The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

Abstract

The evolution from government to governance leading to multiple partnerships in policing and in pluralization of regular police functions is widespread in Europe. Although this trend is frequently described and analysed by Anglo-Saxon scholars, empirical research findings outside the United Kingdom are scarce. In this article we focus on the organisation of the Belgian regular police force and the passing on of particular police functions to other - as well private as public partners and agencies. We analyse the situation after the major police reform in 1998, and situate the research findings in the broader context of changes in police systems in different countries. Police centralisation and decentralisation movements do influence outsourcing tendencies. We develop a theoretical overview of the issue of plural policing on the one hand and a theoretical framework to allocate reforms in police systems in different countries on the other. For Belgium we analyse the organisational and operational setting of the regular police, and public and private agents performing police tasks. The empirical research is based on an in-depth study of 25 years of security policy in Belgium (interviews with politicians) and an extended document analysis [1, 2]. Concluding we discuss the specific place the regular police, called a ‘cannibal police force’ still takes within the security governance, leaving no place for outsourcing to private partners.

Keywords: Plural policing; Pluralization; Police; Public order; Mayor; Municipalities; Public space

Introduction

The evolution towards ‘plural policing’ or ‘pluralization’ of governance of order and security, emerging from the latter part of the 20th Century onwards, is frequently analysed by Anglo-Saxon scholars [3-13]. Multiple models of partnerships unite police with a range of private security, government agencies, organized groups, neighborhood watch groups and citizens [14]. In different countries, the relationships among the group members and the police can vary but is guided by distinct laws, policies, customs and practices. These efforts are now subsumed under a popular new policing movement: a strategy now labeled ‘plural policing’ or ‘third-party policing’. Plural policing combines the concepts ‘policing’ and ‘plural’. The transference from ‘police’ to ‘policing’ refers to the shift from government to governance with the state being no longer the exclusive provider of security [15-18]. The metaphor of a rowing boat was used where the state concentrates on the steering functions of governance, leaving the responsibility of rowing to other, more dispersed agent’ [19, 20]. The security provision is, in neo-liberal societies, executed by a dispersed group of agents, as well state (like regular police) actors as non-state (private security and citizens) actors, each with partial responsibility for the delivery of security policing, services and technologies [21]. The sovereign state ‘hitherto considered focal to both provision and accountability in this field, is reconfigured as but one node of a broader, more diverse ‘network of power’ [3]. As the state police cannot longer act alone on complex issues of crime and civil unrest [9], other agencies, both public and private, benefit from this deficit to fill in the control gap. New forms of additional policing have emerged, including subcontracted police and community support officers, municipal guards, neighbourhood and street wardens, estate rangers, caretakers and concierges, as well as private security guards and citizen patrols [22-24]. Often, the concept of plural policing seems to be coupled to supposed new (‘networked’ or ‘nodal’) forms of governance of security [25].

Internationally there has been an increasing diversification of police roles and functions within and external to public police agencies [26], referred to as a process of ‘auxiliarisation’ (taken civilians into the police force) [9, 19, 27-31]. Johnston [27] points at the important intra-organisational dimension of ‘auxiliarisation’ as a part of the pluralization process. Public police services deploy what can be termed as ‘civilians in uniform’, that is ‘quasi’ uniformed police personnel whose role is to enhance the delivery of police services and augment traditional policing functions (e.g., foot patrols) [26]. According to Zedner [14] attempts for non-police governmental employees or private citizens to provide support to prevent or reduce crime and deviance, often occurred. This can be called ‘joint policing’, collaborative, proactive, preventive actions to reduce or remove crime and to protect and secure spaces and places [11]. The process of ‘joint policing’ involves partnerships of multiple stakeholders to circumvent deviancy and crime, including citizens efforts [32].

A significant manifestation of this has been researched illustrating the growing role of private security in policing ‘mass private property’ [33-35]. More and more security governance...
in public spaces is undertaken privately, thus calling further into question conventional explanations of the distinction between
the roles of public and private authorities [36]. Privatization, as
in the ‘contracting out’ of urban services, has been heralded
as a reform to promote efficiency and responsiveness in local
government service delivery [20]. According to Feigenbaum &
Henig [37], privatization is part of a broader agenda to shrink
government and shift the social contract. For municipalities,
however, the approach to privatization can be just a pragmatic
one focused on experimenting with new forms of service delivery
in search of cost efficiencies and greater service quality [38-40].

The proposition of pluralization of policing often seemed to
have reached the status of a universal, rather identical process
throughout the world [41]. This trend was not only analysed as
the rise of plural policing, but also an increasingly disconnecting
of ‘police’ and ‘policing’, or as the establishment of a ‘police extended family’, a concept which embodies the latest attempt
to secure police sovereignty over the governance of community policing/safety [4]. In the UK this trend is best exemplified
through the emergence of police community support officers
(PCSOs) [4,42,43]. Until recently, however, outside the Anglo-
Saxon world there was a lack of empirical studies on plural policing [41]. Anglo-Saxon literature, like the important study of
Loader [3] and Jones & Newburn [9] was to a large extent
dominating the theme. Additional empirical research in continental countries are needed. So can results from a multiple
case study design be a precondition for detailed understanding
of the institutional contexts, cultures, historical traditions and
agency of actors that have a bearing on how plural forms of
policing are configured to meet local contingencies [44]. These
contingencies relate to the intra-organisational dynamics
driving the pluralization of policing, which Johnston [27] argues
has been neglected in studies of security governance.

That meant that until now this claim of a universally similar
trend has seemed to remain largely uncontested [45]. In fact, the
lack of international comparisons implied that theories and
explanations of plural policing were only based upon a specific
(Anglo-Saxon) sample of countries. The scarce international
comparative research shows though that one should be careful
with inaccurate generalizations [46]. Could Anglo-Saxon
evolutions be transferred to other, civil law ‘Napoleonic’
continental countries, like Belgium? Do we observe the same
privatization expansion as we detect in the Netherlands and the
United Kingdom?

In an effort to broaden the empirical knowledge body on
pluralization, this article analyses the Belgian evolution of
crime control
policing security (by the regular police and other actors) on
a local level. The data were gathered by a multiple case study,
analysing 25 years (1985-2010) of security governance1 in
Belgium2. Community policing being the mandatory police
functions where close contact with citizens is required3.
We focus on police-citizen contacts in public space, and
thus functions like surveillance, intervention, foot patrol and
neighborhood policing. Loader’s [2] theoretical framework on
the extent and nature of pluralization in mind, namely policing
‘by’, ‘through’, ‘beyond’ and ‘below’ government, the fifth
dimension ‘above’ government (developments in transnational policing arrangements) is not discussed in this article.

In a first (theoretical) section we analyse some international evolutions exerting a possible influence on plural policing
processes. A first paragraph in this section focuses on
securitization trends and extended crime control arrangements.
A second paragraph analysis police reforms in different
countries, and offers a theoretical framework for classification. In
the second (empirical) section we focus on the Belgian situation.
A first paragraph describes dynamics and evolutions within
the police organization itself, in particular after the reform of
1998. A second paragraph defines security arrangements of
surveillance and control outside the regular police, such as
‘community guards’ and ‘community guard recorders’. Figures
will clarify the different arrangements. The conclusive section
will formulate an answer to the central statement of many
 Anglo-Saxon scholars that industrialized countries are becoming increasingly ‘pluralized-privatized’ and regular police is losing its ‘core’ functions in favour of other, non-police actors.

Theories on international policing evolutions

Securitization and the extended tentacles of crime control

The securitization process, commonly transforming
problems into security issues, increased extremely after 9/11
[47]. The so-called ‘Copenhagen School’ approaches security
as a social construct [48-50], where issues are presented as
existential threats and use of exceptional measures are seen as legitimized in dealing with such threats. On a smaller scale,
we can refer to ‘risk justice’ [51], governance not lead by
concrete, individual suspicion but by generalizing risks from
certain groups and certain places, also called ‘risk taxation’ [52]. The neo-liberal way of thinking focused on enforcement and
control of undisciplined people in need [53]. ‘The fear is that
social deficiencies may be redefined as crime problems which
need to be controlled and managed, rather than addressed in
themselves’ [54]. Crime was extended to daily life problem of
incivilities and social disorder; problems that –according to
an anxious and intolerant population [55] and a withdrawing
central state- had to be dealt with by other (public and private)
local agencies and citizens themselves. It is about an approach
which seeks to enable local communities or neighbourhoods to
develop the protective capacity to reduce or eliminate the risks
of crime and disorder [56].

Scholars describe the expansion of the ‘safety’ concept to
‘community safety’ [6,25], where ‘Community safety is
concerned with more than crime and aims to get to the heart of
what disrupts people’s quality of life’ [57]. The key good to be
achieved is the overriding collective good of public order; from
with citizens derive their private security and offenders their

1For a broader description of the research design and results, see Devroe (2012a) ‘A Swelling Culture of Control?’ (PHD).
2In fact in the Act on the police Reform ‘Act on the Integrated Police on two levels’, 1998, no notions were made with respect to Community Policing (COP) as the mandatory police model for Belgium police officers. The COP-model was only cited in the Explanatory Memorandum of the Act.
3It was in 2000 that COP was explicitly introduced as the official vision. Therefore it lay provisionally as a structural change in the Act (Law of the ‘Integrated Police on two levels’, 1998).
The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

Copyright: ©2015 Devroe

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?
Table 1: Typology of National Police Systems.

| One Type of Police | One Force | Different Forces |
|--------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Unified Police system | Territorial Divided Police System |
| Historical Diverse Police System |

Territorial divided police systems

From a conceptual point of view it is not common that one force includes different types of police. Within one (national) police system, hierarchical lines between different forces can be integrated, or can function autonomously. In spite of the fact that one police system includes different forces, it is also possible that all these forces have the same design and format. Mostly this is the case in police systems that are based on territorial (local or supra-local) division of labour. In this kind of police systems, each force is constituted with the same type of police. In other words, all police officers of the different forces have the same training, date-bases, control agencies, etc., but have different hierarchical leadership. Therefore the authors frame these type the 'Territorial Divided Police Systems'. The Belgian police system for example, as well as the United Kingdom and Germany, are territorial divided systems.

Historical diverse police systems

A police force executes a variety of police functions at the same time. A force that executes a broad range of these police functions has integrated competences, or better is general of nature. Nevertheless, a force can also have specialized competences in one (or a few) specific functions, e.g., a criminal police force, or a gendarmerie, which is a military unit specialised in maintenance of public order: In complex police systems, police forces reflect often differences in geographical scope. Some forces are considered as national or federal forces, others are limited to a provincial or a regional level, or even to a municipal level. From this point of view, police forces within one police system can have different geographical competences. Some forces have national competences, others have limited territorial competences. Often a police system is characterized by a tension between central and local decision making authorities (power structures). Different police forces within one police system can have different training and educational programmes, salary scales and grades, they can have different controlling bodies, or different data bases, different regulations, different labour unions, etc. In other words: different police forces can represent different types of police. In most cases, this patch-work format of a police system is the result of long historical developments. Therefore we call these ‘Historical Diverse Police Systems’. Sometimes this kind of police systems contain autonomous ‘functional police’ forces.

Unified police systems

In certain police systems, we observe only one police force. Mostly these kind of police systems are the result of reform and therefore we call these ‘Unified Police Systems’. Often the system is identical to the force and called ‘National Police’ or ‘Federal Police’. Conclusive we determined a huge diversity in the evolution of police systems in different countries. Some countries, like some Scandinavian countries, Scotland and the Netherlands, know a unified police system. Others still mention ‘pluralization’ although the entire police function is in the hands of the state police. In other countries the historical evolution led to hybrid, fragmented police systems, and overlap of police functions on a given territory. It would be interesting to allocate pluralization situations in different countries within the theoretical framework presented in table 1 to detect parallel or diverging dynamics in the organisation of the regular police apparatus. Although this exercise is not the scoop of this article, we strongly believe that both currents are interconnected. The next section, being the presentation of the empirical results, focuses on the Belgian situation of policing.

Belgian Security Policing Arrangements

The Belgian police apparatus

The so-called ‘Octopus Agreement’ dated 23 May 1998 gave rise to the ‘Integrated Police Force on Two Levels Act’ (WGP) of 7 December 1998 [82]. Since the introduction of the Police Reform Act, Belgium has two types of police: A local police force and a federal police force, together: the integrated police. Approximately 47,000 men and women are employed by the police’ . Of that, approximately 39,000 are operation police officers. There are also approximately 8,000 employees without police powers who mainly work in administrative and logistic support functions (the so-called Calog personnel). Though these two levels are dependent on different authorities, there are, within the framework of integrated community policing [83], functional links between the two police levels* that are provided for by law, but no hierarchical [76].

The Police Act (1998) lays down the functional connections between these two levels. Responsibilities for operational, integrated community policing lies at the feet of the ministers of Home Affairs and Justice. Moreover, there are two advisory bodies (federal police council and the local mayors police council) and an advisory commission (permanent commission of local police, where all police chiefs are represented by 16 of their number who have been elected), who must also contribute towards the coordination and cohesion of the divided system. The federal police are integrally financed nationally, while the local police are financed for 2/3rd by municipalities and for 1/3rd by the federal police. This means that the Mayor, who’s autonomy is subscribed in the Constitution, has an independent political position disposing of an administrative (local) police force to guarantee security on the territory. After the transformation of the national state in 1988, Belgium (with 589 municipalities) became divided into the Flemish/Dutch, German and French speaking community councils and the regional

*Referring to the 8 different political parties that agreed in consensus on the police reform, after Dutroux: the child molester, escaped from prison in 1996.

Law of December 7th 1998 on the integrated police on two levels, B.S. January 5th 1999 (Wet van 07 December 1998 op de geïntegreerdepolitie op tweennaarwees).

Before the police reform in 1998, the ‘municipal’ police, after the reform: the local (zonal) police (municipal police and brigades of the gendarmerie).

Morphology of the police forces, CGL, www.infozone.be last consulted on 13 July 2012.

Citation: Devroe E (2015) The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium? Forensic Res Criminol Int J 1(4): 00023. DOI: 10.15406/ffrcj.2015.01.00023
governments of Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels-Capital. Each of these regional authorities developed different approaches to urban security, and have to be accounting to the security policy of the Minister of Interior and of Justice [76]. Whilst Federal and Regional authorities retain responsibility for formulating policy responses on security issues, policy implementation is the responsibility of the municipal authorities. Regional authorities ‘steer’ social policy responses (policy formulation, e.g. agenda setting, allocation of resources, etc.) to quality of life issues, Federal authorities steer law enforcement and the maintenance of public order, whilst municipal authorities are obliged to ‘row’ both criminal justice and social policy approaches. The need on the local level for a qualified, well organized community oriented local police force, is obvious [84]. This article focuses on recent evolutions, important to the subject of this article.

The private sector

As mentioned before, pluralization is often associated with privatisation. International trends show in some countries a bigger private security employment than employment by the public police. In many countries the private security sector keeps on growing [69,70]. Apparently, this is not the case in Belgium, as illustrated in Figure 1. This Figure provides an overview of the presence of a public police officer per number of inhabitants and the presence of a private security guard.

In Belgium one public police officer is taking care of (only) 266 inhabitants, illustrating an average presence of public policing comparing to other EU countries. One private security officer in Belgium operates for 703 inhabitants (1rd of public policing), a ratio still being very modest [85,86]9. In the UK the ratio in favour of the private sector is much higher; having the disposition of one private guard available for (only) 170 inhabitants. European countries with the highest private capacity (ratio to inhabitants) are Bulgary, Servia, Hungary, Poland and Romania (former Eastern European countries) and Letland. While Bulgary, Servia, Letland, Hungary and Poland show a strong presence of public policing as well, in Romania public police officer has to take care of 1050 inhabitants, demonstrating the least public police capacity. Romania illustrates a vast divergence in private (strong representation) and public (very limited) capacity per inhabitants. When we discuss competences appointed to private security guards (fields of action) in Belgium, only limited competences are granted to them by Law10. Surveillance in public space is only permitted for goods, surveillance on citizens being reserved to public agents. Private guards can report sacs being left in the streets, damage to plants in public parks, covered street numbers or street signs, campers illegally parked and graffiti. They have to report these offences to the police, like any other citizen. They mostly perform parking ticket control (outsourced to them by municipalities), VIP guardianship and guardianship in and around privately owned buildings, like shopping malls and banks. They have no more tools of coercion than any other citizen. An immense ideological-based resistance –particular in the Walloon part of the country [76] prevented privatisation growth. In Belgium most outsourcing is enquired by the private sector itself, with a very limited part being outsourced by the public sector or by the Mayor [87]. This is due to the limited competences foreseen in the Acts and the restricted labour offer. Conclusive we state that Belgium is qualified by huge segregation from Anglo-Saxon trends. Outsourcing [3] to the private sector-is rather scarce in Belgium.

External Security Arrangements in Public Space

This paragraph analysis the actual organisation of security provision by actors and agencies, external to the police force. Only in two particular domains police functions are outsourced, namely ‘public order and incivilities’ and ‘traffic’. In Figure 2 as well the position of these external actors is illustrated, as their relationship to the regular police, clarifying the regular police achievement of ‘eating up’ most of the external dispositive.

---

9For a more extensive analysis of the Belgian police reform, see Devroe and Ponsaers, 2013

10In Belgium the police ratio is 1 public police officer for 1.266 inhabitants, one private security officer for 1.703 inhabitants. In 2011 Belgium calculated 220 licensed private surveillance companies and 1541 private security officers (Coess, 2011).

11Act concerning surveillance enterprises, security firms and internal surveillance services, B.S. April
We now elaborate on Figure 2. Already before the police reform of 1998, a lot of municipalities disposed of prevention officers, in the framework of the prevention and security contracts (started in 1991) financed by the Ministry of Home Affairs [88]. In most cities, these prevention officers were incorporated within the local police forces and an extension of police officers. The recruitment of these prevention officers, low educated jobless people, was to a large extent inspired by the employment policy of the federal government. In 1994 the Ministry negotiated contracts with 29 municipalities [88].

From 1996 on, a major investment was done, adding ‘city wardens’ and ‘park watchers’ to this contracts. The name changed to ‘Security and society contract’ stressing the societal ‘social cohesion’ aspect of these kind of prevention. The Minister of Home Affairs admonished Mayors to take these wardens out of the police organization and to finance them by means of municipal budgets. This meant the installation of independent municipal services, autonomous from the local forces. Figure 2 illustrates this shift of prevention officers from the police to the municipal administration.

It was in this context that municipalities engaged a relatively important amount (+/-1,500) of non-police public wardens, e.g. stewards, parking lot coaches, city coaches, football coaches, park guards, parking lot guards, etc. With Bourdieu [89] we can nominate these ‘semi-autonomous fields’11 as these specific domains became policed autonomously from the police in the broader societal context of social cohesion projects steered by the Mayor. After this ‘insourcing’ trend within the municipality, the variety (nomination, badge, uniform, competences, tasks) grew enormously, leaving the citizen with a dispersed, locally organised assembling of all kinds of personnel operating in public space. It is important to mention here that none of these wardens were private security officers. Becoming aware of the proliferation of these different municipal services, with different guidelines, the Ministry of Home Affairs decided in 2007 to regroup these services in one unified municipal service, the so-called ‘Community Guards’12. The connection between the ‘politics of behaviour’ trend of tackling incivilities and public wardens patrolling the streets, giving fines for anti-social behaviour in public space, becomes clear at this point. By this Act, ‘community guard-reporters’ received specific competences to report certain forms of social disorder to the municipal administration, which could fine offenders on a purely administrative basis [1]. In the French-speaking part of the country, these guards are called ‘wardens of peace’ 13. A similar trajectory was completed by the so-called ‘Auxiliary Agents’, which were introduced by the Ministry of Home Affairs as assistant personal within the municipalities, like an autonomous assistant personal within the municipalities, like an autonomous

domain, the regular police remains for the moment the sole provider of security. Together with the ideological options the Belgian government takes not to engage private security in control and surveillance of disorder in the public domain, the regular police remains for the moment the sole provider of security. Under the cloak of ‘partnership’ with other agencies partners can be ‘insourced’ to work in the force (for ex. for economic-financial crime) of within the framework of

Conclusive we state that the police’s response to the governmental pluralization incentives was one of becoming a ‘gormandising’ actor themselves. The expansions presented in Figure 2, consuming former external services, can be called currents of ‘insourcing’ or the commencement of performing specific functions internally. It is a strategic decision that is often made to maintain control of critical production or competencies. This kind of insourcing or ‘reverse’ contracting requires, according to Warner & Hefetz [74] government capacity to re-internalize service delivery should the contract fail to adequately control costs, preserve quality, or address broader community goals. In Belgium, it was not ‘contract failure’ that lead to gormandising trends, but political ideologies from the Minister of Interior granting the police their demands of self-protection and thus broadening their powers as ‘leaders’ in the security governance field.

Conclusion

In this article we provided an expansive overview of literature on plural policing and post modern tendencies towards securization and privatisation. For a better understanding of plural policing trends we additionally elaborated on some results of a ten years comparative research on police systems in Europe. In a second section we presented –based on a case study with triangulation of methods- the Belgian Security Policing Arrangements, and elaborated as well on public as on private policing. We conclude this article with a strong statement: the Belgian police demonstrates cannibalistic characteristics. Devouring former externally organized public agents as well as agencies (army), they achieved an exclusive market position in selling and protecting security. Together with the ideological options the Belgian government takes not to engage private security in control and surveillance of disorder in the public domain, the regular police remains for the moment the sole provider of security. Under the cloak of ‘partnership’ with other agencies partners can be ‘insourced’ to work in the force (for ex. for economic-financial crime) of within the framework of

11For Bourdieu the concept of a field is a structured social space with its own rules, figures of domination and legitimate opinions. According to him, fields are ‘relatively autonomous’ from the wider social structure (Bourdieu, 1994). We find ‘public order’, ‘traffic’ and other crime phenomena to be these kind of ‘fields’ he describes, functioning ‘rather autonomous’ from the broader police organization.

12Act May, 15th 2009 on ‘Community guards’ and Community guard-recorders, B.S. June, 12th 2009.

13Act on the community guards in Wallonia, 14 février 2008.
‘private-public collaboration’ (for ex. collaboration with banks and insurance companies). In training tasks, police want to ‘network’ with academics, trying to incorporate scientific resources into the force. As long as scholars are approached in an instrumental way (to serve police goals) this superficially perceived collaborative model is doomed to fail [90]. Other, more reciprocal models of cooperation, where external partners are treated as independent experts instead of ‘police property’ [91,92] are needed and necessary. In order to strengthen powers in important security domains (like organised crime), the Belgian police seeks increasingly to reject basic community services and administrative tasks. The fact that dynamics of police withdrawing on these semi-autonomous fields will create powerful attempts of the private sector to incorporate public policing tasks, is often neglected. Once public police functions are sold by private companies, it becomes incredible difficult to recuperate these back into the regular police.

The actual organizational police dynamic in Belgium is oriented towards a reinforcement of the own organization. These police dynamics of ‘territorial battles’ are hardly weakened by political forces. On the contrary, the government subscribed to this self-protective power reflexes. Reason for this is the fact that the minister of Home Affairs will always need - in times of crisis, mass manifestations and riots- a smooth functioning strong police body in order to keep the peace. Besides that these gormandizing police attitude favours other societal political goals like promoting employment for non-educated jobless people, necessary in times of economic deficit. As mentioned these dynamics are connected on a large scale with specific thematic ‘semi-autonomous fields’, domains where the police assumes to book ‘territorial profit’ (like disorder and traffic). Viewed from a distance, this creates images of an ‘organisation in motion’, exploding on specific points and imploding in others. Characterizing this ‘animated moving Octopus’ by limiting the view to pluralization trends is not adequate, and it creates the image of an imploding undivided whole in favour of divers internal and external parts. Many police Acts mention ‘cooperation’ but in practice this means ‘police taking the lead’. After discussion within a governmental working group, the Belgian police presented their future concept in 2014. The bill ‘vision for the police 2025’ [94] ‘ goes under the promising title ‘networking police’ and intends to shift from an information position based on ‘power’ to a model of ‘collaborative intelligence’ [93].

References

1. Devroe E (2012) A swelling culture of control. De genese en de toepassing van de wet op de administratieve sancties in België. Ghent University, Belgium, pp. 528.
2. Devroe E (2012) A swelling culture of control. The genesis and application of the incivilities law in Belgium. In: Ponsaers P (Ed.), Social analysis of security. Financial, economic and ecological crime, (in) security and distrust, public and private policing. Eleven international Publishing, Netherlands, pp. 355-362.
3. Loader I (2000) Plural Polic ing and Democratic Governance. Social and Legal Studies 9(3): 323-345.
4. Johnston L (2003) From ‘pluralization’ to ‘the police extended family’: discourses on the governance of community policing in Britain. International Journal of the Sociology of Law 31(3): 185-204.
5. Crawford A (2005) Plural Policing: The Mixed Economy of Visible Patrols in England and Wales. Researching Criminal Justice, Policy Press, Bristol, pp. 128.
6. Crawford A (2006) Fixing Broken Promises?: Neighbourhood Wardens and Social Capital. Urban Studies 43(5-6): 957-976.
7. Crawford A (2008) The Pattern of Policing in the UK: Policing Beyond the Police. (2nd edn.). In: Newburn T (Ed.), The Handbook of Policing. Willan, Cullompton, England.
8. Jones T, Newburn T (2002) The Transformation of Policing? Understanding Current Trends in Policing Systems. Br J Criminal 42(1): 129-146.
9. Jones T, Newburn T (2006) Plural policing: a comparative perspective. Routledge, London, UK.
10. Lea J, Stenson K (2007) Security, Sovereignty, and Non-State Governance ‘From Below’. Canadian Journal of Law and Society 22(2): 9-27.
11. Stenning P (2009) Governance and Accountability in a Plural Policing Environment: The Story So Far. Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice 3(1): 22-33.
12. Reiner R (2013) Who governs? Democracy, plutocracy, science and prophecy in policing. Criminology and Criminal Justice 13(2): 161-180.
13. Home Office (2001) Criminal Justice: The Way Ahead. Home Office, London, UK.
14. Zedner L (2010) Security, the State, and the Citizen: The Changing Architecture of Crime Control. New Criminal Law Review: An International and Interdisciplinary Journal 13(2): 379-403.
15. Rhodes RAW (1994) The hollowing out of the state: the changing nature of the public service in Britain. Political Quarterly Review 65(2): 137-151.
16. Rhodes RAW (1996) The new governance: governing without government. Political Studies 44(4): 652-667.
17. Rhodes RAW (2003) Understanding governance. Policy networks, governance and reflexivity. Open University Press, Philadelphia, USA.
18. Garland D (1996) The Limits of the Sovereign State. British Journal of Criminology 34(4): 445-471.
19. Johnston, L., Shearing, C. (2003) Governing Security. Explorations in policing and justice. Routledge, London, UK, pp. 183.
20. Osborne D, Gaebler T (1993) Reinventing Government. How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector. Addison-Wesley, New York, USA, 13(1): 187-192.
21. Williams M (2011) Securitization and the liberalism of fear: Security Dialogue 42(4-5): 443-463.
22. Zedner L (2003) Too much security?. International Journal of the Sociology of Law 31(3):155-184.
23. Zedner L (2006) Policing before and after the police: The historical antecedents of crime control. Br Criminal 46(1): 78–96.
24. Crawford A (2006) Policing and Security as ‘Club Goods’: The New Enclosures? In: J Wood & B Dupont (Eds.), Democracy, Society and the Governance of Security. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, USA.
25. Shearing CD, Wood J (2007) From the Guest-editors: reshaping policing: ideas in action. Police Practice and research: an International Journal 8(2): 99-106.
26. Cherney A, Hong Chui W (2010) Police auxiliaries in Australia: police...
liaison officers and the dilemmas of being part of the police extended family. Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy 20(3): 280-297.

27. Johnston L (2007) Keeping the family together: Police community support. Officers and the ‘police extended family’ in London. Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy 17(2): 119-140.

28. Crawford A, Blackburn S, Lister S, Shepherd P (2004) Patrolling with a purpose: an evaluation of Police Community Support Officers in Leeds and Bradford City Centres. Leeds: Centre for Criminal Justice Studies, University of Leeds, UK.

29. Crawford A, Lister S (2004) The Extended Policing Family: Visible Patrois in Residential Areas, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, USA.

30. Crawford A, Lister S (2007) Additional Security Patrols in Residential Areas: Notes from the marketplace. Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy 16(2): 164-188.

31. Jones, T, Stedemb R, Routelle H (2009) Pluralization of policing in England and Wales and the Netherlands: exploring similarity and difference. Policing and Society, An International Journal of Research and Policy 19(3): 282-299.

32. Terpstra J (2008) Police, local government, and citizens as participants in local security networks. Police practice and research. An International Journal 9(3): 213-225

33. Jones T, Newburn T (1999) Urban change and policing: mass private property re-considered. European Journal on Criminology and Research 7(2): 225-244.

34. Button M (2003) Private security and the policing of quasi-public space. International Journal of the Sociology of Law 31(3): 227-237.

35. Stedem van R (2008) Privatizing policing. Willan, Devon, UK.

36. Bayley DH, Shearing CD (1996) The future of policing. Law and society review 30(3): 585-606.

37. Feigenbaum HB, Henig JR (1994) The political underpinnings of privatization: A typology. World Politics 46(2): 185-208.

38. Warner ME, Hebdon R. (2001) Local government restructuring: Privatization and its alternatives. Journal of Policy Analysis and Management 20(2): 315-336.

39. Bel G, Hebdon R, Warner M (2007) Local government reform: Privatization and its alternatives. Local Government Studies 33(4): 507-515.

40. Hebdon R, Jalette P (2007) The restructuring of municipal services: A Canada–United States comparison. Government and Policy 26(1): 144-158.

41. Devroe E, Terpstra, J (2015) Plural policing in Western Europe: a comparison, European Journal of Policing studies. 2(3): 235-245.

42. Cooper C, Jane A, Julie A (2006) A national evaluation of community support officers. Home Office Research Study 297. Home Office, UK.

43. Crawford A (2013) The police, policing and the future of the ‘extended police family’. In: Brown J (Ed.), The Future of Policing, Routledge, London.

44. Jones T, Newburn T, Smith D (2012) Democracy and Police and Crime Commissioners. In: Newburn T & Peay J (Eds.), Policing, Politics, Culture and Control. Oxford, Hart Publishing, UK, pp. 219-244

45. Ponsaers P, Edwards A, Verhage A, Recaens Briant A (2014) Policing Barcelona. European Journal of Policing Studies, Policing European Metropolises 2(1): 452-470.

46. Terpstra J, Bas van Stokkom, Spreeuwers R (2013) Who patrols the streets? An international comparative study of plural policing. Eleven international Publishing. The Hague, Netherlands, pp. 172.

47. Buzan B, Waever O, Jaap de Wilde (1998) Security: a new framework for analysis. Lynne Reinner Pub, USA, pp. 239.

48. Buzan B, Hansen L (2010) The evolution of international security studies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

49. Brannan T, John P, Stoker G (2006) Active citizenship and effective public services and programmes: How can we know what really works? Urban Stud 43(5-6): 993-1008.

50. Edwards A, Hughes G (2009) The preventive turn and the promotion of safer communities in England and Wales: political inventiveness and governmental instabilities. In: Crawford A (Ed.), Crime prevention policies in comparative perspective. William publishing, Cullompton, UK, pp. 62-85.

51. Swanningen van R (1996) Justitie als verzekeringsmaatschappij: ‘actuariaaljustitie’ in Nederland, Justitieel Verkenningen 22(5): 80-97.

52. Bunt van der H (2003) Op het kompas van het veiligheidsgevoel. In: Bijleveld C & H van de Bunt (Eds.), De grens van onveiligheid (disre- de VI), Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

53. Wacquant L (2006) Straf de armen. Het nieuwe beleid van de sociale onzekerheid, Epo, Berchem.

54. Crawford A (1999) Questioning appeals to community within crime prevention and control. European Journal on criminal policy and research 7(4): 509-530.

55. Furedi F (2006) Cultuur van angst. Meulenhoff.

56. Prior D (2005) Civil renewal and community safety: virtuous policy spiral or dynamic of exclusion? Social policy and society 4(4): 357-367.

57. Hope T (2005) The New Local Governance of Community Safety in England and Wales. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice 47(2): 369-387.

58. Sackers HJB (2010) Herder, hoeder en handhaver. De burgemeester en het bestuurlijk sanctierecht. In: Bijleveld C & H van de Bunt (Eds.), De grens van onveiligheid (disre- de VI), Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

59. Prins R, Cachet L (2011) Integrale veiligheidsbeleid en de burgemeester. Tijdschrift voor Veiligheid 10(1): 43-58.

60. Brannan T, John P, Stoker G (2007) Re-energizing citizenship, strategies for civil renewal. Palgrave, UK, pp. 23.

61. Crawford A (2002) Crime and insecurity, the governance of safety in Europe. Willian publishing, Cullompton, UK, 10(3): 283-285.

62. Edwards A, Hughes G (2008) Resilient Fabians? Anti-social behaviour and community safety work in Wales. In: Squires P (Ed.), ASBO Nation The criminalisation of nuisance. Police press, Bristol, pp. 57-72.

63. Reiner R (2000) Crime and Control in Britain. Sociology 34(1): 71-94.

64. Devroe E, Petrov M (2014) Policing in Sofia. From centralisation to decentralisation. European Journal of Police studies 2(3): 372-403.

65. Ponsaers P, Devroe E (2012) On how a failing government creates an intrusive police force. In: Devroe E, et al. (Eds.), Tides and currents in policing The criminalisation of nuisance. Police press, Bristol, pp. 57-72.

66. Card R, Ward R (2008) Re-energizing citizenship, strategies for civil renewal. Palgrave, UK, pp. 23.

67. Squires P, Stephan D (2005) Rougher justice: anti-social behaviour

Citation: Devroe E (2015) The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium? Forensic Res Criminol Int J 1(4): 00023. DOI: 10.15406/frcij.2015.01.00023
The Power of The Locality: Does Plural Policing Really Exist in Belgium?

and young people. Willan Publishing, Portland.

68. Shearing CD, Stenning PC (1981) Modern Private Security: Its Growth and Implications. Crime and Justice 3(1): 193-245.

69. Shearing CD (1992) The relationship between public and private policing. Crime and Justice 15(1): 399-434.

70. Button M (2002) Private Policing. Willan Publishing, Cullompton, UK.

71. Shearing CD, Marks M (2011) Being a New Police in the Liquid 21st Century. Policing 5(3): 210-218.

72. Hope T, Sparks, R (2000) Crime, risk and insecurity: law and order in everyday life and political discourse. Routledge, London, UK, pp. 275.

73. Terpstra J (2011) Regulering in een hybride veiligheidszorg-Over de bewaking van een publiek goed in een deels geprivatiseerd bestel. Tijdschrift voor veiligheid 10(4): 41-58.

74. Warner MA, Hefetz A (2012) Insourcing and Outsourcing. The Dynamics of Privatization among U.S. Municipalities 2002-2007. Journal of the American Planning Association 78(3): 313-327.

75. Jones T, Newburn T, Harraway P (2008) The growth of private security. Criminal Justice Matters 32(1): 23-25.

76. Devroe E, Ponsaers P (2013) Reforming the Belgian police system between central and local. In: Fyfe NR, et al. (Eds.), Centralizing forces? Comparative perspectives on contemporary police reform in northern and western Europe. Boom Legal Publishers/Eleven, Netherlands, pp. 77-98.

77. Greene J (2012) The Tides and Currents, Eddies and Whirlpools and Riptides of Modern Policing: Connecting Thoughts. Journal of Police Studies 4(3): 29-54.

78. Jones T, Lister S (2015) The Policing of Public Space: Recent developments in Plural Policing in England and Wales. European Journal of Policing studies 2(3).

79. Devroe, E., et al. (2012) Tides and currents in police theories, Cahiers Politiestudies 25(4).

80. Ponsaers P, Devroe E (2014) Nationale politiebestellen in beweging in Europa. Handboek politiediensten, Internationala, 111, 1-60.

81. Ponsaers P, Devroe E (2015) De toekomst van Europese nationale politiebestellen? In: Ponsaers P, et al. (Eds.), Toekomstpolitie, Triggers voor een voldragen debat. Maklu, Belgium, pp. 49-85.

82. Ponsaers P (2002) On evaluating ‘Community (Oriented) Policing’ through other police models. In: Van den Broeck T & Eliaerts Ch (Eds.), Evaluating Community Policing. Brussels, Politie, Greece, pp. 51-76.

83. Ponsaers P (2001) De ontwikkeling van community (oriented) policing en de verhouding tot andere politiemodellen. Kluwer, Belgium, 5: pp. 1-42.

84. Ryckeghem van, Willy Bruggeman, Marleen Easton UGent ,Paul Ponsaers (2014) Een visie voor de politie in 2025: staaigroep opteert voor netwerkende politie. In: Maarten De Waal et al. (Eds.), Cahiers Politiestudies, Maklu, Belgium, 3(32): 185-189.

85. CoESS (2012) Facts and Figures 2011. Brussels: CoESS General Secretariat.

86. CoESS (2015) Confederation of European Security Services.

87. Ponsaers P (2015) De opkomst van de private veiligheidssector in België? Panopticon 36(5): 480-488.

88. Willekens Ph (2006) Beter één vogel in de hand dan tien in de lucht: integrale veiligheid. In: Devroe E & A Dormaels (Eds.), Lokaal integraal preventiebeleid. van programma naar schakel, Orde van de Dag. Netherlands 35: 9-16.

89. Bourdieu P (2004) Science of science and reflexivity. University of Chicago Press, USA, pp. 168.

90. Ponsaers P (2012) Academisering van het Hoger Politieonderwijs–Kansen en Gevaren. Cahiers Politiestudies. Law and Political Science 4(22): 53-68.

91. Reiner R (2010) The politics of the police. (4th edn), Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.

92. Loader I (2013) Why do the police matter? Beyond the myth of crime-fighting. In: Brown J (Ed.), The future of policing. Routledge, London, UK, pp. 40-51.

93. Ponsaers, Bruggeman W, Easton M, Lemaitre A (2015) De Toekomstpolitie, Triggers voor een voldragen debat. Maklu, Antwerpen, Belgium.