

Chapter 1

Processes of convergence and divergence in the policy formulation of policing strategies for European metropolises

Elke Devroe, Adam Edwards, Paul Ponsaers

This edited collection forms part of a broader, ongoing, research project, ‘The Policing European Metropolises Project’ (‘PEMP’). The Project has its origins in a network of researchers interested in the significance of sub-national policing for understanding processes of convergence and divergence in policing across Europe. The Project commenced in 2013 and reported the findings of its first phase (‘PEMP_1’) in a special issue of the *European Journal of Policing Studies* (Ponsaers, Edwards et al., 2014). The initial aim of the project was to address the question:

‘To what extent is a local police still present in European metropolises and how is this reality linked with other actors in the security field?’ (Ponsaers, Edwards et al., 2014: 4).

This question was defined in relation to current debates in policy discourse and social science about the relationship of sub-national, specifically metropolitan, policing to developments in the European ‘internal security field’ (Bigo & Guild, 2005). This includes developments in supra-national policing policy, including the European Union’s objective of creating a Union-wide ‘Area of Freedom, Security and Justice’ (AFSJ), transnational policing arrangements, such as the Schengen Agreement, and the continued importance of national policing strategies given the variegated historical experiences of European countries, for example those in

transition from former Soviet regimes in Eastern and Central Europe or Latin countries in transition from former dictatorship.

In questioning any continued ‘local reality’ of policing, the Project seeks to distinguish itself from theories of convergence in European policing as a consequence of, for example, ‘Europeanisation’ (Bigo & Guild, 2005), ‘securitisation’ (Waever, 1995; Hallsworth & Lea, 2011), ‘responsibilisation’ (Garland, 2001), ‘neo-liberalisation’ (Wacquant, 2001) the formation of a ‘transnational state’ (Bowling & Sheptycki, 2012) or the promotion of ‘plural policing’ (Jones & Newburn, 2006).

Rather, the Project acknowledges these ‘tendencies’ but seeks to identify their uneven impact and the adaptation of local policing to alleged master narratives of policing change. In turn, this interest in divergence has been stimulated by arguments about the particular importance of metropolises in the constitution of ‘global’ security threats and policing responses. These arguments reflect wider debates in social science about ‘glocalisation’ or the idea that, as a consequence of the greater mobility of capital, labour, goods and services across national borders, it is powerful metropolises or, in the argot of public policy, ‘city-regions’, that become a key focus of comparative social research. They become the principal centres of power through which globalisation is accomplished as they project their political, economic and cultural powers onto other, less powerful, localities, circumventing if not subordinating nation state authorities. This is akin to the concept of an evolving ‘world urban system’ (King, 1997) in which national states represent only one centre of authority within other circuits of power (Clegg, 1989; Edwards et al, this volume). In these terms, certain metropolises become the key nodal points (Castells, 1996) or ‘command centres’ (Sassen, 2001) in more networked and globally integrated social relations whilst other metropolises have to adapt to these forces with minimal protection from national authorities. In a further development of this argument it is suggested that national governing programmes are often subordinated to, and increasingly oriented around, the interests of powerful city-regions (Scott, 2012).

A key implication of these broader debates is a need for comparative research capable of understanding the role of metropolitan authorities in driving policing change and whether this role enables a greater diversity in policing policies, generating opportunities for comparing and contrasting rival approaches and their outcomes, or whether the involvement of metropolitan authorities in transnational networks creates tendencies toward policy convergence (Pollitt, 2001). An important corollary of this research aim is to identify the political agency and discretion available to metropolises to define and accomplish their own policing agendas and to question what the role of social science can be in constituting such agendas. However, in pursuing these research aims, it is necessary to address major challenges of translation in cross-cultural analysis: linguistic, conceptual and disciplinary. These challenges can be elaborated through reference to developments in policy and social scientific discourse about public policing in Europe.

1. The changing policy and social scientific discourse on public policing in Europe

Public policy-makers in the institutions of the European Union itself have argued that the AFSJ marks a major turning point in the reorganisation of policing amongst member states of the Union, regarding it as an inevitable and inexorable consequence of the ‘four freedoms’ constituting the Union (freedom of movement of goods, workers, services and capital).

Realising these four freedoms creates, at one and the same time, an ‘internal security field’ within the borders of the Union and the necessity of ‘external border control’. In these terms, the EU has claimed a competence for issues of home affairs and (criminal) justice, hitherto regarded as the sole preserve, indeed core constitutive element, of national sovereignty. The ‘Europeanisation’ of policing can be traced in the multi-annual programmes for AFSJ which commenced with the Tampere programme (1999-2004) and hitherto, the Hague (2005-2010) and Stockholm (2010-2015) Programmes and which has culminated in the current New Security Agenda for Europe, agreed in 2015 (European Commission, 2015). The Tampere programme further justified the increasing competence of the EU in issues of home affairs and justice, including the establishment of Union-wide policing (Europol) and justice (Eurojust) agencies, through reference to perceived ‘threats’ to the shared internal security of member states, specifically ‘transnational organised crime’ and ‘illegal immigration’.

Subsequently, the 9/11 attack on the United States and the bombing of the public transport system in Madrid in 2004 promoted the concern with transnational terrorism as another major threat and consequently the priority accorded to counter-terrorism in the Hague Programme. Finally, the Stockholm programme extended the competence of the EU even further into the realms of volume crime prevention and issues of social integration, variously referred to as ‘urban security’ (e.g. ‘citta sicura’), integral security (e.g. ‘integrale veiligheid’) and, in the Anglophone world, ‘community safety’.

In turn, this evolving Europeanisation of public policy discourse about home affairs and justice has been accompanied by a criticism of the limits to the capacity of nation-states to effectively respond to transnational threats emanating from within the Union, as a consequence of the four freedoms, and from without, including the post-Cold War liberalisation of the mobility of capital, labour, goods and services and the advent of transnational terrorism in reaction to the foreign policy commitments of European states in the Middle East. This policy discourse also has an affinity with arguments about glocalisation as the uneven impact of transnational threats, on certain metropolises not others, is increasingly recognised. Indeed it is precisely because transnational threats have this uneven impact but circumvent the capacity of nation states to effectively protect localities in their own national jurisdiction, that the EU has claimed an increasing competence in home affairs. The conclusion of this policy discourse for research is that understanding, and acting upon, problems of internal security needs to take metropolises as basic units of analysis.

One response to this policy discourse within policing studies has been to identify the emergence of a ‘transnational state system’ (Bowling & Sheptycki, 2012) that is compensating for, and in turn challenging, national state sovereignty in matters of home affairs. A complementary argument is that policing research needs to investigate how transnational networks are constituted by powerful local actors as well as by transnational institutions (for example the Schengen Area). This line of argument emerged out of PEMP_1 (Ponsaers et al., 2014; Edwards et al, this volume).

However, theses on the withering of nation state power have been challenged for ignoring the continued resilience, if not primacy, of nation states and of inter-national relations in shaping home affairs including those within the internal security field of the European Union (Stenson, 2008; Lea and Stenson, 2007). Critics note the resurgence of popular nationalist movements both within the electorates of member states, notably the ‘Brexit’ referendum in the UK in favour of leaving the European Union (see Edwards et al, this volume) and in elections to the European parliament. They also note the resurgence of nationalist conflicts on the Eastern

borders of the Union, most notably in the Ukraine and in the Baltics. Critics of the 'transnationalisation thesis' also note the emergence of national 'security state' formations (Hallsworth and Lea, 2011) which, in the first two decades of the 21st century have enhanced their intrusive powers of surveillance, detention without arrest, and prosecutorial powers, including reversals in the burden of proof (as in the power to seize assets obtained by criminal means). From this perspective, far from withering, the nation state is becoming an even more assertive actor subject to less democratic oversight, scrutiny and legal constraint.

2. Translating the policing of European Metropolises

Investigating these competing policy and social scientific claims about the relative power of national, supra-national, trans-national and sub-national authorities to determine policing agendas implies a programme of comparative research. As noted in the introduction, however, such programmes encounter significant problems of translation which need to be addressed if European social scientists wish to avoid talking at, or past, rather than with one another.

Most obviously there is the linguistic challenge of translating the meaning of apparently similar concepts that actually signify quite divergent practices. For example, the connotation of 'policing' in some European contexts with the public policies formulated and implemented by state police actors and, in others, with strategies undertaken by a multiplicity of state, commercial and voluntary actors working 'in partnership' to address issues of crime, public order and social integration. Underpinning such linguistic differences is the further challenge of translating the meanings 'in-use' of policing, both in public policy and social scientific discourse. For example, the use of policy constructs like 'community policing' or 'urban security' to signify a broad range of interventions against crime and civil unrest that can include social and economic policies to promote social integration (e.g. work with young people, families, employment and training and so forth) as well as the more conventional focus on criminal justice policy responses. A key implication of this broader translation of policing problems is precisely the necessary involvement of agencies beyond nationally constituted criminal justice systems to include other actors at the sub-national level, given the perceived importance of intervening at the level of the metropolis and at the sub-metropolitan level of 'neighbourhoods' which are the contexts in which problems of security are actually experienced. In turn the use of social scientific constructs, such as 'securitisation' and 'responsibilisation', to interpret and criticise policy constructs presents a further problem of translation, that of the 'double hermeneutic', in which social scientists have to interpret the interpretations of their research subjects, a problem which exists in any social context but which is accentuated in the cross-cultural contexts of 'Europe'.

A final, yet further, aspect of these problems of translation is the communication amongst social scientists from different disciplines in placing their interpretations on the interpretations of their research subjects. In an earlier account of this problem, the policing researcher, Robert Reiner (1988), identified a 'parallel blindness' between the research programmes of criminology and political science which echoed David Matza's (1969) broader criticism of positivist criminology, 'which achieved the seemingly impossible, divorcing crime from the state'. The parallel quality of this blindness can still be detected in tendencies to divorce substantive security 'problems' from the social reaction to them. In effect what persists in criminology on the one hand, and political sociology on the other, is a treatment of security problems as if they are either the artefacts of policing and governing rationalities (a form of extreme constructionism) or as if they exist independently of these rationalities (the positivist 'sensing' of crime).

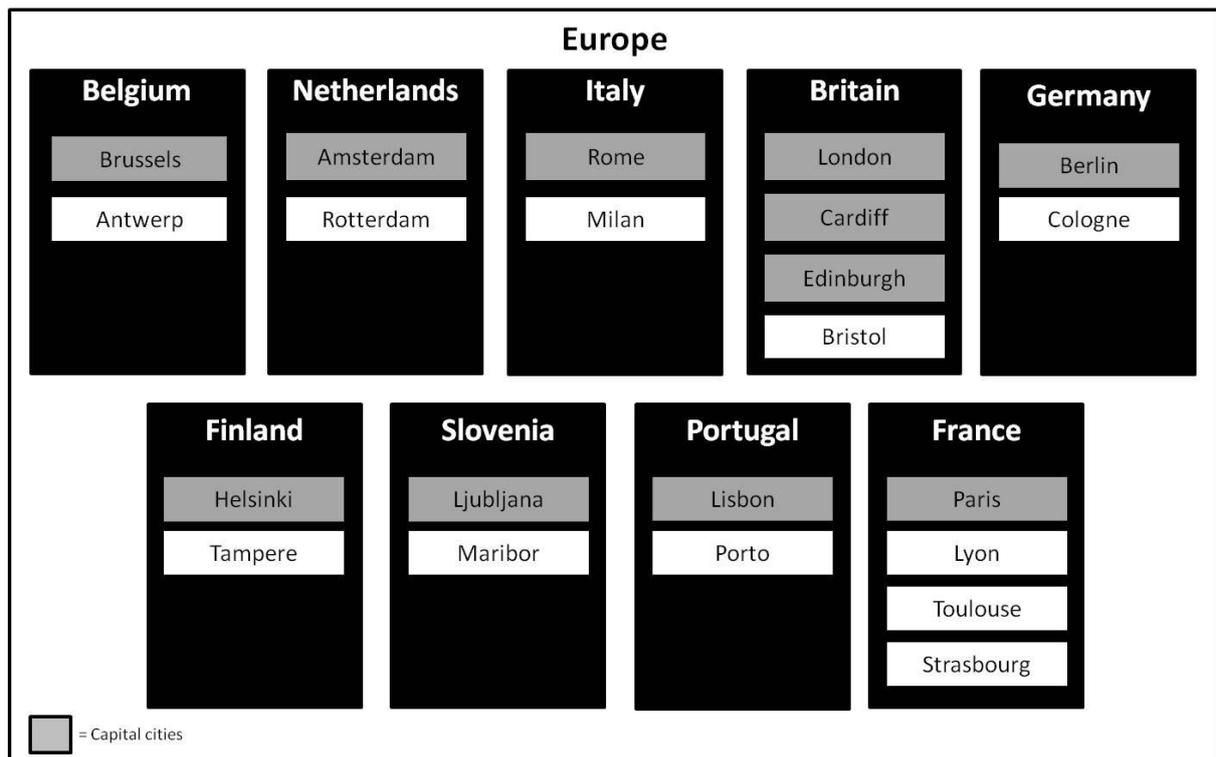
In this regard the emerging inter-disciplinary subject of ‘security studies’ presents an opportunity to understand policing as an emergent product of interactions between ‘problems’ and ‘responses’ (Balzacq & Dunn, 2016). Recognising this emergent quality of policing implies an analytical concern with political competition, which includes but is not reducible to governing rationalities or ‘governmentalities’ (Foucault, 1991; Rose 2000) and consequently requires an understanding of other policing dispositions, how they are facilitated by technologies of production and discipline but also how these are apprehended or neglected and then acted on by competing policing actors (Clegg, 1989; Edwards, 2016). In short, policing research needs to be located in an explicit analytic of power.

A fundamental proposition of the PEMP is that these linguistic, conceptual and disciplinary problems of translation necessitate a collaborative approach to cross-national and inter-disciplinary research. More provocatively, it can be argued that these problems of translation are not specific to the analysis of policing but are constitutive of social science in Europe (Bourdieu, 1998) including a distinctively ‘European’ criminology (Smith, 2004). The implication of this collaborative approach is that research strategy needs to be accomplished through a series of sequential phases of discussion and criticism in which the meanings of policing across different European contexts can be established through dialogue and deliberation rather than treated as given. Technically, this research strategy can be depicted as ‘inductive – adaptive’, where theoretical propositions enabling comparative social scientists to criticise, not just reiterate, constructs in policing policy and research emerge out of initial phases of conceptual clarification and description and are then revised, ‘adapted’, in the light of empirical investigation. In these terms, the first phase of PEMP sought to establish the existence of metropolitan policing strategies as objects of policing politics and governance that are distinct from, and cannot be reduced to, policing policies formulated elsewhere, in, above or beneath the nation state. The key insight of the first phase of the Project is that such strategies do exist, for example in the ‘Axis Plan’ for Barcelona (Recasens i Brunet & Ponsaers, 2014) and the ‘Police and Crime Plan’ for London (Edwards & Prins, 2014) although their relationship to national and supra-national strategies affecting the policing in these and other metropolises is less clear. In response to the presentation of this key insight, along with other findings from PEMP_1, at the annual meeting of the European Society of Criminology in Prague in September 2014, a number of constructive criticisms were made which have driven the second phase of the project whose findings are reported in this volume. These criticisms can be distinguished in terms of the empirical, methodological and conceptual aspects of the Project.

The multiple but holistic case study design adopted for the first phase of the Project, in which policing in one city per country was investigated, stimulated discussion about the need for further research capable of clarifying the grounds for demonstrating the specifically *metropolitan*, rather than *national*, effect on sub-national policing strategies. To this end, PEMP_2 has adopted a multiple-embedded case study design in which the multiplicity of national contexts has been expanded, beyond the original five (England & Wales, Bulgaria, Germany, France and Spain) to include Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, Britain (England, Wales, and Scotland), Finland, Slovenia, Portugal, Germany and France, and the units of analysis within these cases extended to include an *intra*-national comparison of policing in at least two metropolises.

Figure 1.1. : *Sampling logic of embedded cases for PEMP_2*

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To this end, PEMP_1 adopted a more inductive approach seeking to build a cross-national research network that accommodated the breadth of empirical and conceptual interests in policing at the metropolitan level rather than an overly directive approach driven by a particular theoretical approach or thesis. Rather, the intention of PEMP_1 was to explore whether it was possible to reach a consensus about the appropriate empirical and conceptual approach to comparison, not least to recognise genuine variegation in policing strategies across these different contexts, for example the reduction of metropolitan policing to national police strategy. As such, this inductive approach necessarily under-conceptualised the units of comparative analysis but generated a rich repertoire of suggestions for further research.

3. Comparing the formulation of public policing strategies in European metropolises: a conceptual framework

These parameters can be summarised, through reference to the methodological arguments of the Polish sociologist Piotr Sztompka (1990), in terms of, ‘the scope of applicability, objects and predicates’ of comparative analysis (see Figure 2). As implied in the background discussion of PEMP_1 and its reception, the scope of applicability is metropolises within member states of the European Union since the advent of the multi-annual programmes for AFSJ and, in particular, the period of the Stockholm Programme and the extension of the EU’s interest in matters of urban security¹. This, of course, is not to ignore the significance of earlier periods of policy making about policing strategies where they clarify continuities and key policy shifts in particular national and metropolitan contexts (for example the shift from community safety

¹ See the special issue of the European Journal of Policing Studies, volume 2, issue 1, 2014 (Ponsaers et al., 2014; Aden & De Pauw, 2014; Devroe & Petrov, 2014; Edwards & Prins, 2014; Mouhanna & Easton, 2014; Recasens i Brunet & Ponsaers, 2014);

See also the special issue of European Journal of Criminology, volume 10, issue 3, 2013 (Virta, 2013; Edwards & Hughes, 2013; Edwards et al., 2013; Meško et al., 2013; Recasens, 2013; Gilling et al., 2013; Devroe, 2013; Frevel, 2013; Xenakis & Cheliotis, 2013).

back to narrower police-centred strategies in Italy post-2008 financial crisis and the onset of ‘austerity’ (Selmini, this volume).

Figure 1.2. : *Conceptual frameworks for comparing the formulation of public policing strategies in European metropolises*

*** HERE FIGURE 1.2. ***

		Foci of Comparison		
		Scope of Applicability	Scope of Objects	Scope of Predicates
Logic of Comparison	Seeking Convergence	Europe	Public Policy Formulation	<u>P1.</u> Standing conditions <u>P2.</u> Dispositions <u>P3.</u> Facilitative Powers
	Seeking Divergence	Metropolises	Strategic Plans	<u>P1.</u> Means & Resources <u>P2.</u> Rules fixing relations, Meaning & Membership <u>P3.</u> Innovation in Techniques and Discipline and Production

Source: Adapted from Sztompka (1990), Clegg (1989), Edwards & Hughes (2005).

The first phase of the Project also reflected a broader ambiguity and argument over the relationship between ‘police’, ‘policing’ and various ‘social integration’ strategies (variously translated as ‘community safety’, ‘integral security’ and ‘urban security’ (Edwards, Hughes, & Lord, 2013) as either objects or predicates of comparison. Of course this is not particular to PEMP but is an ongoing dispute within the contemporary sociology of policing, reflecting an interest in the phenomenon of ‘plural policing’ and a broadening of the scope of objects of comparative analysis to include commercial and voluntary, formal and informal, actors and the distinction between policing as a process (that can be undertaken by a multiplicity of actors beyond the state police) and ‘police’ as a very particular apparatus or modern institution (Jones & Newburn, 2006; Reiner, 2010; Crawford, 2008; Loader, 2000; Terpstra, 2012; Devroe, 2015; Devroe & Terpstra, 2015 ; Prins et al., 2012). More recently a further dimension of analysis has been introduced through the distinction between ‘strategic’ and ‘operational’ policing, with the former referring to the role of elected and appointed decision-makers in setting the medium-term (four-five year plans covering terms of office) and overall direction and priorities for policing across various territories and the latter referring to the mundane, everyday and operational, tactical decisions made by those policing actors with responsibility for implementation. This broader debate over ‘plural policing’ exacerbates the problem of translating concepts for comparative research and increases the risk of researchers adopting empirical foci that are not actually compatible.

To address this translation problem, the second phase of the Project delimits the scope of objects to the formulation of public policies for policing European metropolises which, in particular cases, are signalled by the formulation of medium-term ‘strategic plans’ that run concurrently with elected terms of office (for example the four year term of office for the elected Mayor of London). In these terms the comparative work undertaken for the second phase of the Project delimits the objects of analysis to ‘public’ (not commercial, involuntary or informal etc.)

policing, ‘policy formulation’ (not implementation or outcomes) that is ‘strategic’ and concerned with medium-term planning and agenda-setting (not operational policing). This is not to deny the significance of these other parameters of comparative policing research, some of which will form a focus for research in subsequent phases of the PEMP, especially phases considering policing metropolises ‘in action’. Rather, it is to ensure there is a compatibility between the foci of comparison in the various case studies of metropolitan policing considered in this volume and to privilege, in the first instance, a concern with the capacity of metropolitan authorities to set their own policing agendas.

Having established the scope of objects for comparison in contributions to the second phase of the Project, Figure 3 draws upon theories of power in social science, in particular Clegg’s (1989) ‘circuits of power’ framework, to distinguish the kinds of power that can produce or inhibit metropolitan policing strategies, that is, the ‘predicates’ of public policy formulation in this field. These predicates, initially developed in Edwards and Hughes (2005), can be distinguished in terms of the ‘standing conditions’, which policy actors necessarily inhabit and which enable or constrain their capacity to advance particular policing agendas (for example, the constitutional-legal powers that particular actors have to make or contest policing strategies, the financial resources and organisational resources available to them and the kinds of intelligence and ‘data’ that can inform or contest policing agendas), the ‘dispositions’ which characterise these agendas and the strategic direction which policy actors wish to set (for example, the pursuit of criminal justice and risk management or restorative and social justice policing goals), and the ‘facilitative powers’, the technologies of production and discipline, which can disrupt or help consolidate particular policing strategies, for example, economic crises, such as the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent sovereign debt crises affecting a number of European countries, the migration crisis, within and from without the European Union, or the impact of innovations in digital technologies facilitating ‘smart policing’ etc.(Edwards, 2016).

Defining and differentiating these objects and predicates of comparison for the second phase of the project was the remit of papers presented at the annual meeting of the European Society of Criminology in Porto in September 2015. In these terms the main aim of the second phase of the Project is to question:

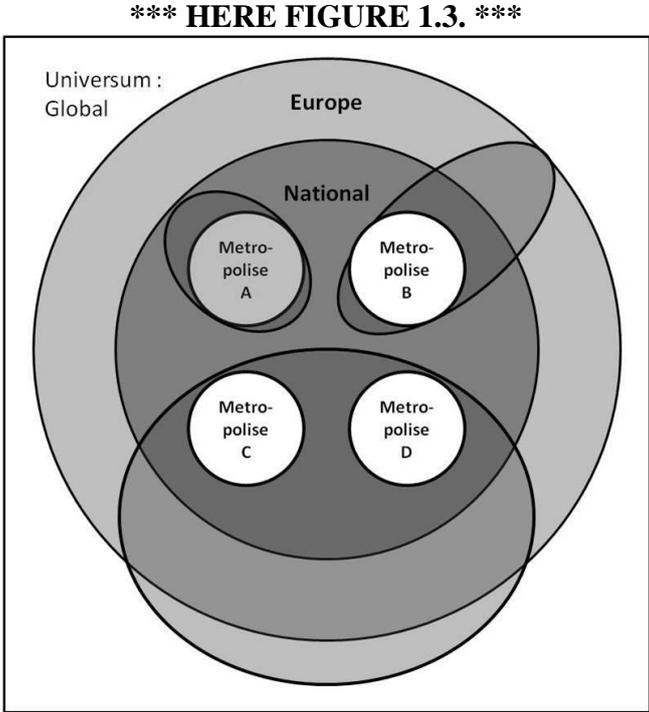
What processes of convergence and divergence exist in the policy formulation of policing strategies for European metropolises and how can these be explained?

4. Comparing metropolitan policing strategies in the context of multiple internal security fields: a conceptual framework

Whilst an emphasis on metropolitan policing strategies helps to better clarify the scope of comparative analysis, providing a logic for better identifying, characterising and explaining any processes of convergence and divergence, there is a danger of presuming that metropolitan-level strategies exist across all of the metropolises that are of interest. However, this would be to reduce the complex reality of continuity and change in sub-national policing in ways that obscure the ongoing importance of national authorities, indeed their centrality to the formulation of policing strategies for cities in particular countries, as well as other centres of power in the supra-national and transnational contexts of metropolitan policing. As discussed in greater detail through the various contributions to Part One of the book, these strategies inhabit a multiplicity of internal security fields rather than a (singular) European internal security field as presumed in the first phase of the Project. Rather, findings from the first phase

of the Project implied the existence of a number of contexts which policing strategists in particular metropolises can inhabit and which are envisaged here in Figure 3.

Figure 1.3. : *Multiple, intersecting, internal security fields in Europe*



This conceptual framework is informed by Bourdieu’s (1977; 1990) concept of ‘semi-autonomous fields’. For Bourdieu fields are systems of objective relations between positions that are constituted by various species of capital or power. Positions in a field are occupied by actors and are interrelated. Fields are characterised by asymmetric power relations, as a structured social space, with its own rules, schemes of dominance, subordination and legitimate opinions which are, in turn, ‘relatively autonomous’ of the broader social structure. The principal implication is that the formulation of policing strategies is an emergent outcome of influences from a number of discrete but interrelated internal security fields. Rather than there being *a*, singular, ‘internal security field’ (see Bigo, 2000), the implication of research undertaken for PEMP_2 is that there are a multiplicity of semi-autonomous fields of policing, which encompass competing objects of ‘freedom, security and justice’. It is precisely in questioning how these are configured in particular metropolises but not others that explanatory theories about divergence and convergence in policing at the sub-national level in Europe can be built.

Apropos the scope of applicable comparisons, all metropolises inhabit a national security field, all the metropolises considered in PEMP_2 also inhabit the EU’s Area of Freedom, Security and Justice and are subject to its multi-annual programmes (although this could alter in future phases of the project if non-EU metropolises are included or in the event that metropolises currently in the EU exit, such as those in the UK post-Brexit referendum) and all metropolises inhabit the global context of (for example, the internet and de-regulated financial services). Within these national and supra-national contexts, however, there is an important variegation in the particular trans-national contexts inhabited by some metropolises but not others. For example, not all metropolises in the EU inhabit the transnational context of the Schengen Agreement (e.g. the British cities of Bristol, Cardiff, Edinburgh and London), or inhabit various

informal policy networks amongst, for example, metropolitan authorities in the Nordic states (see Virta, this volume) or amongst southern European countries (see Recasens i Brunet et al., 2013). The proposition is that the particular insertion of metropolises within these overlapping security fields helps to identify, characterise and explain significant divergences in policing strategy.

Conceptualising the comparison of policing strategies in this way, also recognises the variegated insertion of metropolises within a ‘world urban system’ (King, 1996) which, in addition to their location within the European security field, shapes the particular opportunities for, and threats to, freedom, security and justice, that specific metropolises export and import. For example, London imports particular security threats as a consequence of its status as a capital city involved in foreign policy networks and as its status as a centre of global financial services (see Edwards and Prins, 2014; Edwards et al, this volume). Similarly, as horrifically witnessed on Friday 13th November 2015, Paris imports major security threats as a consequence of its insertion in the global struggle with supporters of the Islamic State. To this end, our ‘internal security fields’ heuristic alerts comparativists to the insights that can be gleaned from the cross-national comparison of similar kinds of metropolis. In this example, comparisons between London and Paris are liable to yield insights into processes of divergence and convergence in policing strategies within metropolises experiencing comparable problems.

Heuristics are not, however, explanations and so a final ambition of PEMP_2 is to stimulate argument over the possible causes of divergence and convergence in the formulation of policing strategies. As such the ambition of the second phase of the project is to advance more explicit analytical reflections on the formulation of policing strategies in particular metropolises. To stimulate this kind of theory-building, contributions to the book draw upon broader ‘circuits of power’ (Clegg, 1989) in social science to distinguish the causal power of particular policing strategists (chief police officers, elected mayors, ministers of the interior etc.) and the various ‘standing conditions’ (the constitutional-legal mandates, financial resources, organisational forms, political scandals and intelligence) in which this causal power is exercised from other kinds of power that may also help to characterise and explain the policing strategies formulated by these actors. In these terms it is possible to further distinguish the ‘dispositional’ power that establishes the meaning of, and membership in, policing strategies oriented around ‘criminal justice’ agendas and/or those of ‘risk management’, ‘restorative justice’ or ‘social justice’ to name some familiar, if not exhaustive, policing dispositions. Finally, processes of divergence and convergence might be conceptualised in terms of the ‘facilitative’ power that enables the constitution and reproduction of certain policing dispositions whilst disabling and discrediting others. For example, we might reflect on the impact of terrorist atrocities, such as the Paris attacks on Friday 13th November 2015, on the consolidation or disruption of criminal justice dispositions.

In limiting the object of comparison in PEMP_2 to policy formulation, it is acknowledged that we cannot impute much about the actual practice and outcomes of policing strategies ‘in action’ (Latour, 1987; 1986). This implies a further phase of research capable of examining any ‘implementation gap’ between policy in formulation and policy in action through more ethnographic research methods. Although this is beyond the scope of the current volume, this is an ambition for subsequent phases of the Project.

5. Organisation of the book

The book is divided into four parts.

The first introductory part (**Part I**) contains this introduction, *Processes of convergence and divergence in the policy formulation of policing strategies for European metropolises*, written by Elke Devroe, Adam Edwards and Paul Ponsaers (**Chapter 1**), in which we elaborate and exemplify our suggested conceptual framework for comparison, which understands metropolitan policing strategies as the outcome of influences from multiple, intersecting, ‘fields of internal security’.

This part also contains a second chapter, entitled *European National Police Systems and Metropolitan Realities*, written by Elke Devroe and Paul Ponsaers (**Chapter 2**). They consider the continued significance of the national contexts of metropolitan policing, which are often neglected in accounts of transnational and supra-national internal security fields. The chapter develops a typology of national policing systems, distinguishing between historically diverse police systems, territorially divided police systems and unified national systems. As such the chapter considers the alignment of national policing systems with the political constitution of different European nation states, as a means of questioning the particular significance and institutional effects of Federal and Unitary polities for metropolitan policing strategies.

In **Part II**, *Convergence: The Dominance of National States in Agenda Setting*, we focus on those national realities that clearly dominate the formulation of metropolitan policing agendas. Originally we thought that this part should look at *trans-national* policing issues, including regional relations (e.g. policing agreements amongst Scandinavian countries, or the distinctiveness of metropolitan policing in Eastern and Central Europe in countries still experiencing the legacy of communist regimes, or of metropolitan policing in societies still experiencing the legacy of dictatorship as in Portugal and Spain). As we received contributions to this part, it has become apparent that variation amongst the politics and policy agendas of policing in the metropolises under study was negligible because of the apparent dominant position of national state agendas and the inability of metropolises to pursue their own policing agendas through distinctive city-regional policies.

The first country considered in this part is France, the chapter entitled *Governing Metropolises: the False Pretences of Metropolisation*, written by Jacques de Maillard and Christian Mouhanna (**Chapter 3**). The authors are analysing the efforts of the local governance of four metropolises (Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, and Strasbourg) to develop a policing agenda which is divergent from the national one, starting from the 1983 Bonnemaïson report, de Maillard and Mouhanna illustrate the limits of local governance in the field of security and the manoeuvring of central authorities to maintain their dominant position in this area.

Next Carla Cardoso and Josefina Castro discuss the interaction of internal security fields in the context of Portuguese metropolises (Lisbon and Porto) since the transition from Salazar’s dictatorship to a liberal democratic polity. In their chapter, entitled, *Urban Security Governance in Portugal: key-elements and challenges* (**Chapter 4**), Cardoso and Castro argue that the strategic power of the Portuguese nation state in formulating policing policy has been maintained in ways that continue to restrict the discretion of Portuguese metropolises to formulate their own policing strategies. Although the strategic power of the Portuguese nation state has been maintained they identify three distinctive periods of the liberal democratic state in which the disposition of policing has altered. Finally they characterise the current dominant national policing strategy, since 2010, as one struggling to adapt to conditions of austerity.

In *Policing regimes in transition in the Nordic countries, Some critical notes from the Nordic reality*, Sirpa Virta and Jari Taponen (**Chapter 5**) explore the interaction of national, supra-national and transnational internal security fields in the particular context of Nordic metropolises. In the first instance, these metropolises inhabit unitary nation states with powerful central authorities that in the immediate post-War period were concerned to maintain social democratic welfare states. In the second instance, these nation states established formal and informal inter-national agreements for internal security. The authors argue this combination of strong nation states engaged in international agreements has reduced the discretion available to metropolises to formulate their own distinctive policing strategies and acted as a major driver of convergence in policing dispositions amongst Nordic metropolises. Whilst the strength of this inter-national internal security field continues, Virta and Taponen argue it is currently undergoing a process of transition from a social democratic to a neo-liberal disposition as Nordic states struggle to adapt to the impact of the increased freedom of movement for capital, labour, goods and services across national borders.

In **Chapter 6, entitled, *Metropolitan Policing in Post-Soviet Countries: the case of Slovenia***, Maja Modic, Branko Lobnikar, Bernarda Tominc, Andrej Sotlar, and Gorazd Meško discuss the interaction of national, supra-national and transnational internal security fields in the particular context of Central and Eastern European metropolises. The distinctiveness of this context is the shared history of experiencing policing in transition to liberal democracies from former communist political systems. The provision of security is to a large extent under state patronage, in both the metropolises under study (Ljubljana and Maribor). The legislative regulation for all institutions of policing contribute to very little differences in both analysed cities and mayors do not have much of an impact on the agenda of the centralized state police. Furthermore, the national law on local police does not even allow municipalities to have full autonomy with regard to the functioning of municipal warden services in these metropolises.

Part III, *Divergence : Active City-Regions pursuing their own policing agendas*, includes contributions that distinguish metropolitan-specific effects on policing from national effects. Here metropolises are actively encouraged to pursue their own policing agendas through city-regional policies.

Chapter 7 is built on two contributions from Italy: firstly, *Urban Policing in Italy: Some reflections in a comparative perspective*, written by Rossella Selmini, and secondly, *Policing and Urban Control in Rome and Milan: A View from the Southern Edge of Europe*, written by Marco Calaresu and Rossella Selmini. The authors consider the interaction of internal security fields in the context of Italian metropolises (Rome and Milan), in which the nation state has had the constitutional mandate for formulating policing strategy but has struggled to project this strategic power over metropolitan authorities who, as a consequence, have significant discretion to formulate their own policing agendas. The authors observe an asymmetric relationship between a weak national state and relatively autonomous local states. They depict the current period as one in which those metropolises that did adopt local urban security strategies encompassing social and economic policy responses to problems of routine, volume, crime and civil unrest have now withdrawn from these, not least under the pressure of the post-2008 financial crisis and subsequent sovereign debt problems experienced by Italy and other Southern European states. As a result, there has been a re-emphasis on a national policing agenda prioritising criminal justice and risk management but the capacity to advance this agenda remains open to doubt with the possible consequence of policy vacuums and policy drift. Nevertheless, Milan was able to develop a more socially inclusive approach and a less 'law and order' oriented policing style during Mayor Pisapia's administration, demonstrating

a remarkable capacity to resist the punitive and exclusionary rationalities characterising the national agenda for metropolitan policing in Italy.

In their discussion of *Metropolitan Policing Agendas in Britain: Divergent Tendencies in a Fragmenting State?* (**Chapter 8**), Adam Edwards, Sophie Chambers, Nick Fyffe and Alistair Henry consider the implications of major constitutional reforms for the politics of metropolitan policing in Britain. They identify two recent periods of reform, both aimed at maintaining the integrity of the United Kingdom and its membership of the European Union. Firstly, the period, under the UK administrations of New Labour (1997 – 2010), of agreements to devolve powers from the UK government to the Scottish Parliament and to assemblies in Wales and Northern Ireland. Secondly, the period of ‘secessionist referenda’ covering the UK Coalition Government of Conservatives and Liberals (2010 – 2015) and the election of the Conservative UK government in May 2015. This latter period included a narrow loss of the referendum on Scottish Independence from the UK by the secessionists in September 2014 but a rekindling of the Scottish independence movement following the shock victory, in May 2016, of the Leave campaign in the UK referendum on membership of the European Union. It is argued this ‘Brexit’ vote has compounded other tendencies toward the fragmentation of metropolitan governance in the UK, including the ‘new localism’ of devolving responsibilities for both setting and funding policing agendas, in conditions of austere public expenditure settlements, to regional actors in England and Wales, in particular the recently established Police and Crime Commissioners, and to municipal authorities working ‘in partnership’ with the PCCs to deliver agendas for safer and cohesive communities.

In *Policing metropolises in a system of cooperative federalism: Berlin as the German capital and a City State compared to Cologne as the biggest city in North Rhine-Westphalia* (**Chapter 9**) Harmut Aden and Bernhard Frevel discuss the situation in Germany. The 16 German states enjoy a high level of autonomy. The Berlin police system had to deal with a completely new political and administrative context since the 1990s, as a consequence of reunification. Consequently, in the City State of Berlin, the police and local government are more closely dependant on each other, while both belong to the same government and the political steering of the policy agenda is more direct. By contrast, in Cologne, the police are an independent authority belonging to the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, disconnected from local governance. However, the authors show that in spite of these differences in dispositions, the German political system leads to convergence in agenda-setting in both cities, because of the strong tradition of ‘cooperative federalism’, the dominance of cooperation with NGOs and other actors outside the security sector and the fact that sharing responsibilities between state and civil society seems to be a core element of the ‘activating state’ in Germany. This ‘path dependency’ towards a ‘co-operative Federalism’ is underpinned by the more profound commitment to *Rechtstaat*, the legal state, and an antipathy toward pre-judicial and extra-judicial security strategies.

Evelien De Pauw and Marleen Easton’s contribution, *Policing Antwerp & Brussels: two of a kind?*, considers metropolitan policing in Belgium (**Chapter 10**). The authors argue that, notwithstanding Federal government attempts to steer metropolitan policing there are significant opportunities for the exercise of local discretion. In Brussels and Antwerp we observe a complex mixture of local and national police forces, steered by different policy agendas. Especially in Brussels where there is a complex admixture of local and national police forces, functioning according to different policy agendas on the territory of the same metropolitan area. This complexity is, in turn, a consequence of the broader attempt to maintain the integrity of the Belgian state by accommodating the competing regional and linguistic

interests of Flanders and Wallonia in the government of the Capital. The ongoing interference from the regions on the one hand, and the strong autonomy of the municipalities on the other, are simultaneously causing a greater ‘divergence’ in policing agendas. Local politics have a huge impact on local security plans and can differ widely from national policy. This raises the question whether or not we are dealing with ‘urban republics’ where the mayor’s political affiliation determines security policy. Politics in Brussels and Antwerp seems to be largely characterized by the competition of power between the national-state and municipal authorities. The recent increase in the terror threat to level 3 (serious) and to level 4 (very serious) in Belgium and Brussels, following the attack on Brussels airport in March 2016 and the use of the municipality of Molenbeek in Brussels as a base by those involved in the attacks on Paris the previous November, have provoked a major debate about the need to reconcile competing national and municipal agendas for metropolitan policing.

In *Local strategies for glocal challenges: Comparing policing agendas in Amsterdam and Rotterdam* Ruth Prins and Elke Devroe (**Chapter 11**) analyse the politics of policing, with a specific focus on policing agendas in the two largest cities in The Netherlands. Both Amsterdam and Rotterdam are considered metropolises facing ‘glocal’ challenges related to multicultural populations in urban areas, social inequalities in terms of household income, international harbors, crime and disorder. In order to get an understanding of the tendencies towards divergence and convergence in urban policing in these city-regions, the authors sketch the general trends in policing in the Netherlands. They discuss the national, regional and local constitutional arrangements and discretionary powers entailed in public police management in these cities. Prins and Devroe compare and contrast policing agendas in Amsterdam and Rotterdam and conclude with an account of the possible explanations for convergence and divergence in the politics of policing in these metropolises. In turn, these are related to the political ‘circuits of power’ of the municipal ruling coalitions in these two cities and in the wider institutional environment they inhabit.

Part IV concludes this volume with a chapter on, *The European World of Metropolitan Policing: interpreting patterns of governance, policy and politics* (**Chapter 12**), written by Adam Edwards, Elke Devroe and Paul Ponsaers. This chapter elicits theoretical propositions from contributions in Parts Two and Three of the book, which are capable of explaining processes of convergence and divergence in metropolitan policing.

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