral charter around common principles: respect for democracy and republican values; civic involvement; the will to shape the image of a responsible youth that can be a resource for the city and is involved in the local life; the desire to create a feeling of community between young people, elected officials and institutions, including the police.

Groups of motivated youth took part in the project. The local Youth Council therefore organised several meetings between the youth and officers from the national police. These exchanges were filmed and resulted in the production of a 15-minute video clip, made available to all professionals working on the topic of population-police relations to be used as a channel for exchange and as a mediation tool.

Project leader and partnership

The project was initiated by two Youth project managers from the municipality of Aubervilliers, in partnership with the local Youth Council of Aubervilliers (CLJA), officers of the Aubervilliers national police station, and the Prevention, Victim Assistance and Public Interventions department of the municipality of Aubervilliers.

Results and outlook

The film will be made available to all professionals who want to work on the relations between the youth and the police. It can be used as a media for exchanges at a local level to develop a culture of dialogue and promote the image of youth as a resource for the city.

“Put your helmet on”: project developed by the city of Amiens



Screenshot taken from the video clip Put Your Helmet On

Background and problem

The Amiens Nord neighbourhood was affected by urban unrest during the summer of 2012 during which several youngsters from that neighbourhood fought the police. The neighbourhood was declared a Priority Security Zone (PSZ). This resulted in an increase in the number of front line police officers followed by background work undertaken by the State and the city of Amiens.

Among the various initiatives launched in this area, the city of Amiens implemented a project bringing together young people from the northern neighbourhoods of Amiens and the police around a common cause: the use of a motorbike helmet. National figures on road safety have indeed indicated that not wearing a helmet is one of the factors for fatal accidents when riding a motorbike.

Objective

The main objective of this project is the improvement of relations between young people from deprived neighbourhoods (including the PSZ) and police services (national and municipal) by increasing their awareness of the action of the police among the population and especially the youth.

Activities and strategy

Faced with the difficulty of the police to prevent motorbike accidents, the municipality decided to launch a project involving the younger population (aged 14 to 25) and several national and municipal police officers to create an awareness-raising video.

The city council and its partners organised a video competition aimed at young people on the topic of risky behaviour on motorbike. The video was realised by six youngsters from the Amiens Nord neighbourhood and supervised by seven municipal and national police officers. It tells the story of a teenager riding a moped without a helmet and in an irresponsible manner. He is seen almost knocking over a couple of passers-by with a pushchair and then having a minor accident.

There were two main benefits to the project: a video was produced but more importantly, it brought together young people and police officers who worked for six months on the project.

Project leader and partnership

The project is supported by the Security and Prevention of Urban Risks department of the city of Amiens in partnership with the national police, the municipal police, the Prevention-Mediation department,

the Youth Service, the Cabinet Deffontaines and the Picardy Association for Preventative Action (APAP).

Results and outlook

The project was an opportunity for young people and police officers to meet and better know one another. It helped move forward a series of actions to reduce risky behaviours on motorbike such as a prevention campaign aimed at mothers (posters and tarpaulins on buildings), a competition of mini-videos and a “show” involving graffiti artists to educate the youth on risky driving and road safety. The youngsters and the police officers involved in the project have expressed their desire to continue the work together on the research project.

The winning video was shown in the “out of competition” section of the Amiens International Film Festival.

The project was highly commended by the Minister of Home Affairs, Bernard Cazeneuve, as “an example of dialogue between the youth and the police” and will probably be released nationally.

3. Participation of inhabitants

>> Is it appropriate to involve citizens in police activities and actions?

If we accept the idea of implementing specific actions to bring closer citizens and the police, this leads to reflect on the status of residents in the quest for security for all. The situation has changed: citizens are increasingly well organised. They have more and more precise expectations with regards to safety and have effective tools for communicating with the authorities, including social networks and the Internet. Furthermore, they want to be consulted and not just informed and expect their police forces to act transparently.

On the other hand, there is a growing demand on the part of police institutions and governments to see citizens more involved in police activities. A few examples are the introduction of “rounds” in Italy, the recruitment of volunteer police officers by the London Metropolitan

Police, and “voluntary citizens within the national police” in France.

This raises a number of questions:

- ▶ How is the police ready to accept this demand for the residents’ involvement, including the need to be informed about police activity, to be informed of the follow-up after a complaint is filed or even to take part in deciding which police actions are a priority?
- ▶ What are the types of activities that can be delegated to volunteer residents in terms of community policing?
- ▶ How do residents see the role they could play? Have they been invited to define their expectations? What does it mean for them to be involved, through a commitment beyond recrimination and claims (given that they are most often linked to an event)?
- ▶ Who are the residents’ representative interlocutors? What role is there for local governance with the citizens and the police becoming closer?
- ▶ What is the scope of such activities and how can they be defined?
- ▶ How are volunteers working with police institutions?
- ▶ Do local authorities support initiatives to involve volunteer citizens in activities such as patrolling, controlling and reassuring the population?

>> What could the involvement of citizens be in police activities?

The idea is to set up a police model with the population (community police) rather than a policing model by the population in order to avoid “vigilantism” (i.e. to exercise the law or a particular moral code individually and without legal judicial process). Almost everywhere in Europe, there are various projects focused on the direct and voluntary engagement of citizens in police activities.

Baixa-Chiado "Focus on the Street": project developed by the city of Lisbon



The poster displayed on local shop windows.

Background and problem

As part of the community policing project for security in the Baixa-Chiado neighbourhood, which has been ongoing since 2007, the Lisbon municipal police wanted to develop a local urban security project aimed at tourists and based on the participation of shopkeepers.

The Baixa-Chiado neighbourhood is located in the city centre and very busy. It is also the most commercial area of Lisbon, attracting many tourists arriving by cruise ship. While Lisbon is seeking to strengthen cruise tourism, it is especially important for the municipality to preserve the public peace and good relations with the police in this neighbourhood.

Objective

The aim of the project is to improve relations between the police and tourists and between tourists and locals.

Activities and strategy

The project developed by Lisbon is part of the "Grand Options" municipal plan for the 2013-2017 period. From the start, the assessment was considered a key methodological aspect.

During the preparation phase, the issues with the greatest impact on the Baixa-Chiado neighbourhood were diagnosed on the basis of information gathered during meetings with the external assessor, the municipal police, the municipal services, the local shopkeepers and the Port of Lisbon.

During the implementation phase, the local police received training in interpersonal skills, in communication techniques and in English to meet the specific needs of tourists who visit Baixa-Chiado.

Agreements have been concluded with shopkeepers so that they agree to be the “contact points” with the police and affix a poster on their shop window informing tourists that they can enter this premises to ask for help if they have been assaulted or a victim of theft.

Beforehand, a questionnaire was sent to shopkeepers to know whether they were willing to participate. At the start of the project, only one third of them had expressed interest but that number increased after that. In the questionnaire, they were also asked their opinion about the work of the municipal police and if they felt safe or not in their neighbourhood.

In addition to the posters, flyers and a brochure in four languages were produced to inform visitors of these contact points in stores. The information was also relayed on handbag hooks found in cafes and restaurants.

Project guidance and partnership

The project is led by the city of Lisbon and the municipal police. It was carried out in partnership with the local neighbourhood administration (*Junta de Freguesia*), the Association for the Promotion of Baixa-Pombalina (*Associação de Dinamização da Baixa Pombalina*) and the Port of Lisbon.

Results and outlook

At the end of 2015, 48 shops and restaurants in Baixa-Chiado have become official contact points for the police and display the sticker identifying them as such. In addition, 163 handbag hooks were distributed to 18 restaurants, partners of the project. The campaign is already showing positive results. The tourists generally seem more cautious. In addition, there is an improvement in the relations between the police and the citizens in the area covered by the project.

The project also helped reinforce informal cooperation with other police forces in the region and better knowledge of the territory by the police.

The Lisbon municipality plans to continue the project by increasing the number of stores participating as a contact point and reducing the response time of the police.

Chapter 3



Recommendations



In *Security, Democracy and Cities: The Manifesto of Aubervilliers et Saint-Denis* (2012), member cities of the European Forum for Urban Security recalled that the police must be considered a full-fledged stakeholder in the prevention chain and that cities must play an intermediary role between police and civil society with an aim to reinforcing police-population relations.

In the spirit of this manifesto and having worked on together to set up local projects intended to reinforce police-population relations, the partner cities of the IMPULSE project emphasise the fundamental principles that govern relationship between the police and citizens. In addition, they propose a series of recommendations that can benefit all cities concerned by this issue.

Principles



A number of underlying principles determine police-population relations:

- ▶ **Transparency and accountability:** are to be guaranteed in the information given by the police to citizens, and the possibility for the population to dispute the police's action before a mediator.
- ▶ **Representativeness:** favouring diversity of gender and ethnic origin in the recruiting and operational organisation of the police force.
- ▶ **Proximity and accessibility:** the police must be accessible to the population. It is important to reduce the physical distance between police officers and inhabitants as much as possible (by a permanent and visible presence on the ground thanks to foot, mounted and/or cycle patrols) as well as facilitating access to the police services thanks to modern technology (telephone, Internet and social networks).
- ▶ **Reactivity:** the police must respond as quickly as possible to the ex-

pectations and demands of the population, regardless of location or time.

- ▶ **Equality of treatment:** the police must remain impartial in both its approach to individuals and in conflict management.
- ▶ **Proportionality and subsidiarity:** force must be used only as a last resort and, if possible, not by neighbourhood police officers but by other teams.

Recommendations preceding the implementation of projects aimed at reinforcing police-population relations



An overall framework

- ▶ It is advisable to recall the link with the justice system and the whole judicial chain so that the public not consider the police as solely responsible for security; the police must be part of all the stakeholders working towards social cohesion within the community.

The doctrine of police action

- ▶ The doctrine of police action must be based on the principles of local policing as a method of intervention in order to anticipate problems rather than solely reacting to them and providing responses to citizens' everyday problems in the same way as responses to emergencies and/or linked to major crime.
- ▶ Relying on the principle of co-production of security to initiate partnerships with other institutions that, at the local level, can help in analysing the phenomena of crime, better understanding citizens' expectations and needs in terms of security, and contributing to responding to them.

- ▶ The quality of service rendered must motivate the action of police forces more than the quantitative measure of the departments' activity.

The organisation of the police services

- ▶ Proximity cannot be decreed. It is created at the end of a real collective elaboration process, without imposing projects by an overly centralised organisation but much more by an approach starting in the field, favouring initiative at the local level, taking into account the principles of subsidiarity and proximity in a joint approach, and involving the whole hierarchic line.
- ▶ It must allow for taking into account citizens' expectations and needs as a matter of priority and reporting on the resolution of the problems. The reception and analysis of the population's expectations as regards security must be carried out before establishing operational priorities.
- ▶ It must take into account residents of the outlying and suburban districts, especially the disadvantaged ones, providing a response adapted to minorities. The police must reflect the society it serves and be representative of the population in all its diversity. During the hiring of new recruits, the police hierarchy will have to be attentive to prioritising equal chances of all equally qualified candidates.
- ▶ Ensuring that the contributions of police services outside those of the neighbourhoods fall within a logic that does not lead to invalidating the local work being carried out on a daily basis over the long term.

The cities' role

- ▶ The role of intermediary that the city can play in order to build and strengthen police-population relations must be accepted by citizens and police organisations alike.
- ▶ Taking into account the different realities experienced in European countries, for example in terms of legal obligations and police

cultures, cities must be involved in setting up and running forums of consultation representative of the whole population and, in particular, those groups furthest from institutions, which will allow for establishing a dialogue around priorities of preventive actions. They can also play a role in supervising citizen participation in the preventive action of the law forces.

The citizen must be able to:

- ▶ express his expectations regarding security and be heard in a general context of low citizen participation in public life;
- ▶ be informed of the follow-up given to security problems that concern him directly, as well as measures taken by the police for resolving problems in his city;
- ▶ participate in police action without being asked or allowed to replace the police. This participation must be framed by a certain number of ethical principles and safeguards in order to avoid abuses.

The question of the police's image

- ▶ The police must be visible with uniforms and equipment adapted to the circumstances.
- ▶ It must organise the reception of the public taking into account the population's geographical constraints and sociological components.
- ▶ The image of the neighbourhood police officer and the local work of the police function must be enhanced amongst police officers themselves: neighbourhood policing must be shown as a key to good police-population relations as opposed to only showcasing forceful police interventions or crime fighting.
- ▶ The police must organise their public relations with the media so as to better represent their work, in a positive light. The image of the police as conveyed by the press, Internet, social networks, television dramas, novels, series, films and documentaries, without neglecting the need for better knowledge about police action in all its dimen-

sions, must also be that of a police in its daily relations with the populace. It must not be solely of an emotional nature nor exclusively focused on sensational news.

Training and evaluation

- ▶ Basic and in-house training of the police can allow for better police-population relations and must broach violence management, mediation techniques and communication methods during ‘normal’ or ‘critical’ encounters with the population. It is advisable to train police officers, in particular new recruits, on mutual representations and to promote knowledge of each territory and its population.
- ▶ It is essential to develop quantitative and qualitative indicators and tools for monitoring the evolution of police-population relations in order to measure the impact of projects underway.

Together, cities wish to affirm that the police must have the quality of their relations with the populace as its principal value. Indeed, cities consider this relation the primary priority in maintaining public peace.

Finding the conditions for mutual respect, a dialogue and an exchange that guarantee citizens' rights whilst taking into account police constraints will be the equilibrium point of relations between the police, the city and citizens.

These guidelines are based on:

- ▶ *The recommendations of the Manifesto of Aubervilliers and Saint-Denis: 'The police as an agent of prevention';*
- ▶ *The European Council's code of police ethics (see Recommendation Rec(2001)10 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the European Code of Police Ethics);*
- ▶ *The resolution of the Executive Committee of the French Forum for Urban Security (FFSU) of February 2014 'For a national police serving citizens';*
- ▶ *The responses of the IMPPULSE project cities to the questionnaire that was sent to them;*
- ▶ *The exchanges having taken place during the project coordination meetings;*
- ▶ *The exchanges having taken place with the support committee;*
- ▶ *All the projects on police issues borne by Efus since its founding.*

Chapter 4



Leads for the implementation of a project and its evaluation



Contribution by Caroline De Man, scientific collaborator at the Centre for Research on Crime of the Free University of Brussels, written on the basis of the evaluation of pilot projects developed under the IMPPULSE project.

How do we define a project? How do we grasp the social phenomena present on a territory and transpose them into problems to be solved? How do we conceive the involvement of the population? How do we justify the orientation of actions that will give substance to the project and be carried out in the field? These are a few crucial questions that any project initiator must be able to answer clearly and in a relevant way. Otherwise, the project risks having its validity and coherence called into question with all the participants being caught in this confusion.

Here are a few leads that, without being exhaustive, can guide a reflection about the conception and evaluation of a project. They are presented as a coherent whole and thus cannot be considered separately.

It clearly appears that the conception of a project must necessarily define the terms of its evaluation.

Every project, for its conception and implementation, necessarily rests on the structuring of different, specific skills and particular know-how.

1. Mobilising accessible and available resources for defining the project based on objectivised data



- ▶ Go by "local safety audit" type tools that offer a full series of information and analyses on the social phenomena that can be observed on the territory.
- ▶ Appeal to the services that produce this type of tool to gain access to their knowledge of realities in the field and be in a position to bring out the main social issues that could inspire the project.
- ▶ Attach importance to the qualitative data gathered from stakeholders directly concerned by the problems under consideration, for example, by resorting to interviews with professionals from the sectors concerned and the populations with which they are in

contact. The experience of these stakeholders and their perceptions of the social phenomena on which the project initiators have chosen to focus will be effective in defining the issues and priorities of the project.

Beginning with the project's conception process, it is important to gather the human resources with a track record based on specific professional expertise in the issues at stake and a good knowledge of the methods of analysis. It is essential to have those skills on board together with the project's conception team for prioritising, in a pertinent way, the importance of the social phenomena likely to be at the heart of the project.

Objective to achieve:

To consolidate the main lines of action under consideration by submitting them to the comparison of the experience of the different stakeholders directly concerned by the problems that will be addressed.

2. Recruiting the human resources whose sphere of activities is based on scientific expertise in the problems to be addressed



- ▶ It is necessary to distance oneself from local realities and resort to the contribution of pertinent knowledge to supplement the information gathered up to date on the social phenomena that will be addressed, as well as on the types of project that exist elsewhere, the main difficulties encountered, etc.
- ▶ It is essential to break with professional routines and common sense. Every profession, regardless of its nature, is practised in accordance with particular professional logic and interests. These are naturally going to influence the understanding of the social phenomena that the project will address, hence the importance of

tackling these problems with as open a mind as possible.

- ▶ Scientific knowledge about the targeted social phenomena is an essential resource for successfully formulating the nature of the problems to be addressed. It is advisable to eliminate value judgments, prejudice and other stereotypes, and to rely on convincing data in formulating these problems.
- ▶ It is important to take into account the different analysis levels of the problems that will be addressed. Indeed, a whole series of determinants weighs on the social phenomena under consideration and on the professional activity of those persons who are going to be involved in the project. Whether these determinants are of an individual, interactional, professional, organisational, institutional or political nature, it is primordial to take them into account to prevent there being obstacles to the project.

Objective to achieve:

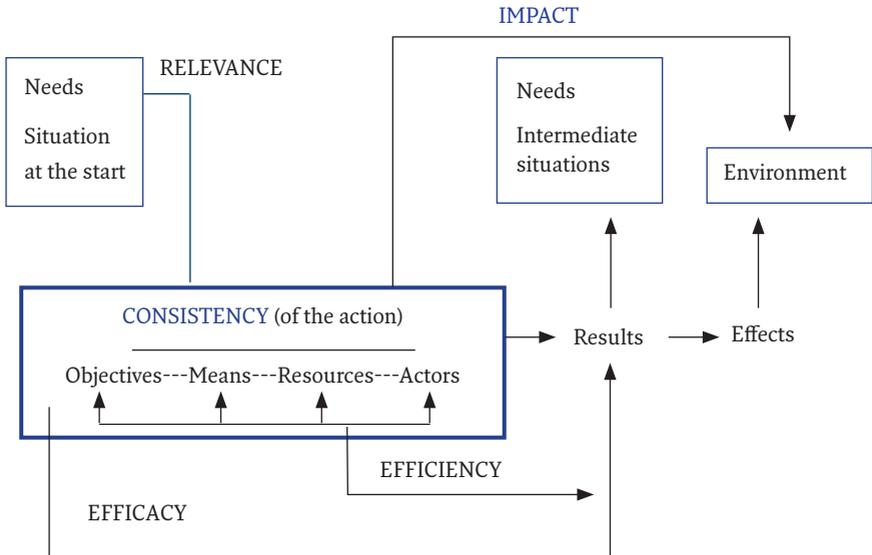
Seeing to the pertinence of the project by ensuring an appropriate comparison between the problem selected for the project and the conditions (institutional, organisational, professional, individual...) to be taken into account in order to be able to carry out the project.

3. Integrating an evaluation process from the outset of the project's elaboration so that the evaluation will be a lever and not a constraint



- ▶ Types of evaluation²⁶

26- Tange, C., Lacroix, J., 1997, "Evaluer les contrats de sécurité". Portefeuille de lecture sur l'évaluation des politiques publiques, Brussels, ed. Politeia.



- Evaluation of the efficacy: the main question is, “Has the objective been achieved?” This evaluation is focused on the action and its results.
- Evaluation of the efficiency: the question is whether the objective was achieved by mobilising resources in the best way possible.
- Evaluation of the effectiveness: it is necessary to question the effectiveness of the implementation of the practices. This evaluation relies on an observation of the facts.
- Evaluation of the consistency: analysing whether the objectives are coherent with the means, resources and actors mobilised for the project.
- Evaluation of the impact: it concerns the relation between the project and the eventual changes in the environment on which it will have an impact and of which it is part.

- ▶ Given the type of project, it is suitable to analyse which type of evaluation to favour and the object to be studied. The aim of the evaluation is defined on the basis of the knowledge and information already accumulated by the different kinds of expertise combined. The choice of type of evaluation depends on the type of competences required of the evaluator.
- ▶ Assessment of the means to implement for the evaluation of a project cannot be summed up by an arbitrary percentage of the project's budget. It is imperative to make a forecast of the necessary human and financial resources according to the projected type of evaluation and to adapt the choice according to the means available.
- ▶ An integrated evaluation process (object, means, type of evaluation) beginning with the project's conception contributes to the assessment of the feasibility conditions and type of results that can be expected of the project.

Objective to achieve:

Define the limits of the project's feasibility as regards the problems under consideration, the objectives that the project intends to pursue and the human and financial means available.

4. Encouraging participation of the population by appealing to its different components from the outset of the project's conception



- ▶ In particular, it is a matter of gathering the inhabitants' experience of projected social phenomena (also mentioned above). It is advisable to understand and apprehend the population as a heterogeneous whole. Indeed, each of its components has a particular experience of the city, of peaceful coexistence and of contact with institutions.
- ▶ By organising a meeting in the early stages of the pilot project, the

initiator will be able to better take into account the diversity of the population targeted by the project. Adherence to the project must not be presupposed on the part of a community that would be coherent and consensual, which is not the case.

- ▶ The different components of the population have expectations of institutions that are sometimes distinct, something that must be taken into account in the elaboration of problems and definition of the project's objectives.
- ▶ Involvement of the different components of the population in the conception of the project contributes to their adherence when they are led to participate in the project. Prior involvement of the population reinforces the project's cohesive effect.

Objectives to achieve:

- ▶ **Define a collective interest centred on the problems selected, taking into account the multiplicity of the population's expectations and by combining its different components in the conception of the project.**
- ▶ **Encourage the adherence of the population and of the different projected participants to the project.**

5. Taking into account the inherent precariousness of pilot projects financed over the short term



- ▶ This type of project is precarious as it depends on short-term co-financing. If the project is to be prolonged, it will have to rely on the human, logistical and financial resources of the project initiator.
- ▶ It is also made precarious because the planned activities in the framework of such projects bring an added workload for the departments in charge of managing them. The staff cannot always

count on the department having increased means. All echelons of participants are subject to this increased load.

- ▶ Apart from the enthusiasm that the implementation of the project may arouse, the increased load may constitute a large risk of participant discouragement or withdrawal from the project.
- ▶ The precariousness of this type of project also stems from the modes of participant involvement, including the population. The degree of involvement of participants will lessen if they are called to take part at a later stage. One must not underestimate the forms of resistance that can arise owing to weak adherence to the project. The cohesive effect of a collective project is supported all the more when the mobilisation of participants is done ahead of the realisation of the activities and their points of view have contributed to the definition of the collective interest.
- ▶ New practices are created during the implementation of new projects. These practices remain fragile, for they are elaborated by a limited number of people. When the stability of function of the people managing the project is variable, the practices themselves are exposed to precariousness. The rotation of personnel in certain services risks undermining the smooth management of this type of project.

Objectives to achieve:

Ensure the perpetuation of the project when it risks being weakened by: limited human and financial means; the setting-up of new practices that call for changes in the organisation of the services involved; an additional workload and a certain form of internal resistance.

Formalise a well-established set of mechanisms and management procedures between participants to encourage processes for transferring the workload between the people who will take part in the project.

In conclusion



In a context of precariousness of public action, when it takes the form of pilot projects such as those presented here, the few suggested leads are intended, above all, to draw attention to the challenges linked to the conception, implementation and evaluation of a project.

Comparing expertise and experiences, involving the different components of the population, and setting choices of human and financial means, priorities and evaluation, brings credit to the approach of the project's initiator. It also allows for defining the project's objectives and activities in accordance with local realities without neglecting the social determinants beyond the boundaries of the territory considered.

The initiator of a project that involves a scheme founded on dialogue and a previously defined evaluation will communicate clearly on its advances and failures. It is on this condition that the project can mobilise participants, encourage the involvement of new stakeholders and be long lasting.



Country profiles



England and Wales



Overview of police structure

Strongly decentralised system, with only a few specialised nationwide forces.

Regional and local level

The majority of policing in the UK is carried out by the 43 territorial forces (in some cases called 'constabularies'), each of which is responsible for a particular territory. These policing territories usually correspond to the different counties, although there are some variations (such as the merging of West and East Sussex). Each territorial force is responsible for ensuring an efficient and effective police service in this area and with this in mind, they have a good deal of autonomy as regards their internal organisation and structure. The members have jurisdiction in one of the three legal systems of the UK; for instance, a police officer of one of the three legal systems (England and Wales, Northern Ireland or Scotland) has all the powers of a constable but limited powers in the other two areas.

Each of the territorial forces is made up of a number of different police units of varying sizes. The Basic Command Unit (BCU), led usually by a Chief Superintendent, is the largest unit into which the territorial forces are divided. They may be called a BCU or have another designation, such as Division, Area, Local Policing Unit (LPU), or Local Policing Team (LPT). Most forces are divided into at least three BCUs, and some have many more. Most BCUs are further subdivided into smaller units. There are 228 BCUs (or equivalent units) in England and Wales.

In London, the Metropolitan Police use the term Borough Operational Command Unit (BOCU) for regional units (which are based on the 32 London boroughs, and with one unit dedicated to policing Heathrow Airport). The term Operational Command Unit (OCU) is used for specialised units, for example the Aviation Security OCU, which works

across the London region.

West Midlands Police is split into 12 LPUs (Local Policing Units). Each LPU is in turn organised into four Core Policing Teams that manage its different core functions: Investigation, Neighbourhood, Response and Community Action and Priority Team (CAPT).

Warwickshire Police is the first British territorial police force to have abolished BCUs. The force is now divided directly into five Districts, each headed by a Chief Inspector.

Each territorial police force is under the direct control of the Chief Constable. The mayor is accountable to the Police and Crime Committee of the London Assembly. The Chief Constables are elected jointly by the Police and Crime Commissioner and can also be dismissed.

National level

The work of the territorial forces is complemented by that of several 'National Law Enforcement Bodies' (alternatively called 'Special police forces') who have a specialised jurisdiction in a certain domain on a national basis (and are thus the only national English police forces). There are currently five forces in service with direct links to the government:

The National Crime Agency, which operates across Great Britain in the fight against organised crime. It is the contact point in the UK for foreign forces.

The British Transport Police, which monitors and carries out operations on some railway networks (National Rail and Docklands Light Railway), on the Tramlink network in Croydon and in the London Underground Network, as well as the Sunderland line of the Tyne and Wear underground.

The Civil Nuclear Constabulary is in charge of security and law enforcement within 5 km of any nuclear site in the United Kingdom and of securing the transportation of all nuclear material.

The Ministry of Defence Police is in charge of the security of all the ministry of defence sites in the United Kingdom.

There are also several additional nation-wide bodies that are managed either by the Association of Chief Officers (National Wildlife Crime Unit, National Counter Terrorism Security Office and Vehicle Crime Intelligence Service) or the territorial forces themselves. For example, the Specialist Operations Division of the Metropolitan Police runs the National Domestic Extremism and Disorder Intelligence Unit and the Protection Command (which is in charge of the security of the government, Royal Family and diplomatic community). The City of London police are in charge of the National Fraud Intelligence Bureau. The West Midlands Police Force leads the National Ballistics Intelligence Service.

National bodies such as the Border Force, Immigration Enforcement, Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs, Driver and Vehicle Standards Agency and the Independent Police Complaints Commission have duties similar to those of police officers (with the exception of not being able to arrest people).

Neighbourhood policing

The English system represents the model of community policing par excellence. This is a direct consequence of the strongly decentralised structure of policing, in which a local team responds to the priorities of the neighbourhood in which they are based.

In 2012, the Home Office reaffirmed its commitment to: 'a local approach to policing that is accessible to the public and responsive to the needs and priorities of neighbourhoods [using:]

- ▶ the presence of visible, accessible and locally known figures in neighbourhoods, in particular police constables and police community support officers (PCSOs);
- ▶ community engagement in both identifying priorities and taking action to tackle them; and
- ▶ the application of targeted policing and problem solving to tackle public concerns in neighbourhoods.'

The Home Office website explicitly stresses the need to support a reactive police force that works for the service of and is accountable to its citizens.

External oversight of the police

Chief constables of each territorial force are, as of the reform in 2012, accountable to the Police and Crime Commissioner.

The Police and Crime Panel (PCP), although independent from the Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC), oversees its work. The main tasks of the PCP are, firstly to review the PCC's proposal for the amount of council tax local people pay for policing, and it can veto these proposals if the amount is considered to be inappropriate. Secondly, it considers the PCC's Police and Crime Plan and Annual Report. Furthermore, it considers the PCC's proposals for the appointment of a new Chief Constable again with the possibility to use veto. Lastly, the PCP investigates complaints about the PCC.

The Home Office Minister, assisted by the Home Inspectors of Constabulary, also carry out annual inspections of police forces, in order to evaluate the implementation of ministerial directives and the cost-benefit relationship of their activities.

The Independent Police Complaints Commission is an external, non-departmental public body tasked with dealing with complaints against the police.

Germany



Overall structure of the police and the mayor's jurisdictions

Germany being a federal State, the police is primarily organised at the federated state level, the *Land*. There are, however, a few large, specialised bodies operating at the federal level.

Federated state level (Land)

The fundamental Law of 1949 entrusts the organisation of security and police services to the *Länder*, in return, reserving for the Federation the possibility of creating a few central organs such as the border police or criminal police. Each of the 16 federal states thus has its own police forces under the general term *Landespolizei*.

As the police organisation of the *Länder* is under the authority of both the Land and the Federation, it can vary from one Land to another. Nonetheless, despite the autonomy of the *Land*'s management occasionally causing a different situation from one Land to another, the tendency is towards homogenisation, with a common outline structuring all the police services. Thus, in addition to possible specialised police forces (river and maritime or motorway police), three main police forces coexist within each Land:

- ▶ 1. The public security police (*Schutzpolizei*), which take on most police missions such as maintaining order or road traffic, acting primarily on the public highway.
- ▶ 2. The criminal investigation agency (*Kriminalpolizei*) is competent for legal affairs of a certain degree of seriousness requiring particular competences and thus cannot be handled by the general security police.
- ▶ 3. The RCS – Republican Security Companies or anti-riot police (*Bereitschaftspolizei*) carry out, as needed, missions of maintaining order, assistance or reinforcement.

All three are *Landerspolizei* and placed under the authority of the Land's Ministry of the Interior.

The Länder police can help each other out when events occur that go beyond the particular competence of a Land (visits by foreign heads of State, transport of nuclear waste).

Federal level

While there is no overall national police, federal law strongly influences the nature of the *Länder* police. There are four principal police services at the federal level.

First, the Federal Criminal Police Office (*Bundeskriminalamt*) acts in close relation with the *Landeskriminalämter* of each Land in order to coordinate cooperation between the Federation and the Länder police forces in anti-crime work. In this regard, it carries out a mission of gathering, disseminating and exploiting information and communications linked to crime. It is in charge of investigations on major criminal affairs (terrorism, extremism, espionage, economic offences) of an international character and defined by the law. The Federal Office can also be required by the public prosecutor in the case of serious events. In addition, it is competent for politically motivated offences targeting the physical integrity of members of federal constitutional organs or concerning attacks on domestic security. This institution is subordinate to the federal Ministry of the Interior.

Secondly, the federal police (*Bundespolizei* or BPOL) takes charge of certain important missions concerning the functioning of the State. In particular, it provides:

- ▶ security at the borders and for national transportation (the coast guard services, surveillance of international airports and railway lines);
- ▶ the protection of federal buildings, embassies in Berlin and Bonn (the former capital), and of the country's two principal courts: the Federal Constitutional Court and the Federal Supreme Court in Karlsruhe;
- ▶ a mobile force for domestic security of events;

- ▶ anti-terrorism forces (GSG9).

The *Länder* police forces can also call on the federal police to reinforce their own competences, upon request of the regional government. The regional police carry out criminal investigations solely in their domain of jurisdiction; all other cases are sent to the appropriate national police service or to the national criminal investigation department, the Federal Criminal Police Office (*Bundeskriminalamt*, BKA.)

Finally — and this is a specificity of Germany — the Parliament has its own police force (*Polizei beim Deutschen Bundestag* or 'Parliament police'). Under the responsibility of the president of Parliament, it is in charge of security inside the Bundestag and over the whole site. In fact, owing to the immunity of members of Parliament, the police forces do not have the right to intervene in the Bundestag.

Local level

There is no real municipal police in Germany, but the laws and regulations of the different *Länder* can permit the setting up of services specialised in maintaining public order in local communities. These can be called *Ordnungsamt*, *Kommunaler Ordnungsdienst*, *Städtischer Ordnungsdienst* or *Stadtpolizei* (city police, present in a few cities in the Land of Hessen). In all the *Länder*, municipal police agents are part of the municipal personnel, without necessarily belonging to the local civil service.

These services ensure public security on the territory of the community (of which the towns are part). Whereas it is the mayor of each municipality who eventually decides on the functions that are attributed to them, in terms of the law of the Land on the police, municipal officers are accredited solely for the following duties:

- ▶ identity checks;
- ▶ arrests and detentions;
- ▶ verification of documents establishing certain rights when their production is envisioned by a text;
- ▶ expulsions;

- ▶ safe-keeping and surveillance of merchandise;
- ▶ use of force, but the sole arm authorised is the truncheon. Local police forces can also be equipped with handcuffs and accompanied by dogs.

Neighbourhood policing

Several *Länder* (including Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Hessen, Saxony) have 'neighbourhood surveillance' programmes. Their main objective is prevention, and neighbourhood agents carry out various types of missions:

- ▶ foot patrols, to have a dissuasive effect on urban crime;
- ▶ patrols around schools and nursery schools;
- ▶ follow-up on potential victims of juvenile delinquency and crime.

The Land of Bavaria has set up a system of 'citizen patrols': volunteers patrolling in two-person teams in order to reduce the feeling of insecurity in neighbourhoods. They are equipped with a radio and pepper spray. There are also similar programmes in Baden-Württemberg, Hessen and Saxony, where citizens can assist their local police.

Each Land also has its own Prevention Council that carries out neighbourhood actions focusing specifically on prevention. In Germany, the local policing doctrine is not considered specific to the police, but rather as a system of values that favours the improvement of security in the city by the community police councils²⁷.

External oversight of the police

On the federal level, there is no central organism for supervising the police. This function is left up to the *Länder*.

27- Daniel Donnelly, *Municipal Policing in the European Union: Comparative Perspectives*, p.69

Belgium



The Belgian police was profoundly overhauled in 2001, following the Dutroux affair. On 23 May 1998, eight democratic parties concluded the ‘Octopus’ agreement, sealing the reform of police services. This agreement was made into law on 7 December 1998, organising an integrated police service, on two levels.

The classic police services — the *gendarmerie* (run by a *Général de Gendarmerie* under the authority of the Ministers of the Interior and Justice), the municipal police (run by the *Commissaires divisionnaires*, *Chefs de Corps* under the authority of the mayors) and the judicial police close to the courts — were replaced by a new police organisation on two levels of police: federal and local. Both levels are autonomous and come under distinct authorities whilst functioning in an integrated manner, thanks to the setting-up of liaison mechanisms.

The objective is to have a police closer to the citizens and their expectations, working in an integrated, coordinated way. Ties between the two entities are: mutual support, structural detachments, and mobility of personnel, recruiting and training.

Federal level

The federal police has existed since 1st January 2001 and has some 15,000 agents. It ensures the function of specialised police and supports the local police. It comprises operational (traffic police, navigation police, criminal investigation department, etc) and administrative (management of human resources and material means, etc) services.

The federal police are run by a *Commissariat général*, under the direct authority of the Minister of the Interior or Home Secretary. It is responsible for the management and strategy of the federal police. In order to ensure the functioning of an integrated police service, it oversees a

structure made up of the general intendance (*Commissariat général*) and three Directorates General: the Directorate General of the administrative police (DGA according to the Belgian acronym), of the criminal investigation department (DGJ) and of backup and management (DGR).

The federal police intervene in basic police missions only in the absence of sufficient means at the local level or for providing specialised backup.

Local level

The local police is organised in 195 'police zones', stemming from the merger of the former municipal police and the former territorial brigades of the *gendarmerie*. Amongst them, over 40 cover the territory of a single city or municipality (*zones unicommunales*) and 145 cover several cities and/or municipalities (*zones pluricommunales*). Forces vary from approximately 50 people in the small police zones to 2,800 in the large ones.

Every local police corps is under the direction of a *Chef de Corps* (commanding officer), responsible for carrying out local police policy and ensuring the direction, organisation and division of tasks within his organisation. He carries out the aforementioned activities under the authority of the mayor for the unicommunal zones, or a police college for pluricommunal zones. The police college is made up of the mayors of the different cities or municipalities in the police zone.

Every police corps is made up of an operational framework including police officials and agents and an administrative and logistical framework (*Cadre administratif et logistique*, CALog), consisting of civilian personnel. The level of staffing of these two entities is determined by the police council for the *pluricommunal* zones and by the local council for the *unicommunal* zones. The police council is proportionally made up of local councillors from the different cities or municipalities constituting the police zone, on the basis of their respective population figures. Today, 30,000 local police officers and approximately 900 members of the administrative-logistics framework work in the 195 police corps.

The mayor is an administrative police officer in the same way as the *chef de corps* and officers of the local police. However, he will thus leave it to the police services to exercise a given competence that is the duty of administrative police officers (administrative arrests, seizure of dangerous objects, identity checks for maintaining public order, etc.).

The philosophy of the local police aims at an overall, integrated approach to security based on maximal visibility and reorienting police activities on a limited territorial perimeter in order to optimise police-population contact, restore public confidence in the police and improve objective and subjective security in neighbourhoods.

In order to guarantee minimum service to the population, the law on the police function has defined seven missions that must be carried out in all police zones. The operating rules and organisation of the local police corps must contribute to the optimal exercise of these missions, namely: neighbourhood work, reception, intervention, victim assistance, research and local investigation, the maintenance of public order, and traffic.

Neighbourhood work consists of maintaining a visible presence in the neighbourhood. The police service must be visible, accessible, contactable and equitably spread over the zone's territory whilst taking into account local circumstances and population density. The minimal organisation norm is one neighbourhood agent per 4,000 inhabitants.

The reception function consists of responding to the citizen who turns to a police service either in person or by telephone or postal mail. Depending on the case, the response may consist of directing the citizen to a more appropriate internal or external service. It goes without saying that, in each zone, constant accessibility of a service is guaranteed. In the *pluricommunal* zones, each municipality has one or several police stations that, although not all accessible on a permanent basis, ensure the possibility for the citizen to contact a police officer via technical infrastructure measures.

The intervention function consists of providing a response, within a reasonable period of time, to any call requiring on-site police intervention. Depending on the case and the context (seriousness, urgency, nature of the facts), this will be immediate or postponed, in which case

the applicant will be informed of the reasons and time limits. In each zone, this function is organised permanently, and an administrative and judicial police officer is either present on site or contactable as many times as necessary.

Police victim assistance consists of making appropriate reception available to victims along with an information and assistance service. Each corps, eventually via training programmes, is organised so that every police officer will be capable of carrying out this task. In case of a serious attack on a victim, the corps can call on a collaborator, a member of the police services personnel specialised in victim assistance. The norm is to have one specialised collaborator per corps. On-duty roles can be organised by several zones that share their teams of specialists.

The local research and investigation function consists of missions that are carried out first and foremost by the local police. These are essentially research and investigation missions resulting from local incidents or phenomena on the territory of the zone as well as a few missions of a federal (supralocal) nature that must be carried out by the local police. In each local police corps, 7-10 % of the forces of the operational framework are assigned to this duty.

The maintenance of public order, henceforth called 'negotiated management of public areas', consists of ensuring and, should the situation arise, re-establishing public order, security and health. This rather broad notion integrates the problems of maintaining order at large-scale events (demonstrations, football matches, local festivities) as well as environmental problems and traffic.

The traffic function includes supervising local road safety, fighting traffic infractions and contributing to the traffic flow on the territory of the police zone, with the exception of the motorways, of which the surveillance is the responsibility of the federal police. These tasks are organised according to four main lines: the implementation of preventive and repressive actions as concerns traffic; the intervention of police services during large, untimely disturbances of mobility; the writing-up of accident reports, and the response to requests from the competent authorities as concerns mobility and road security.

A permanent local police commission is instituted to represent all the local police corps. On its own initiative or at the request of the authorities, it studies and gives advice on all problems relative to the local police.

The budgets of the police zones come from two primary sources of financing by the federal authorities (the federal subsidy and supplementary subsidies) and the municipalities (local subsidy). The latter amounts, on average, to 150€ per year and per inhabitant.

Neighbourhood policing

The national trauma of the Marc Dutroux affair in 2001 resulted in such a loss of public confidence in the police that it was essential to restructure it. The result is that Belgium integrated the doctrine of neighbourhood policing as a foundation of its new overall strategy, which brought with it an expanded role of the police and being brought closer to social services. The training of officers is also strongly based on the principle of community police.

External oversight of the police

The Standing Committee for Supervising the Police Services (*Comité permanent du contrôle des services de police*) is an external organ of supervision of all agents exercising police functions. It is under the authority of the Parliament and therefore is not under the authority of the ministries of the Interior or Justice.

The Police Disciplinary Body, which is in charge of inspecting the federal and local police services, deals with citizens' complaints.

The Internal Supervision Services of the different police services handle complaints as regards police officers and problems in the police services.

Spain



Overall structure of the police and the mayor's jurisdictions

The organisation of the police varies according to the autonomous regions (Spain being divided into 17 *comunidades autonomas* which have different levels of autonomy). Generally, it is fairly centralised at the national level, but for certain cities and autonomous regions, and in particular the four²⁸ that have their own police force, there is a large degree of autonomy.

National level

There are two main forces at the national level: the national police corps (*Cuerpo Nacional de Policía, CNP*) and the *Guardia Civil*. The two forces are run by the Directorate general of the national police and the Directorate general of the *Guardia Civil* and are under the authority of the Interior Ministry's junior minister for security. Both are in charge of the same primary missions relative to maintaining order, the protection of lives, personal property and buildings, border control, etc. There are two differences between the two forces: one relative to their status and to the territories in which they carry out their missions, and the other relative to the exclusive jurisdiction that each force has over the territory.

The CNP is an armed civil entity that operates in the provincial capitals of Ceuta and Melilla and in the cities indicated in the edict 2103/2005. In particular, the CNP is in charge of passports and identity cards, and the supervision and application of laws concerning foreigners, refugees and asylum seekers.

The *Guardia Civil* is an army corps that operates in the rest of the land and sea territory (90% of the territory and 40% of the population) out of barracks (*casas cuartel*) and police stations. It also has jurisdiction over the whole territory for authorising possession of firearms and explosives, the entry and exit of merchandise, contraband and tax fraud.

Regional level

There are autonomous communities that have units of the national police (CNP) assigned to the autonomous authorities. These units are answerable to the State but, functionally, refer directly to the authorities of the autonomous community. This is the case with Aragon, Andalusia, Galicia, the Principality of Asturias and Valencian Community.

The other eight autonomous communities have the power to coordinate the municipal police but cannot have an autonomous police.

Four of them, which are the most broadly autonomous communities amongst the 17, have a regional police:

- ▶ The *Policía Canaria* in the Canary Islands
- ▶ The *Mossos d'Esquadra* in Catalonia
- ▶ The *Policía Foral* in Navarra
- ▶ The *Ertzaintza* in the Basque Country

The degree of autonomy is the same for all these regional forces with the exception of the Canaries, which have a different system.

Local level

The municipal police corps (called either *Policía Municipal*, *Policía Local* or *Guardia Urbana*) can be created by any municipality of more than 5,000 inhabitants. They have a civilian status and can act only in the municipality's jurisdiction perimeter. In the smaller municipalities, these missions are carried out by the *Guardia Civil* or the regional police corps. Sometimes, they are assisted by municipal employees in uniform, the *vigilantes municipales* (in cities where there is no municipal police). The local police corps takes charge of traffic, parking, supervision of public demonstrations and the surveillance of municipal buildings. In general, they are armed with pistols.

External oversight of the police

The large degree of autonomy of the different regions can pose problems (since the State's powers are, in fact, limited).

France



Overall structure of the police

In France, the *police nationale* is a state police under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior.

The mayor also has police powers and thereby a general jurisdiction for enacting police measures necessary for ensuring “good order, safety, security and health” on the territory of its community as well as special police powers (traffic and parking, funerals and burial sites, bathing and nautical activities, etc).

National level

In France, the national police is centralised and characterised by a dualism at the central level. The essential part of the state police system is in fact made up of two large police forces: one of a civilian nature, the *police nationale*, the other of a military nature, the *gendarmerie*.

These two bodies are under the same authority, the Minister of the Interior and, since 2014, share a code of ethics that subordinates the exercise of their missions to strict respect of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the Constitution, and international conventions and laws. It stresses the duties of the State, the obligations inherent to the profession of police officer or gendarme, and recalls all sources of supervision in the exercise of these sovereign missions.

The national police are competent primarily in the urban environment. It is divided into different services: public security, criminal investigation, anti-riot police (CRS), and protection service for VIPs. Having its own territorial organisation, each specialised police force enjoys a fair degree of autonomy.

On the territorial level, the police is organised around the administrative region (associated with the region's prefect), the *département* and

police circumscription, at the head of which is the police superintendent.

The January 1995 law of Guidelines and Programming Relative to Security (LOPS according to the French acronym) laid out the three general missions of the national police and was confirmed by the law of Guidelines and Programming for the Performance of Internal Security (LOPPSI according to the French acronym) in 2002. The police must therefore ensure:

- ▶ security and public order, consisting of seeing to the execution of laws, ensuring the protection of persons and property, preventing disturbances of public order and peace as well as crime;
- ▶ control and surveillance of the judicial authority, search for and reporting of legal infractions, gathering evidence, searching for perpetrators and their accomplices, detaining them and referring them to the competent legal authorities (that is the role of the Criminal investigation department);
- ▶ intelligence and information, ensuring the information of governmental authorities, detecting and preventing any threat to public order, institutions, fundamental interests of the Nation or national sovereignty.

These three general missions are supplemented by five more specific missions assigned to all the bodies making up the national police:

- ▶ ensuring the security of persons, property and institutions;
- ▶ controlling migratory flows and fighting illegal immigration;
- ▶ fighting serious crime, organised crime and drugs;
- ▶ protecting the country from external threat and terrorism;
- ▶ maintaining public order.

The *gendarmerie nationale* is a military institution responsible for security, peace and the protection of citizens' property. It carries out its functions in outlying areas and small and mid-sized cities that fall within the jurisdiction of *gendarmes*, this representing 95% of the territory. The *gendarmerie départementale* is a local force in contact with

the population and ensures the security of persons and property round the clock. It constitutes the major part of the *gendarmerie* forces and creates a network over the whole national territory thanks to a structure made up of several echelons.

The *gendarmerie nationale* carries out criminal investigations, aid to persons, maintenance of order, and participates in the nation's defence, including in scenes of external operations. The administrative police is more particularly a matter of the *gendarmerie départementale*, covering a sphere ranging from local prevention to traffic police missions, by way of intelligence research and missions of help and assistance. To fulfil the missions of maintaining and restoring public order, the anti-riot police (CRS) can intervene anywhere on the national territory. Officers and agents of the criminal investigation department record infractions of criminal law, gather evidence and search for the perpetrators, under the authority and supervision of magistrates. As a military force, the *gendarmerie* contributes to achieving the five strategic functions defined by the white paper on defence: knowledge and anticipation; prevention; dissuasion; protection; forecast. It carries out missions of military and civilian crisis management on scenes of foreign operations and serves as military police for the armies.

Neighbourhood policing

The setting-up of neighbourhood police by the reform of 1999 was, on the whole, eliminated in 2003, but elements of this policy remain nonetheless, in particular with the development of neighbourhood actions carried out by the municipal police (prevention, traffic, specific actions aimed at minors or vulnerable persons, such as the operations *Ville Vie Vacances* or *Tranquillité Seniors*, for example).

Municipal police

The municipal police are considered the third police force on the territory.

It has no authority to replace the national police or *gendarmerie* but complements them, i.e., “without prejudice to the overall jurisdiction

of the national police and the *gendarmerie nationale*.”

Above all, it is a neighbourhood police, in contact with the populace, instituted by the mayor.

Municipal police agents are under the authority of the mayor of the community where they intervene. Their employer may be this community, an inter-municipal structure or another municipality with which an agreement has been signed. The law of 15 April 1999, which defines the conditions for appointment and competences of municipal police agents, makes provision for their carrying out the mayor's police decrees and reporting infractions of said decrees via statements.

When a municipal police service has at least five police officers, a coordination agreement must be drawn up between the mayor and the state's representative with a view to specifying the nature and perimeter of intervention of the municipal police agents and the modes of cooperation between the two police corps. Municipal police agents are vested with administrative police missions and criminal investigations (reporting infractions of the mayor's police decrees, infractions of a certain number of special police — noise pollution, dangerous dogs, environment, etc. — and infractions of the highway code). They do not have the jurisdiction for maintaining order.

The laws of 27 February 2002 relative to neighbourhood democracy, of 18 March 2003 for domestic security, and of 15 March 2011, called 'LOPPSI', increased the jurisdiction of municipal police agents. If the mayor so decides, they can henceforth: be armed, take down the identity of offenders (without, however, being authorised to check it), and participate in alcohol testing under the supervision of an officer from the criminal investigation department.

The particular case of the city of Paris

The City of Paris has a particular system with the presence of a Prefect of Police who exercises all the powers of the general state police (issuance of passports, residence permits, identity cards, car registration books, police of public order, police of gatherings, protection against serious threats to public order, etc.), as well as the powers of

the municipal police. Consequently, the Mayor of Paris has no municipal police jurisdictions such as common law recognises for the other mayors of France.

The Police Prefecture in Paris, an integral part of the national police, is a singularity of the French police. It is vested with two major missions: on the one hand, like other police services, looking after the security of persons (and their personal belongings) who live, visit or work in the capital; and on the other hand (and this mission is specific to the Prefecture), ensuring the protection of the seat of the institutions of the Republic, diplomatic representatives as well as maintaining order.

External oversight of the police

Supervision of the police forces is ensured by the *Inspection générale de la Police nationale* (police disciplinary body or IGPN). This agency is in charge of supervising the departments and services of the directorate general of the national police and police prefecture. As such, it carries out three types of mission:

- ▶ Key-point audits and, since 2007, unannounced checks of police services on targeted themes such as, for example, reception of the public.
- ▶ Studies and recommendations aiming to improve the functioning of services.
- ▶ Seeing to the respect seeing to the respect, by police employees, of the laws and regulations and the code of ethics of the national police. In this framework, it carries out investigations entrusted to it by the administrative legal authorities that alone can refer a case to it.

A new method of access to the inspection was set up by the creation of an Internet platform open to any victim or anyone witnessing behaviour likely to involve an officer of the national police.

It is thus a matter of gathering reports in a rigorous, coherent manner, analysing them and drawing all the conclusions from them, either in terms of citizens' expectations, modifications of practices or, if need be, legal or administrative investigations.

Municipal police officers must respect a code of ethics defined by decree (16 February 2015). Any dereliction of duties as defined in the code of ethics exposes its perpetrator to disciplinary action, without prejudice if need be, of the penalties provided for by criminal law.

The Minister of the Interior can, at the request of a third person of authority (Mayor, Prefect, Prosecutor), supervise the organisation of a municipal police. An advisory commission of municipal police forces (CCPM according to the French acronym) exists within the Ministry of the Interior, its primary mission being to give an opinion, prior to their enactment, on the technical norms that the government would envisage deciding upon as concerns equipping the municipal police as well as in case of verification of a municipal police service. Finally, the Defender of Rights sees to the respect of ethics by persons carrying out security activities on the territory of the Republic.

Italy



Overall structure of the police and the mayor's competences

The police structure in Italy is complex. The different bodies comprising it have competences that are often duplicated. There is a concentration of power at the national level as well as a diversity of police corps.

National level

There are three principal forces operating at the national level, and two more specialised forces:

- ▶ The national police (*Polizia di Stato*) carries out general police services such as patrols on motorways and certain waterways. Every large city has a main police station (*questura*) run by the national police, which is responsible for public order along with the *Carabinieri*.
- ▶ The *Carabinieri* Corps (*Arma dei Carabinieri*) is the most numerous force. It has a military status but police responsibilities and duties. The *carabinieri* act as military police for the Italian armed forces and also carry out peace-keeping missions abroad (recently in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq). This corps is organised hierarchically into four corps, from the *carabiniere* to the army general: officers, inspectors, sergeants (sergeant-majors, etc.) and the ranks (corporals, etc.). This force is under the authority of three principal ministries: Defence for military missions, Interior for those of order and public security, and Justice for the exercise of the criminal investigation department.

In principle, the dividing-up of jurisdictions is done on a territorial basis, the state police being present and concentrated only in the cities, but unlike the French *gendarmerie*, the *carabinieri* continue to be quite present in the city whilst carrying out police missions in rural areas on their own.

The coordination of these two forces is practised in three domains. The Public Security Department and the departmental Prefect are in charge of prevention missions. The magistrates are in charge of criminal investigation missions. The force chosen for specific fields of activity (border police, postal police...) is determined by a 1992 text, the Scotti Decree.

Coordination between the state police and *carabinieri* is ensured by the Ministry of the Interior. It is all the more important in that the two forces do not have strictly distinct territorial jurisdictions, which results in constant competition and frequent duplication. This has led to the elaboration of a 'shared police' model and the evolution of responsibilities of each of the two forces in the field. The Ministry of the Interior is therefore responsible for the annual planning of the activity of the five security forces, the coordination of operations and the continuity of the supervision of the territory and of the police service. It issues directives, sets common goals and provides strategic direction.

The other police forces on the national level are:

- ▶ The Financial Guard (*Guardia di Finanza*) is a police agency of military status under the authority of the Minister of the Economy and Finances. It is in charge of maintaining public security in the specific domain of financial and economic affairs. Thus, it is in charge of the prevention and curbing of a large number of traffics, in particular those of drugs and currency, smuggling, preventing the flight of capital as well as supervising respect of health norms in food establishments. The Financial Guard also participates in surveillance of the coasts and territorial waters in coordination with the *carabinieri*, and border control with the state police forces. Financial Guard agents are also seconded to work with Europol and the European Anti-Fraud Office. Finally, this body also intervenes with other anti-riot police forces at demonstrations or large events.

Two corps of national jurisdiction are more specialised:

- ▶ The Prison Police (*Polizia Penitenziaria*), as its name indicates, controls prisoners and is in charge of their transport.

- ▶ The State Forest Corps (*Corpo Forestale dello Stato*) is in charge of applying the law in national parks and forests.

Local level

Every town (except the very smallest) has a police department, of which it sets the organisation by regulation and often on the basis of regional law. When this department includes at least seven agents, the municipality has the right to create a police corps, headed by a commander, which includes a level of intermediary command in charge of supervision and coordination.

The municipal police forces handle administrative tasks in affairs coming under the jurisdiction of the towns. They also have certain functions as traffic police, public security and criminal investigation. In the largest municipalities, certain departments of the municipal police deal with the fight against vandalism in the city, respect for public buildings and public transportation, development of the criminal investigation department's activity, and tax audits. The municipal police of Rome also have a helicopter service. In carrying out their duties, municipal police officers have a function as both traffic police and judicial police. Every municipality can decide whether or not to arm its police officers.

The municipal police are under the direct authority of the mayor in accordance with regional law.

Neighbourhood policing

The two main forces (national police and *carabinieri*) claim they have integrated principles of community policing doctrine over the past few years. In particular, they mention the creation of a call centre for facilitating the reporting of crimes, especially those that target vulnerable groups such as the elderly; projects of small police stations; new training focusing on problem solving; and the organisation of local patrols in particularly sensitive areas. There are successful experiences of neighbourhood policing, the most advanced being in Modena, but also in Turin and Milan.

External oversight of the police

In Italy there is no official external supervisory organ exclusively for the police.

Portugal



Overall structure of the police

The functions of the police are laid out in Article 272 of the Constitution of 1976: “The duties of the police are to defend democratic legality and guarantee domestic security and citizens' rights.” The crime-prevention mission is stated in the Constitution: “Prevention of crimes, including those against State security, must be carried out with due regard to the general rules governing the police and to the rights and liberties of citizens.”

The police forces do not constitute a single system but are, to the contrary, organised in diverse institutions that stem from three principal functions: public security, administrative investigations and criminal investigations.

Moreover, they are organised in two large branches:

- ▶ the general police forces, which gather: the Public Safety Police (PSP) and the Republican National Guard (GNR according to the Portuguese acronym);
- ▶ the different professions: criminal investigation agency (PJ), service of foreigners and borders (SEF), prison guards (GP), maritime police (PM), Authority for Food Security (ASAE) and the municipal police forces.

National level

In urban areas, security and public order are ensured by the Public Safety Police (PSP), and in outlying and rural areas by the Republican National Guard. The territories covered by the former are densely populated whereas those covered by the latter are more extensive but less populated. Both forces have jurisdiction for carrying out administrative and criminal investigations.

The criminal investigation department and the foreigners and borders service have specific competences as regards criminal investigation. The former tracks organised crime, and the latter affairs of trafficking in human beings and illegal immigration. The latter also has an administrative function and is competent for issuing and checking travel and residence documents.

The public safety police and the National Guard are under the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior.

Of a civilian nature, the Public Safety Police is run by a National Director. It is organised in special units and in 20 territorial commands:

- ▶ Lisbon and Porto
- ▶ The Azores and Madeira
- ▶ 16 provincial commands

In addition to its mission of maintaining public order, the public safety police implements a certain number of prevention programmes: 'Safe Schools', 'Security of the Elderly', 'Safe Taxis', 'Safe Companies', 'Safe Holidays', 'Prevention of domestic violence' and an integrated neighbourhood policing programme.

The National Guard has military status and is directed by a general-commander. It also implements targeted prevention programmes.

Regional and local levels and the role of elected officials

The municipal police missions, defined in the fourth constitutional revision of 1997, are cooperation in the maintenance of public order and the protection of local communities. The law of 28 August 1999 defines how the municipal police must be created and organised.

The creation of a municipal police force must be voted in town council. Hierarchically, officers are answerable to the mayor and can only intervene within the geographical limits of the municipality, except for cases of force *majeure* or emergency and at the request of the municipal authority. The number of municipal police officers is set by law and depends on the number of registered voters.

The municipal police of the two largest cities, Lisbon and Porto, are a separate case, having existed prior to the law of August 1999.

All the municipal police forces are competent for ensuring the application of municipal regulations on the territory of the municipality as well as its general interests.

Career advancement within the municipal police is overseen by the town halls.

The municipal police of Lisbon and Porto

For Lisbon and Porto, municipal police officers are all under the command of the National Director of the National Police (the public safety police). Although the municipal police have an essentially administrative role in these two cities, it is nonetheless competent for arresting a suspect and bringing him to court. Another characteristic of the municipal police of Lisbon and Porto is that even though they depend operationally on the mayor, they are disciplinarily under the authority of the National Director of the Public Safety Police.

The municipal police forces of these two cities include officers who exercise police functions (officers, chiefs and officers of the public safety police), and officers who exercise non-police functions and are civil servants of the town hall or of the regional authority. Nonetheless, they are all under the authority of the Commander, who is in turn answers to the deputy mayor in charge of local security.

The municipal police of Lisbon, created in 1891, is a specialised armed force. It is integrated in the municipal structure and comprises superintendents, officers and police chiefs seconded from the national police and remunerated by the municipality; it also includes civilian personnel. In all, at present it includes 325 police officers and 102 civilians.

Its missions are to ensure the strict application of municipal decrees and regulations relating to urbanism and public works projects, municipal heritage properties, housing, commerce, public areas, emergency situations, environmental protection, public health and traffic. It also carries out general police missions and provides a presence in the field in certain districts.

Independent supervision of the police

Established in 1995, the police disciplinary body (IGAI according to the Portuguese acronym) is an independent department under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior. It is competent for intervening in all affairs and with all the security forces under the authority of the Ministry, in order to ensure respect of citizens' rights and, in particular, human rights and the maintenance of public order. It also intervenes in matters of particular social interest.

The IGAI regularly carries out inspections, in particular in police stations, to verify the proper handling of operations, respect of legislation and procedures, and the conditions of detention and treatment of persons under arrest. It thereby sees to preventing ill treatment of prisoners or other abuses and makes sure that cells are in adequate condition. If not, it can order their immediate closing and the transfer of the prisoner(s) to another detention site until the reception conditions meet standards.

Finally, the IGAI can act on the complaint of citizens or on the basis of any other element indicating a violation of the law or breach of fundamental rights.

References and bibliography



Efus documentation

- ▶ *The Manifesto of Aubervilliers and Saint-Denis*, produced at the international conference “Security, Democracy and Cities: the Future of Prevention”, held on 12, 13 and 14 December 2012, December 2012.
- ▶ *The Manifesto of Saragossa*, produced at the international conference “Security, Democracy and Cities”, held on 2, 3 and 4 November 2006, November 2006.
- ▶ *The Manifesto of Naples*, produced at the international conference “Security, Democracy and Cities” held on 7, 8 and 9 December 2000, December 2000.
- ▶ *Community Policing*, May 2000.
- ▶ *Police Forces in Europe and Urban Safety*, February 1996.

Research, studies and articles

- ▶ *Au risque des espaces publics*, Les annales de la recherche urbaine, n° 83/84, 1999.
- ▶ Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on ‘Urban areas and youth violence’, (2009/C 317/06)
- ▶ Bottamedi, C., *Une police de proximité qui s'éloigne de plus en plus*, La Libre Belgique, 25 may 2011.
- ▶ Bradford, B. and Jackson, J., *Cooperating with the police: Social Control and the reproduction of police legitimacy. The Logic of Practice*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2010.

- ▶ Bradford, B. and Jackson, J., *What is trust and confidence in the police?*, Policing, 4(3): 241-248, 2010.
- ▶ Bradford, B. and Jackson, J., *Why Britons trust their police*. Published in Books and Ideas, 2 March, 2011.
- ▶ Brogden, N. and Nijhar, P., *Community Policing: National and International Models and Approaches*, London, Routledge, 2013.
- ▶ Cao, L., *Confidence in the police: Where does Taiwan rank in the world?*, Asian Journal of Criminology, 1(1):71-84, 2006.
- ▶ Cao, L., *A problem in no-problem policing in Germany: Confidence in the police Germany and USA*, European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice, 9(3):167-179, 2001.
- ▶ Cao, L., Stack, S. and Sun, Yi., *Public attitudes toward the police: a comparative study between Japan and America*, Journal of Criminal Justice, 26(4):279-289, 1998.
- ▶ Christophe, A. et al., *Crime, justice et lieux communs. Une introduction à la criminologie*, Larcier, 2014.
- ▶ Damay, L. and Paye, O., *La proximité en science politique : un concept pour étudier Bruxelles ?*, Hubert, M. et Mincke, C., (dir.), *Ville et proximité*, Bruxelles, éditions des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis (publishing house of the Saint-Louis University Faculties), 2011, pp. 31-50.
- ▶ DCAF, *Standards internationaux relatifs aux forces de police : guide pour une police démocratique*, Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (Centre pour le contrôle démocratique des forces armées), Geneva, 2009.
- ▶ De Man, C., *Interactions entre policiers et population dans l'espace public. Des ajustements du cadre de l'expérience policière aux routines d'interactions ordinaires*, PhD thesis in criminology, under the direction of Sybille Smeets, Brussels Free University, submitted on 6 March 2015.
- ▶ Delens-Ravier, I. and Thibaut, C., *Du tribunal de la jeunesse au placement en IPPJ : la parole des jeunes*, Revue de droit pénal et criminologie, p. 22-69, 2003.

- ▶ Donnelly, D., *Municipal Policing in the European Union: Comparative Perspectives, Crime Prevention and Security Management*, Palgrave Macmillan, UK, 2013.
- ▶ Easton, M., *Multiple community policing, why?*, University of Ghen, Academia Press, 2009.
- ▶ Elison, G., Pino, W.N.. et Shirlow, P., *Assessing the determinants of public confidence in the police: A case study of a post-conflict community in Northern Ireland*, *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 0(0): 1-25, 2012.
- ▶ Eurobarometer, *Special Eurobarometer Survey: Europeans' attitudes towards security*, European Commission, MEMO Brussels, 28 April 2015.
- ▶ European Social Survey, *Trust in Justice: Topline results from Round 5 of the European Social Survey*, ESS Topline Results Series, 1, 2011.
- ▶ Ferreira, R.B, *The use and effectiveness of community policing in a democracy*, Prod. National Institute of Justice, Washington, D.C, 1996.
- ▶ Fiducia Justice Needs Trust, *European Policy Brief: Policy brief on levels of trust and legitimacy across Europe*, FP7 Research Project for New European Crimes and Trust-Based Policy, 2014.
- ▶ Fouquet, A., and Perriault, J., *Évaluation, politiques publiques, politique de recherche*, made available online on 1st December 2013, read on 21 October 2015.
- ▶ Gautron, V., *La coproduction locale de la sécurité en France: un partenariat interinstitutionnel déficient*, *Champ pénal/Penal field* [online], Vol. VII, 2010, made available online on 27 January 2010, read on 21 September 2015; DOI: 10.4000/champpenal.7719.
- ▶ Hendrickx, T., Smeets, S., Strebelle, C., Tange, C., *La police de proximité en Belgique. Bilan des connaissances*, *Les Cahiers de la sécurité*, 39, p.7-27, 2000.
- ▶ Home Office, United Kingdom, Basic Command Unit, *Sanction detections and sanction detections rate for five key offences 2009/10 to 2010/11*.

- ▶ ICPC, *The Role of the Police in Crime Prevention*, International Center for the Prevention of Crime.
- ▶ Jamoulle P. et Mazzocchetti J., *Adolescences en exil*, Anthropologie Prospective, 10, 2011.
- ▶ Jang H. Joo, H.J., et Zhao, S.J., *Determinants of public confidence in the police: an international perspective*, Journal of Criminal Justice, 38, p.57-68, 2010.
- ▶ Jeffrey, I.R., *Policing Issues: Challenges & Controversies*, Jones and Bartlett learning, Ontario, Canada, 2012.
- ▶ Joyce, P., *Policing: Development and Contemporary Practice*, Sage Publications Ltd, London, 2010.
- ▶ Lazerges, C., *La mutation du modèle protectionniste de justice des mineurs*, *Revue de science criminelle et de droit pénal comparé*, n° 1, 200-207, 2008.
- ▶ Lloyd-Williams, D., *Community policing: local and regional authorities guaranteeing a new partnership*, Explanatory Memorandum, Committee on Sustainable Development, 14th plenary session, Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, 2007.
- ▶ Loubet Del Bayle, J.L., *Police et proximité ou le paradoxe du policier*, Cahiers de la sécurité, N° 4, April-June 2008.
- ▶ Maillard (de), J., *Le partenariat en représentations : contribution à l'analyse des nouvelles politiques sociales territorialisées*, Politiques et management public, vol. 18, n° 3, pp. 21-41, 2000.
- ▶ Marais, E., *The police-community relationship*, in Glanz, L. (ed.), *Managing Crime in the New South Africa: Selected Readings*, pp. 113-136, Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, proceedings of the Human Sciences Research Council conference: Managing Crime in the New South Africa: A practical and affordable approach, Pretoria, 4-6 August 1992.
- ▶ French Ministry of the Interior, *Des villes plus sûres pour des citoyens libres*, the Villepinte colloquium, 24 and 25 October 1997.
- ▶ Mesko, G. and Sifrer, J., *Law student' perception of police legitimacy*,

trust in the police and legal cynicism in countries of Central and Eastern Europe, CEPOL, 2013.

- ▶ French Ministry of the Interior, *La police nationale : les missions de la police nationale*, 2004.
- ▶ French Ministry of the Interior,, *Circulaire Nor INTD03000580, Compétences des polices municipales*, 26 May 2003.
- ▶ Northern Ireland Policing Board, *Public perceptions of the police, PCSPs and the Northern Ireland policing board: report based on the Northern Ireland policing board module of the January 2014 Omnibus Survey*, Northern Ireland Policing Board, 2014.
- ▶ Ocqueteau, F. and Carrer, F., *Commissaires de police italiens et français. De la comparaison de deux fonctions d'encadrement en mutation*, *Droit et Société*, 66, 2007.
- ▶ Office for National Statistics, *Crime Survey for England and Wales*, 2015.
- ▶ UN Women, *ommunity policing, Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence Against Women and Girls*, 2010.
- ▶ OSCE Polis, *Country Profiles of participating and partner states*
- ▶ Police and Crime Commissioner for Leicestershire
- ▶ Proteau, L., *Vision doctrinale et divisions pratiques : de quelques contradictions structurelles entre proximité et police*, *Journal des anthropologues*, Paris, n° 108-109, p. 249-277, 2007.
- ▶ Robert, P., *L'évaluation des politiques de sécurité et de prévention en Europe*, *Assessing Deviance, Crime and Prevention in Europe (CRIMPREV)*, 6e PCRD, Juprelle, Printing House Fléma, 2009.
- ▶ Rothstein, B. and Uslaner, E.M., *All for all: Equality, corruption and social trust*, *World Politics*, 58(1):41-72, 2005.
- ▶ Schaap, D., *Citizens' trust in the police: Assessing the impact of procedural justice, the instrumental approach, and proximity policing in an international comparative perspective*, Master thesis, Research Master Social and Cultural Science, Radboud University Nijmegen, 2012.

- ▶ Service des Affaires européennes, *Étude de législation comparée, n° 77, Le statut des gendarmes*, septembre 2000.
- ▶ Seron, V., *Aperçu comparatif de la structure organisationnelle de la police au regard des exemples allemand, français, belge et nord-américain*, Fédéralisme Régionalisme Volume 4, Régions et sécurité, Université de Liège, 2003-2004.
- ▶ Seron, V., Smeets, S., Smits, M., Tange, C., *Police de proximité : un modèle belge entre questions et pratiques*, Politeia, Centre d'Études sur la Police, 2003.
- ▶ Smeets, S., *Les pratiques policières sont-elles réformables?*, dans J.-Ch. Froment, M. Mathieu (Ed.), *Droit et politique. La circulation internationale des modèles en question*, Grenoble, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, Collection Droit et action publique, p. 243-252, 2014.
- ▶ Smeets, S. and Tange, C., *Le community policing en Belgique : péripéties de la constitution d'un modèle de travail policier*, International police executive Symposium, 2009.
- ▶ *Stratégie pour des quartiers sûrs et confiants : prochaines étapes de la police de proximité*, Police axée sur les quartiers : Neighbourhood Policing, mars 2010.
- ▶ Tange, C., Lacroix, J., *Évaluer les contrats de sécurité. Portefeuille de lecture sur l'évaluation des politiques publiques*, Bruxelles, éd. Politeia, 1997.
- ▶ Tyler, T., *Why people obey the law*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990.
- ▶ Tyler, T., *Why people cooperate*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2011.
- ▶ ONUCD, ONU-HABITAT, *Introductory Handbook on Policing Urban Space*, Criminal Justice Handbook Series, United Nations, New York, 2011.