

Improvement of Civilian Oversight of Internal Security Sector Project

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REPORT ON TURKISH GOVERNORS AND FRENCH PREFETS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION PROCEDURES WITH INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES

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Turkish Governors and French Préfets: a Comparative Analysis of the Organizational Structures and Exchange of Information Procedures with Internal Security Forces

Activity A.2. : Review and comparison of the laws, organization and functioning of governorate and district governorate between Turkey and two EU countries in order to increase their institutional capacity at the local level

Özet

Türk ve Fransız Valilik sistemleri, Türk ve Fransız idari yapılarının benzerliği gibi, birçok ortak özellik taşırlar. İki ülke de merkezi yönetime oranla yetkileri daha fazla sınırlandırılmış yerel yönetimlere sahip üniter devletlerdir. Fransız valiler “département’larda” illerde, Türk valiler ise “taşrada” ilde, hükümeti yerel düzeyde temsil eden devlet memurlarıdır. Her iki vali de kanunların ve ulusal politikaların sorumlu oldukları yerlerde yürütülmesini sağlarlar; valiler sözünü ettiğimiz bölgelerde / yerlerde ulusal kamu kuruluşlarının başıdır ve yine bu bölgelerde İç Güvenlik Kuvvetlerinin idari başı / gözetimcisi olarak kamu düzenini ve güvenliğini sağlamakla yükümlüdürler. İç Güvenlik Kuvvetleri ulusal kuvvetlerdir ve yerel yönetimlerin güvenlik alanında ya hiç yetkileri yoktur ya da çok sınırlı yetkileri vardır.

Türk ve Fransız valileri yerel güvenlik politikalarının ve kamu düzenine ilişkin uygulamaların merkezinde bulunurlar. Türkiye’de illerde, Fransa’da ise “département’larda” hadiselerin önlenmesinden ve protesto, isyan, felaket gibi olaylarda güvenlik güçlerini koordine etmekle sorumludurlar. Bununla birlikte, yüz yüze görüşmelerimiz sırasında da sistematik olarak belirtildiği üzere kamu düzeni ve ulusal güvenlik üzerindeki vurgu Türkiye’de daha büyüktür. Fransız valileri zamanlarının büyük bir kısmını kamu düzeni konusuna ayırırlar; böyle olmasına rağmen, son on yılda önceden olduğundan çok daha fazla ya da Türkiye’deki valilerden daha fazla, yerel sokak güvenlik problemleri ve suçun önlenmesi konuları üzerine yoğunlaşmışlardır.

Her iki lke rneęinde, valiler gvenlik meselelerine iliřkin bilgileri / enformasyonu merkezileřtirirler. İ Gvenlik Kuvvetleri bildikleri, haberdar oldukları nemli olayları valilere bildirmekle ykmldrlar ve acil durumlarda yapılması gerekenleri yine valilere sormak ve onlardan talep etmek zorundadırlar. Ayrıca yine hem Trk hem de Fransız valileri tm kazalar, tutuklamalar ve polis ve jandarma mdahaleleri hakkında gnlk rapor almaktadırlar. İ Gvenlik Kuvvetleri ile birlikte iřleri koordine etmek, emirlerini iletmek ve gelecekte yapılacak faaliyetleri tartıřmak iin toplantılar dzenlerler. Yasaya gre, Trkiye’de gvenlik toplantıları (asayiř saati) her gn sabah 11.00’de yapılır. Fakat pratikte, ilde meydana gelen olay ve sorunlara baęlı olarak daha az sıklıkta toplanırlar. Fransa’da ise bu toplantılar haftada bir yapılmaktadır.

Fransa ve Trkiye’de personel / kadro ve sorumlulukların paylařtırılması kk deęiřiklikler gsterir. Trkiye’de kaymakamlar, Fransa’daki kaymakamlara gre kamu gvenlięi konularında daha net bir role sahiptirler. İle dzeyinde İ Gvenlik Kuvvetleri zerinde doęrudan gzetimleri vardır ve ile emniyet mdr ile jandarma komutanını deęerlendirirler. Fransa’da kaymakamların gvenlik konusundaki grevleri aıka belirtilmemiřtir. İldeki emniyet mdrn veya jandarmayı deęerlendirebilen valinin aksine, emniyet mensuplarını deęerlendiremezler. Bununla birlikte, valinin uygun olmadığı durumlarda ya da ilde olmadığı zamanlarda, kaymakamlar ilk karar verme merciidir. Kaymakamlar, ile dzeyinde gvenlik gleri ile srekli irtibat halindedirler ve valinin tm gvenlik problemleriyle ilgilenemedięi / bařa ıkamadıęı zellikle yoęun kentsel blgelerde nemli rol oynarlar. Personel / kadro ve iřblm konusundaki dięer bir farklılık ise, Fransa’da valinin yardımcısı olan, bilgileri toplayan, İ Gvenlik Kuvvetleri ile gnlk iletiřim iinde bulunan, gnlk raporları alan ve valiye gerekli, nemli grdę bilgileri ileten “personel řefi” vardır. Personel řefi, gvenlik iřlerini gnlk olarak ele alır, szgeten geirir ve valiye nemli kararları almasında yardımcı olur.

Yerel gvenlik glerinin idaresi/ynetimi konusuna gelecek olursak, Trkiye ve Fransa arasında belirgin bir fark vardır. Trkiye’de valiler ve kaymakamlar, aranan bir kiři tutuklama gibi mnferit olayları ya da hadiseleri zdę, sokak gsterilerini iyi idare ettięi ya da uyuřturucu vakalarını zdę iin “bařarı sertifikası” ile dllendirme eęilimindedirler. Bu orta ya da uzun vadeli su nleme stratejisinden ziyade, kısa vadede su nleme stratejisini destekler ve kolaylařtırır. Elbette ki

yukarıda bahsedilen olaylar dahilindeki başarılar Fransa’da da cesaretlendirilir, fakat polis ve jandarma şefleri, Fransız valileri tarafından suç oranını düşürme sonucuna odaklı olarak standartlaştırılmış bir sisteme, kılavuza göre değerlendirilirler. Bununla birlikte, Fransa’da valiler, İçişleri Bakanı tarafından belirlenen yıllık ulusal suç önceliklerini yerele seviyede uygularlar. Valiler, merkez tarafından belirlenmiş amaçları / hedefleri (hırsızlıkları azaltma, araba kazalarını azaltma...vs) gözetken ama aynı zamanda yerel ihtiyaçlara göre de adapte edilmiş, özel hedefler ile merkez tarafından onaylanan bir strateji geliştirmek zorundadırlar.

Fransa’da da, valiler yerel güvenlik işbirlikleri içinde yer alırlar. Yerel Güvenlik Planları; valiler (veya kaymakamlar), İç Güvenlik Kuvvetleri, belediyeler, savcı, eğitim/okul ile ilgili yetkililer, çeşitli kurumsal paydaşlar (ulaşım şirketleri, sosyal konut ajansları vb.) ve sivil toplum örgütleri tarafından hazırlanan yerel güvenlik stratejileridir. Stratejik bir doküman olan yerel güvenlik planı, birçok önceliği ve eşgüdümlü eylemleri içerir. Yerel Güvenlik Planı, yukarıda sözü edilen kurumların katılımıyla oluşan “Yerel Güvenlik Konseyi” tarafından denetlenir. Fransa’da, ortaklıklar / işbirlikleri vatandaşların doğrudan katılımından ziyade kurumsal bir boyuttadır. Türkiye’de ise kurumsal ortaklıklar henüz hayata geçirilmemiştir. Bu noktada, hesap verebilirlik ve dış ortaklarla iletişim kurma, daha çok resmi toplantılar aracılığıyla kamunun memnuniyetini ölçebilen ve geri bildirim toplayabilen kaymakamların ve ilçe emniyet müdürlerinin isteğine / iradesine bağlı olmaktadır. Toplum destekli polis ise, polis ile vatandaş arasında bağ / ilişki oluşturmak için standart hale getirilmiş bir yöntemdir ve pek çok ilçede başarıyla uygulanmaktadır.

Executive summary

French Préfets and Turkish Governors hold a lot of similarities, as well as French and Turkish administrative structures. Both countries are unitary states with local authorities that have rather limited powers compared to the central government. The Préfets and Governors are the civil servants who represent their government at the local level, in provinces in the Turkish case, in departments in the French one. They are in charge of making sure the law and national policies are implemented in the territory they are responsible of, they head public national agencies in the

aforementioned territory, and they have the duty to maintain order and guarantee public safety as supervisors of Internal Security Forces (ISFs). ISFs are national ones, local authorities having limited or non-existing powers in the field of security.

Préfets and Governors are at the core of local security policies and public order operations. They are in charge of preventing incidents and coordinating security forces in case of a protest, riot or catastrophe in their province in Turkey, in their department in France. However, this emphasis on public order and national security is bigger in Turkey as it was systematically mentioned during interviews. Obviously, Préfets devote a significant proportion of their time to public order; nevertheless they have been assigned over the last decade to local street safety problems and crime prevention, much more so than they used to be or than Governors seem to be in Turkey.

In both cases, Governors/Préfets centralize information regarding security issues. ISFs are supposed to report to them any serious incident they know of and must ask them for guidelines in case of emergency situations. Governors and Préfet also receive a daily report about all incidents, arrests and police or gendarmerie interventions. They set up meetings with ISFs in order to coordinate their action, communicate their orders and discuss future actions. In Turkey, the security meetings are supposed to take place daily at 11AM. However, in practice, they are held less often, depending on the events and issues that occurred in the province. In France, the meeting is a weekly one.

The staffing and division of responsibilities differs a little bit between France and Turkey. In Turkey, District Governors have a clearer role in public safety issues than Sous-Préfets, who are their equivalent in France. They have direct supervision over ISFs at the district level and evaluate district police and gendarmerie chiefs. In France, their role is not defined clearly regarding security. They do not evaluate police officials, contrary to Préfets who grade their departmental chiefs of police or gendarmerie. However, Sous-Préfets are the first decision-makers in situations when the Préfet is not available or located in a distant place. They also are in touch on a permanent basis with security forces at the district level and play an important role, especially in dense urban areas, where the Préfet cannot handle all security problems. The other main difference in terms of staffing and division of labor is the existence in France of a “Directeur de Cabinet” (Chief of Staff) who is the deputy of the Préfet, who centralizes information, is in daily contact with ISFs, receives the

daily report and communicates to the Préfet the pieces of information that seem relevant to him. He is a sort of filter, which handles security issues on a daily basis and lets the Préfet make the important decisions.

As for the steering of local security policies, there is a pretty clear divide between France and Turkey. In Turkey, Governors and District Governors tend to reward isolated actions or events, like the arrest of a wanted person, a well handled street demonstration or the solving of a drug case, through “success certificates”. This favors more short-term action, as opposed to mid and long-term crime prevention strategies. Of course, the aforementioned actions are also encouraged in France but police and gendarmerie chiefs are judged by Préfets through a standardized grid that focuses more on results in crime reduction and detection, with a bigger emphasis on statistics. Furthermore, in France, Préfets do apply at the local level the yearly national crime priorities determined by the Minister of Interior. They must develop a strategy adjusted to local needs that pursues the goals (reduction of burglaries, reduction of traffic accidents...) set by the central level, with specific targets and validation by the central level.

Also in France, Préfets are involved in local security partnerships. Local Security Plans are a local security strategy that is set up by the Préfet (or Sous-Préfet), ISFs, municipal authorities, school authorities, Prosecutor, various institutional stakeholders (transportation companies, social housing agencies...) and NGOs. It is a strategic document that contains several priorities and coordinated actions. It is monitored by the Local Security Council, which is attended by all the aforementioned institutions. In France, partnerships are institutional ones, rather than involving directly citizens. In Turkey, institutional partnerships have not been put into place yet. At this point, accountability and communication with external partners rely more on the will of local District Governors and police chiefs, who may measure public satisfaction or get their feedback thanks to informal meetings. Community policing is a more standardized way of creating a link between the police and citizens and is successfully implemented in several districts.

1.Introduction

1.1. Context of the study

UNDP Turkey supports the Ministry of Interior of Turkey for "Improvement of Civilian Oversight of Internal Security" through an EU funded technical assistance project. The overall objective of the project is to structurally embed expanded enjoyment of civil rights by Turkish citizens and democratic control of internal security in the regulatory system and public administration practice of Turkey. The project is divided into 3 components: Legislative Framework, Capacity Building, and Civil Society and the Media. This report is part of Component A, which aims at enabling the Ministry of Interior and the public administrators (governors and sub governors) to exercise civilian oversight over law enforcement bodies.

The following report is part of activity Activity A.2. : "Review and comparison of the laws, organization and functioning of governorate and district governorate between Turkey and two EU countries in order to increase their institutional capacity at the local level". It is an attempt to identify and analyze organizational structure of Governorates and the information exchange procedures between Governorates and Internal Security Forces (ISF). A comparative approach with France was chosen, for two main reasons. First of all, the administrative structures of both countries are quite similar, the Governorate system in Turkey replicating the French system of the *Préfets*. The centralized and unitary structure of those two states makes comparison useful and logical. Second of all, in the context of the overall UNDP project, which seeks to increase civilian oversight of Internal Security Forces and provide Governors with local security planning tools, it seemed very relevant to show how those work in France, where Local Security Councils were put into place about 30 years ago and where a process is in place in order to convert internal security objectives of the Ministry of Interior at the national level into local ones.

The method used for this study relied on two main tools. The first one was a desk study the legal contexts in France and Turkey to determine what the powers of Governors and *Préfets* are, the administrative power structure in each country and their relationship with Internal Security Forces and local authorities. The second one was a field work, based on face-to-face interviews with several civil administrators or ISF officials. Its purpose was to understand how information circulates between

Governors/Préfets and ISFs, what level of autonomy Governorates have to determine local security policies and what the informal arrangements are when it comes to local security policies. The goal was to include in the comparative review of governorates concrete practices that cannot be detected by a purely legal/formal analysis. To sum things up, the objectives of the study were to see how a governorate is organized and functions and to understand the interaction with its environment, with a focus on police and gendarmerie.

1.2. General overview of the French and Turkish political and administrative systems

1.2.1 Administrative structure in Turkey

According to its constitution, the Republic of Turkey is a unitary state (The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, article 3). Turkey has a central public administration system. The organization of Turkish public administration is inspired by the French public administration system, which has a centralist and a unitary structure. The first “Provincial Regulations (The Decree of Sultan for Province (Tuna-dune¹)”, dating back to 1864, was the first legal document that adopted the French model. With this code, administrative structuring was organized in a way that the provinces were divided into districts, and the districts were divided into villages.

In Turkey, authority is largely concentrated in central administration, yet some responsibilities are transferred to provincial units. Even though a central administration model predominates in Turkey, an understanding of in-place governance is also being adopted gradually. Supporting this understanding, the 123rd and 126th articles of the Constitution say that “the organization and functions of the administration are based on the principles of central administration and local administration” and that “the administration of the provinces is based on the principle of devolution of wider powers’ provisions” (The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 126).

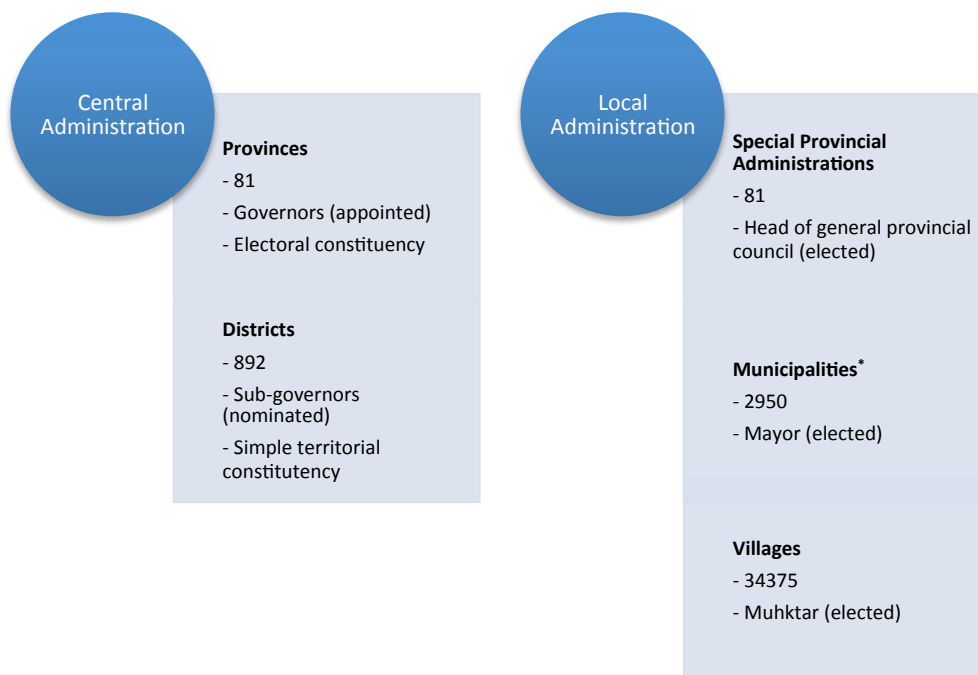
¹ The Decree of Sultan for Province (Tuna-dune)

Article 123 of the Constitution sets forth the following general principles with regard to the administration:

- *The administration forms a whole with regard to its structure and functions and shall be regulated by law;*
- *The organization and functions of the administration are based on the principles of centralization and decentralization;*
- *Public (corporate) entities shall be established only by law, or by the authority expressly granted by law.*

Administration in Turkey is carried out through:

- *Central Government*
- *Local Authorities*
- *Other Bodies*



*** Number of municipalities by type (current nb. vs. estimated nb. as of March 2014 after municipal elections)**

Municipalities	Current No.	No. As of March 2014
Metropolitan Municipalities	16	30
Metropolitan District Municipalities	143	519
Provincial Municipalities	65	51
Non-metropolitan District Municipalities	749	398
Non-metropolitan Town Municipalities	1,977	357
Total	2,950	1,355

1.2.2 Administrative structure in France

France has historically been a unitary state for a long time. The 1791 Constitution, the first after the Revolution, asserted this principle, which remained unchanged in every constitution since then, except the 1875 one². Nowadays, this principle is guaranteed by article 1 of the 1958 Constitution, which states that “France is an indivisible Republic”. These results in the absence of laws passed at the local level: the law is always national in France. However, article 1 also states since the 28 March 2003 constitutional reform that the territorial organization of the French Republic is decentralized. In order to implement the law and provide public services to citizens, there are four levels of administration in France: central government, regions, departments and municipalities (“communes”). Regions, departments and municipalities are called “territorial collectivities” and have gone through a progressive extension of their powers since the 1982 decentralization law, which reduced the control of the Préfets (who are the representatives of the central government at the local level) over departments and municipalities. The latter were given a more autonomous status. The powers of territorial collectivities are defined by article 72 of the Constitution. Those collectivities are governed by a council that is elected by the people and by a president (mayor in the case of municipalities).

² Delphine MENGEOT, “Quand unité rime avec diversité. A propos du principe d’unicité du peuple français et de la loi constitutionnelle portant organisation décentralisée de la République du 28 mars 2003”, www.droitconstitutionnel.org

Type of territorial collectivity	Total number	Main powers	Governance
Regions	26	Transportation networks Economic development	President of Regional Council + Regional Council (elected by the people)
Departments	100	Social issues (welfare benefits, social housing)	President of General Council + General Council (elected by the people)
Municipalities	36 682	Local public services Local public safety regulations	Mayor + Municipal Council (elected by the people)

1.3. General overview of security actors and policies

1.3.1. Internal Security Forces in Turkey

The Republic of Turkey adopted a centralized administrative system with the establishment of the Republic in 1923, and all law enforcement agencies were subordinated to the Ministry of Interior according to the law 3201, the article 1.

Law enforcement in Turkey is carried out by several departments and agencies; all acting under the responsibility of the Ministry of Interior which is responsible for the maintenance of internal security as well as the protection of the public order in Turkey. The Ministry of Interior executes these functions through the

- General Directorate of Security (Turkish national police),
- General Command of Gendarmerie, (Turkish National gendarmerie)
- Coast Guard Command which is responsible for the coasts of the country.

In Turkey, the size of population and the geographical area determines the jurisdiction of the law enforcement agencies. Turkish National Police serves for the provincial centres, while Gendarmerie serves in rural areas of the Country. Coast Guard is responsible for territorial waters and coast line. Jurisdiction area of these agencies is determined by the governorship of the province and the Ministry of Interior.

1.3.1.1. Turkish National Police Organization (*Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü*)

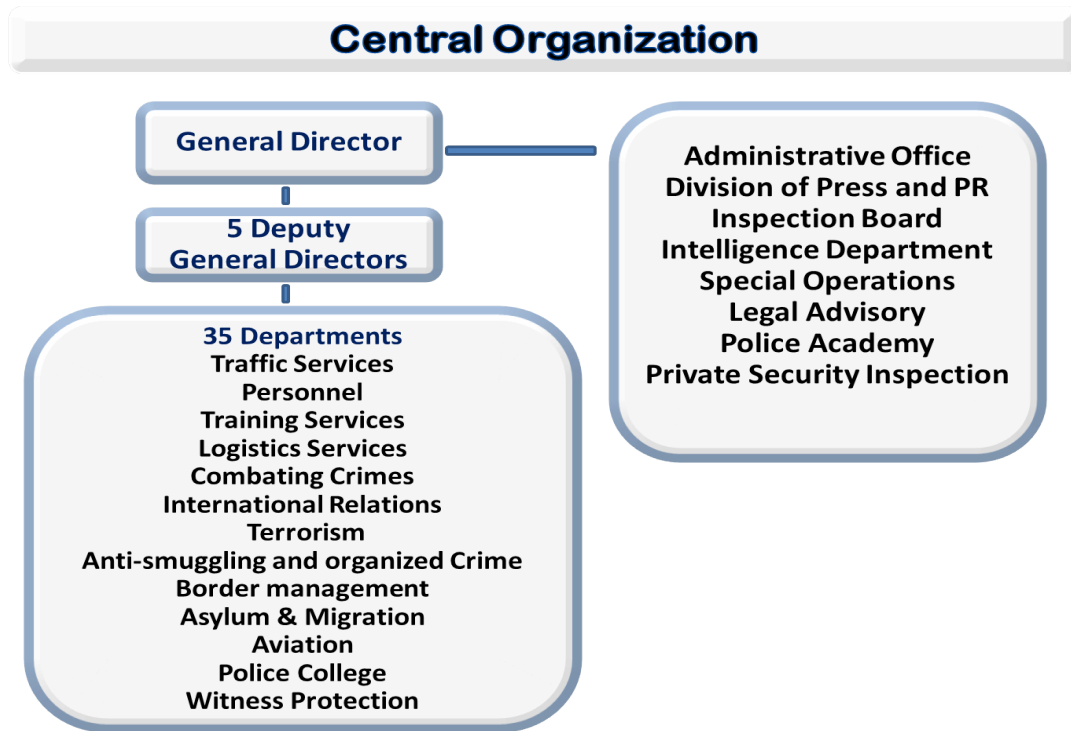
The territorial organization of the National Police corresponds to Turkey's administrative subdivisions. Below the general directorate are police directorates in all of the country's 81 provinces and police posts (district commands) in all of the administrative districts. Despite their wide territorial distribution, a very large proportion of the police are clustered in the major cities. The size of the police force almost 228.000 sworn police officers, TNP has become one of the biggest organizations in public sector in Turkey.,

Turkish National Police is organized at the central and provincial level through the country. Also, the organization runs its operations abroad through the offices of liaison officers and security attaches. The Laws Establishing the Organization of Police at the provincial and local levels distinguish three categories of functions: administrative, judicial, and political.

Central departments and administrative offices form the structure of the central organization. 5 Deputy General Directors are directly affiliated to the General Director in the administration of the organization. 35 departments are subordinated to the general directors based on well-defined tasks.

The high command of the Turkish Police is called the General Directorate of Security (*Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü*). Every province also hosts a Provincial Police Department (*İl Emniyet Müdürlüğü*) and every district has a District Police Department (*İlçe Emniyet Müdürlüğü*).

In the provinces, the chief of the Provincial Police Department operates under the command of civil administrators who are governors and district governors, and he is under the authority of the public prosecutor regarding criminal cases.



1.3.1.2. Gendarmerie Nationale (*Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı*)

Jandarma (equivalent Gendarmerie in French) adopted the French model of public administration in 1879, is an armed force, possessing both a military and a police identity, that is tasked with protecting public order through law enforcement and through providing services it is legally assigned. The Gendarmerie reports to the Turkish Armed Forces in its military and wartime operations and to the Ministry of Interior regarding its policing and law enforcement activities.

The Commander in Chief of the gendarmerie, who is a General, works under the authority of the Ministry of Interior and is also responsible to the Chief of Staff on military matters as well as on matters of internal organization, promotion and registry systems, and personnel training and education. As mentioned above the Gendarmerie operates in areas that fall outside of town and city borders (rural area) and where there are no police stations according to the law 3201 and 2803.

However, while in France, Italy or Spain, the police today provides only police missions (except for specialized army), jandarma in Turkey is an armed force not only by statute but also by the tasks it carries out as the guard borders and even military operations against terrorist-separatist activities.

The traditional missions of the Turkish Gendarmerie are virtually identical to those of the French gendarmerie despite some differences in the rules of criminal and administrative proceedings. It provides judicial police (mainly in rural areas), public safety, law enforcement and military missions. The majority of the missions of the Gendarmerie consist of non-military missions.

The gendarmerie alone ensure that responsibility more than 90% of the land in favor of 23% of the population with a workforce of about 181.000 (most of them 118.270 not professional %60).

The all the units of the gendarmerie are not subordinated to administrative organization. The Gendarmerie Units which are subordinated to administrative organization is composed of The Gendarmerie Regional Commands; Provincial Gendarmerie Commands (at regiment level); Provincial Central and District Gendarmerie Commands; Gendarmerie Station Commands; Gendarmerie Guard Commands and Gendarmerie Public Order Commando Units

1.3.2 Internal Security Forces in France

In France, the security system is for the most part a national one. There are two national bodies in charge of public safety: the Police Nationale and the Gendarmerie Nationale. The Police Nationale is in charge of urban areas (municipalities of 20 000 inhabitants or more), whereas the Gendarmerie Nationale works in rural communities. The latter is a military body: its members have military status, however, since a 2009 law, it has been placed under the authority of the Ministry of Interior from an operational point of view (training or human resources for instance are still

under the responsibility of the Ministry of Defense). There are approximately 140 000 sworn police officers and 97 000 gendarmes in France. They are in charge of areas such as crime investigation, public safety, order maintenance, intelligence, road safety or border protection.

There are also municipal police forces. Municipalities have a right – but not an obligation – to create their own police. The mayor holds judicial powers: he is a “judicial police officer”. 3 500 municipalities have a police force and there are 18 000³ municipal police officers in France. Their powers are much more limited than the ones of national security forces. They are in charge of enforcing local public safety regulations and traffic and parking regulations, and have judicial powers, but in a limited way. They have the power to give fines for minor offences but have no investigation powers. They are placed under the direct authority of the Mayor.

1.4. Structure of the study

This study will be based on five main chapters. The first one will focus on the more technical aspects of the profession of Governors and Préfets, namely their legal status, their rights and obligations, their recruitment and their training. Then, the second one will deal with the tasks of Governors and Préfets on the one hand, District Governors and Sous-Préfets on the other hand, especially regarding security, as well as the way their services are structured. Next will be a part about the way local security policies are steered and on what criteria Governors/Préfets evaluate the performance of police and gendarmerie forces. The fourth chapter will concentrate on information circulation and control of Internal Security Forces by Governors/Préfets, with a specific interest for security meetings between Governors and ISFs, and the daily flow of information between them that is allowed by new information technologies. The fifth part will be devoted to partnerships with non-police institutions and civil society. Finally, in the conclusion, we will try to identify good practice and formulate recommendations to improve transparency and accountability of local security policies in Turkey.

³ Jean-Marc BERLIERE and René LEVY, *Histoire des polices en France*, Paris, Nouveau Monde, 2011.

1.5. Summary

France and Turkey are both unitary states with a central public administration system. However, in both cases, responsibilities are given to Préfets and Governors, who represent the central state at the local level (provinces in Turkey, “departments” in France). Also, there are local authorities in Turkey and France that have been granted some powers: Special Provincial Administrations, Municipalities and Villages in the first case, Regions, Departments and Municipalities in the second one. Law enforcement is carried out by the Ministry of Interior in two countries, with a National Police and a Gendarmerie, the latter having a military status. In France, there are also municipal police forces that are under the authority of city mayors and hold relatively limited powers.

	France	Turkey
Type of political structure	Unitary decentralized	Unitary centralized
Representative of the central state at the local level	Préfet	Governor
Local authorities	Regions, Departments and Municipalities	Special Provincial Administrations, Municipalities and Villages

2. Status and Career of Governors and Préfets

In both cases, Governors and Préfets are appointed by the central government, which they represent at the various territorial levels of the country. They have a specific status with less rights and less obligations than regular civil servants.

2.1. Legal context

2.1.1. Turkey

The main local branch of central administration is the province; its legal basis is the Law no 5442⁴ that passed on 10th June 1949 and enacted on 18th June 1949, organizes provincial administration, appointment of provincial officials, legal status of governors and their functions and authority. According to the de-concentration principle, central administration transfers some of its power to provincial units in order to enhance efficiency. However, the decision-making authority remains with the centre means that the allocation / distribution of power by the centre to other levels of government, to local authorities in what remains essentially a unitary state, in which the centre retains authority to withdraw the delegated power or to direct its use. Typically the power delegated is executive or administrative power, or minor law-making power.

Turkey is divided into provinces; provinces are divided into districts on the basis of geographical location, economic conditions and public service requirements (Law no 5442 / Clause 1). Therefore, a province is the fundamental administration unit.

The principle of de-concentration is one of the main constitutional principles of public administration in Turkey that organizes central government at provincial level. The principle authorizes governors and senior officials of the provincial branches of central administration to take and implement decisions on certain issues. In Turkey, the most typical example of the system (*de-concentration*) is the provincial system. In an administrative sense Turkey is divided into geographic regions called “provinces”. The provinces are governed by appointed governors (vali) responsible to central government. Responsibility to central government means that if a governor does not fulfill his duties enumerated in section 3.1.1, he could be discharged from his

⁴ Provincial Administration Code – İL İDARESİ KANUNU

position. The governor represents the public (corporate) entity of the State and the government as well. Again, governors use their administrative authority on behalf of the central government. Provincial governors are the only officials in the Turkish administrative system who can take advantage of the principle of de-concentration that means the governors in Turkey have a power of administrative tutelage; district governors (kaymakam) do not have that privilege.

In Turkey, there are actually 81 provinces and 892 districts.

Year	Number of Provinces	Number of Districts
1920	71	-
1939	63	364
1957	67	570
1989	71	696
2011	81	892

Each province is administered by a governor who is appointed by a proposal from the Ministry of Interior and the decision of the Council of Ministers with the approval of the President of the Republic. At the district level, a district governor is appointed by a decree to be signed by the Minister of the Interior, the Prime Minister and the President of the Republic.

In Turkey, a daily security meeting is held at 11 AM between the Governor and provincial police and gendarmerie and between the district governor, district police and gendarmerie.

Provincial and district police share all kind information, documents etc. with the governor and district governor; intelligence departments of the police and gendarmerie as well have to report. The position of the National Intelligence Agency (MIT) is different; it is directly attached to Prime Ministry as a result doesn't have a direct relation with the governor. However, if the governor sees the circumstance a necessity, he can ask the participation of MIT to the security meetings or work groups on the matter.

According to the Clause 9 of the Law no 5442, the governor shall be the representative of the State and the government in the province and the agent of each minister, and their administrative and political execution instrument. In such capacity;

governors shall be accountable to each minister for the general administration of the province. The ministers shall give orders and instructions ex officio to governors regarding the affairs of their ministries. The ministers may make proposals of rewarding and punishment for governors to the Council of Ministers.

The district governor shall be the representative of the government in the district (Law no 5442 / Clause 27). It is the main difference between governor and district governor. Governors are responsible for general and special administration of a province, are the highest agent of central administration in the provinces, while district governors are the highest ranked civilian authority within a district. Governors take advantage of their power of administrative tutelage; while the governor carry out all kind of work on behalf of the State, the district governor can only take action within the law. Governor can enact general orders and can build relationships with foreign consuls; this authority is not given to district governor.

Regarding supervisory powers of governors, the governor shall be the highest superior of civil servants and employees working at the provincial organizations of the ministries and general directorates vested with legal personality (excluding the judicial and military authorities indicated in the last paragraph of Clause 4 of the Law 5442). In such capacity, the governor shall supervise the works of civil servants and employees, inspect the functioning of the organization, impose and enforce penalties of admonition, reprimand and wage cut up to five days after receiving the recipients' defensive statement in accordance with the Law on Civil Servants.

The governor may make proposals and requests to impose heavier disciplinary penalties according to the provisions of the special laws. Authorities of disciplinary action shall be obliged to review and decide on the governor's request and proposal.

On the other hand, military organizations (gendarmerie not included) and the judiciary do not lie within the governor's authority. Also, the constitution grants governors extraordinary powers during a state of emergency, powers similar to those of military authorities in areas under martial law. According to the decree law no: 285, a governorship of the state of emergency is established: the governor of the state of emergency functions as attached to the Minister of Interior. The governorship of the state of emergency can be removed or their boundaries can be changed by the Council of Ministers. Within the provinces where they are established; the governorship of the state of emergency is authorized to establish the necessary

organization and to provide buildings, facilities, vehicles, equipment, personnel and all kind of services from other public institutions according to need and service required. For this purpose, all kind of spending and funds required by the governor of the State of emergency, as well as expenditures of the other institutions asked by the governor are not subject to the Law on the Courts of Accounts and are exempt from all taxes, duties, fees and value added taxes as well.

2.1.2. France

Préfets are the only body in the French administrative system whose tasks are defined by the Constitution. According to article 72 of the Constitution, they are the representatives of the French state and the members of the government in territorial collectivities, where their task is to protect the interest of the nation and ensure that laws are respected. The position of Préfet was created under Napoleon, by the 17 February 1800 law, and has always existed since then, despite numerous political regime changes. Their status is defined by the 29 July 1964 decree. They are appointed by the President of the Republic in the Council of Ministers. Even though they are under the authority of the Minister of Interior, Préfets represent all national ministries at the local level and are in charge of implementing their policies in territorial collectivities. Therefore, they are also under the authority of the President. However, they do not have hierarchical powers over the school system, the justice system, the army and hospitals. They coordinate public policies and various national agencies in regions and departments, which are all placed under his authority.

2.1.2.1. Préfets at the departmental level

The Préfet is a “generalist” function that mixes administrative and political powers. The departmental Préfet is historically the pillar of national policies at the local level. He has three types of missions. First of all, a function of political representation: he is the spokesperson of the central government, the Prime Minister and all Ministers in departments. The Préfet’s role is to be in touch with local elected officials and the population in order to communicate about and explain national policies. He has the duty to inform the central government about the political situation and any important events going on in the department, as the local division of the Central Directorate of Intelligence (part of the National Police) reports to him all the information it has. Second of all, the Préfet has public order and safety duties (see Chapter 2). He is

responsible for public safety in the department he is charge of. In large cities, he is assisted by a Préfet specifically in charge of public safety (see below). Finally, the Préfet has a wide set of administrative duties, listed by 1982 and 1992 laws and by a 2004 decree: national strategic action plan implementation, hierarchical authority for almost of national agencies at the local level (except for schools, courts, hospitals and army), public investments and contracts, ex post legal control of territorial collectivities... In some urban sensitive areas, he is assisted by a “Préfet délégué à l'égalité des chances” (Préfet in charge of equal opportunity), who is in charge of coordinating social policies (housing, unemployment, urban development...) at the departmental level. He can also bring to the administrative court any illegal action committed by a territorial collectivity.

Each department is divided into “arrondissements” or districts. There are 333 districts in total in France and each one is headed by a Sous-Préfet, who has a similar status and obligations as the Préfet (see below). The Sous-Préfet is the delegate of the Préfet in the district. The 29 April 2004 decree defines his duties: assisting the Préfet in representing the central government in local territories, guaranteeing the respect of the law, maintaining public order and safety, coordinating the central government's action.

2.1.2.2. Préfets at the regional level

This position was created by the 29 July 1964 decree and reinforced by the 10 May 1982, 29 April 2004 and 16 February 2010 decrees. The Préfet of the department where the region's capital is located is also the Préfet of the Region. His legal status is therefore the exact same as a regular departmental's Préfet one. The aforementioned decrees, especially the 2010 one, gave them progressively authority over departmental Préfets. His duties are also similar: he is the coordinator of national policies at the regional level and ensures the implementation of national laws in his jurisdiction. Also, he coordinates the “Plan d'action stratégique de l'Etat dans la region” (State Strategic Plan at the Regional Level), which determines a set of priorities (in agriculture, industry, education, transportation...) and coordinated policies between various local public organizations to achieve them, accordingly with priorities determined by the government. However, he holds no public safety powers, which remain a power of the departmental level.

2.2. Rights and obligations of Préfets and Governors

2.2.1. Turkey

Provincial Administration Law no 5442 has not laid down any conditions regarding governor appointment, means that according to the clause 6 of the Law 5442 governors shall be appointed, upon a proposal from the Ministry of Interior, by a Decree of the Council of Ministers and the approval by the President of the Republic. Moreover, Law no 657, State Officials Law (or, State Civil Servant Law) considered governors as exceptional state officials, thus excluded them from appointment regulations. Therefore, it is not required to fulfill the necessary conditions such as, expertise and governing a civil administrative office along with to fulfill the conditions of becoming a state official means that to be a Turkish citizenship, graduated at least from secondary school, should be over 18 years old, not to have relevance with military service, not be deprived of public rights (Law no 657 / Clause 48). Governments have the absolute authority of appointing any person disregarding his/her educational background. But, in general, governors are mostly selected among the district governors. This is the case also a police commissioner or relevant ministries employees are appointed as a governor who have served for a certain period. No government has been willing to surrender the whole or part of the freedom to appoint a governor when the immense authority of the latter taken into consideration. Therefore, in practice, it is quite sufficient to earn the confidence of the government and to comply with the terms of becoming a state official in general to become a governor. Accordingly, it is not false to consider the office of governor as a political one.

The process involves the steps of a proposal of a nominee by the Ministry of Interior followed by the Cabinet decision and finally channeled to the President for approval; the appointment of governors is realized generally on the basis of meritocracy principle - *liyakat*). As the situation calls, they are called back to serve at any post deemed necessary by the Ministry of Interior at the central administration and, again, this process is carried out totally in the line of appointment. Where necessary, governors may be appointed, according to the procedures of appointment applicable to governors, with the remuneration applicable to their job positions, to the centre and be assigned to such duties as deemed appropriate by the Minister of Interior. We could say that the governorship does not ensure job security. Governors

can be removed from the office via directives from Ministry of Interior. When we look at the professional perspective, within a legal framework considered as an exceptional civil servant and thus not considered as a profession. And the institution of governorship itself considered being a post to carry out political assignments together with administrative responsibilities.

The Clause 5 of the Law no 5442 states that a deputy governor is responsible for carrying out the duties set by the governor and as an acting governor should need arise, means that there shall be deputy governors in provinces to assist governors in the works as designated by the governor and act for the governor in his absence. The deputy governor shall also be in charge of organizing the correspondence of the governorship. Deputy governors are also in charge of clerk's office retaining the duties of official and civil communication and correspondence. (Malatya Deputy Governor – Abdullah Öztoprak explained that he is working as an “assistant” of governor)

As we mentioned above, according to the Clause 59 of Law no 657 that count governors among the exceptional officials, that is to say everyone who has the conditions of being a civil servant (to be a Turkish citizenship, graduated at least from secondary school) is eligible to be governor. However, being graduated from certain departments of University is required as a condition for district governor to take office. The process to become a district governor is the following: to have graduated from Faculty of Law, Faculty of Political Sciences or any Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences; to participate to a centrally administered examination exam called “Public Personnel Recruitment Examination” (KPSS); and finally to participate to the courses of the state for 2 years followed by minimum one year duty abroad. Finally, they are appointed as a district governor (there are 6 district categories, the 6th category includes the most underdeveloped and distant district, so the first appointment is carried out to 5th district category, and after obtaining some experience at this category, the next appointment is realized to the 6th district category). According to the regulation about assignment, evaluation and relocation of central administrative authorities no: 86/10782 and date: 24.06.1986, clause 4/B, districts are divided into six categories; the first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth as a basis for relocation and appointment of members of profession.

According to the Clause 12, candidates for district governor who successfully completed the course are appointed to fifth-grade district governorate by lot.

According to the Clause 13, district governors who have completed their fifth-grade district service are appointed to sixth-grade districts. The sixth grade district service for district governors is two years.

District governors have a right to be governor according to the level of their assessment scores given by Ministry of Interior. Once they receive the right to be governor, they begin to work as deputy governor and after a certain period they are appointed as governor. According to the Clause 5 of the Law no 5442, deputy governor can be appointed from those who had served at least 6 years as a district governor and had served at least 2 years of this period at the east of the country.

Since governors are considered as exceptional state officials by the law no 657, State Civil Servant Law, they are excluded from appointment regulations. Therefore, they do not receive any training programme. However, to become district governor, there are some requirements and process as we mentioned above. Being district governor is a profession, so following their exams they have right to participate to some seminars/courses/internships organized by the Ministry of Interior for one year, but they do not have specific training program regarding security issues.

Concerning the role of the Governor and District Governor in terms of evaluation and notation, there is not a kind of grid mechanism of evaluation / notation, according to the Law no.5442, (article 13/A/B/C) governor supervises the works of civil servants and employees and inspects the functioning of the organization. They impose and enforce penalties of admonition, reprimand and wage cut up to five days after receiving the recipients' defensive statement in accordance with the Law on Civil Servants. The governor may make proposals and requests to impose heavier disciplinary penalties according to the provisions of the special laws. They also are authorities of disciplinary action shall be obliged to review and decide on the governor's request and proposal.

District governors also, according to the Law no.5442, (article 31/H/I), supervise and control the works of district officers as well as the functioning of the organization. They impose and enforce penalties of admonition and reprimand on district administrative branch heads, supervisors and officers of the general and special law enforcement after receiving the recipients' defensive statement in accordance with the Law on Civil Servants. He may make proposals and requests to impose heavier disciplinary penalties according to the provisions of the special laws. The district governor may award a letter of commendation to district officers.

Within the Law no.3201 on the “law enforcement agency”, according to the additional article 9, governor and district governor shall be authorized to impose directly discipline law enforcement agencies.

2.2.2.France

The Préfets have a specific status in the French administrative system, compared to other civil servants. This status was not defined until the 19 June 1950 decree that included Préfets, Sous-Préfets and Préfets’ chiefs of staff. In 1964, a reform created two separate corps, the préfets and Sous-Préfets. As mentioned before, both préfets and Sous-Préfets are appointed by the President, who has a rather large freedom of choice in selecting the Préfets. Traditionally, Préfets and Sous-Préfets are graduates from the National School of Administration (Ecole Nationale d’Administration, ENA), who firstly are appointed as Sous-Préfets and become Préfets later during their career. About two thirds of Préfets are actually former ENA graduates chosen among Sous-Préfets. However, the 16 February 2009 decree promoted a diversification of the profiles of the Préfets: the President can appoint anyone as Préfet, people who are not graduates from ENA and even persons who have no previous experience as civil servants. Concerning Sous-Préfets, most of them are also ENA graduates who started their career in the Ministry of Interior services, but there are also members of other administrative bodies (territorial collectivities, hospital administration, Polytechnic School graduates...). There are two ranks within Préfets: Préfet and Préfet hors classe (“out of category”, the very top ones). There are seven levels of Préfet and only one in Préfet hors classe. Any promotion above Préfet level 5 is a discretionary decision of political authorities. As for Sous-Préfets, they are also divided into Sous-Préfets and Sous-Préfets hors classe. The first category has 9 levels, the second 7. Sous-préfets hors classe are chosen among Sous-Préfets that have reached the sixth level.

Préfets have many obligations towards the Central Government, in order to ensure of their loyalty, and have less rights than other civil servants. First of all, they can be moved or revoked at any time by simple decision of the President: they get to keep their status and rank, but their position can be reallocated to someone else at any moment and for any reason. Disciplinary procedures are simplified: sanctions are not taken by a disciplinary council but directly by the Minister of Interior. Also, they have no right to strike or to be member of a union. Furthermore, the Central

Government may record their political or religious beliefs in their professional file, which is usually prohibited for other civil servants. Finally, they are limited in their movements: they cannot leave their territorial jurisdiction without the approval of the Minister of Interior.

As for their evaluation, it is done in a discretionary, non standardized and non regular manner by the Ministry of Interior regarding *Préfets*. The latter are not informed of what is in their evaluation file. They are also evaluated on special occasions, for instance when they are about to be appointed at a top level position, by the Superior Council of Territorial Administration of the State (“*Conseil Supérieur de l’Administration Territoriale de l’Etat*”), which was created by the 29 November 2006 decree. The council’s members are all *Préfets* who have previously held positions in departments and are familiar with this job. This type of evaluation also applies to *Sous-Préfets* who are about to be appointed as *Préfets*. In both cases, the content and conclusions of the evaluation procedure made by the council, which relies on an audit of their actions and their relationship with local actors, are kept secret and are only communicated to the Ministry of Interior. Regarding *Sous-Préfets*, they also go through an annual evaluation made by the *Préfet* of the department. It is divided into a qualitative part, where the *Préfet* writes his perception of the *Sous-Préfet*’s work, and quantitative one, where the *Préfet* grades various skills required from the *Sous-Préfet*. Only the quantitative part is communicated to the *Sous-Préfet*.

The training period of future *Préfets* and *Sous-Préfets* at the National School of Administration lasts two years. In order to join the ENA, one must have a master’s degree and pass a competitive test. Each year, around 900 external candidates pass it and 40 are selected, which sets the rate of accepted candidates at 4 %. On top of that, there is a separate test for civil servants with at least four years of experience in public administrations. There are approximately 400 candidates each year and 30 positions open, therefore the success rate is around 8 %. Both tests consist on written and oral exams mostly on public law, economics and the European Union. Three main topics are taught during their curriculum: European institutions, territorial institutions and public management. The main internal security training they get is a six-month internship in a *Préfecture* as deputy chiefs of staff, where they handle most of local security issues with the chief of staff and the *Préfet* (see below). Also, once one is appointed *Préfet* or *Sous-Préfet*, he has to go through a public safety course and a media management in a crisis situation course.

2.3. Summary

The principle of deconcentration is applied in France and in Turkey: to enhance efficiency the central government delegates some of its powers to Préfets and Governors, which are in charge of implementing central government decisions at the local level (“departments” and provinces). In France, there are also Préfets at the regional level who coordinate the actions of the departmental Préfets, but have no powers in public safety. Préfets and Governors represent the central government and make decisions on its behalf. In Turkey and France, provinces and departments are divided into administrative subunits called districts and “arrondissements”, with a district governor and a sous-préfet at their head. In Turkey, Governors are responsible for all national agencies working in their jurisdiction, except for the military (gendarmerie not included) and judiciary. The same applies to France, but Préfets do not have authority over schools and hospitals either.

French Préfets are appointed by the President of the Republic. They are mostly former National School of Administration (Ecole Nationale d’Administration, ENA) graduates, who are first appointed Sous-Préfets and become Préfets later during their career. However, the President may appoint anyone as Préfet, regardless of the college education or previous experience of that person. In Turkey, Governors are appointed upon a proposal from the Ministry of Interior, by a Decree of the Council of Ministers and with the approval by the President of the Republic. Like in France, the government has the absolute authority of appointing any person disregarding his/her educational background. But, in general, governors are selected among the district governors, provincial police directors or relevant ministries employees who have served for a certain period.

	France	Turkey
Role of Préfet/Governor	Representing the central government and implementing its decisions at the departmental level	Representing the state and central government in the province and the agent of each minister, and their administrative and political execution instrument, implementing its decisions at the provincial level
Agencies under their authority	All state agencies in the department, except the army, judiciary, schools, hospitals	All stage agencies in the province, except the army and judiciary
Who can be Préfet/Governor?	Anyone, but they are generally Sous-Préfets who graduated the National School of Administration	Anyone, but they are generally former District Governors
Who appoints them?	President of the Republic	Upon a proposal from the Ministry of Interior, by a Decree of the Council of Ministers and the approval by the President of the Republic.

3. Administrative and Police Organizations

Governors/Préfets have quite similar duties in both countries: implementing national policies at the local level and guaranteeing the safety of citizens. In Turkey, District Governors have officially a broader role in security than French Sous-Préfets, even though in practice their works do not vary that much. Also in France, Préfets are assisted by a “Directeur de Cabinet” (Chief of Staff), who holds important responsibilities regarding local security issues. Finally, the cases of Paris and Metropolitan Municipalities regarding their governance are specific, with an organization that differs from the rest of the country.

3.1. The legal duties of Préfets and Governors: a similar role

3.1.1. The Préfets and Governors are in charge of implementing national policies at the local level

In Turkey, legal status and functions and authority of governors have been identified in the Clause 9, Law no 5449. As we mentioned briefly, the governor maintains harmony between central and local government services. Every ministry has its headquarters in the provinces, and above all of the respective ministries are the provincial administrators. The main provincial administrators are: National Education Provincial Administrator, Health Provincial Administrator, Security – *Police* – Provincial Administrator, Head of the Financial Department, Agriculture Provincial Administrator and others⁵. Provincial administrators are appointed by the respective Ministry in consultation with the Governor; they receive orders from, and are responsible to, the governor.

Legal duties of governors could be summarized as follows: liability to each minister on general administrative issues of provinces; declaring and exercising laws, regulations, circulars and governmental decisions; implementation of directives and instructions of ministries; supervision and inspection of any state offices, state enterprises and facilities, public business, special administrations, municipal administrations, villages and their entire enterprises, except judicial and military

⁵ Other provincial directorates are Tourism and Culture, Youth and Sports, Environment and Forestry, Social Services, Industry and Trade, Population and Citizenship, Employment Agency, Social Security Institution

organization; administration in general and affairs in general of the province and supervision of these; accrue of state revenue and collecting it; demanding the protection of public and private property belonging to state, province, municipality, village and other civil legal personality against hazards such as fires; heading of the ceremony to be held at the Republic Holiday and official celebrations.

In France, article 1 of the decree of 29 April 2004 states that *Préfets* head, under the authority of Ministers, governmental administrations in departments. He has authority over the directors of those administrations (article 17). He is the delegate of Ministers in the department (article 16). However, some issues are outside of his jurisdiction, such as educational issues or taxation. He is informed of any appointment of directors placed under his authority. He evaluates and grades the aforementioned directors (article 31).

3.1.2. The security duties of *Préfets* and Governors

3.1.2.1. Turkey

One of governors' major functions in Turkey is maintaining security and order. The governor has very important security functions according to the Clause 11 of Law no 5442. The governor shall be the superior of all general and special law enforcement forces and organizations. He shall take necessary measures to prevent crimes from being committed, protect public order and security. For this purpose, he shall employ the general and special law enforcement forces of the State; the superiors and officers of such organizations shall be obliged to immediately execute the orders issued by the governor.

Where governors see that it is not possible to or actually fail to prevent events likely to happen or actually happening in the province, or implement the contemplated measures with the existing forces, they shall call for help, through the most expedient means possible, from the Ministry of Interior, and, where necessary, from the nearest land, naval and air unit command including the border units of the Gendarmerie General Command or the Land Forces Command in order to deploy the law enforcement forces of other provinces and other forces earmarked for such task. This kind of authority is not given to the district governors. A Deputy Governor in Gaziantep province exposed us the duties of Governors in that specific field of public safety:

“If there is an unexpected event, it falls under the responsibility of the Governor. In that case, Internal Security Forces must inform him first. (...) He gives orders to security forces to intervene, stop any illegal act or take any other action”.⁶

Being the sole representative of both state and government and carrying the governmental executive role, governors are at the top of the hierarchical structure of the central organization at a given province. Administrative tutelage of the central organization over some institutions is channeled through governors. Governors inspect and supervise all state offices and enterprises, local authorities such as SPAs, municipalities, village administrations every other facility attached to these. Judges, district attorneys and members of judge class, officials of justice defined in the law, military units, military factories and installations together with provincial military recruitment offices are excluded.

The governor shall supervise and inspect all State offices, establishments and enterprises, private businesses, special administration, municipality, village administrations and all affiliates thereof with the exception of the judicial and military organizations indicated in the last paragraph of Clause 4 of the Law 5442.

The governor may have such supervision and inspection conducted by the inspectors, supervisors or officers of the ministries or general directorates. According to the paragraph D of the Clause 9 of the Law 5442, the governor may have such supervision and inspection conducted by the inspectors, supervisors or officers of the ministries or general directorates.

Concerning the role of the governor and district governor regarding private security agents and firms, according to the Law no.5188 on “private security services”:

- Article 3 is about the private security permit; the guarding of persons with armed personnel, establishment of a private security unit under the structure of institutions and enterprises or making the security service provided by companies depends on the permission of the governor based on the decision of the private security committee. Private security permit can be granted by the governor, without seeking for committee decision, in temporary or emergent

⁶ Interview on 9 July 2013.

situations such meeting, concert, stage shows and similar activities; money or valuable commodity transfer.

- Article 5 is about private security companies; the companies to service in the private security field are subject to the permit of the ministry of Internal Affairs. For granting the activity permit, the company shares have to be written to the name and the field of activity should be exclusively guarding and security service. The private security companies have to inform of their branches to the Ministry and the related governorship in a written form within one month and inform their share transfers to the Ministry within one month.
- Article 6 is about the additional preventions; the powers vested to Governors and District Governors by the Provincial Administration Law no. 5442 are reserved and not affected by the provisions of this Law for the sake of public security. Private security units and private security personnel are obliged to abide by and fulfill the orders of the public administrator and the head of the police or gendarmerie force during enforcement of such vested powers.
- Article 8 is about the authority to possess and carry a weapon; license for purchase, possess/use, and carry guns can be granted to private security companies for the purposes of transportation of money and valuables, and temporary guard and security services; and to institutions giving private security education and training for the purpose of use in the trainings with guns, by a decision of the Committee and upon approval of the Governor.
- Article 11 is about work permit; a security investigation is carried out by the Governorship for the people to be employed as private security personnel, and as manager in private security companies and in institutions giving private security training. Those who get a positive resulting report from this investigation are given a work license (permit) by the governorship valid for a period of five years on condition that they complete the private security basic training indicated at article 14 of this Law.
- Article 12 is about identification; private security personnel are given an identification card by the governorship.

3.1.2.2. France

As mentioned earlier, French Préfets have the responsibility of public order and safety in their department. The 29 April 2004 decree describes him as “the representative of the authority of the State”, which is in conformity with article 72 of the Constitution that gave him/her the power to enforce the law and protect public order. He may take any measures he considers necessary to guarantee citizens safety in public spaces, on the road, in airports, train stations, sports arenas... He is the coordinator of all public services in case of a crisis situation and has also the responsibility of immigration/visa measures in the department. In large cities, such as Lyon, or Bordeaux, the Préfet is assisted by a “Préfet délégué pour la sécurité”, who is a deputy Préfet specifically in charge of security issues. This position was created by the decree of 13 September 1989. In Marseille, the 16 October 2012 decree created a “Préfet de Police” who is in charge of all security issues and ISFs in the city.

As the representative of the central government in the department, the Préfet is a hierarchical authority for most of public services in the department. Therefore, the departmental chiefs of police and gendarmerie report to him through various channels such as meetings and written reports (see below). When he was appointed Minister of Interior in 2002, Nicolas Sarkozy insisted that he would hold responsible Préfets for crime and public safety in their departments; he decided to meet every month with five Préfets who had the best crime statistics and with the five who had the worse ones in order to exchange ideas and best practices. Since then, even though those meetings do not exist anymore, the Préfets have remained the pivotal point of local security policies. A former Préfet of Cantal (Southwestern France), now working in a central directorate in the Ministry of Interior explains:

“There has been a general evolution towards a greater involvement of ours in public safety issues. We used to delegate a lot of things to our chief of staff (see below), now we are supposed to preside all security meetings. (...) There is not a single day when we don’t deal with public safety and immigration. It really takes us a lot of time”.⁷

⁷ Interview on 9 September 2013.

A former Deputy Chief of Staff of the Préfet of Guadeloupe (overseas territories) stated:

“Public safety is essential for the Préfet, this is what is on his mind most of the time. He has to make quick decisions; he can be awakening up at night because of an emergency situation. This is what makes him indispensable: the police can’t make important decisions on their own; they need to respond to an authority who will tell them whether to intervene or not in case of a serious crime, a prison escape, a riot or a natural catastrophe. The Departmental Director of Police or Gendarmerie Colonel is technicians in their field, but the Préfet is the one who decides”.⁸

Préfets are in charge of implementing national objectives of the Ministry of Interior. A formal tool exists for that purpose: the Departmental Committee for Security (Comité Départemental de Sécurité). They are chaired in every department by the Préfet and the Prosecutor and are meant to coordinate operational action between various national agencies (Police Nationale, Gendarmerie Nationale, Customs, Tax Services, School Authority) involved in public safety and law enforcement, especially in order to address issues such as organized crime, drug trafficking and urban riots prevention. They are required as well to hold statistics and tables of implemented actions and their results, as well as an annual report about crime trends in the department. An order of the Ministers of Interior and Justice published on 7 September 2009 requires that a meeting of the Committee is held every month. In order to manage local security policies on a more frequent basis, he holds a weekly meeting with the Departmental Directors of the Police (Directeur Départemental de la Sécurité Publique), the Gendarmerie (a Colonel) and Chief of Police Intelligence. They analyze the main events of the week, statistics and plan actions for the days and weeks to come.

Préfets are also involved in local security partnerships, through a tool created in 1982 and modified in 2002 called Local Security and Crime Prevention Councils (Conseils Locaux de Sécurité et de Prévention de la Délinquance). Those Councils, that exist in every city with a population of 10 000 inhabitants or more, are presided by the Mayor, and are attended by the Préfet and the Prosecutor. The members of the Councils are various local stakeholders such as members of the city council, local police and gendarmerie chiefs, school system and prison representatives, social

⁸ Interview on 6 June 2013.

housing companies, transportation companies or NGOs specialized in crime or drug prevention. Their purpose is to prepare and implement a local crime-prevention strategy embodied by a Local Security Plan (Contrat Local de Sécurité) that contains several coordinated actions in areas like drugs, street gangs, road safety, domestic violence, juvenile crime or CCTV implementation. Those councils hold meetings twice a year, but a more restricted steering committee may meet more frequently. Even though the Mayor is actually the Chairman of the Council, the Préfet is fully involved in this process as the representative of central government bodies at the local level. He chooses which other representatives of state institutions take part in those councils. He also has the power to convoke the Council whenever he considers it necessary. The Préfet has the obligation to inform the Council at least once a year about crime figures and trends in the area.

Furthermore, the Préfet evaluates the Departmental Director of the Police on a yearly basis. The Departmental Director reports to both his national directorate and to the Préfet, who assesses the director based upon his results in crime reduction, in road safety, his ability to respond quickly to events and also his loyalty and trustworthiness. Crime and road safety figures have become critical since the Nicolas Sarkozy era. As mentioned earlier, Préfets have been put a significant amount of pressure on to reduce crime and traffic-related death rate; therefore they expect the Departmental Police Chiefs to achieve good results in those fields. Depending on the local context, the Préfet will put an emphasis on the types of public safety problems he considers to be the priorities (burglaries, assaults, drug trafficking...) and the targets he has set for the police (see below).

Finally, Préfets in France have a role regarding CCTV, which is regulated by the 21 January 1995 and 14 March 2011 laws and the 17 October 1996 decree. Any public or private organization that wants to set up CCTV in the public space or in places accessible to the public need a formal approval from the Préfet. The Préfet is assisted in his decision by a Departmental CCTV Commission ("Commission Départementale de Vidéoprotection"), which members are a judge, a mayor, a representative of local businesses and an expert selected by the Préfet. The commission monitors each request and gives its opinion to the Préfet, which has no obligation to follow the commission's advice. Regarding private security activities, the Préfets have been deprived from their supervisory responsibilities by the aforementioned 14 March 2011 law. Permits to pursue a private security activity

(human or electronic surveillance of premises, bodyguards, private investigators...) are now delivered to companies and individuals by a National Commission for Private Security Activities ("Commission Nationale pour les Activités de Sécurité Privée") and not by Prefectural authorities.

3.2. Sous-Préfets vs. District Governors: a more codified role in Turkey

At the head of districts in Turkey, the lower level of provincial governance, are the district governors. As in the French model, district governors are in charge of district administrative units (Law no 5442 / Clause 31). District governors, who are the representatives of the government in the district, execute instructions and orders from the governor. Governors shall write directly to the district governor about all affairs relating to the district. District governors shall communicate with the governor about all affairs relating to the district. However, in a state of emergency, district governors may communicate with the Ministry of Interior and other ministers and inform the governor of such communication.

This has similarities with the French provincial organization structure: district governors represent the government in the district, perform their duties under the governors' authority and ensure the coordination of services in the districts. The district governor executes the orders and directives of the governor.

In Turkey, district governors ensure the implementation of laws, rules, regulations and government decrees. The district governor shall have the duty, inter alia, to secure peace and security, personal immunity, safety of private property, public well being and the authority of preventive law enforcement. The district governor shall take necessary decisions and measures to this end.

The law defines the internal security powers of district governors. According to the Clause 32 of the Law no 5442, district governor has the highest responsibility for the security of the district. The terms of the 29 April 2004 decree in France are vaguer and say « he takes part in maintaining public order and security ». Where the district governor sees that it is not possible to prevent events likely to happen or experiences sudden and extraordinary events which could not be prevented by the law enforcement forces within the district, he shall immediately so inform the

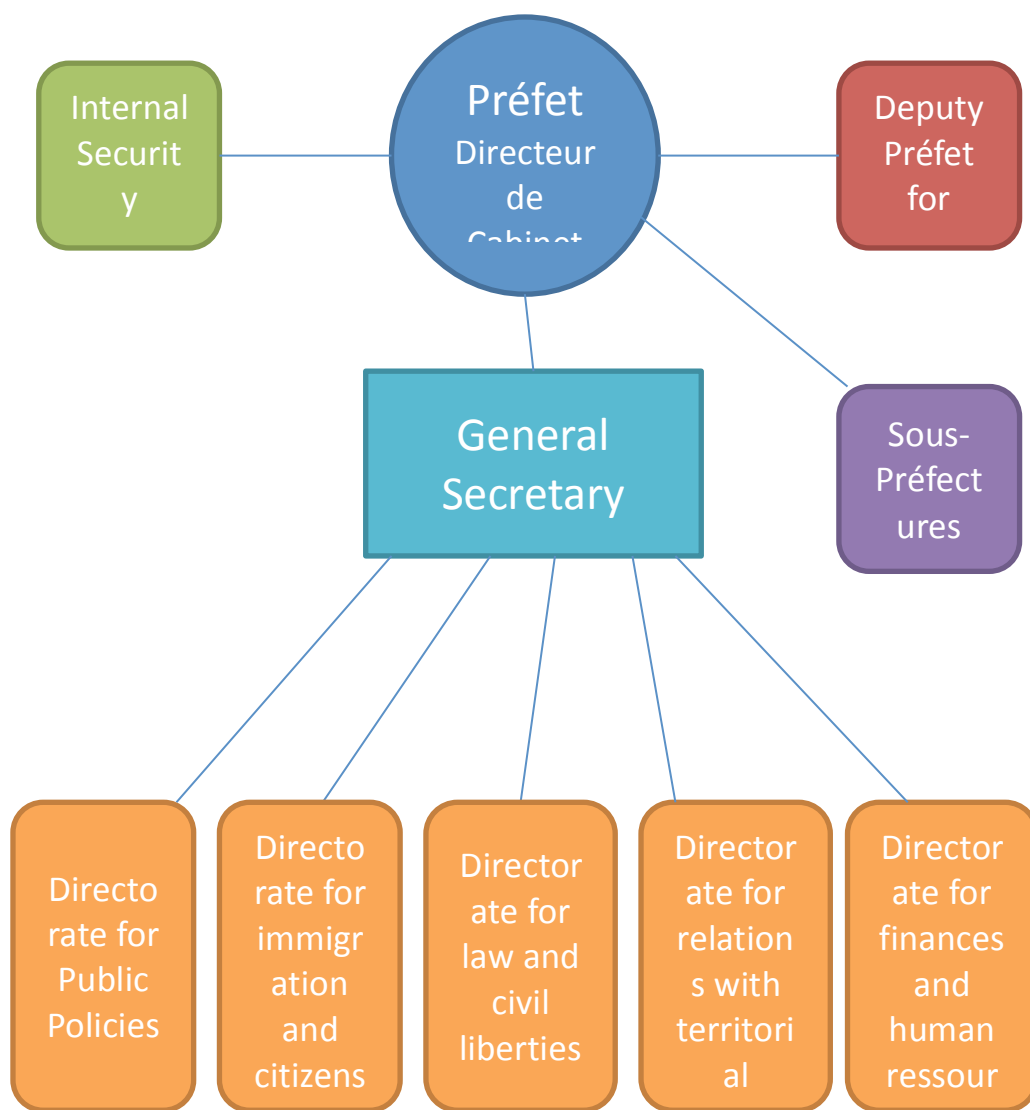
governor and call for help and also notify the nearest military command (land, naval and air).

In France, according to article 14 of the decree of the 29 April 2004, the Sous-Préfet is the delegate of the Préfet in his district, assists him in his order maintenance and public safety role and coordinates central government bodies' actions at the district level. Legal provisions are rather vague regarding public safety powers of the Sous-Préfet. In practice, the duties of a Sous-Préfet vary and depend on the local context (size of the area, extent of the problems to handle) and the willingness of the Préfet and his chief of staff to delegate their public safety powers to the Sous-Préfet. In case of an unexpected event (natural catastrophe, riot, serious crime), the Sous-Préfet is in charge of making the first decisions, supervising and managing operations of the police, gendarmerie, fire squad or rescue services if the Préfet is not immediately available. However, the latter is the authority in charge and the Sous-Préfet has to let the Préfet lead the operations as soon as he and his chief of staff are informed of the situation. Often, the chief of staff of the Préfet takes over the duty of the sous-préfets in the field of internal security. However, in large rural departments or densely populated urban departments with a large number of municipalities, it is virtually impossible for the Préfet or his chief of staff to attend all security meetings such as Local Security Councils for instance. Furthermore, very local issues are generally raised in those meetings. Therefore, it is more relevant and convenient that the Sous-Préfet attends some of them. But the chief of staff and not the sous-préfet participates in those meetings in large municipalities. Traditionally, contacts with Mayors and all actors at the municipal level are the responsibility of Sous-Préfets. Also, on a daily basis, the Sous-Préfet is in touch with local police or gendarmerie chiefs, since he is closer from a geographical point of view and more aware of the communities he is charge of. However, unlike in Turkey, the Sous-Préfet does not evaluate local police or gendarmerie chiefs, who are assessed by their own chain of command.

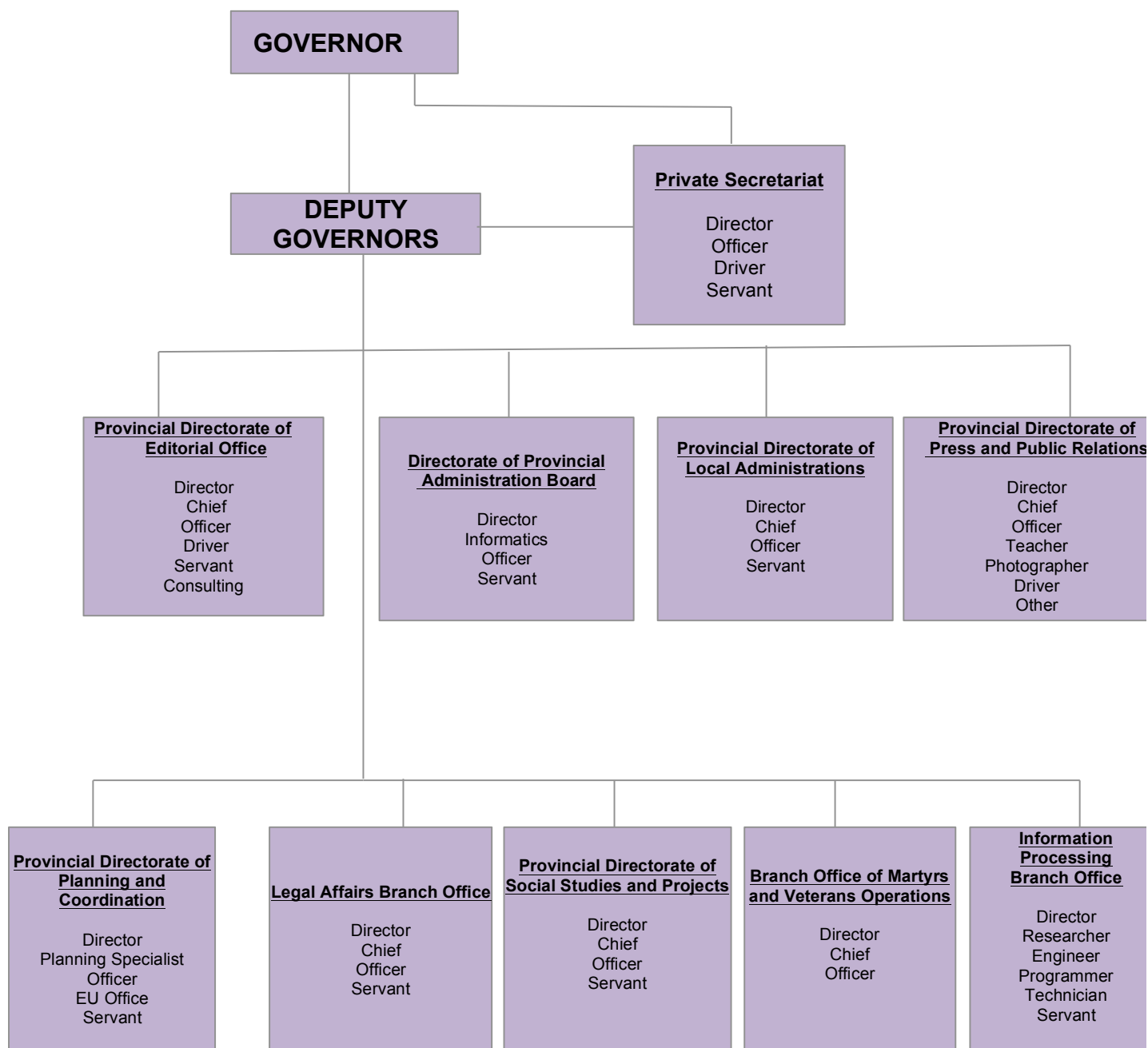
To sum things up, the District Governor in Turkey has a direct role in managing internal security forces in his district, while the Sous-Préfet's role in France is not as clearly asserted and depends more on the Préfet's personality and the profile of the area. In some busy or large areas, the Sous-Préfet has a more important role because the Préfet cannot handle all events or problems at the same time. In Turkey, some District Governors or police officials said that those who work

in isolated and distant areas have more leeway because they are less controlled by the Province Governor than in Istanbul for instance. The same applies to France, where geographical distance does not allow the Préfet to take charge immediately of a situation, which gives the Sous-Préfet the responsibility of making important decisions as the delegate of the Préfet's authority. He may sign a Local Security Agreement if he is delegated by the Préfet. In practice, the Sous-Préfet has rather large prerogatives in local security policies but has no control over district security forces because he does not hold the power to evaluate or reward them or any sort of disciplinary powers. The only way a Sous-Préfet can influence the career of a police or gendarmerie official is to go through the Préfet who will then report any issue to the Departmental Chief of Police, which is the hierarchical superior of all district police forces. Importantly, it must be stated that the same applies to Gendarmerie Nationale local chiefs in districts.

Organizational chart of a préfecture in France



Organizational chart of a governorate in Turkey:



3.3. The key role of the “Directeur de Cabinet” in France

The main collaborator of the Préfet is his/her chief of staff (Directeur de Cabinet). The 29 April 2004 decree mentions that the Préfet can delegate to him his signature for every item that is part of his/her powers. In practice, chiefs of staff have the rank of Sous-Préfets and are in charge of the daily supervision and management of public safety matters. He is the channel of communication between the police and the Préfet and selects filters information about public safety issues that is transmitted by the police and the gendarmerie. The chief of staff is informed every morning and evening by the Departmental Director of Police about events that occurred during the past 12 hours. He receives a bulletin with all events and police interventions. He decides which pieces of information are important and should be communicated to the Préfet. The former Préfet of Cantal:

“The chief of staff deals with security in a broad sense. (...) He’s extremely important, he’s the contact point for the police, the gendarmerie, intelligence services when they need to communicate with the Préfet.”⁹

The former Deputy Chief of Staff in Guadeloupe:

“The chief of staff is really the channel of communication between the police and the Préfet. (...) They talk on a permanent basis. The chief of staff decides what is important and should be communicated to the Préfet. He can also directly make suggestions to the police, especially if he’s experienced”.¹⁰

In Turkey, there is no similar position. Could deputy governors be compared to the Préfet’s chief of staff? Not really: their role is pretty different and, unlike in France where it is a standardized function, varies depending on areas. Deputy governors have limited fields of competence, whereas Directeurs de Cabinet are generalists (they can deal with any issue that concerns the Préfet) with a focus on public safety issues. Some of the Deputy Governors we have met had some real responsibilities in the field of security, like in Gaziantep for instance, others had an unsteady involvement in security issues, which was the case in Malatya. A Deputy Governor in Gaziantep:

“We are seven Deputy Governors in this province. The Governor has set up a list of topics for each one of us. I am in charge of security, police, gendarmerie, road safety. However, the District Governors have more responsibility because they are in charge

⁹ Interview on 9 September 2013.

¹⁰ Interview on 9 June 2013.

*of the security of their district. He is more active than a Deputy Governor who is the delegate of the Governor”.*¹¹

A Deputy Governor in Malatya:

*“We are supposed to meet with provincial police and gendarmerie chiefs everyday at 11 AM (...). I do not always attends those meetings, the Governor does”.*¹²

Obviously, this is a substantial difference between French Directeurs de Cabinet and Deputy Governors. Directeurs de Cabinet absolutely always attend meetings of any type that involve security issues and are responsible for the follow-up of any decisions or plans taken during those meetings.

Deputy Gov. Mevlüt Kurban	Deputy Gov. Mehmet Taşdöğen	Deputy Gov. B.Bestami Alkan	Deputy Gov. Mustafa Canarslan	Deputy Gov. Cemalettin Özdemir	Deputy Gov. Nursal Çakıroğlu	Deputy Gov. Dr.Adil Nas
Provincial directorate of social studies and projects	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of culture and tourism	Provincial disaster and emergency directorate	Regional directorate for foundations	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of justice + national education	Duties related to the institutions of the Council of Higher Education (3 Universities in Gaziantep)	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of science, industry and technology
Gendarmerie & Security – police- provincial administrator	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of labor and social security	Relations with the ministry of foreign affairs	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of energy and natural resources	Relations with the general secretariat of the President and Grand National Assembly of Turkey	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of EU + the ministry of family and social policies	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of food, agriculture and livestock
Şahinbey district	İslahiye and Nurdağı districts	Nizip and Karkamış districts	Oğuzeli district	Şehitkamil district	Yavuzeli district	Araban district
Duties related to the institutions of the transportation, communication and maritime	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of health + Health Provincial	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of forestry and water affairs	Provincial directorate of population and citizenship affairs + Provincial revenue office	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of environment and urbanization	Duties related to the institutions of the development	Duties related to the institutions of the ministry of finance

¹¹ Interview on 9 July 2013.

¹² Interview on 19 June 2013.

ministries	Administrator					
Other duties given by the Governor	Other duties given by the Governor	Other duties given by the Governor	Other duties given by the Governor	Other duties given by the Governor	Other duties given by the Governor	Other duties given by the Governor

3.4. Staffing: comparative statistics of Turkish governorates and French préfetures

The comparison between France and Turkey regarding the staffing of governorates and district governorates (people working directly in the governorate's or district governorate's administration) reveals to main pieces of information. The first one is that French prefectures and sous-préfetures are much more staffed than their Turkish counterparts. A department like Rhône has six times more staff than Gaziantep's province with a similar population. Also, there are bigger discrepancies in Turkey between governorates or between district governorates, whereas the staff to population ratio is quite similar when we compare French prefectures or sous-préfetures between each other. In Turkey, Malatya's province has about twice as much staff as Gaziantep's province when we look at the staff to population ratio.

Examples of provinces and districts and staffing of their governorates

Province	Population	Number of staff	Staff to population ratio
Istanbul	13 610 872	281	1/48 437
Gaziantep	1 799 558	90	1/19 995
Malatya	762 366	91	1/8 377
District	Population	Number of staff	Staff to population ratio
Eyüp (Istanbul)	356 512	22	1/16 205
Kadiköy (Istanbul)	521 005	27	1/19 296
Üsküdar (Istanbul)	535 916	25	1/ 21 436

Sahinbey (Gaziantep)	782 899	15	1/52 193
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**Examples of “departments” and “arrondissements” and staffing of their
préfectures and sous-préfectures**

Préfecture	Population	Number of staff	Staff to population ratio
Tarn	375 379	167	1/2247
Seine-St-Denis	1 534 895	681	1/2253
Cantal	148 162	122	1/1214
Guadeloupe	409 905	277	1/1479
Rhône	1 738 949	607	1/2864
Sous-préfecture	Population	Number of staff	Staff to population ratio
Castres (Tarn)	191 394	28	1/6835
Le Raincy (Seine- St-Denis)	542 357	107	1/5068
St-Denis (Seine- St-Denis)	407 283	49	1/8311
Mauriac (Cantal)	28 827	9	1/3203
Saint-Flour (Cantal)	38 656	12	1/3221
Point-à-Pitre (Guadeloupe)	213 833	49	1/4363
Villefranche-sur- Saône (Rhône)	197 533	28	1/7504

3.5. The specific cases of the Préfecture de Police and Metropolitan Municipalities

3.5.1. Turkish Metropolitan Municipalities

Local administrations in Turkey are classified as:

- Special provincial administrations,
- Municipalities including metropolitan and non-metropolitan municipalities,
- Villages.

There are 2,950 municipalities in Turkey currently. The municipalities are classified into 5 types; medium-size cities and small towns having population of over 5,000 inhabitants can be named as “Normal / Regular / Non-metropolitan Municipalities”. Normal municipalities have administrative autonomy and are administered in accordance with the **Municipal Law No. 5393** enacted by the National Parliament on 03/07/2005 and published in the Official Gazette No. 25874 dated 13/07/2005 replacing the old Municipal Law No.1580 dated 03/04/1930 and published in the Official Gazette No. 1471 dated 14/04/ 1930 (currently, there are 2,791 normal (non-metropolitan) municipalities in Turkey whose number will be reduced to around 806 after the enactment of the new law on Metropolitan Municipalities as of March 2014.

We can summarize the impacts of new regulations handed by the Law no.5393 on Municipalities and Law no.5216 on Metropolitan Municipalities regarding civil administration (governorate / district-governorship) as follows: according to the clause 35 of the Law no.5442, mayors and village masters (muhtars - village headmen) shall conduct their correspondence relating to their administration’s affairs and needs with higher authorities through the district governorships. This clause has been removed by the Law no.5393; the municipalities can now directly interact with higher authorities (meaning ministries). Another example is that the approval of the municipal budget by the governor is no longer required, municipal council approval is enough to be in effect.

If an administrative geographic unit / an urban settlement is the central urban settlement of the province, and if the resident population size of this settlement is larger than 750,000 inhabitants, it is called a metropolitan municipality. There are 30 metropolitan municipalities at present after the enactment of the new law no. 6360

dated 06/12/2012 on the establishment of 14 new metropolitan municipalities¹³ in addition to the existing 16 nos (numbers). This could change the relations especially between the local authorities, metropolitan municipalities, district municipalities and Special Provincial Administrations. The law abolishes Special Provincial Administrations in 30 provinces and 51 SPA will keep on working. With the law in question, the most important point is that the areas of responsibility of MM are extended; the previously provincial borders that were only valid for Istanbul and Kocaeli now apply to new MM. The other change that comes with this law is the establishment of a new administrative body: investment and monitoring coordination centers that are managed by governor.

3.5.2. The Préfecture de Police in Paris

With a population of over 2 million people, central Paris is at the same time the capital, the largest city of France and a department of its own. The way it is governed is specific compared to other municipalities in the country. Paris has had a special status in the French political and administrative system for over two centuries, since an 1800 law passed under Napoleon. This specificity, that still remains undisputed, is the result of two main causes:

- It is the capital of a very centralized state; therefore it concentrates all political, administrative, economic and cultural powers. All major public institutions and private companies have their headquarters in Paris, which makes the security of the city a matter of national interest;
- The history of Paris is a rather agitated one: all major revolts and revolts that occurred in France started in Paris. The 1789 Revolution, the 1871 barricades, the 1934 march of Nationalist leagues or the students revolt in 1968 are just a few examples of violent movements that threatened the stability of the French state and made it necessary in the eyes of the country's political leaders to grant Paris with a special status that would allow the national government to have direct control over the capital.

¹³ Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Manisa, Balıkesir, Kahramanmaraş, Van, Aydın, Denizli, Muğla, Tekirdağ, Ordu, Trabzon, Malatya, Mardin

The specificity in terms of security governance in Paris is that there is a specialized Préfet for that matter, the “Préfet de Police”, who is also appointed by the President of the Republic. The Préfet of Paris has no public safety or public order powers, which are the exclusive power of the Préfet de Police. The latter has the same powers in the field of public safety as other departmental Préfets. He is at the head of 46 000 officials, including about 30 000 sworn police officers. In addition, the Préfet de Police plays several roles at the same time. First of all, he is the chief of all National Police officers working in Paris and the three surrounding departments (total population: 7 292 299). He also is at the head of the Paris Fire Department and is in charge of crisis management in case a catastrophe happens in the Paris area. Then, he deals with administrative tasks, such as delivering identity papers (ID cards, passports...) and permits (taxis, weapons...). He takes care of nuisance prevention and enforcement (hygiene, pollution...). And last but not least, he is responsible for traffic and parking rules in the areas of Paris considered strategic (the Champs-Élysées, surroundings of ministries or embassies, circular beltway...).

Territorial jurisdiction of the Préfecture de Police.

CARTE D'IDENTITÉ ET DISTRICTS

6,4 millions d'habitants
766,4 km²

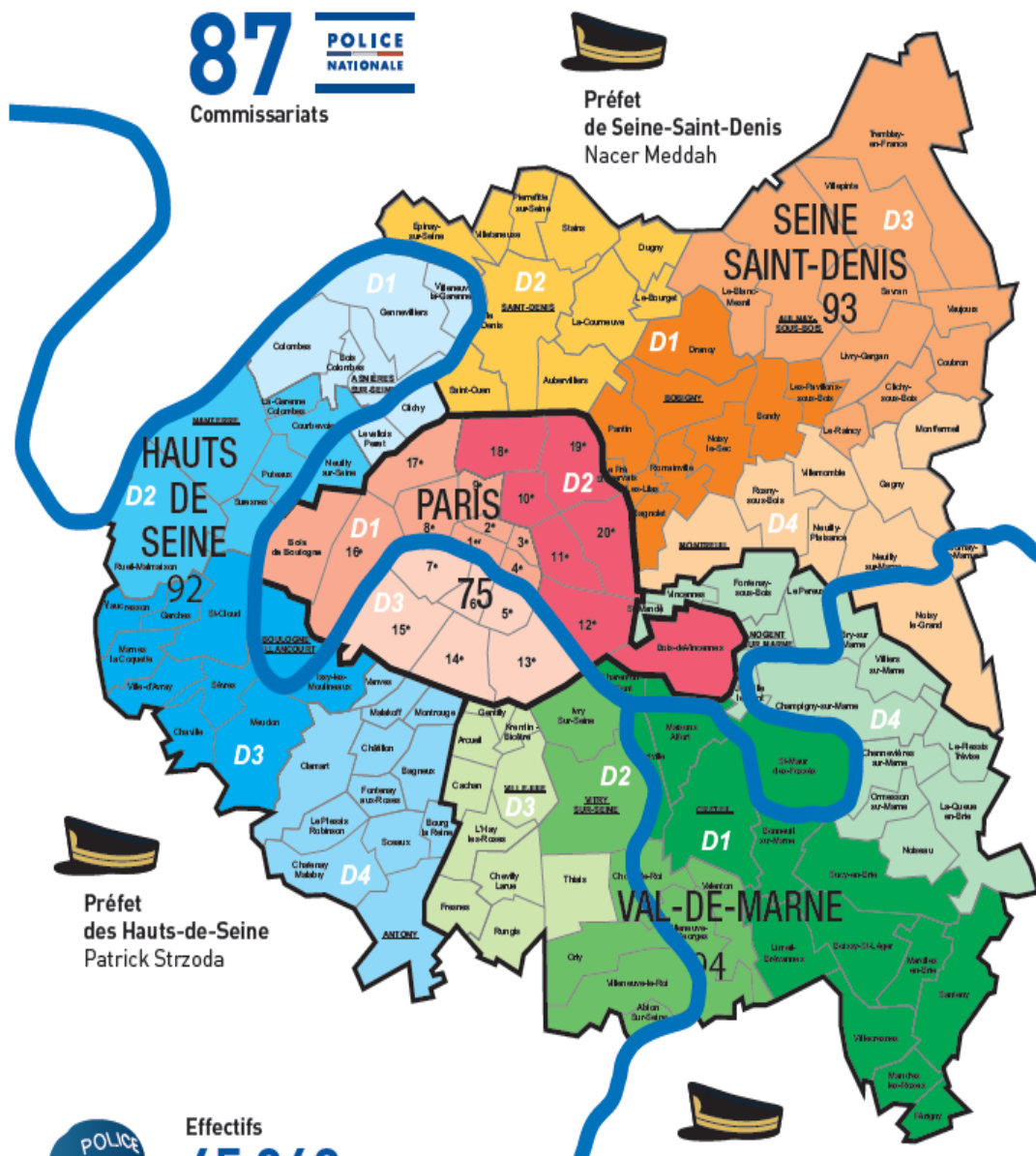


Préfet de Police
Michel Gaudin

87 
Commissariats



Préfet
de Seine-Saint-Denis
Nacer Meddah



Préfet
des Hauts-de-Seine
Patrick Strzoda



Effectifs

45 860

dont **30 200** policiers

et **8 300** sapeurs-
pompiers de Paris



Préfet
du Val-de-Marne
Michel Camux

3.6. Summary

Préfets and Governors hold similar duties in implementing national policies at the local level. Security duties are an extremely important part of their job. They have authority over national law enforcement agencies in their territorial jurisdiction, which they evaluate, and have the responsibility to maintain public order. In France, the crime-reduction aspect of the job has been emphasized on since 2002. He is involved in partnerships and coordinated local security plans through to the Departmental Committee for Security and Local Security and Crime Prevention Councils, which involve various local stakeholders.

The role of District Governors and Sous-Préfets is slightly different though. They are both representatives of the state at the district/arrondissement level, but the Turkish District Governor has more security powers: he supervises and evaluates district police forces, whereas the French Sous-Préfet's role depends for a large part on the willingness of the Préfet to delegate safety issues. Furthermore, the French Préfet is assisted by a Chief of Staff who handles most of security-related issues. There is no equivalent of that position Turkey. The Chief of Staff is the main recipient of information communicated by law-enforcement agencies, attends security meetings and makes decisions on behalf of the Préfet. Also, Sous-Préfets have no power regarding the evaluation and disciplinary procedures against law enforcement agents.

	France	Turkey
Security duties of the Préfet/Governor	Supervision of law enforcement agencies, maintaining security and public order	Supervision of law enforcement agencies, maintaining security and public order
Security duties of Sous-Préfet/District Governor	Depend on Préfet's willingness to delegate and size of the department (more powers if large or density populated department)	Supervision of law enforcement agencies, maintaining security and public order
Person in the Préfet's staff assisting him in security issues	Yes, Chief of Staff, recipient of information, makes decisions on behalf of the Préfet	No

4. Local Security Policies and their Objectives

Local security strategies vary between France and Turkey. The first values more medium and long term crime reduction strategies, mostly through annual security objectives stated each January, with evaluation and performance-measurement systems that rely a lot on crime statistics. In Turkey, short-term actions and successes are more often rewarded.

4.1. Local public safety strategies

Interviews with members of selected Governorates in Turkey revealed the lack of medium and long term public safety or crime prevention strategies, at the national and local level alike. The main concerns of most gubernatorial and police officials in terms of security in the visited provinces and districts are mostly public order, immigration and terrorism issues. For instance, handling Syrian refugees has been mentioned several times by our interviewees as being currently the main priority for Internal Security Forces. A deputy Governor in Malatya explained that there is a monthly meeting with the police, gendarmerie, army and intelligence services to address terrorism problems, which seem to be one of the few national security strategies¹⁴ involving ISFs and coordinated by the national level. In Gaziantep, a provincial police official stated that:

“The priority here is Syrian refugees. A lot of them live in vacant buildings, they may cause problems like theft or homelessness. This is something we often address during our meetings”¹⁵.

Of course, this does not mean at all that governorates or ISFs completely neglect local street crime, but rather that it is handled on a day-to-day basis, through reactive responses to incidents, rather than based on a strategy elaborated at the local or at the central level. Street crime does not seem to be the number one priority. The term “strategy” is rather used for preparation of public order operations. An interview with the District Governor of Üsküdar illustrated that assertion:

“We discuss our strategy at meetings with the Governor. The Governor defines the security strategy when a foreign official visits the city or when there are elections, and districts must take action to implement that strategy”¹⁶.

¹⁴ Interview on 19 June 2013.

¹⁵ Interview on 9 July 2013.

This state of mind is summed up by the district governor of Kadikoy:

“The most important thing is to be always prepared, to look at the calendar and anticipate national or religious holidays that can generate street demonstrations and take precautions, prevent problems”¹⁷.

Nevertheless, a more strategic problem-solving policy was described by the Sahinbey District Governor:

“The security meeting (see below) is very important. We work on various documents prepared by the participants (...). We look at stats, we try to understand what is going on. We set up specific plans for various types of crimes (...) and determine our local objectives”.¹⁸

At this point, it is hard to determine whether this is an approach that exists in other areas and to what extent those elements constitute strategies in a strong sense of the concept, plans that are implemented and really shape local security policies.

Obviously, as mentioned in various legal and administrative rules, the Préfet in France is also responsible for public order, which is one of his main tasks and a basis for his evaluation. However, this is only one element among many security issues. Crime reduction and detection have become a core objective for the Préfets upon which they are judged by the Minister of Interior, especially during the last decade, since Nicolas Sarkozy was the Minister of Interior from 2002 until 2007 and started holding Préfets accountable for crime figures¹⁹. This was another step in a shift that started in the late 1980s, when expectations about local street crime raised among citizens, while at that time Préfets and Internal Security Forces focused mostly on organized crime and national security issues. Several reforms tried to address that issue and reorient administrative and police priorities towards everyday safety issues, the two most famous ones being the “police de proximité” (community policing) and the “culture du résultat” (result oriented policing: culture of performance). Préfets became the cornerstone of that new approach and were asked to focus on crime figures and police effectiveness in fighting crime. They are now in charge of implementing the national crime and public safety priorities of the Minister of Interior. Every year in January, right after the publication of the annual statistical report, the

¹⁶ Interview on 21 June 2013

¹⁷ Interview on 10 July 2013.

¹⁸ Interview on 20 June 2013

¹⁹ Jacques DE MAILLARD et Tanguy LE GOFF, « La tolérance zéro en France. Succès d'un slogan, illusion d'un transfert », *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 2009/4, vol. 59, p. 655-679.

aforementioned Minister publishes the objectives for the year to come, which are a sort of road-map for all national institutions in charge of internal security. They are written in a directive sent to all Préfet. Over the past few years, issues such as reduction of burglaries, assaults and car accidents have been the main priorities.

This differs from what was said by the officials we met in Turkey. A provincial police official in Gaziantep:

“I’ve never experienced the situation where the Ministry sets objectives in an authoritative manner. Their priority is to maintain order. The police determine their own objectives, the Ministry does not set them.”²⁰

It is up to the Préfet to meet these objectives through a local strategy with a set of targets, including statistical ones. He has to prepare a departmental security objectives note presenting this strategy and these objectives. This document is communicated to the Ministry and to local police and gendarmerie chiefs, who then have to achieve the goals set up in this local strategy. This is summarized by the former Préfet of Cantal (a French province):

“I had to prepare a document for the Ministry with a local version of the national objectives. I had to commit to reduce the crimes prioritized by the Minister, with three or four statistical targets. I was asked for feedback by the Ministry on a regular basis.”²¹

The evaluation of the Préfets and of local police officials rely in a significant part on the successful achievement of the plan (see below). Also, in Paris and its suburbs, the Préfet de Police has put into place a set of “action plans” to address several issues, such as burglaries, drug trafficking, street gangs or illegal vendors²². The purpose of those plans is to create a common approach to those problems and improve intelligence exchange through an increased cooperation between several police units (patrol, investigation, intelligence) and prevention actions towards the community.

Also, Local Security Commissions and Local Security Plans are a tool to implement a medium/long term security strategy at the municipal level in partnership with various local stakeholders with a set of objectives and measurable indicators. It is used for planning of actions in order to reduce or prevent crime, improve citizen

²⁰ Interview on 9 July 2013.

²¹ Interview on 9 September 2013.

²² *Liaisons, le magazine de la Préfecture de Police*, n°104, February 2012.

satisfaction or reduce fear of crime by adopting a more problem-solving global approach, as opposed to a purely incident-based short-term response. Nevertheless, the French system is obviously not perfect. The activity of a Local Security Council depends vastly on the involvement of local actors, especially the Préfet and law enforcement agencies on the one hand, of the municipality on the other hand. In some areas, it is a very useful problem-solving tool, in others it is an empty shell as the Council meets irregularly and the Plan is not implemented. Also, in large cities, mayors tend to ask for increased security powers to really address local safety problems instead of being prisoners of centrally-driven objectives. The funding mechanisms relies on the "Fond Interministériel de Prévention de la Délinquance" (FIPD, Interministerial Crime Prevention Fund), which is a national organization that subsidizes prevention initiatives and determines a set of priorities in this area. The main priority of the FIPD over the past few years has been the implementation of CCTV, which is not necessarily a need in some cities or a policy approved by local stakeholders.

One paragraph is needed on the limits of this system. The authority of the préfet is challenged by large municipality mayors: the funding mechanism of the plan is criticized for being too aligned with central needs only and not oriented towards genuine local needs. This increased the fragility of the local partnership.

4.2. The evaluation system

ISFs are evaluated by Governors and District Governors. In Turkey, the main evaluation/reward mechanism is the "success certificate", which is rather based on isolated successful operations such as an arrest or a successfully managed demonstration, and a personal assessment of the Governor or District Governor. Whereas in France the evaluation system of the police and the gendarmerie relies on global results in meeting national targets on crime reduction, crime detection, crime prevention and road safety. It is done through a nationally standardized evaluation grid.

The criteria for obtaining a success certificate are summarized by a Deputy Governor in Malatya:

*“It is event-based: a wanted person, a drug seizure, a demonstration with no incidents. It’s a personal decision of the Governor, there are no rules. It is not a strictly defined system”.*²³

The public order/incident-driven police approach generates a model that values traditional signs of success in policing such as high-profile arrest or an effective public-order operation. Nevertheless, it would be inaccurate to state that more medium or long-term results or approaches are never rewarded. There are notable exceptions, like for instance the district of Üsküdar where the District Governor decided to give a success certificate to the District police chief, his deputy and a few other officers for two initiatives that meant to improve the relationship with the public and the behavior of the police towards disabled persons. Also, according to the Kadiköy district governor, an evaluation process was seemingly created in 2011, which relies on police performance measurement. However it is not in place yet, due to the lack of precision of the law. In Eyüp, the district governor and police chief told us the latter was evaluated according to a grid, but he it is the only case of a system of that nature we have heard about. The same police chief also mentioned that “success certificates are sometimes given for crime reduction or public satisfaction”. Finally, Istanbul has created an embryonic reward system that favors more long-term action rather than incident handling: a police station is chosen “district of the month” on a citizen satisfaction basis.

In France, the approach is more systematic, with a rating system of the police and the gendarmerie by the Préfet that gives a big importance to crime figures and yearly results, which also affects the management of local security forces. The system works as follows. The Departmental Chief of Police and Gendarmerie Colonel are rated by the Préfet, who takes into account crime rates and their evolution during the past 12 months, the detection rate, the arrest rate, but also non quantitative factors, such as the management of his human resources (based upon feedback provided by police unions among others) and the relationship with local partners, in particular with municipalities. The former Préfet of Cantal:

“Every time a new Departmental Chief of Police is appointed, he is sent a mission road map from the Central Police Directorate, with the problems he has to solve and his objectives. I was the messenger, I had to communicate him that mission

²³ Interview on 19 June 2013.

statement. Then, every year, I evaluated him, based on his results in crime reduction, relationship with police unions, financial management (...). Once, I was not happy with my Departmental Director of Police. I asked the Central Directorate of Police for an audit of his services. They can't refuse such a request. Actually, a Préfet can make a Departmental Director of Police go".²⁴

The provincial Chief of Police does the same thing with his district police chiefs, as the same grid applies to them. Also, police officials both at the departmental and district level may choose to develop an Individual Performance Project. They have the possibility to present their immediate hierarchical superior a specific goal that they want to achieve for their service (i.e. improving and making the complaint registration procedure faster, improving the results and intelligence-gathering about drug trafficking, creating a specific structure for victims of domestic violence...), a plan to reach that goal and indicators to measure progress. If the plan is successful, they get a financial bonus that complements their regular salary. It is a way to encourage more permanent initiatives rather than isolated actions and generate a performance-driven state of mind among Internal Security Forces managers. Last but not least, Préfets themselves may get financial rewards for reducing crime and increasing road safety.

4.3. The steering of local security forces and performance measurement

Obviously, statistics are used in both countries to assess the effectiveness of police action in crime reduction. Governors and Préfets are given crime figures, with reported and detected crimes, on a daily, weekly, monthly and yearly basis. However, a much bigger emphasis is put on them in France, where they are a real source of pressure for both Préfets and ISFs officials. Police and Gendarmerie in France use the exact same statistical registration system for crimes. In Turkey, statistics are not central to the daily activity of Governors and ISFs. A deputy police chief in the Üsküdar district explained to us:

²⁴ Interview on 9 September 2013.

"I don't feel under statistical pressure. We put pressure on ourselves when we see that some types of crimes are up. But we don't need be put under pressure to know what I need to improve".²⁵

In Gaziantep, the deputy chief of provincial police stated:

"We are not evaluated on our statistics, we evaluate them by ourselves. All provinces do their statistics, all is sent to Ankara but don't really get any feedback".²⁶

Also, contrary to France, where districts or departments may be compared with one another in order to detect which Préfets and police or gendarmerie directors have good results and which don't, statistics are not used in Turkey to encourage any sort of competition between neighboring districts. The police chief of Eyüp explained us:

"You can't compare districts with one another, there are social and economic differences that make competition senseless. Statistics are useful to make a diagnosis of problems, but it would be unfair to make comparisons. For instance, some districts have more bars and restaurants, which influences crimes rates. That would not be logical to compare those districts with one another."²⁷

In France, statistics are taken very seriously at every level of the police, gendarmerie and administrative hierarchy. Poor statistics or sudden increases of one or several types of crime in a district or department will be immediately noticed by the Préfet, who will ask police and gendarmerie chiefs for explanations and effective reaction. In Paris, the Préfet de Police created a decade ago Evaluation Meetings ("Réunions d'évaluation"), replicating to a certain extent the Compstat model that originated in New York. Every year, each police chief of the 20 districts of Paris has to present all the crime figures and police results to the Préfet de Police and the higher command of the Préfecture de Police. They are asked questions about the causes of crime trends in their district and the strategy they intend to implement to solve safety problems in the neighborhoods they are in charge of. On a strategic level, as we said previously about the yearly national security objectives, crimes figures are an indicator that helps build police priorities and local public safety strategies. They are both an evaluation and planning tool.

²⁵ Interview on 10 July 2013.

²⁶ *Idem.*

²⁷ *Idem.*

In both countries, statistical information is also a tool for resource distribution. In France, areas with high crime rates are more likely to get reinforcements, especially in the context of the newly created Priority Security Zones (Zones de Sécurité Prioritaires). Launched in September 2012, this new policy targets 64 problem areas in France that stand out for their high crime rates and long standing problems. One of the main outcomes of being selected as a Priority Security Zone is increased police staff. Statistics are also used for that purpose in Turkey, but again, based on the interviews we led, it is rather public order figures. Here are the explanations of the Gaziantep province police deputy chief:

*“They take stats into consideration, for instance they increased the number of our police officers with the massive arrival of Syrian refugees. They can also do that when they see that there is an increase of social events, demonstrations”.*²⁸

Finally, another interesting contrast is the publicity of crime stats. In Turkey, they are exclusively an internal tool. In France, as we saw it previously, they are both a police evaluation and strategic tool, but also a communication one. The Minister of Interior and the National Observatory of Crime and of Penal Responses (Observatoire National de la Délinquance et des Réponses Pénales, the public institution in charge of colating and publishing crime stats) release crime data and reports to the public and the press. Yearly and even monthly national crime stats are made accessible on the National Observatory’s website, at the national and provincial level, so that the public is informed about crime trends. In Turkey, that information is not made public. The deputy governor of Malatya told us:

*“We don’t give periodical stats to the media; I have never seen that so far”.*²⁹

To sum things up, performance and evaluation culture that has grown in the French security system over the last 30 years. Measuring yearly results in crime reduction, encouraging strategic planning, evaluating the police according to a standardized evaluation grid and making indicators that measure the work of the police and gendarmerie (i.e. crime rates and detection rates) are ways to hold the government and Internal Security Forces accountable for their actions and respond to citizens needs as opposed to central government’s needs. This more service and performance-oriented approach to policing derives from a more global trend in the Western world that started in the Anglo-Saxon world, called New Public

²⁸ Interview on 9 July 2013.

²⁹ Interview 19 June 2013.

Management³⁰, that aims at making public administrations more concerned about citizens satisfaction and cost-effective. It is based on the assumption that if you give the responsibility to managers to create problem-solving strategies – as opposed to responding to isolated events – and if you monitor their activity through performance indicators, you improve service quality and respond better to citizens expectations.

4.4. Summary

Public safety and prevention strategies are more elaborated in France. In Turkey, the main concern is the handling of public order incidents and terrorist acts. In France, those two issues are definitely taken into account by Préfets but everyday crime problems have become a critical concern for them. They have yearly objectives and priorities in crime reduction and road safety set up by the Minister of Interior that they have to implement in their jurisdiction. Their evaluation by the central government relies heavily on this aspect of the job and they evaluate the police and gendarmerie on this basis. In Turkey, it is the individual successes (arrest, demonstration handled in an appropriate and professional manner...) that are rewarded. Therefore, crime figures are more central in the Préfets and law enforcement activities in France: they play a central role in the evaluation process and are communicated to the public.

	France	Turkey
Main priorities	Crime reduction and detection, public order	Public order, terrorism
National crime reduction strategy	National objectives determined by the Minister of Interior, implemented at the local level by the Préfet	No
Evaluation	Relies heavily on crime statistics	Relies mostly on successful operations

³⁰ For a review of those new trends, see BRAGA Anthony, WEISBURD David, *Police innovation : contrasting perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 125; NEWBURN Tim, *Handbook of policing*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011 (2nd ed.).

5. The circulation of information

Information between gubernatorial authorities circulates thanks to two types of communication channels: the first one is direct face-to-face security meetings, the second one is the daily flow of information (events, reports, stats...) that go through modern information technologies.

5.1. Security meetings

In both case studies, a formal feedback mechanism has been created through regular meetings between administrative authorities and ISFs.

In Turkey, a daily meeting at the provincial level between the Governor and provincial police and gendarmerie directors is scheduled at 11 AM. Even though it is a legal obligation (Regulation No: 5/1409, 28.6.1961), practice is more flexible. Not all provinces actually do this daily meeting. Actually, it is generally perceived as not useful to meet on such a frequent basis in small municipalities or low crime areas. The Governor and ISFs chiefs may talk on the phone and decide that it is not necessary to meet. However, an official document is signed everyday by all parties to fulfill legal obligations, as if it was held even if the meeting did not take place. The actual frequency of the meetings depends on the workload and the events that occurred. In general, we were told that two meetings a week is an appropriate number of meetings, but that on some occasions, gubernatorial and police authorities may talk or see each other several times a day. At the district level, the pace is a weekly one: a meeting between district governors and district police and gendarmerie chiefs takes place every Monday at 11 AM.

In France, meetings take place on a weekly basis, both at the departmental and district level, with the Préfet (for departmental meetings) or Sous-Préfet (for district meetings), chiefs of Departmental Police and Intelligence, gendarmerie and Préfet's chief of staff (for meetings at the departmental level).

The content of those meetings varies in Turkey. They are usually devoted to the handling of daily problems and planning the events for the next few days, for instance street protests or holidays. In some cases, they are used for more strategic planning and problem-solving decisions. A Deputy Governor in Gaziantep gave us an example of such a global problem-solving action that was decided during a security meeting in order to address a specific type of crime:

“Some time ago, we had a problem, manhole covers were being stolen. We invited the local union of scrap metal merchants to the meeting. We told them that if manhole covers or any sort of public goods were found in their premises, they had to present a receipt, otherwise they would be held responsible for the theft. The thefts stopped after that”.³¹

There are meetings between the Governor and district governors. Those take place every month in Istanbul with the 39 district governors attending, less frequently and less regularly in other areas. In some provinces, they take place when needed. A Deputy Governor in Gaziantep:

“It is necessary in some cases to exchange ideas and information between the province and districts when there is an issue important for both. But the exchange of information is not automatic. We do some meetings about various problems, such as forest fires”.³²

Again, those meetings are widely public order oriented: they are used to prepare security measures and coordinate various administrative levels for elections or official state visitors.

In France, the same concerns are dealt with: public order is a very important priority. Meetings at the departmental level with the Préfet are an occasion to prepare public order operations. However, statistics are under close scrutiny, both at department and district level. The Préfet and Sous-Préfets are given every week a table with all the key indicators: crimes against persons, property crimes, financial crimes, quality of life crimes and detection rates. At the departmental level, the Préfet has stats for his whole jurisdiction, but also district by district. A former Deputy Chief of Staff of the Préfet of Guadeloupe explains:

“The weekly meetings are very statistic-oriented. Since it is what the Departmental Director is graded on for a significant part and gets pressure for, a large part of the meeting is devoted to the study of statistics. Of course, the Préfet also cares about specific issues and citizens feedback about police work. But stats are what worry him the most ”.³³

³¹ Interview on 9 July 2013.

³² *Idem.*

³³ Interview on 6 June 2013.

5.2. The daily flow of information

Obviously, modern technologies such as cell phones or the Internet make face-to-face meetings less necessary, since a lot of information can be transmitted in other ways. This evolution has its pros and cons that are similar in both countries. On one hand, it makes things more convenient: it is not necessary to set up time-consuming meetings on such a frequent basis as information technologies bridge the information gap between various levels of the chain of command. On the other, it has generated increased pressure and control all the way down the hierarchy: since information is easier to transfer, it is now expected from various actors in the administration or in the ISFs to communicate information as soon as possible. It is really notable in Paris and in Istanbul, the largest cities of France and Turkey. Police chiefs and district governors are expected to transmit any sensitive information, especially regarding public order, as soon as they know it. The District Governor of Üsküdar explained it:

*“As District Governor in Istanbul, I am not very autonomous. If there is a homicide, I have to inform immediately the provincial police. Terrorism or road safety is under the responsibility of the provincial police. In Anatolia, in smaller communities, District Governors have more autonomy. For instance, we have to transmit drug cases to provincial police, in more isolated areas, it stays at the district level. (...) I can set up my own local strategies for drugs but I have to inform the provincial police and communicate them all sensitive information. It’s easier in smaller provinces in Anatolia. In Istanbul you get squeezed out by the provincial level ”.*³⁴

The reason why it is such an important aspect of the relationship between police and gubernatorial authorities is the presence of the media in both cities. Similarly, in the case of Paris, almost all political powers and personalities are concentrated in this city. It is then very important for the Préfet de Police and the Governor of Istanbul to be aware of the situation and react before the media are informed of what is happening. The District Governor of Eyüp:

*“The criterion to decide whether to communicate a piece of information to the Governor is simple: is it going to attract media attention? The Governor has to be informed of things before the media, otherwise he is upset”.*³⁵

³⁴ Interview on 21 June 2013.

³⁵ Interview on 18 June 2013.

In Paris, all district police chiefs insist that they report everything to the Préfecture's staff immediately and that they are asked for feedback on a daily, by email or by phone, about any ongoing problems in their jurisdiction.

In Turkey, the Governor is informed of any event thanks to two channels of information. Generally, district police are the first to know about anything going on in his jurisdiction. The piece of information is communicated both to provincial police and to the district governor, which both communicate it to the Governor. Also, Governors and District Governors get a daily security report from police force in their respective area. In France, the situation is slightly similar or, to be more specific, varies depending on the area. First of all, the Préfet's chief of staff centralizes information, he is the recipient of all reports and phone calls from the Departmental Police. There is no real obligation for the district police chief to inform the Sous-Préfet. A district police chief has to inform his own chain of command and then the Departmental Director of Police reports to the Préfet. However, in some areas where problems are numerous and cannot be all handled directly by the Préfet, or where districts are large urban areas, or where geographical distance is large, the Sous-Préfet is generally directly informed by the district police and makes the first emergency decisions if necessary, as explained us several people we interviewed . The former Préfet of Cantal, who also served as Sous-Préfet in Guadeloupe:

"In some departments, the Sous-Préfet has an important role to play. Let's take the example of Finistère (department in Western France): when you are the Sous-Préfet of the district of Brest, you are in charge of a quite populated area, therefore you are rather powerful. A different type of context is when I was Sous-Préfet in Guadeloupe (overseas territory). I was in Point-à-Pitre and getting there from Basse-Terre (departmental capital) takes quite a long time. The Préfet knew he couldn't handle everything from where he was, so he trusted me and let me take a lot of decisions. (...) When there is an incident, an unexpected event, the Sous-Préfet takes the first decisions and the police report to him at first".³⁶

A former Sous-Préfet in Bobigny (Seine-St-Denis, high crime department in the Paris suburbs) now serving as chief of staff of the Mayor of Paris confirmed that: *"It's impossible for the Préfet to handle everything in a busy area like Seine-St-Denis. I did everything but public order operations, which were his responsibility. I was in*

³⁶ Interview on 9 September 2013.

daily contact with the police. I asked the district police chief to be informed immediately of any particular event. It was more logical anyway that I handle things since public safety issues and meetings are generally about very local things which the Sous-Préfet is in a better position to address than the Préfet".³⁷

Regarding statistics, the channels of information are similar to the ones used to report incident to District Governors and Governors in Turkey. In France, police and gendarmerie statistics are communicated by the district police and gendarmerie chiefs' staffs to their departmental commands. The staffs of the chiefs of departmental police and gendarmerie then make a report for the whole department out of the districts' statistical reports and add figures district by district that is sent on a weekly basis to the Préfet's chief of staff. Then, the latter sends it to Sous-Préfets. Once again, the Sous-Préfets may get the statistics for their area directly from the district police and/or gendarmerie if they ask for them, since they meet weekly and talk on the phone every day.

5.3. Summary

A formal feedback mechanism between Préfets/Governors and law enforcement agencies exists in both countries, in the form of security meetings. They are held on a weekly basis in France, on a daily one in Turkey. However, the daily meeting basis in Turkey is a theoretical one, since the Governor and law enforcement officials may decide not to meet if they consider it is not necessary. Those meetings are devoted for the most part to the handling of daily problems that occur in the department/province. The preparation of public order operations is a crucial aspect of the meetings. However, as indicated previously, crime statistics are under heavy scrutiny in France. The Préfet takes a close look at the weekly crime and detection figures report.

Obviously, modern technologies such as phones, cell phones and emails allow for more informal ways of exchanging information. Those contacts are daily, especially in case of unexpected events. Police and gendarmerie forces have the duty to inform gubernatorial authorities as soon as possible, especially in Paris and Istanbul, where any event can be politically sensitive. However, the channels of communication differ between France and Turkey. In Turkey, the district police has the duty to inform the District Governor and provincial police, who then report to the

³⁷ Interview on 30 July 2013.

Governor. In France, district police inform their hierarchy, which then transmits the information to the Préfet, through the Chief of Staff. There is technically no obligation to inform the Sous-Préfet, even though the police or gendarmerie generally do inform him, especially in large or densely populated areas where it is more convenient to inform the closest authority in order to make quick decisions.

	France	Turkey
Formal feedback	Weekly meeting	Daily meeting
Purpose	Public order operations, daily events, crime stats	Public order operations, daily events, crime stats
Informal feedback mechanism	District police informs their hierarchy, which then informs the Préfet's Chief of Staff. Sous-Préfet informed by the police if necessary or more efficient	District police informs District Governor and provincial police, which both inform the Governor

6. The Relationship with external partners

In Turkey, relations with external partners are generally informal ones and depend on the will of individual actors. In France, institutional partnerships between various public and private stakeholders rather than direct contacts with citizens are predominant.

6.1. Limited partnerships in Turkey

There are no real institutionalized partnerships involving the civil society on the one hand and the police and governorates on the other hand in Turkey. Taking into account the needs of the citizens is not a standardized practice. However, various initiatives exist in several districts. Several district governors have created ways to get feedback from the community. Some are very informal. They consist on meeting people face to face in their office or during visits within communities. Also, the use of phone communications or social media is quite common to exchange views with citizens. The District Governor of Sahinbey told us:

*“I try to see citizens face to face. People can call me directly. I have numerous numbers of citizens in my cell phone, I take care of their problems. I also use social medias a lot”.*³⁸

The Deputy Governor in Malatya:

*“There are no formal meetings with citizens to get information. But the Governor obtains it in an indirect manner because he attends meetings and commissions, he visits places and neighborhoods. (...) There is no specific mechanism to get citizens feedback, it varies from one governor to another”.*³⁹

Some are more structured and formal. Gaziantep has put into place a survey. In Eyüp, a suggestion box has been created and a monthly meeting is organized as well. The District Governor of Eyüp:

*“One a month, I do a meeting with citizens and Muhtars where they explain me their problems. Each month, I chose a different neighborhood, there are 22 neighborhoods in my district”.*⁴⁰

³⁸ Interview on 20 June 2013.

³⁹ Interview on 19 June 2013.

⁴⁰ Interview on 18 June 2013.

Last but not least, there is a police supported by the community approach implemented at the neighborhood level, with beat officers patrolling on foot and being permanently in touch with their community. The District Governor of Kadıköy:

*“We also have community policing. They work in uniform or plain-clothes, they get in touch with people, go to cafés, gather information about public safety, but also about the social situation, like people in need. There are also Peace Meetings with the municipality, the district police chief and representatives of civil society. It takes place every six months to a year”.*⁴¹

A district police official in Üsküdar explained further the community policing approach: *“We have Peace Meetings at the neighborhood level. In every district, police officers talk to citizens in order to know whether they are satisfied or not with police actions, after an investigation for instance. We do it in Istanbul, I don’t know if they do it in other areas”.*⁴²

Actually, a similar policy, which is a nationwide one, was described by a police official at the provincial police in Gaziantep:

*“We do community policing. Each district is divided into neighborhoods, with a community policing unit that does meetings with imams, teachers, municipal services, district police chief and muhtars”.*⁴³

Contacts with citizens can be rather limited and in any case depend on the intentions of the local Governor or District Governor. So are contacts with other institutions having a role to play in prevention and internal security. Municipalities are a source of information about local problems. But they are neither involved in genuine partnerships with gubernatorial authorities nor in any systematic effort of feedback/satisfaction process about local security policies, police work or gubernatorial initiatives. Relations with Prosecutors are also rather limited. A traditional approach of the division of labor between security forces and prosecuting services prevails: the police and governors prevent incidents, prosecutors deal with them once they are committed. Therefore, they do not really need to work together, since they are not working on the same aspect of problems. This is why there is no coordinated security strategy or crime prevention approach that would involve both types of actors. The District Governor of Sahinbey:

⁴¹ Interview on 10 July 2013.

⁴² Interview on 10 July 2013.

⁴³ Interview on 9 July 2013.

*“There is a commission about prisons that is attended by the Prosecutor. This is the only formal occasion where the District Governor and the Prosecutor are together. (...) The District Governor is most of all in charge of prevention, while the Prosecutor deals with repression”.*⁴⁴

A Deputy Governor in Malatya:

*“The Governor is responsible until the commission of a crime. After a crime is committed, it’s the Prosecutor that is in charge. The Governor has the responsibility to prevent crime. After it’s committed, he has no power to lead the investigation”.*⁴⁵

6.2. The French case: formal partnerships and restricted involvement of citizens

In the French case, local security partnerships are rather inter-institutional ones, rather than directly inclusive of lay citizens. As we saw it previously, Local Security Councils are a council of various public and private actors, with no direct involvement of residents. Residents or citizen are represented by local NGOs. The Préfet is officially part of those Commissions. However, in practice, when held outside the largest city of the province, it is always the Sous-Préfet or the chief of staff who takes part in the meetings and represents the authority of the Préfet. The department’s capital city is an exception: the governor himself handles local security meetings directly in coordination with municipal authorities and the local community.

Another mechanism worth mentioning is the Local Groups for Crime Fighting (Groupes Locaux de Traitement de la Délinquance). They are working groups presided by the Public Prosecutor, with the Police Nationale and/or Gendarmerie Nationale, the Préfet, municipal authorities and any other actors (housing and transportation companies, tax service, customs, school administration...) concerned by the issue dealt with. They are created for a limited time to address a specific problem in a specific place (i.e. drug trafficking in a street or a neighborhood). Generally, the creation of a GLTD is decided during Local Security Commission Meetings, because some problems require a more targeted approach than the one planned in the Local Security Agreement. The purpose is to combat deeply rooted and organized criminal activities that require a steady effort from various governmental and local agencies. Those agencies decide a common strategy: for

⁴⁴ Interview on 20 June 2013.

⁴⁵ Interview on 19 June 2013.

instance, drug trafficking needs not only classic police action, but also a medical/social one to treat addicts, an educational one to inform children about the dangers of narcotics, and a fiscal one to strike financially drug traffickers – especially in the case when it is difficult for the police and justice to gather evidence of about their activity – who don't declare their incomes and lead a luxurious way of life. Once the problem is solved, the group is dismantled. It is also important to mention that Priority Security Zones have an Operational Partnership Coordination Group, responsible for local prevention actions. They involve, besides the Préfet and the Prosecutor, municipal authorities, police and/or gendarmerie, customs, social workers, school system, housing companies and local NGOs. Examples of actions taken in various zones are situational prevention, school support for children in trouble, or drug awareness campaigns.

Direct contacts with citizens exist at the local level and depend in a large extent on the involvement of the Préfet or, more often, the Sous-Préfet and the district police chief. Informal contacts like ones mentioned in the Turkish case are quite common. Police/ Gendarmerie officials and Préfets often attend neighborhood meetings organized by Mayors. Furthermore, Préfets or Sous-Préfets attend most of public events (celebrations, inaugurations, officials visits...), which are occasions to meet with local communities.

6.3. Summary

France has more formal and institutionalized partnerships with the community, through Local Security Councils, which include public agencies and local stakeholders such as transportation or housing companies or NGOs. In Turkey, more informal direct contacts with citizens by phone or face-to-face meetings are privileged. However, more structured initiatives to get citizens feedback have been implemented, like neighborhood meetings or surveys.

	France	Turkey
Types of partnerships with the community	Formal partnerships: Local Security Councils in all cities over 10 000 inhabitants.	More informal and/or isolated initiatives: community meetings, community policing.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Similarities and differences between Préfets and Governors

The two systems hold obviously a lot of similarities, both in theory and in practice, which is a logical consequence of the fact that the Turkish gubernatorial system was inspired in the 19th century by the French prefectoral one. French Préfets and Turkish governors hold similar roles in representing the central government at the local level and are the deconcentrated authority of the state in departments and provinces. They have a role of implementation of the law and of national policies. The security duties of both functions are critical: they have the responsibility to coordinate and supervise the action of national law enforcement agencies, maintain order and prevent any serious threats to public safety such as riots, violent demonstrations or terrorist attacks. Therefore, they must be informed by ISFs of any serious events or problems occurring in their jurisdiction and make decisions regarding their handling. That is especially true in Paris and Istanbul, which are sensitive due to their size and political importance.

Nevertheless, some significant differences have been observed during this study. Even though public order and incident prevention are critical concerns in both systems, the emphasis on this aspect of gubernatorial activity is stronger in Turkey and constitutes the core of the security duties of Governors. In France, a bigger involvement of Préfets in everyday safety, crime reduction and prevention has been generated over the last decade as a result of an increased pressure of the national government and more generally a bigger focus of public opinion on crime issues. This appears clearly both in the local security policies implemented by Préfets and in the evaluation of ISFs. Préfets are in charge of adapting to the local context a set of crime reduction and prevention priorities determined by the national government. They are also involved in institutionalized security partnerships with municipalities and local stakeholders. In Turkey, the focus on public order and terrorism remains central to the activity of Governors and partnerships with the community remain rather isolated initiatives, even though there are several innovative initiatives implemented in various pilot sites. The evaluation system works accordingly. In

Turkey, it is event-oriented and rewards successful operations (arrest, public order operation) rather than crime-reduction strategies. In France, Préfets assess ISFs based upon their results in crime-reduction and crime-detection, with rather specific objectives that the police and gendarmerie have to reach.

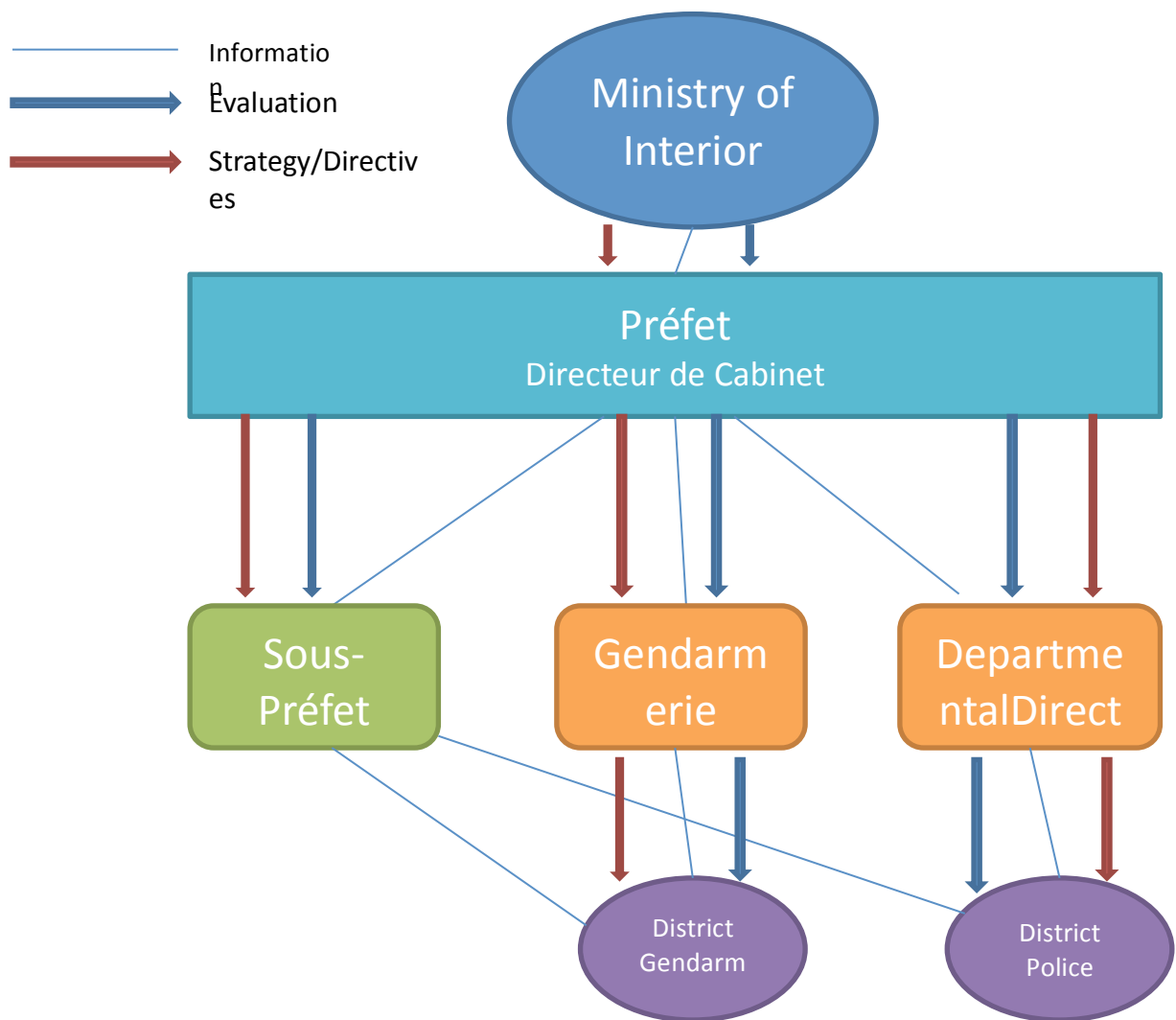
Finally, responsibilities are distributed in a different manner among the collaborators of Préfets and Governors. In Turkish, District Governors are an important player in security policies. They directly supervise and evaluate the police in their jurisdiction. French Sous-Préfets do not hold the same duties. First of all, they do not evaluate or have disciplinary powers regarding ISFs. Furthermore, their involvement in security issues depends vastly from the willingness of the Préfet to give them responsibilities. Of course, especially in large and/or dense areas where issues to handle are numerous, Préfets delegate to Sous-Préfets the monitoring of local security partnerships and the daily management of safety issues. However, this is not automatic as the Préfet is assisted by a Chief of Staff who plays a central role in crime and public order issues as he is the person who centralizes information and is in daily contact with ISFs, to whom he gives instructions in the name of the Préfet.

Legal powers and concrete practices

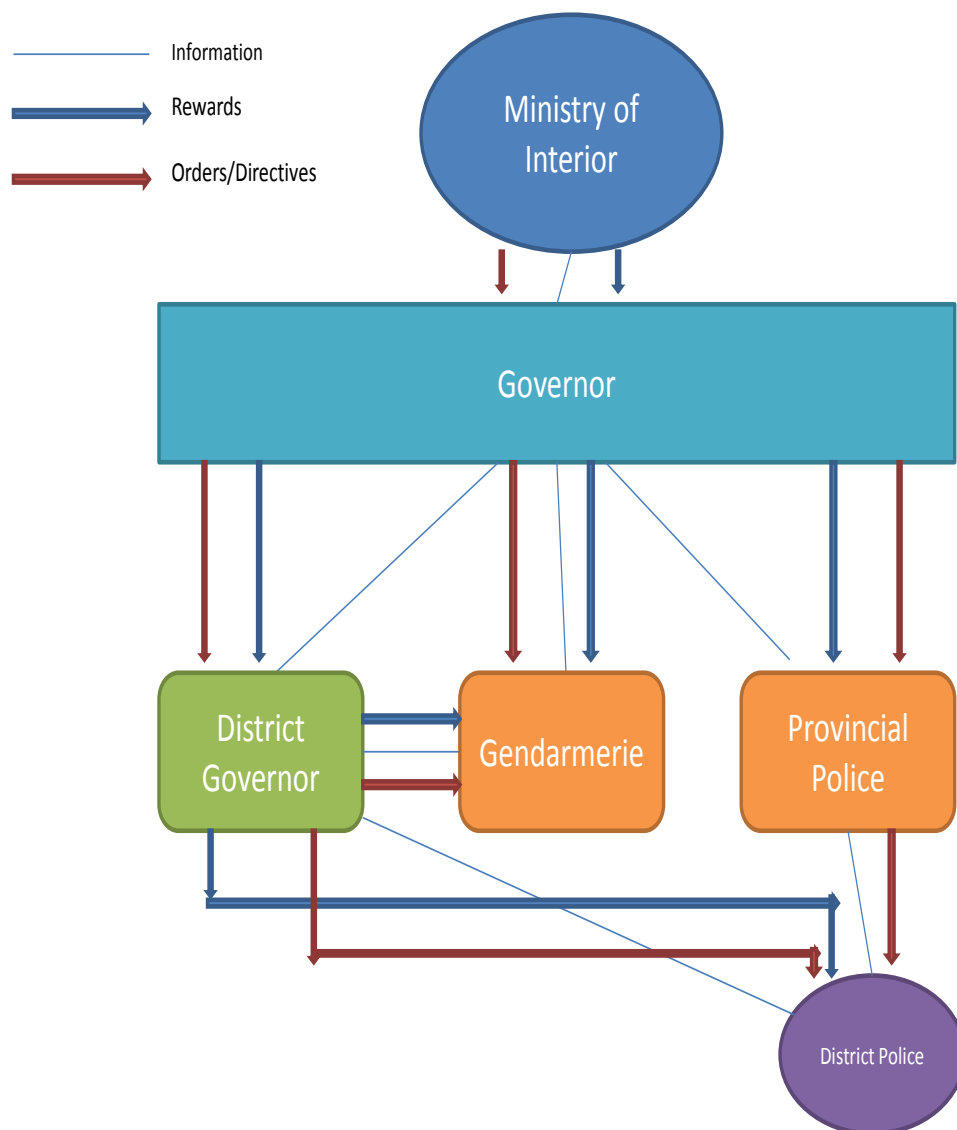
Type of power or practice	Similarities	Differences
Representation of the central government	Represent the central government at the local level	The same
Responsibilities	Enforcing national laws and policies at the local level, public order and safety, supervising ISFs	A bigger emphasis has been put on everyday public safety (as opposed to public order and national security) in France
Information circulation	They must be informed immediately of any public order event, incident or catastrophe	The same
Partnerships with civil society	Informal contacts with citizens	Codified partnerships with other public or private institutions in France
Role of District Governors and Sous-Préfets	Represent the central government at the district level and are delegates of the Préfet/Governor	More codified role of Turkish District Governors in the field of security

Staffing		French Préfets have a Directeur de Cabinet who centralizes and selects information sent to the Préfet
Evaluation process		A standardized grid in France vs. personal decision and single-event approach in Turkey A bigger emphasis on crime statistics in France
Local Security Policies		More mid and long-term strategies in France Existence of national crime objectives in France, adjusted and implemented at the local level by the Préfet

Information circulation scheme in France



Information circulation scheme in Turkey



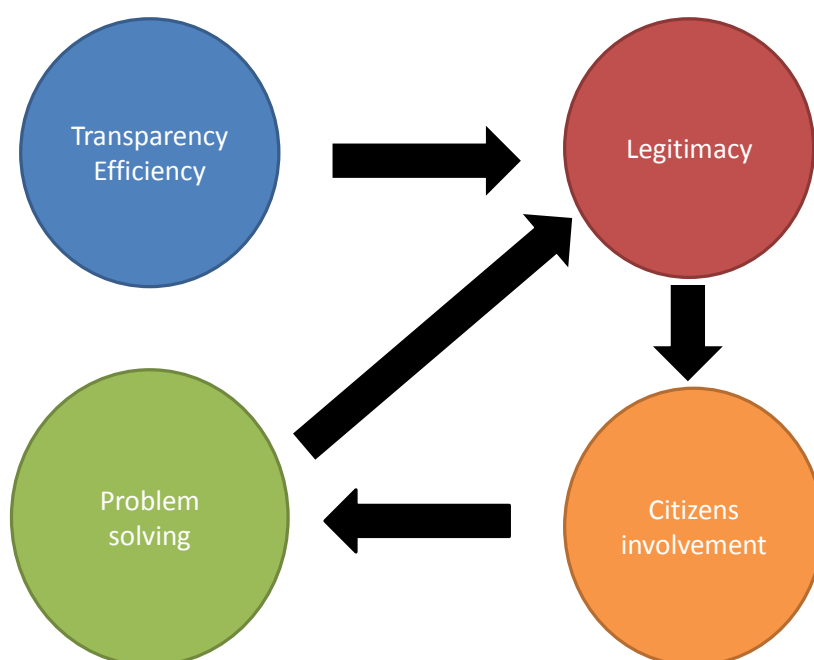
7.2. Good practices in Turkey

The interviews led with gubernatorial and police officials helped detect several very interesting and useful practices that enhance the service provided to citizens and show a commitment to public satisfaction and transparency. Obviously, the first is community policing related initiatives, which rely on increased contacts with the population with the goal of getting feedback from residents of neighborhoods about police work. This emphasis on citizen's satisfaction is symbolized by the "District of the Month" system in Istanbul, which rewards police stations that provide a good service to the community. In the Gaziantep province, the local university was asked to measure the satisfaction of the public regarding police action. Finally, in Üsküdar, the efforts of the District Governor, who certificates to police officers who put in place a police/community relations initiative and another one to promote the improve the handling of disabled citizens by the police, deserve to be underlined.

Another positive aspect of the approach to security in Turkey is that statistics have not become the ultimate goal of security forces, as it is the case in many police services in France, in the UK or in the United States. Obviously, we believe that they can be a useful indicator of police activity and a communication tool towards the public. However, they are one type of indicator among others, like victimization studies or public satisfaction surveys. An increased pressure on statistical performance might lead the police and gendarmerie to manipulate their results and "make them look good". As the interview with a police official in Eyüp revealed it, there seems to be an approach to statistics that does not rely on some sort of competition between police units: there is no comparison made between various districts or provinces, as it is made in many countries such as the United Kingdom for instance, which could generate a willingness for police officials to "beat" their neighbor by any means, including artificially improving the statistics by discouraging citizens from filing complaints to reduce the crime rate or by focusing on easier cases to improve the detection rate . Nevertheless, their use is probably not developed enough in Turkey, which leads us the recommendations for an improved gubernatorial and Security structure in Turkey.

8. Recommendations

The listing of good practices in Turkey shows that several interesting measures have been taken to improve efficiency and transparency of ISFs. It is however useful to extract some ideas from the French experience to go further in the pursuit of an increased involvement of civil society in local security policies and optimize the circulation of information and instructions between governorates and ISFs. Increasing the input of citizens and making the functioning of public institutions in charge of public safety more efficient generate a virtuous circle: the more a public institution is transparent and well organized, the more it increases legitimacy and encourages citizens to cooperate with public authorities by sharing their concerns and information with them, which in return helps Governorates and ISFs adequately identify and solve problems.



Here are the main ideas inspired by this comparative study of French and Turkish governorates/prefectures that could be tested in the Turkish context:

1. Put the equivalent of a Directeur de Cabinet for Governors in place. Every Governor would have a Deputy Governor who would be the Chief of Staff. He would centralize information and manage more specifically security issues, so that there is an identified person in charge of those in every governorate. But, in Turkey there is not a system "directeur de cabinet" like in France case within the central level. To implement a system equivalent a "directeur de cabinet", the structure of the MoI has to be changed and the structure of the governorate both.

Proposition n°1: put a Chief of Staff in every pilot governorate, but it is less realizable to.

2. Generalize a standardized national evaluation grid for police officials, that would allow Governors and District Governors to reward long-term prevention and community relations efforts instead of short-term results

Proposition n°2: create an evaluation grid that relies on crimes figures, victimization surveys, satisfaction surveys and community relations initiatives

3. Create a local public prevention and security strategy, with specific objectives, made in each district and province, which would be made public and amended every year

Proposition n°3: the publication in every pilot province and district of a local security road map prepared by the Governor or District Governor, with priorities and targets, published in the press and on the Internet

4. Encourage transparency and accountability regarding police work and results, by publishing crime figures on a monthly basis and making victimization and satisfaction surveys.

Proposition n°4: the publication in pilot-sites of a monthly crime-report