instrument for relational management, and not management based on formalised procedures to achieve a result, as it involves establishing objectives which are common to a set of agents which make up a social system and, in accordance with these, innovatively specify these objectives in projects that should be managed in a network.

1 See www.aeryc.org

1 See www.aeryc.org
2 Governance is a term which has been defined by the dictionary of the Real Academia Española since 2001 with a very generic definition but whose basis is correct. It defines governance as the "art or way of governing whose aim is achieving long-term institutional, social and economic development, while promoting a healthy balance between state, civil society and the economy market".
3 Joan Prats i Català pointed out in an excellent piece of writing (*Liberalismo y democracia*) that historically democrats have not only defended the rule of law and protection of individual freedom, but that since Aristotle they have conceived democracy as the shared construction of the *res publica;* that is, the city as the creation of all those who live in it.
4 This chapter is based on a paper written in 2005 with J.M. Lahosa and under whose name it is published: *City and Prevention: Elements for its Assessment,* for the Directorate of Prevention Services of Barcelona City Council.
5 Prevention for inclusive safety means: "Anticipatory actions (non-prosecutorial measures and actions) which aim to specifically reduce or positively channel (explicit or latent) social unrest which is at the root of attacks between people and their private and public property, and which generates public insecurity and segregative social reactions" (J.M. Lahosa and J.M. Pascual Esteve for the Spanish Urban Safety and Prevention Forum. 2008.
6 See Subirats (2003).
7 Pascual (2007).
8 For a development of this thesis see Pascual (2001).
9 Pascual (1990). In this book I put forward a set of methods and techniques which are useful for preparing territorial strategic plans which serve to kick-start territorial governance.
10 See Pascual (1999), pgs.157-162.
11 See Puig (2003).
12 We find the methodological presentation of comprehensive sociology in his work *Sobre la teoría de las ciencias sociales* (Barcelona: Península, 1971) and also in *Economy and Society,* in which he supports the importance of the subjective for sociological analysis.
13 Recommended reading on the systemic approach is L. Bertalanffy, *General System Theory.*

PUBLIC SAFETY IN SOME METROPOLIS OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

SAFETY IN MONTREAL, A GROUP RESULT

Marcel Cajelait

1. The city of Montreal and its population

Montreal is located on the island of the same name, surrounded by the Saint Lawrence river and lying at the heart of the Montreal Metropolitan Community (CMM, Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal) which has a population of about 3.7 million people spread over 82 municipalities.[1] The territory of the Urban Agglomeration of Montreal, with a population of 1.85 million inhabitants, covers the island and includes 15 towns in addition to the City of Montreal. The latter is made up of 19 boroughs which house 1.62 million people.

Following the successive reorganisation of 2002 and 2005, municipal responsibilities and authority are shared out among the Agglomeration, the towns and, in the case of Montreal, the boroughs. Thus, public safety and the fight against poverty come under the Agglomeration, finances and the coordination of municipal files are the towns' responsibilities, while services directly aimed at the population, such as leisure and snow clearance, come under the borough councils for Montreal or each of the councils of the 15 other towns.

Like all major cities, Montreal faces social problems such as homelessness and drug addiction. Other problems arise from the difficulties marginalised groups have regarding co-existing with residents or other users of public spaces. These problems are particularly intense in summertime. In fact, Montreal, which is a festival and tourist city (around 6.7 million tourists in 2009[2]), offers numerous events, such as the Jazz Festival which attracts a very large number of attendees coming from the city, the region, other areas of the country and abroad. Among the festival goers and visitors are the young as well as the not so young who, having few or no resources at all, develop various survival strategies during their stay in the heart of the city. Some become part of groups which settle and sleep in parks, which tends to irritate the people who live, work or travel through those areas.

Montreal also has to deal with a situation which is specific to it: the huge mobility of its population. In fact, 44.9% of its population moves house or neighbourhood within a 5-year period, over a third of which move to the city outskirts.[3] This situation can be explained by the combination of two phenomena. On the one hand, 65.5% of Montreal's accommodation is rented housing whose occupants can easily change their place of residence and, on the other hand, a share of the population leaves the City over a five-year period to be replaced by an almost equal number of new arrivals. The moves are mostly accounted for by young people who come to Montreal for their studies, people seeking employment there or immigrants. The latter, who represent 30.7% of the population of Montreal, move around during their period of integration into the country. Often, those who do manage to successfully integrate move to the suburbs, just like many young families of the host society.

The population's average annual income is $30,132, which is higher for men ($34,525) than for women ($26,044). The City's population in employment for 15 years or more comes to 853,975 people, 407,165 of which are women. The unemployment rate hovers around 9.1% while 14% of families receive government benefits to subsidise their needs. The rate of low income among people living in private households is 31.2% and 29.2% for people aged 65 years and over. This rate is 32.7% for single parent families with a female parent and 15.1% for those with a male parent. 38.3% of rented households allocate 30% or more of their income to gross rent payments while this figure is 22% for homeowners.

Since 2002, together with the Ministry of Employment and Social Solidarity (MESS, ministère de l'Emploi et de la solidarité sociale), the Health and Social Services Agency of Montreal and other partners, Montreal City Council has established a map of the priority areas requiring intervention[4]. This map indicates the areas where there is a concentration of social and economic factors, such as single parenting and low income. These priority areas are taken into account at the time of distributing budgets, particularly under the MESS and City Council agreement for the fight against poverty and social exclusion, for urban regeneration or for the setting up of pilot projects. Through periodical reviews, this data can be updated and other factors which have become significant, such as elderly people, can be considered. Several partners have agreed to use this map for grant distribution without however applying it to universal projects such as support for local consultation.

2. Crime and victimization

Overall, crime is in constant decline in the territory of the Urban Agglomeration of Montreal. In fact, offences in 2009 were 4.3% below the average of the previous 5 years and had dropped by 15.4% over the previous 10 years.[5] For their part, the offences and breaches of the Criminal Code in 2009 had fallen by 6.5% since 2005 and by 15.4% over the previous 10 years.

In 2009, 24,682 crimes against the person were reported, which had fallen by 7.6% since 2005 and was 11.3% lower than in 1999. More specifically,
– The number of homicides increased slightly in 2009, remaining below the average of 44 for the past 10 years and that of 56 for the past 20 years.
– Murder attempts increased by 53.6% in 2009, after falling by 32.5% in 2007 and 34.9% in 2008, remaining below the average of 122 for the past ten years.
– Assaults have decreased by 6.9% in 2009, remaining close to the average

of 13,916 for the previous five years and 4.6% lower than the average of the past 10 years.
– Sexual assaults are in decline for the fourth year in a row, falling by 14.8% in 2009, 38.3% since 2005 and 21.2% over the past 10 years.

The number of crimes against property was 87,986 for 2009, dropping by 9.5% since 2005 and by 22.9% over the course of the past 10 years. Among the latter,
– Burglaries in 2009 were up by 8%, but represented a decrease of 17.1% since 2005 and of 43.4% over the past 10 years.
– Motor vehicle theft dropped by 17.8% in 2009, having also dropped by 39% since 2005 and 52.7% in the past 10 years.
– Accounting for one third of all breaches of the Criminal Code in 2009, petty theft increased by 0.8%, but had fallen by 4.2% since 2005 and 7.5% over the past 10 years.
– In 2009, fraud was up by 0.8% having dropped by 8.7% since 2005 and by 14.2% over the past 10 years.

The figures on crime correspond to offences and infringements reported to the police. However, it is well-known that many crimes are not reported yet might be made known to crime victimization surveys. Various studies and surveys assess victimization within different contexts and for a diverse clientele. However, several factors, such as age groups, definitions and periods covered, cannot be reconciled, making it difficult, if not impossible, to establish an overall picture. The International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) has studied this problem for the territory of the Quebec province and has proposed different measures for improving data compatibility.[6]

For its part, the General Social Survey on Victimization of Statistics Canada does not enable the results to be split according to municipals owing to the sampling being too weak. The results do, however, provide an overview. According to this nation-wide survey for 2004, 34% of incidents were brought to the police's attention.[7]

Despite some gaps in victimization data, the steady drop in crime allows us to state that the City is becoming increasingly safe. Furthermore, according to the results of the 2010 Mercer survey on quality of living, Montreal takes 4th place among American cities and 21st place among the more than 320 cities assessed on an international level.[8]

There are many factors which can explain this improvement. A summarised review of some of the interventions and approaches of public safety agents will enable some of them to be identified.

2.1. The city of Montréal police service (SPVM)[9][10]

The SPVM (City of Montreal Police Service) has about 4,600 police officers, 1,353 of which are women. In 2008, the Service responded to 597,659 calls. The units in which they intervene include: road safety, patrolling the underground, project action modules, specialised surveys, community action strategies, water police, the dog-handling unit and mounted police. They are mainly incorporated into one of the 33 district stations, 4 operational centres or the headquarters. Around 1,600 civilian employees complete the SPVM team.

The Service keeps itself informed on the development of technical and material resources, tests these if necessary and, depending on its budget, updates its material and staff tools. It also maintains connections with other police forces or associations with which they carry out exchanges to share and benefit from the best practices. In addition, a research team implements various types of work, analyses statistics and follows the development of what is at stake in public safety so that strategic planning is based on updated information.

Following on from the introduction of the district police in 1997 and the review of the coverage plan set in motion in 2007, the service applies a global approach to public safety which leads all agents involved in safety to consult with and help one another. Agreements are reached in this way with trade development companies and Tandem, the table of representative organisations of the prevention programme, among others. Moreover, in 2004 the police put watch committees in place which look out for the needs of the Black, Latin, Arab and Asian communities as well as elderly and young people's needs, so as to become familiar with their realities and thus respond better to these. In 2010, it launched its Master Plan on its relations with the public as well as its Declaration of services to the public in order to make its aims in this area known.

The SPVM also contributes to prevention. Indeed, its operation via the district police model aims to counter emerging safety problems more effectively. This enables it to get closer to the community while relying on problem solving, partnership and opening up to communities. The socio-community officer is the district station's resource person for community relations. This officer is mainly interested in the most vulnerable social groups and carries out local prevention programmes.

There are a large number of prevention activities which the SPVM participates in or implements. For example:
– *Gangs de choix* (Gangs of Choice), to prevent young people from joining street gangs,

– *Unité sans violence,* Exprimez-vous (United Without Violence: Express yourself), to prevent school violence,
– The *Beaux, jeunes et forts à l'Academie de police* day camp for young people, to develop good relations between the SPVM and these future adults,
– *Réseau réussite Montréal* (Montreal Hooked on School), to prevent early school leaving
– *Échange Jeunesse* (Youth Exchange), to bring young people from cultural communities and the police closer together.

2.2. The Tandem programme

Since 1982, Montreal has been managing the Tandem programme while other towns on the island have been offering similar programmes. In 2001, these activities were incorporated into the Montrealer Programme which supports citizen action for urban security in boroughs – Tandem[11]. This programme puts forward the first line of intervention for preventing crime, including the security of property and the home, the security of people as well as the security of communities. A second line covers the prevention of fires, the emergency services and public safety. The activities carried out are mainly:
– Home assessment with respect to risk of burglary, fire and accidents;
– Information and raising awareness about fraud and abuse of elderly people;
– Activities for tackling bullying at school;
– Anti-theft marking of bicycles and expensive property;
– Information on bicycle safety.

Tandem management is decentralised in the boroughs. Each borough chooses its representative community organisation and establishes a contract of three years with it, specifying the resources granted and the results expected. The representative organisation's intervention is based on the diagnosis – plan of action – assessment process carried out in collaboration with institutions, other organisations and the population of the territory. In 2007, 18 community organisations were administering the programme in 16 boroughs where 45 community workers enabled 2,795 activities to be carried out, bringing 100,626 people together.[12]

2.3. Women's safety

Since the end of the 1980s, the City Council has been particularly concerned with women's safety. Following the J'accuse La Peur conference which it organised in 1992, the Council contributed to the creation of the women's action and urban security committee (CAFSU, Comité d'action femmes et sécurité urbaine), a partnership which lasted until its disbandment in 2004. After much work done on pilot projects for women's safety in public places and in municipal recreational facilities along with the

carrying out of the audit guide on women's safety in cities, the municipality and the CAFSU published the Planning Guide for a Safe Urban Environment in 2002, and the Safety Planning Training Guide the following year.

The safety guide proposed principles adapted to different public places, including residential, commercial and industrial areas, parks and open spaces, car parks, bridges and tunnels.[13] It defined six safety planning principles:
– Know where you are and where you are going: signalisation
– See and be seen: visibility
– Hear and be heard: crowds
– Be able to get away and get help: formal surveillance and access to help
– Live in a good, welcoming environment: planning and maintenance
– Act together: community participation

After the CAFSU disbandment, several organisations like the Tandem representatives and the women's groups pursued, in collaboration with the City Council, the dissemination and application of the safety planning guide and contributed to other achievements, such as:
– The creation of the Conseil des Montréalaises (Montrealer women's council) in 2004, which gives advice on issues raised by the City Council or brings matters to the Council's attention;
– The adoption, in 2008, of a Policy for equal participation of women and men in the Montreal community.

2.4. The priority of preventing young people from joining street gangs

In Summer 2004, score-settling between street gangs was occurring in Montreal city centre, intensifying the tension experienced in other territories of the city throughout the previous months. In order to plan an integrated and concerted action for diminishing the problem, the municipality established a steering committee for the street gang issue (Comité Directeur Ville de Montréal – Gangs de Rue). This Committee is made up of representatives from the central services, Police, Social Diversity and Finances as well as from the boroughs concerned. The steering committee drafted a plan whose aims cover four lines of action: research, prevention, repression and communication.

The Directorate for Social Diversity assures the planning and coordination of the action plan, in collaboration with the central services and the boroughs, and makes sure to maintain talks and consultation with the partners concerned, particularly school committees, community organisations, the police and the Ministry of Public Safety of Quebec.

The boroughs that will participate are identified by the police, according

to factors present in their area such as gang members who reside there, violent crimes committed or presence of emerging gangs. In 2005, five boroughs were identified, to which three more were added in 2009. Each of these choose the project that must be carried out in order to respond to the objectives of their plan of action, which it establishes with the representatives of the area in agreement with the steering committee's aims. Some 30 projects have thus been implemented.

2.5. Services for homeless people

A liaison committee on homelessness was set up in 1991 within the framework of the joint Programme between the Ministry of Health and Social Services (MSSS, Ministère de la Santé et des Services Sociaux) and Montreal City Council which planned measures to respond to the critical needs in the city centre. Since then, the committee's operation and composition have been altered from time to time according to the evolution of the needs which encouraged the maintenance of consultation and collaboration between the institutions and the community organisations. In 2007, the liaison committee adopted a cross-sectoral action plan for homelessness 2007-2012.

Since the joint programme was implemented, the City Council has been supporting host and referral services for homeless men, women and young people by furnishing grants to about ten organisations that provide them with these services. Moreover, it contributes to finding solutions for the over-crowding of shelters in the cold spells through collaboration with community organisations and the Health and Social Services Network.

3. Winning leads

The interventions outlined only cover a part of the actions carried out on the territory of Montreal. Nevertheless, the summary of approaches makes it possible to pick out certain key elements in maintaining and improving safety:
– While maintaining police service levels in the districts, the SPVM bases both its municipal and local planning and intervention on the knowledge that it has of the areas and groups as well as on its updating of this knowledge through networking, research and analysis. Planning favours the implementation of actions, revised as needed, in a global approach, which is agreed upon by the partners involved. Furthermore, the SPVM makes sure that its aims and services are made known.
– For its part, the Tandem programme specifies municipal aims on which the definition and updating of local aims and their action targets are based. The

choice of these actions results from the diagnosis – action plan – evaluation process drawn up with the home environment agents according to the resources granted by the partners.
– In relation to women's safety, knowledge related to urban planning and on other risk factors is at the heart of municipal or local cooperation between partners. The latter support the mobilisation of women, and sometimes men, as well as partnership for improving women's safety and promoting the dissemination of information on this subject.
– Within the framework of the priority of preventing young people from joining street gangs, the municipal plan defines its aims according to what is known about the problem. This knowledge makes it possible to target the places of local action and to implement partner consultation for choosing and carrying out actions.
– With regard to the services for homeless people, which cover a limited territory, the target of the action determines the agents who are to engage in consultation as well as their collaboration. The drafting and following of plans enables responsibilities to be shared and membership to be adjusted according to how the situation is developing.

The following key elements are most present:
– Municipal aims which support local action;
– Planning and its updating;
– Information acquisition and sharing;
– Establishment of targeted actions;
– Partnership;
– Consultation.

These elements are in line with the results of several undertakings. For example, the municipal Network concerned with crime prevention, which has a total of 14 cities, one of which is Montreal, working in collaboration with the Institute for crime prevention of the University of Ottawa, contributed to the publication "Building a Safer Canada: First report of the National Working Group on Crime Prevention".[14] This report brings together the prevention experiences of the 14 cities and emphasizes the common points of success-bearing approaches as well as the obstacles encountered.

The report highlights the importance of action which is planned in conjunction with all the organisations of the territory and all of the municipal services. It also emphasizes the need for the provincial and federal governments to establish support for municipal initiatives and confirms the primacy of local authorities for the planning, monitoring and evaluation of prevention strategies.

The experiences also spotlight the necessary involvement of the authorities,

whether elected or senior officials, in order to guarantee the success of the prevention. In fact, municipal aims must be supported and promoted by the mayor who publicly affirms the commitment of the borough council to concerted action in support of urban security. This collaboration calls upon institutions, community organisations as well as businesses while guaranteeing the participation of citizens. The latter can also get involved in maintaining and developing their safety and act in aid of both their own as well as their fellow citizens' quality of life.

The involvement of citizens in their own safety becomes the expression of their rights to safety, but also the acceptance of their responsibility in this matter. Moreover, this is the objective of chapter 6 of the Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities[15], which was adopted in 2005. This chapter specifies the city's involvement in relation to safety and also indicates that citizens are agents of their own safety, notably by means of preventative behaviour.

Beyond this individual participation in safety, the City Council also wanted to make a place for citizens in local consultation and collaboration in public safety. This is one of the objectives pursued by the Policy for a peaceful and safe environment[16], which was adopted in 2007. This policy specifies the municipality's aims in relation to safety and plans the introduction of a local Table for safety in each borough of Montreal and in each of the other towns of the Agglomeration. These local tables, in addition to citizen participation, also rely on the collaboration of the territory's institutions and social, economic and community agents while proposing equal representation of men and women.

Montreal City Council implements many ways to promote the maintenance and development of safe and quality living environments. Municipal actions are in keeping with the results of studies on the success factors. Furthermore, the improvement of the situation over recent years confirms the positive impact of municipal involvement. The City Council must take on the challenge of standing by its aims and of remaining inflexibly involved in promoting safety.

1   The Community in Figures (CMM, La Communauté en chiffres), http://www.cmm. qc.ca visited on 29th May 2010.
2   Montreal City Council: Financial Review (2009)
3   Unless otherwise indicated, the statistical data comes from the City Council's Montréal en Statistiques (Montreal in statistics) website http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=2076,2453845&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL which was visited on May 29th 2010 and whose source is the 2006 Statistics Canada five-year census.
4   Collectif quartier, http://www.collectifquartier. org/atlas/idville/carto.php? Visited on 10th June 2010

5   Montreal City Council: Police Service (2009)
6   CIPC, Quebec Observatory on Safety and Prevention. Taking, stocking and analysing the information available on threats to safety in Quebec.
7   Gannon and Mihorean (2004)
8   Mercer (2010)
9   The Service de Police de la Ville de Montréal website: http://spvm.qc.ca visited on 31st May 2010
10 Ville de Montréal, Service de police (2009)
11 Montreal City Council, 2003
12 Montreal City Council, 2008
13 Montreal City Council, 2002
14 IPC, 2007-2009
15 Montreal City Council, 2005
16 Montreal City Council, 2007

URBAN SECURITY IN LARGE FRENCH METROPOLITAN AREAS

Christophe Soullez
Alain Bauer

Introduction

Up until the 17th century, crime in France primarily occurred in the countryside and was the act of bandits who mainly attacked convoys or travellers, whenever it was not committed by foreign troops who terrorised inhabitants in times of war. Transport routes were insecure and the town, by virtue of the way it was both built and used, was considered a safe and protective place.

In the Middle Ages, towns were fortified, in keeping with the towns built in the time of the Roman Empire which were surrounded by walls to protect against invasions. They played a central role in organising society as a seat of feudal power, but also as a place of refuge in times of troubles or outside attacks for the inhabitants of the surrounding area who served the lord on his fief.

From the year 1000 onwards, demographic growth and increased trade resulted in the revival of towns and their expansion.

The consolidation of royal power in the 12th and 13th centuries reduced clashes between feudal lords, but battles with outside powers took place across the territory, during which deserters and dismissed mercenaries pillaged the lands. It was because of this, in reaction to the growing insecurity in the countryside, that the first police force was created: the Marshalcy which was at that time in charge of controlling and monitoring people involved in war with a remit covering the entire kingdom excluding towns.

With the passing of time, the fortified town (the *bourg* or market town) became too confined and dwellings were built outside the walls and were protected by new outer walls in accordance with a radio-concentric development. Urban fabric became denser, public space

was very restricted and limited to the alleys and some squares. At the same time, towns were facing new problems: hygiene (inexistent sewerage, disease, rats, etc.) and insecurity.

Royal power undertook, initially in Paris, to provide solutions to isolated problems. Thus, in Paris in 1254, Saint-Louis created the knight of the guard *(chevalier du guet),* who was assisted by 20 cavalry sergeants and 26 foot sergeants and was in charge of ensuring the security of Paris at night. The system quickly spread to all towns throughout the kingdom. It would take until 1667, however, for the first veritable police corps to appear in Paris, and later in the provinces, with the creation of the position of Lieutenant general of police. From the 17th century until the beginning of the 20th century, and as a consequence of the growth of towns, the State progressively put in place a police organisation subject to responding to new threats inherent in the development of towns and the evolution of crime.

Thus, while in the Middle Ages those in power were distrusting of the countryside and its inhabitants, who were often quick to rebel through peasant revolts, little by little, towns and their inhabitants were becoming the object of the public authorities' attention and were increasingly perceived as potentially dangerous territories or inhabitant groups. Town inhabitants became subjects to be watched with a view to limiting the possibilities of power being challenged. Furthermore, intelligence services, which had been quite rudimentary up until then, were reinforced and developed under the Consulate and the Empire.

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the police services, and mainly the public security services, were formed anarchically without any real central organisation. Up until the Vichy regime, every municipality had its own municipal police with the exception of certain municipalities such as Lyon (1851), Marseille (1908), Toulon et la Seyne (1918), Nice (1920), Strasbourg, Metz et Mulhouse (1925), Alger (1930), Toulouse (1940), as well as nineteen municipalities of Seine et Marne and 174 municipalities of Seine et Oise (1935) which, for various historical, political and social reasons, had a State police force.

1. Late state control of town and city police

The Vichy regime, by means of the Law of 23 April 1941, centralised the police services in one regional base to create the first State police. The police was instituted in all of the municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants and in smaller municipalities which had been designated by decree of the Minister of the Interior. Paris maintained its special status with the Prefecture of Police. The