Cour des comptes



HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT AT THE HEART OF DIFFICULTIES WITHIN THE NATIONAL POLICE

STRUCTURAL ISSUES FOR FRANCE NOVEMBER 2021

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NOTICE

This policy paper is part of a body of work intended to present, on several major public policies, the main challenges that public decision-makers will face in the coming years and the levers that could make it possible to meet those challenges. This series of publications, which runs from October to December 2021, is a follow-up on the June 2021 report submitted to the President of the Republic, entitled, Exiting from crisis: A public finance strategy. That paper identifies structural issues, it offers a diagnostic resulting from previous works by the Court as well as guidelines for long-term growth, while strengthening the equity, effectiveness, and efficiency of public policies.

The Court, in accordance with its constitutional mission of informing citizens, wished to develop a new approach, one that is different from its usual work, and thus contribute, through this series of deliberately concise and targeted documents, to the public debate, while taking care to leave open various possible avenues for reform.

This report was deliberated by the 4th chamber and approved by the Court of Accounts' Publication and Planning Committee.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For several years, the National Police have been confronted with major security challenges and high expectations from citizens. To cope with this, they have enjoyed significant additional resources, as evidenced by the 21% increase in its payroll in ten years, and the increased support from new security players (municipal police, reservists, private security firms). However, the results they have achieved, particularly in terms of presence on the streets or solving crime, have not seen any significant improvement, and are even deteriorating.

The recent work of the Court on the subject focuses on the idea that the solution to the insufficiency of these performances lies above all in a better use and a renewed management of the human resources of the National Police force. This observation is shared by the ministry, particularly in its reflections resulting from the white paper on internal security of November 2020 or the Beauvau Security Assessment, organized from February to September 2021. While the National Police has recently embarked on reforms to make the management of its resources more efficient, it must still raise its level of requirements in this area in the coming years, so that the additional resources that are planned, particularly within the framework of the France Relance recovery plan, make it possible to improve the performance of its security missions in a way that meets the expectations of our fellow citizens.

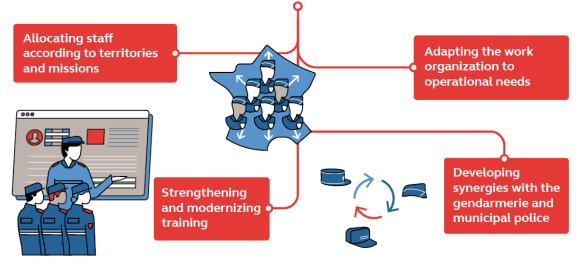
To this end, several pathways for action can be used as a priority. Staffing allocations would benefit from being rethought to better adjust to the needs of the territories and missions, the organization of work, and more particularly the management of hourly cycles, to be adapted to operational needs, and training would benefit from being strengthened and modernized in order to cope with the need to increase the skills of a large workforce; finally, the ministry should develop staff pooling between the police and the gendarmerie.

Accompanied by an improvement in the tools for measuring the activity and performance of the National Police, the implementation of such measures would enable lasting efficiency gains and an effective improvement in the quality of the service provided to citizens.

Key figures:

- € 10 billion devoted to the National Police payroll, up 21% over the past 10 years.
- A police presence in the field of **37%**, down for 10 years.
- From 2014 to 2020, the pass rate for the police officer competitive exam rose from 2% to 18% of applicants.
- A vehicle fleet that is 7 years old on average, compared to 3 years old in Germany.

IMPROVING THE **PERFORMANCE** OF THE NATIONAL POLICE THROUGH BETTER **HUMAN RESOURCES** MANAGEMENT



INTRODUCTION

The National Police deal with 65% of criminality in France and represent 60% of the workforce assigned to internal security, alongside the National Gendarmerie. The action of the security forces has had to adapt in recent years to numerous crises which have multiplied their objectives: terrorism from 2015, social movements (mouvements sociaux) in 2016, 2018 and 2019, pandemic in 2020.

After downsizing from 2008, the National Police benefited from three reinforcement plans, launched after the 2015 terrorist attacks. However, the results they have achieved, particularly in terms of presence on the streets or solving crime, have not seen any significant improvement, and have even deteriorated over the period.

Based on the Court's repeated observations since 2014, improving the human resources management of the National Police appears to be a source of difficulties, but also as an essential pathway for improving the performance of the internal security forces.

1 - DESPITE THE INCREASE IN RESOURCES, MANAGEMENT DIFFICULTIES AFFECT PERFORMANCE

After the effects of the general review of public policies (politiques publiques), resulting in a decrease in the number of police officers, successive reinforcement plans led to the hiring of 8,000 additional police officers from 2015 to 2020. The wage bill increased by 21% from 2010 to 2020, while operating resources stagnated. Staff expenditures now reach €10 billion, or 90% of the Programme 176 - National Police. The work organization, despite recent reforms, remains inadequate.

A - The reinforcement plans did not make it possible to improve the performance of the police missions in proportion to the resource allocated

The question of the National Police workforce punctuates political agendas. Since the 2015 terrorist attacks, many plans to add to the police staffing numbers have followed one another: plan to fight terrorism, plan to fight illegal immigration, security pact, until the presidential announcements, in 2017, of a "10,000" plan intended to reinforce the police and gendarmerie numbers over President Macron's five-year term.

The creation of these jobs appears only partially in the workforce accounting in full-time equivalent worked (FTE) and its distribution by position was unequal.

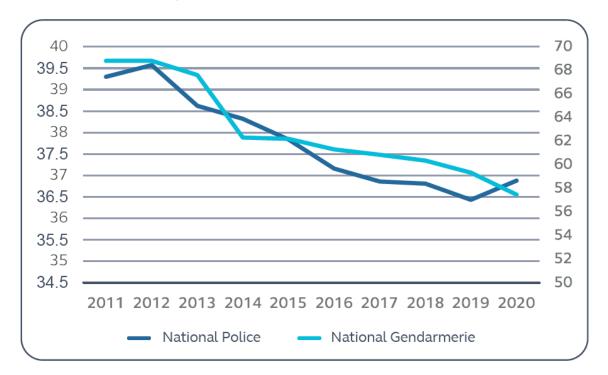
	2010	2015	2020	2010-2020 Change	2015-2020 Change	
Public order	18 022	20 726	20 130	12 %	- 3 %	
Security and public peace	51 494	47 837	46 229	- 10 %	- 3 %	
Road safety	10 001	7 265	6 451	- 35 %	- 11 %	
Police of foreigners and air transport	11 116	12 800	14 552	31 %	14 %	
Judicial police mission and suppor- ting justice	39 738	41 341	43 821	10 %	6 %	
Command, HR and logistics	14 419	14 013	14 786	3 %	6 %	
TOTAL	144 790	143 982	145 969	1 %	1 %	

Table No. 1: change in the workforce per action of the National Police programfrom 2010 to 2020 (FTE)

Source: Court of Accounts using RAP data from Programme 176 - National Police - FTE worked-

Developments are uneven between the different police missions. The decrease in public safety and road safety activities offset increases in foreigners and air transport policing, as well as support activities. The decline in public security activities is, moreover, corroborated by the observed trend in the commitment rate in the field.

The evolution of the staff commitment rate in the field since 2011 shows a continuous decline in the presence on public roads, more pronounced for the National Police than for the Gendarmerie. A new policing doctrine announced in August 2017, the "everyday security police" has not, for the time being, resulted in a greater police presence in the field.



Graph No. 1: change in the commitment rate of staff in the field since 2011

Source: Annual performance reports annexed to the 2013 to 2020 finance laws (National Police: left axis, National Gendarmerie: right axis). The National Police commitment rate relates the number of hours devoted to activities outside the police station to the number of total hours of activity. The Gendarmerie commitment rate relates the annual hourly volume of activities carried out outside the units, compared to the annual hourly volume of activities of the Gendarmerie units

Considering that this indicator does not faithfully reflect the police presence in the field, the DGPN indicated in its response to the Court that it has decided to replace it with a new indicator: the volume of hours worked by police patrols in the field, starting from the budget bill for 2022.

The judicial police, which has to deal with 3.9 million proceedings a year, are also in difficulty. It no longer attracts experienced police officers and its results are marked by a low level of solving low and mid-spectrum crimes, corresponding to everyday crime for our fellow citizens. For several years, the National Police have experienced disaffection with the entire investigation channel at the national level and more particularly within the remit of the Paris police prefecture. Thus, in the Paris region, the judicial police officers are insufficient in number to meet the needs of public security but, through transfers, they find themselves overstaffed in the provinces, often in general services, unrelated to their judicial competence. This situation is particularly the result of degraded working conditions in the Paris metro region and results in a low attractiveness of the investigative posts in the police stations, but also now within the specialized services of the judicial police.

The difficulty in filling positions results from the overly uniform application of the "corps and careers" reform, characterized in particular by a sharp drop in the number of officers which transferred the burden of this mission to the patrol officers' corps, which are sometimes reluctant to deal with criminal proceedings. The ministry recently initiated reforms to remedy this (accelerated advancement, overhaul of the bonus for judicial police officers), the effectiveness of which should be measured. It also sets itself the ambitious objective of increasing the number of judicial police officer positions from 17,000 to 22,000 by 2023.

In addition, the rise of specialized services is not always up to the needs. In the case of economic and financial crime, for example, the specialized services, able to deal with "economic and financial fraud and offences", only take charge of 2% of them, leaving the rest to the non-specialised public security services. However, the low level of training of investigators from these services on this topic generates very low response rates to the several hundreds of thousands of cases recorded by the prosecutors' offices.

Clearance rates, even if they are an imperfect indicator, reveal the difficulties in dealing with offences by local judicial services.

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Violent robberies	10.8	12.7	12.6	13.1	13.7	15.4
Burglaries	10.4	10.7	10.7	9.5	11.4	10.2
Homicides	67.0	70.3	64.6	70.3	62.1	62.6

Table No. 2: clearance rate of the National Police (as a percentage of the cases reported):

Source: Annual performance reports annexed to budget acts

B - The sharing of security missions has accelerated in recent years

More than 3,600 municipalities have created or strengthened a municipal police force to meet citizens' expectations of public order. Today, these police forces have some 35,000 officers and are equipped with a high level of equipment, including video protection and weapons. Some municipal police are now even almost equal in numbers with the National Police, as in Cannes for example. If the available data do not allow for a definitive conclusion, we observe a decrease in the interventions of the National Police force in the cities that have a municipal police force.

The operational mobilization of municipal police forces has been made possible by the sometimes very interventionist policing doctrines decided by the mayors, while municipalities which do not have the means to afford such a force remain confronted with their daily public order problems.

Likewise, private security activities are a rapidly growing sector. They have seen their scope expand and cover in particular surveillance, including armed surveillance, security, cash transport, and personal protection. Employees of private security companies represented around 183,000 persons in 2019, compared to around 146,000 in 2011.

Finally, following the terrorist attacks in 2015 and 2016, the operational reserves of the police and the Gendarmerie acquired a new visibility. Faced with the desire for commitment of our fellow citizens and the need to strengthen the active forces, the use of reserves appeared to be an appropriate response. Whether in terms of volume, policing conditions, and above all openness to civil society, this use remains to this day significantly more limited in the police than in the Gendarmerie. The DGPN has set itself the objective of having 30,000 reservists by 2026, compared to under 7,000 voluntary reservists under contract in the first half of 2021.

The coordination of all these actors has progressed, as evidenced by the mechanisms implemented at the local level with the municipal police. The "integrated security contracts" announced by the Government at the end of 2020 aim to strengthen this approach.

C - The wage bill absorbed most of the budgetary efforts

In ten years, the National Police wage bill has increased by 21% and represents 90% of Programme 176 - National Police expenditures. In 2010, the overall average cost of a FTE of the programme was \in 33.7K and increased by 20% to reach \in 40.2K in 2020. The police experience asymmetric social dialogue which easily honours categorical requests and does not result in sufficient compensation, in terms of working time or working conditions, for the benefits obtained. Thus, the measures of the protocols adopted to meet salary expectations or concluded in the context of the "yellow vests" movement, represented a cost of \in 416 million. In the end, the Ministry of the Interior is subjected to demands which erode its budgetary leeway and constantly confront it with difficulties in absorbing its activity.

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
2016 Protocols	2.8	70.9	28.1	60.3	79.9	18.6	8.7	269.3
2018 Protocol	0	0	0	83.9	60.7	2.7	0	147.3
Total	2.8	70.9	28.1	144.2	140.6	21.3	8.7	416.6

Table No. 3: costs of protocols signed in 2016 and 2018 (in € M)

Source: Court of Auditors - 2020 budget execution paper on the Security mission

The measures adopted within the framework of these protocols are mainly of a compensatory nature and the statutory measures do not appear to be justified by proven operational needs. Bonuses pile up, particularly when they are aimed at retaining officers, without sufficient verification of their effectiveness. In total, the National Police compensation scheme includes 77 bonuses, 53 of which are for active staff only. Finally, the acceleration of advancement and the increase in staff in the highest ranks were decided without any consideration of the adequacy of ranks for the responsibilities exercised.

D - The organization of work remains unsuitable

Committed to experimenting with new work cycles for more than eight years, the General Directorate of the National Police (DGPN) is struggling to define a sustainable and coherent working time organization that meets both operational needs and the arduousness of police work.

Intended to maintain service continuity and initially designed to provide flexibility, these cycles are in fact a source of rigidity and complexity in workforce management. This situation reduces the police presence and intervention capacities in the field while unduly reducing the annual working time in favour of a growing number of overtime hours, giving rise to the right to remuneration or to compensatory rest not taken and which allow police officers to retire early. To date, the DGPN does not have the tools allowing it to precisely determine the average working time of a police officer.

Indeed, police officers receive overtime which, alongside other specific services, entitles them to rest time. In total, in 2019, before taking into account the effects of the exceptional overtime compensation campaign, 52 million hours of rest time (comprising 24 million hours of overtime, 7 million hours of specific arduous rest time, and 21 million hours recorded in the time savings account), or the equivalent of more than 33,000 FTEs, still had to be returned to police officers. Such an accumulation of hours is difficult to absorb by normal means, namely the rapid taking of compensatory rest and the effective payment of the hours due.

This problem interferes with that of working rhythms, which are too numerous because they are localized according to highly variable modalities, which hardly coincide with the needs of the service and therefore unnecessarily generate overtime. Aiming to remedy this situation, and to put an end to the most costly and unsuitable organizational models, the decree on the organization of working time in the National Police force, which entered into force on 1 January 2020, reduces the number of hourly cycles which can be retained by operational services. An effort has been made, in particular, to limit the use of "heavy shifts", a form of work organization of working time, streamlining the working rhythms within the National Police force will require a strong determination at the central level to be carried out successfully.

E - The means of operation and equipment are lacking

The growth in the wage bill has produced a crowding out effect to the detriment of equipment and operating expenses. The National Police cannot dispense with a minimum level of equipment to carry out its missions, which does not allow an investment effort limited to 2%

of the programme credits. All police services are concerned. The construction of three police stations is subject to funding from the France Relance plan, initiated in the fall of 2020, although these are recurring expenses. Despite recent vehicle acquisitions, the National Police fleet shows an average service length of seven years, increasing since 2014, compared to three years in Germany.

While the capability building plans for the National Police (in all, five successive plans between 2015 and 2017, totalling €142 million) were implemented, this effort was not maintained thereafter, while staffing increases were decided at the same time.

The building stock of the National Police does not receive enough funding for upkeep, much less renovations. In 2016, the Court recommended formalizing a real estate strategy for the National Police without limiting itself to a multi-year loan program, even though the dilapidated building stock was poorly known. That recommendation is still valid and moreover was made a priority in the White Paper on Internal Security.

In 2020, the slowdown in staff expenditures due to the pandemic made it possible to incur exceptional expenditures, particularly within the framework of what the ministry dubbed the "Operation Doorknob" in the amount of €26 million to carry out some 3,700 operations at police and National Gendarmerie facilities, or to purchase equipment. These cyclical efforts will not be enough, and accentuate the need for a long-term approach.

Also, the presentation of an internal security planning bill could provide visibility for future essential investments, as well as for the necessary reorganizations, recommended on numerous occasions by Parliament and by the Court. Police capital expenditures should be kept at a level commensurate with staffing levels and operational needs.

2 - FOUR PATHWAYS FOR ACTION

The increasing allocation of resources does not make it possible to respond to the difficulties of the National Police. On the one hand, because the allocation of such additional resources, concentrated on staff and remuneration, was made at the expense of equipment and investment, on the other hand because it must, in order to be fully effective, be part of a process of transformation and anticipation. In June 2017, the Court had already stressed that the allocation of additional resources to the security forces would be of only limited effectiveness if it was not accompanied by structural reforms, as part of a revised strategy and policing doctrine for the National Police. However, the position of strategic anticipation and planning, present in the National Gendarmerie, is not found to the same degree in the police, which lacks a monitoring and planning position in the face of new criminality phenomena.

There are several pathways for action to increase the efficiency of the police force, particularly by making a better allocation of staff and by adapting the work organisation to operational needs, by reinforcing training or even by developing pooling with the National Gendarmerie and municipal police forces.

A - Staff allocation must be more closely aligned with the needs of the territories and the missions

The National Police must continue its efforts to improve the allocation of its workforce, based on the missions carried out, the levels of competence required, and regional specifics. Until now, it has struggled to build a reference workforce that would take into account both the quantitative and qualitative staffing needs to carry out its missions: public order and security, judicial police, intelligence, etc.

A reference workforce built on stable criteria and broken down by region would make it possible to better calibrate the distribution between positions dedicated to active personnel and administrative positions. The recent work of the Central Directorate of Public Security is part of that effort to better allocate staff, and we can only regret that the Paris police headquarters did not join in the effort. This tool is all the more important as it should make it possible to measure the lack of supervision linked to the reconfiguration of the National Police force corps, the effects of which persist despite the decisions recently taken to remedy them.

The shrinking of the officer corps (-40% between 2009 and 2018) has distorted the pyramid of ranks and has not been offset by the rise in skills of officers and patrol officers. Given the retirements, the DGPN estimates that the stabilization of the officer corps at its current level (around 8,000 officers) will only take place in 2023, despite the significant acceleration in hiring.

The drop in the level of supervision is particularly noticeable in the Paris metro region, where the police officers to be supervised are younger and less experienced. The increase in staff in the higher ranks of the Management and Enforcement Corps (constables and sergeants) directs them towards support and management functions, to the detriment of command and field tasks; this is particularly the case for the management of judicial police investigations. The reinforcement plans associated with the fight against terrorism have sometimes missed their objective, and resulted in the recruitment of patrol officers to strengthen intelligence and judicial police missions where a higher level of qualification was expected.

Beyond the problem of staffing, there is the problem of identifying supervisory positions and their distribution among the three corps of the National Police. The ministry itself recognizes that reflection is necessary on the number and role of supervisors.

In addition, the allocation of staff does not sufficiently take into account the assignment region. The regional distribution of public security services staff includes significant inequalities between the districts, with over-staffing or under-staffing with regard population and criminality levels. In particular, the numbers of investigative units have little correlation with the criminality level.

Finally, the terms of assignment and transfer result in the vast majority of cadets just out of the academy being sent to the Paris metro area, where the missions are difficult to perform. This situation does help to retain staff, nor to ensure their proper distribution.

B - A necessary adaptation of the organization of working time to operational needs

The working time organization would benefit from being stable and adapted to police missions. To avoid the current fragmentation of work cycles, it could be broken down by overall mission (public security, judicial police, public order, etc.) so that the working schemes are applicable more homogeneously in areas with the same characteristics of the region.

This objective would require the DGPN to expand its inventory of practices in force and establish a strategic vision that integrates all issues related to the working time of police officers, in order to establish a limited number of consistent, adapted working schemes.

Finally, a new balance must be struck between payment and compensation for overtime. The DGPN has made an unprecedented effort in recent years, with the payment of 9 million hours, totalling €116 M, but the annual flow of overtime has not been stopped despite the establishment of quotas requested of the heads of service. The system for compensating overtime should be rethought as a whole by making payment a common law method for settling overtime, in the same way as taking time off. The success of this reform presupposed in particular making compensation more attractive by increasing the hourly rate, a revaluation which took place in November 2020, but without rethinking the entire system.

In return for this revalued rate, the level of hourly compensation should be reviewed in order to make it less advantageous and thus reduce the flow of overtime, which is still difficult to control today despite the efforts made over the past two years.

C - Training to be strengthened and modernized

The dynamism of recruitment within the National Police following the reinforcement plans strained the training system, whose supply did not follow. While in 2012, the DGPN trained around 500 patrol officers, in 2016 it had to recruit and train more than 4,000 cadets, i.e., an eight-fold increase; in 2020, more than 3,500 patrol officers were in basic training. The need to replace more retirements leads to even higher entry forecasts for the coming years.

This situation, combined with the need to quickly assign new patrol officers, with the objective of "putting blue in the streets", has led to a reduction in school training time by a third, cutting it down from 12 to 8 months. This period is followed by a "training adapted to the first job", which cadets undergo with trainee status, but which suffers in practice in the Paris region from the low supervision rates. The desire to display an increase in the number of police officers thus had the effect of entrusting the most visible part of police action, the presence on public roads, to insufficiently trained and supervised police officers.

It should nevertheless be noted that the conclusions of the Beauvau Security Assessment propose reconsidering this measure and restoring the 12-month school training course from May 2022. It is all the more essential to provide quality basic training to newly recruited patrol officers since, although the number of candidates for the patrol officers competitive exam has changed little, the admission rate has climbed from 2% in 2014 to 18% in 2020, with consequences on the level of recruits.

The same difficulty is likely to arise for the basic training of officers. In fact, officer promotions went from an average of 70 cadets over the 2015-2019 period to 370 students as at 1 September 2021, then 400 students as at 1 September 2022, which forced the academy to increase the size of the groups and, for lack of trainers, to eliminate certain practical lessons.

Presented in the white paper as one of the new National Police structuring projects, the creation of a police academy is currently in the planning stage. One of the objectives is to bring together the training of the three National Police forces in order to strengthen synergies between them, drawing inspiration from foreign examples which seem to have proved their worth. Thus, the Avila National Police Academy has been the only institution providing training to join the Spanish police since 1986. The training is specific for police officers or inspectors, but the fact that everyone is trained within the same institution develops a feeling of belonging, which promotes both professional integration and the attractiveness of the profession.

Continuous training is also insufficient: training in weapons and technical skills often falls short of the qualification requirements. Thus, in Paris, more than a third of the staff had not carried out the three target practice sessions required to be issued a service weapon, and nearly 9% of them had not practised at all during the year. The development of training courses on maintaining order, common to the various forces, should also be encouraged. From this standpoint, the conclusions of the Beauvau Security Assessment include the very ambitious objective of increasing the duration of continuous training by 50%.

Finally, the compensation system must be designed to improve the retention of police officers who choose to train, particularly in the area of judicial police. As the Court has already pointed out, this situation is particularly significant in the Paris region, where officers, barely out of the academy, hasten to request a transfer to the provinces.

D - Synergies to be developed with the National Gendarmerie and municipal police

The recent work of the Court concerning the assessment of the National Gendarmerie's attachment to the Ministry of the Interior highlights the importance of the synergies that remain to be developed between the police and the Gendarmerie in order to improve their performance.

The redeployment movements between the two forces, launched in the 2000s, were not taken to their conclusion and suffer from a lack of an overall strategy. The work relating to the regional map must be relaunched, as the Ministry of the Interior agrees, to make it possible, in consultation with elected officials, to establish a more consistent and more efficient network of the two forces.

This work must also be based on a policing doctrine, articulated with the municipal police forces, mentioned as a "third force" in the white paper, and with the private security sector, while taking into account the desired development of the National Police reserve.

In terms of public security, enhanced operational coordination in urban areas and regions should be used more, while the judicial police should be systematically decompartmentalized. For the latter, the welcome impetus given by the white paper aimed at evaluating the many existing central offices to ensure the merits of their mission and of their leadership role should

be continued. Pooling could be further encouraged, as evidenced by the example of the technical and scientific police. In this regard, the proposal to create a service with national competence of technical and scientific police common to the police and the Gendarmerie is a step in the right direction.

Finally, even if the human resources of these two forces differ in their status, their management must allow each to improve career paths, including cross-over ones. It is desirable to rebalance the budgetary resources of the police, as well as of the Gendarmerie, by restricting the granting of new compensation benefits and by adjusting the share of appropriations devoted to investments and equipment in the budget of the National Police force, even if it means limiting the increase in staff to do so.

CONCLUSION

In its various publications, the Court has consistently upheld the idea that increasing the National Police workforce should not be the priority response to the difficulties experienced by the women and men who compose it in the exercise of their missions, nor to citizens' concerns for their safety. The staff reinforcements have in fact made it possible to significantly improve neither the presence on the public highway nor the efficiency of the judicial police. Other pathways for action must be mobilized.

They focus primarily on better human resources management, with a simplified work organization adapted to operational needs, training to anticipate the skills necessary to deal with new forms of criminality, an allocation of staff that is capable of strengthening the supervision of police officers and take into account regional specifics, and resources redirected towards equipment and real estate in order to improve the working conditions and efficiency of the police force.

The implementation of these solutions, accompanied by an improvement in the tools for measuring the activity and performance of the National Police, will dictate the efficiency gains and the effective improvement in the service quality that citizens, as well as the police, expect.

REFERENCES TO THE WORK OF THE COURT OF ACCOUNTS

The Court has carried out a great deal of work in recent years on which it has relied, in particular the following publications:

- Appraisal of the National Gendarmerie's attachment to the Ministry of the Interior (Le bilan du rattachement de la gendarmerie nationale au ministère de l'intérieur), report requested by the Senate finance committee, May 2021;
- Municipal Police Forces (Les polices municipales), thematic public report, October 2020;
- The organization of working time and overtime in the National Police (L'organisation du temps de travail et les heures supplémentaires dans la police nationale), observations to the minister, October 2020;
- The Paris police prefecture, reform to better ensure security in the Paris area (La préfecture de police de Paris, réformer pour mieux assurer la sécurité dans l'agglomération parisienne), thematic public report, December 2019;
- Operational reserves in the National Police and Gendarmerie (Les réserves opérationnelles dans la police et la gendarmerie nationales) communication to the National Assembly's Finance, General Economy and Budgetary Control Committee, November 2019;
- The resources devoted to the fight against economic and financial crime (Les moyens consacrés à la lutte contre la délinquance économique et financière), observations to the minister, 12 December 2018;
- Equipping the police, a pooling and streamlining effort to be continued (L'équipement des forces de l'ordre, un effort de mutualisation et de rationalisation à poursuivre), communication to the Senate finance committee, May 2018;
- Private security activities: a growing contribution to public security, insufficient regulation (Les activités privées de sécurité : une contribution croissante à la sécurité publique, une régulation insuffisante), inclusion in the 2018 annual public report;
- The situation and outlook for public finances (La situation et les perspectives des finances publiques), June 2017;
- The function of judicial police in the National Police and Gendarmerie (La fonction de police judiciaire dans la police et la gendarmerie nationales), observations to the minister, December 2014.

This report is available

on the Court of Accounts website: www.ccomptes.fr

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