### **ENTITIES AND PUBLIC POLICIES**

# THE PARIS POLICE PREFECTURE

Reform to better ensure security in the Paris conurbation

Thematic public report

**Summary** 

December 2019



This summary is intended to facilitate the reading and use of the report of the Cour des comptes.

Only the response of the Prime Minister is provided at the end of the report.

## **Summary**

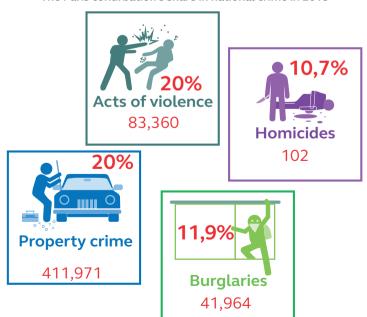
Introduction5
A broad and complex field of competence7
Broad operational and managerial autonomy within the national police force
Governance marked by strong centralisation
Budgetary and financial management requiring rationalisation
Priority to be given to human resources management 19
Public security: implementation conditions requiring reform21
The judicial police: a weakened mission, positioning that needs to be redefined
Public order: an increasing burden, a need for improvement in coordination and assessment of forces 27
Conclusion
December detions 21

### Introduction

A *sui generis* institution created by the Act of 28 Pluviôse year VIII (17 February 1800), the Police Prefecture is a unique model of territorial administration, without equivalent in France because of its competences, which include municipal policing and internal security missions. Gradually extended since 2009, the Police Prefect's internal security missions are carried out in Paris and the inner suburbs, with some extending to the Île-de-France region, and even beyond in a few rare case.

The specificities of the city of Paris and the Paris conurbation, where the public authorities are based and which have one of the highest average population densities in Europe, with daily inflows into the conurbation estimated at 1.2 million people, and also account for a significant proportion of the crime recorded at the national level, have so far justified maintaining a model derogating from ordinary law. The strength of this model lies in the autonomy it gives the Police Prefect, enabling him to mobilise and coordinate the action of all security services with ease, including at *inter-départemental* level, and so respond to the Paris conurbation's security problems.

#### The Paris conurbation's share in national crime in 2018



Source: Cour des Comptes based on data from the Ministerial Internal Security Statistical Department (SSMSI) and the Police Prefecture

### Introduction

In the context of an audit completed in June 2019, the Court examined the conditions under which the Police Prefecture carries out public security, judicial policing and public order missions. It notes that the police services' work is carried out under particularly difficult conditions, marked in recent years by the terrorist threat and a general increase in crime and public unrest. In this context, the quality and commitment of police officers cannot be called into question.

However, the institution is characterised by somewhat inefficient organisation and management, which needs to reform and evolve in order to carry out its security missions more effectively.



# A broad and complex field of competence

Since 2009, a gradual extension of the Police Prefect's internal security competences has been one of the responses to the Paris conurbation's and Île-de-France region's security concerns. In 2009, his action was extended to the inner suburbs' three départements to form the Paris conurbation, and to the Paris region's three airports in 2017. In addition, in 2016, in his capacity as Prefect of the Paris Defence and Security Zone, he was entrusted with new management and coordination powers in the Île-de-France region, in particular with regard to public security.

Such extension of the Police Prefect's competences raises the question of coordination of his services with those of the Ministry of the Interior's Directorate-General of the National Police. Overlapping competences and sometimes a measure of competition between services are the root causes of a loss of effectiveness in the conduct of security missions.

Conversely, the Police Prefect's municipal policing competences gradually reduced. have been Several successive reforms have aimed to transfer the Police Prefect's previous responsibility for municipal policing missions to the Mayor of Paris, therefore refocusing the Police Prefect's prerogatives on internal security. With the latest transfers of competences resulting from the Act of 28 February 2017 bearing on the status of the City of Paris, 1,600 of Paris' surveillance officers, who had previously worked at the Police Prefecture, joined the City service.

Despite these transfers, the Police Prefect is still the municipal police authority under ordinary law, while the Mayor of Paris only has subject-matter jurisdiction. However, their competences remain inextricably linked, and the Act of 2017 has still not made it possible to dissociate their exercise or clarify their implementation.

### A broad and complex field of competence

### **Traffic and Parking Policing**

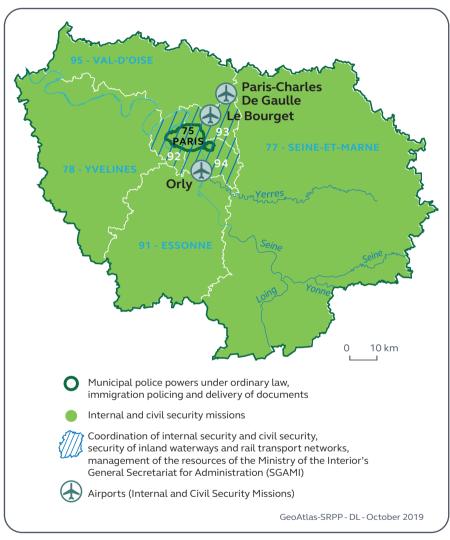
The Mayor of Paris is responsible for traffic and parking policing, in compliance with the Police Prefect's competences as redefined by the Act of 28 February 2017. This introduced a new distinction between roads regarded as «essential to security in Paris and the proper functioning of the public authorities» and those «contributing to the security of persons and property in crisis or emergency situations». On the socalled «essential» roads, defined by regulation (in particular the inner and outer ring roads and the transport arteries alongside the Seine), the Police

Prefect has the power to influence road development projects undertaken by the Paris City Hall, in order to ensure uninterrupted movement for emergency and security vehicles. This includes ensuring the security of official processions and convoys. With regard to roads «contributing to the security of persons and property in crisis or emergency situations», the list of which is established by order of the Police Prefect following consultation with the Mayor of Paris, the latter is responsible for policing traffic and parking, after consulting the Police Prefect.

Such sharing of competences provides a provisional balance that will undoubtedly evolve with the announced creation of a Paris municipal police force. Its creation should lead the City to take greater responsibility in certain areas of competence; division of roles with the Police Prefecture could then be reviewed once again.

### A broad and complex field of competence

#### The Police Prefect's missions by territorial jurisdiction



Source: Cour des comptes



# Broad operational and managerial autonomy within the national police force

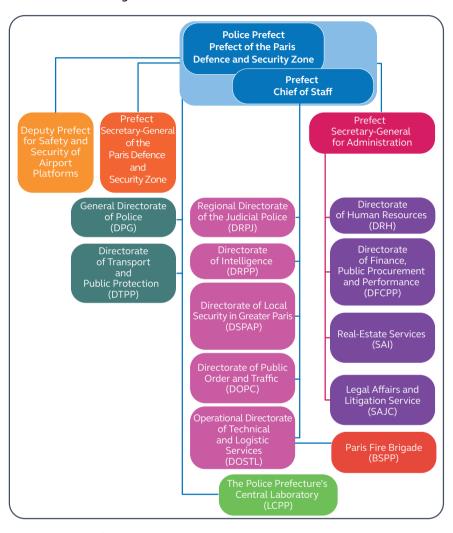
Exercising unprecedentedly extensive powers, the Police Prefect enjoys reinforced institutional positioning with regard to internal security forces. Unlike départemental prefectures and even the Bouches-du-Rhône Police Prefecture, active police directorates in Paris and the inner suburbs are directly attached to the Police Prefecture. This results in the Police Prefecture operating in an «integrated" way all its own, which, combined with the scale of the resources made available to it, means that the Police Prefect enjoys

marked operational and managerial autonomy. This has created a real dualism between the Police Prefecture and the rest of the national police force.

The Police Prefecture's organisation has always been based on a centralised command, guarantee of order and security in Paris. Because of the scale of human and financial resources at its disposal, the Police Prefecture performs a wide range of functions autonomously.

## Broad operational and managerial autonomy within the national police force

#### Organisational chart of the Police Prefecture



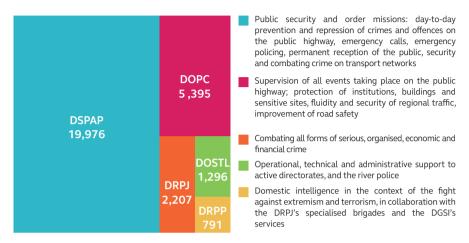
Source: Police Prefecture

At 31 December 2018, all corps combined (excluding the Paris Fire Brigade), 34,016 officers were under the Police Prefect's operational and

hierarchical authority, including 27,700 police officers, representing one quarter of the total number of the national police service's uniformed personnel.

## Broad operational and managerial autonomy within the national police force

#### Active police directorates' staffing and missions at 31 December 2018



Source: Cour des Comptes, according to the Police Prefecture

Note: Directorate of Local Security in Greater Paris (DSPAP), Directorate of Public Order and Traffic (DOPC), Regional Directorate of the Judicial Police (DRPJ), Operational Directorate of Technical and Logistical Services (DOSTL), the Police Prefecture's Directorate of Intelligence (DRPP)



# Governance marked by strong centralisation

The Police Prefecture's governance is characterised by strong centralisation to the Police Prefect's benefit. Creation of the conurban police force in 2009 led to the inner suburbs' three départements' police forces being grouped together under his authority, while the Paris conurbation's départemental Prefects lost much of their for security and public order competence.

Although the three Prefects benefit from delegations of signature from the Police Prefect, these have very little practical significance. This atypical governance model has several drawbacks. The fact that *départemental* Prefects only have limited powers in the policing of these densely populated and security-sensitive territories seems to be out of step with the situation of these areas, which account for almost 30% of property damage and

acts of physical violence committed at national level. The responsibility incumbent on the Police Prefect in Paris and the three *départements*, which have a total of 6.4 million inhabitants, therefore seems to be exercised in overly centralised fashion.

The model must evolve towards greater deconcentration of decisionmaking in matters of public security and order in the Police Prefecture's jurisdiction. Without casting doubt the rationale of conurban policing, which has enabled a rebalancing of numbers of police officers between Paris and the inner suburbs' départements, the police directorates and services in the départements of Hauts-de-Seine. Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne must once again be placed under the operational authority of the territorially competent prefects.



# Budgetary and financial management requiring rationalisation

The Police Prefecture's management involves considerable human and financial resources. Progress has been made, but archaic practices persist that impact its effectiveness and the conduct of its security missions.

From a budgetary point of view, it is characterised by complex organisation derogating from ordinary law. The institution is partly financed by the State budget, which records revenues and expenditures relating mainly to the exercise of active policing, and partly by a special budget. A constituent of the City's main budget and voted by the Paris Council, the special budget records revenues and expenditures «for services of local interest» (the medico-legal institute; the Police Prefecture's central laboratory; the veterinary service's central laboratory; the lost property service) and those of the Paris fire brigade. These financing arrangements reflect the Prefect's dual competence, which is both national and local.

Funding from the State budget is scattered between five budgetary programmes. This makes it impossible to trace its cost with any accuracy, although the Police Prefecture accounts for 20% of national police expenditures. The funds allocated to the Police Prefecture by the State may be estimated at 1.6 billion euros, 80% of which is spent on salaries.

A budget *sui generis*, the City of Paris' special budget, which totals €627 M according to the original 2019 budget, adds further complexity to the Police Prefecture's management. This special budget conceals significant crossfinancing that complicates analysis of financial relations between the State and the City, such as the State's annual reimbursement to the special budget (€28 M in 2017), which compensates for the City of Paris' financing of missions falling within the State's competence.

The transfers of competences to the city, provided for by the Act of 28 February 2017, have resulted in a reduction in its contribution to the special budget of around €72 M in operation in 2018 and 2019. Conditions are in place for eventual replacement of the special budget with more appropriate mechanisms depending on the nature of expenditures, some of which may come under ordinary law governing relations between the State and local authorities.

Management of the Police Prefecture's personnel needs priority attention. It has several shortcomings.

While the number of police officers has been decreasing since 2009, the setting of an employment ceiling does not form part of a genuine management dialogue with the Directorate-General

## Budgetary and financial management requiring rationalisation

of the National Police, but is the result of a longstanding base of jobs in the Management and Enforcement Corps (CEA), with a level set at 23,640 FTEs, without the underlying reasons for its staffing requirements being known. In view of the weight of staff expenditures in the institution's overall expenditures and the difficulties observed in the carrying out of certain missions, it would appear necessary to establish a real baseline staff, consolidated for all the Police Prefect's missions.

A considerable number of police officers are not assigned to directly operational missions, as support functions and staff structures within the Prefecture are so burdensome, while missions to protect sensitive sites and assist the judiciary also affect use of staff. Support functions involve what might well be regarded as an excessive proportion of the Police Prefecture's human resources (approximately 1,500 FTEs in 2017 for the three main active police directorates), especially as they are

largely carried out by police officers. Such assignments keep these officers away from the street, investigative and public order missions that are their core activities, whereas most of these support functions could performed by administrative, technical and scientific staff. Although it is attempting to replace active personnel with administrative staff, the Police Prefecture has not yet succeeded in making a lasting reduction in the number of police officers concerned.

The significant weight of the Police Prefecture's staff structures is the result of non-rational organisation, marked by a multiplication of similar structures and lack of pooling between directorates. Measures rationalise support functions are much to be desired, including elimination of duplication between the General Secretariat for Administration (SGAMI) and police directorates, and consolidation of internal support within the latter.

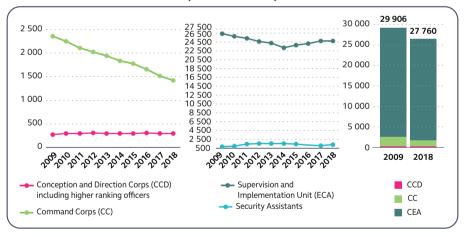


# Priority to be given to human resources management

Human resources management is the Police Prefecture's main challenge. While having to deal with its own problems, the institution acts as a kind of mirror magnifying the difficulties facing the national police. The Police Prefecture has had to cope with

increasingly significant reductions and an imbalance in its workforce. Priority must be given to human resources management both by the institution itself and by the Directorate-General of the National Police.

### Evolution of the number of police officers under the Police Prefect's authority (at 31 December)



Source: The Police Prefecture's Directorate of Human Resources

For many years, the Police Prefecture has been faced with a lack of attractiveness and loyalty among its staff, due to the constraints of the Paris conurbation, including cost of living, housing in particular, and the difficult conditions under which missions are carried out. The particularly high staff turnover rate impacts officers' socio-demographic characteristics, as well as having

operational consequences. Departure of experienced police officers is offset by recruitment of school-leavers to replace them. As a result, supervision rates are highly inadequate. In addition, the Police Prefecture is faced with a more acute shortage of judicial police officers than elsewhere, which is highly detrimental to accomplishment of its mission.

## Priority to be given to human resources management

This situation is particularly critical and requires the Directorate-General of the National Police to take better account of the Paris conurbation's difficulties. The effectiveness of the many payrise and promotion incentive schemes implemented by the Directorate has not been demonstrated yet. As a solution to retain police officers in Paris, priority should be given to

the housing policy implemented by the Police Prefecture's Sub-Directorate for Social Action. The Police Prefecture's Directorate of Human Resources, while overly focusing on its administrative functions, must also develop a genuine policy for police officers. Creation of career paths and control of professional risks must be among its priority projects.



Firstly, in view of public expectations and the number of staff devoted to it, the public security mission is carried out in the Police Prefecture jurisdiction under particularly difficult conditions for police officers, characterised in recent years by an increase in crime. Based on inefficient organisation and staff allocation that could be further optimised, the public security mission is marked by declining operational performance.

Organisation of public security services is characterised by a high complexity, resulting from an overlapping of central and territorial structures. At 31 December 2018. the Paris conurbation's Directorate of Local Security covered 83 precincts and 15 districts, and relied on a dense network of 113 public reception points. In contrast to the outer suburbs' public security services, its organisation changed only slightly between 2009 and 2018. In terms of the number of precincts, distribution of public security forces appears overly fragmented, with no direct correlation with the populations of the areas concerned or the crime occurring in them. Moreover, the density of local coverage does not facilitate efficient use of available officers, in particular at night, when police officers are assigned to reception despite reduced

activity. Territorial organisation must be simplified and better adapted to the exercise of such missions as emergency and anti-crime policing.

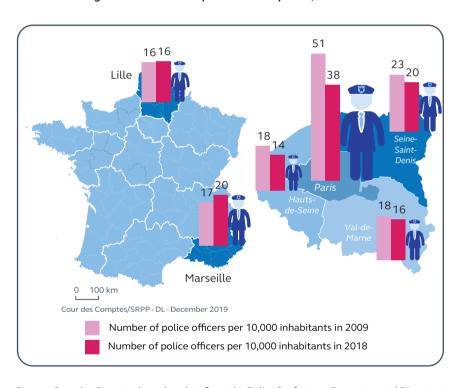
As, in contrast to the rest of the territory, there is no Zonal Directorate of the Border Police (PAF) in Îlede-France, the Police Prefecture assumes the mission of fighting illegal immigration for the Parisian conurbation. However, action by the Police Prefecture's Sub-Directorate for the Fight against Illegal Immigration overlaps with the PAF's, particularly at airport platforms and in management of administrative detention centres (CRAs) in Paris and the outer suburbs. The Police Prefecture cannot totally replace the PAF in coordinating the fight against illegal immigration, given the extent of the problem in the Paris conurbation, which concentrates an estimated share of over a third of illegal foreigners in France. The Police Prefecture's specialised services do not have the critical size to perform this mission alone. The Police Prefecture's autonomous exercise of this particular mission runs the risk of dividing national policy, at the expense of the comprehensive overview of illegal immigration that the Central Directorate of the PAF must legitimately maintain. situation argues for creation of a

Zonal Directorate of the PAF in Îlede-France, possibly placed under the Police Prefect's operational authority.

Analysis of allocation of public security officers since 2009 shows successful rebalancing from the *départements* 

of Paris and Hauts-de-Seine to the benefit of Seine-Saint-Denis and Valde-Marne. Apart from Paris, Seine-Saint-Denis is now the *département* with the highest number of police officers per inhabitant (19.72 officers per 10,000 inhabitants in 2018).

#### Average number of active police officers per 10,000 inhabitants



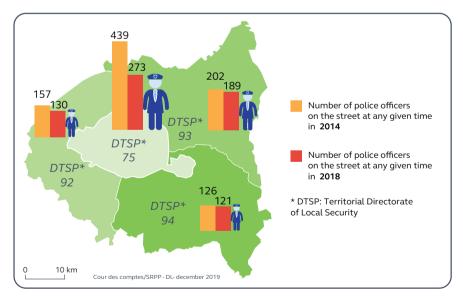
 $Source: Cour des \ Comptes \ based \ on \ data \ from \ the \ Police \ Prefecture, Department al \ Directorates \ of \ Public \ Security \ 59 \ and \ 13 \ and \ data. gouv. fr.$ 

Note: active personnel (Command and Coordination Centre, Management and Enforcement Corps and security assistant) at 30 September 2009 and 31 March 2018.

Night services are pooled, which is particularly beneficial to Seine-Saint-Denis. This better distribution of human resources was one of the conurban police's objectives. Nevertheless, allocation of staff could be better correlated with local crime levels. Furthermore, the evolution of staff numbers in the precincts studied by the Court appear to be uncorrelated with the resource allocation tool set up by the Directorate of Local Security in Greater Paris (DSPAP).

Police services' performance of public security missions is uneven. Although the police emergency services' average response times are short and in compliance with objectives, these figures cover significant territorial disparities. Evolution of police officers' employment conditions between 2010 and 2017 has led to an activity profile that has tended to move them away from their core focus. Moreover, the aim of greater presence on the street has not vet been achieved: in fact. there has been a marked reduction. In 2014, there was an average number of 1,126 police officers on the street at any given time across the Paris conurbation, as against 878 in 2018. Paris is experiencing the most marked deterioration, with 273 police officers present on the street at any given time in 2018, as against 439 in 2014.

### Evolution of the average number of officers present on the street at any given time for the DSPAP



Source: DSPAP

While the new operational doctrine implies increasing police presence on the street, its initial implementation

must be rapidly and accurately assessed in order to see whether a real reversal of the trend is likely to result.

### "Everyday Security" Police (PSQ) doctrine based on greater presence on the ground

PSQ objectives were set in an instruction issued by the Minister of the Interior in February 2018. The PSQ aims to give precinct chiefs greater latitude in defining local security strategies adapted to each area. It also promotes greater police presence on the ground, densification of the local partnership, greater contact with the population, and quality of public reception. Implementation of the PSQ relies in particular on territorial contact brigades (BTCs) located at

police stations. Certain sensitive sectors, categorised as Republican Reconquest Districts (QRRs), are benefiting from reinforcement of human and material resources. In the context of implementation of the PSQ, the Police Prefect and Territorial Directorates of Public Security (DTSPs) all advocate stepping up police presence on the ground, in the street in particular, as well as improving contact with the population.



# The judicial police: a weakened mission, positioning that needs to be redefined

The Paris Judicial Police's current organisation and the conditions under which it carries out its mission raise several questions regarding the institution itself, its efficiency and its operational effectiveness.

The judicial police's mission is divided up in the Police Prefecture between multiple directorates and sometimes even services within the same directorate. There is also geographical heterogeneity in the crime levels handled by the Directorate of Local Security in Greater Paris (DSPAP) and the Regional Directorate of the Judicial Police (DRPJ). Protocols for distribution of cases between these different services provide for unequal levels of referrals between Paris and the inner suburbs, which may be explained by the DRPJ's overinvestment in criminal cases in Paris. These findings call for a more balanced distribution of cases between the DSPAP and the DRPJ on the one hand, and within the DRPJ on the other.

While coordination between services and sharing of information affect the judicial police's ability to solve cases, the compartmentalisation and competition observed between the DRPJ and the Central Directorate of the Judicial Police appear problematic. The DRPJ's organic attachment to the

Central Directorate of the Judicial Police (DCPJ) should be considered in order to overcome these difficulties and make better use of the two services' often duplicated or even competing resources. Such linkage will have to be achieved in such a way as to free up resources for implementation of the local judicial police mission, which is currently in great difficulty.

In a general context of increasing crime (up by around 13.5% in the Paris conurbation between 2012 and 2018), the operational performance of local judicial police services, which handle minor crimes (95% of incidents recorded in the Paris conurbation). as measured by clearance rates, is deteriorating. Investigation services in the Paris conurbation are increasingly overloaded. If the situation is to be remedied, the recruitment difficulties experienced by the investigation branch (a problem outside the Police Prefecture's scope) must be resolved. Improvement of the local judicial police's results also requires provision methodological support investigation services and definition of strategic priorities in consultation with the Paris conurbation's public prosecutors' offices.

Finally, apart from the fight against drug trafficking, the specialised judicial police's results are mixed.

## The judicial police: a weakened mission, positioning that needs to be redefined

### **Anti-narcotics plans**

The plan to combat drug trafficking brings together the Directorates of Intelligence, Local Security in Greater Paris, and the Judicial Police, which acts as a coordinating authority, around various territorial and thematic objectives for each département. The majority of cases handled by the conurbation's public security services and judicial police in the fight against drugs are outside the focuses defined in the

plans. However, cases that come within the plan's focuses show more satisfactory results. In Val-de-Marne in 2018, for example, cases within the plan's context (26%) accounted for 46% of individuals brought before the courts, 47% of drug seizures, 47% of cash seizures and over half of the total amount of assets seized. This is also true in the other départements.



# Public order: an increasing burden, a need for improvement in coordination and assessment of forces

Questions relating to public order arise in terms specific to Paris owing the high number of events that take place there and the fact of its beings the seat of government. Created in 1999 with the dual objective of refocusing police stations on their primary activity of combating crime and

having specialised units and services adapted to the specificities of public order in Paris, the Police Prefecture's Directorate of Public Order and Traffic (DOPC) is responsible for maintaining public order. Since 2016, it has had to deal with an average of almost 8,000 events a year.

#### Annual number of public order events handled by the DOPC

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Var. 2010/2017	Six months 2018
5 889	7 170	7 031	7 502	6 641	7 700	8 019	8 187	+39%	4 223

Source: DOPC

In its management of public order, the Police Prefecture relies on its Directorate of Public Order and its public security officers, along with a daily allocation of twelve mobile force units, frequently supported by additional reinforcements.

Hence, the Police Prefecture is torn between its ambition to manage public order autonomously in its area of competence – an ambition embodied in the creation of the DOPC – and the need to call on resources that the Directorate and even the Prefecture itself cannot provide.

In order to improve conditions for implementation of its public order mission, the DOPC must focus more

on coordinating the forces operating under its authority, and improve its response to public order events by monitoring relevant indicators and implementing a rapid cycle of analysis of events and lessons to be learned.

Taking note of the unusual nature of the «Yellow Vests» events that have occurred since November 2018, the Court refrains from assessing the conduct of law enforcement operations in the face of these events of unprecedented scale and frequency.

It has, however, examined the organisation adopted by the Police Prefecture in order to carry out this mission and recommends that the DOPC's assessment function and

# Public order: an increasing burden, a need for improvement in coordination and assessment of forces

feedback practices be improved so as to draw conclusions on the public order mission's doctrine and organisation. It also recommends closer alignment of the hitherto separate command centres of the directorates responsible for law enforcement and public security, whose action is increasingly integrated in order to deal with largescale events.

## Conclusion

Upon completion of its work, the Court deems that the Police Prefecture needs to implement far-reaching reform in order to better ensure security in the Paris conurbation.

This finding leads it to make 13 structuring recommendations, with four objectives in mind.

- The Police Prefecture's governance and its organisation must evolve, in order for it to better integrate into its institutional environment and accomplish its security missions under better conditions.
- Its budgetary and financial management, which is still riddled with archaisms, must become more efficient.
- Due to difficulties that are often greater than elsewhere, human resources management must be a priority both for the institution itself and for the Directorate-General of the National Police.
- In order to improve the service provided to the Paris conurbation's inhabitants, public security, judicial policing and public order missions must gain in operational efficiency.

### Recommendations

Reduce the institution's excessive centralisation, adapt its territorial organisation and improve coordination with the services of the Directorate-General of the National Police

Place the police services in the inner suburbs' départements under the Départemental Prefects' operational authority (SGMI, DGPN, PP).

Review the organisation of the Directorate of Local Security in Greater Paris by merging local security districts that do not have the critical size to carry out their missions successfully (PP).

Set up a Zonal Directorate of the Border Police in the Île-de-France region, to take over the tasks assigned to the Paris Police Prefecture's Sub-Directorate for the Fight against Illegal Immigration (DGPN).

Integrate the Paris Regional Directorate of the Judicial Police into the Central Directorate of the Judicial Police in order to eliminate duplication and competition between the two organisations and create operational synergy effects (DGPN, PP).

## Make the Police Prefecture's budgetary and financial management more efficient

Build up a consolidated baseline staff for all the Police Prefect's missions; organise it for each active policing mission, taking account of territorial specificities (DGPN, PP).

Reduce support functions in police directorates, only retaining functions that cannot be provided by the Ministry of the Interior's General Secretariat for Administration (SGAMI) and prioritise performance of such functions by administrative, technical and scientific staff (ATS).

Abolish the special budget and organise financial relations between the City of Paris and the Police Prefecture throughout special agreements (DB, PP, DGCL, City of Paris).

## Give priority to human resources management

Assess the effectiveness of the payrise and rapid promotion schemes implemented in Île-de-France with a view to building staff loyalty; simplify and better target them; in such incentive schemes, give priority to financing the housing policy (DGPN, PP).

Define career paths by corps, professionalising occupational risk management and adapting the training system to needs (DGPN, PP).

## Improve conditions for the exercise of public security, judicial policing and public order missions

Increase police street-presence in local security districts, and measure it by using data from the electronic duty log and relevant activity indicators (*PP*).

Update protocols on division of competences between the public security and criminal investigation services in order to take account of evolutions in crime and territorial organisation, ensuring that disparities between levels of referral to Paris

## Recommendations

and the inner suburbs are justified by objective territorial differences and do not lead to an imbalance in resources (PP, DACG).

Create a tool providing the Police Prefecture with a consolidated view of the total backlog of cases in local reception and investigation services; in collaboration with all competent public prosecutors' offices in the Paris conurbation, define priorities for processing cases by type of litigation (*PP, DACG*).

Better integrate all officers under the DOPC's authority into the public order mission by aligning command centres, sharing best practices and increasing feedback and assessment (PP).