THE URBAN SAFETY IN AN EUROPEAN GLOBAL CITY.
AN ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL POLICIES OF PARIS

ECATERINA BALICA[*]

ABSTRACT

The recent events which took place in some European cities (Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Munich, Nice, London, Barcelona) brought into attention the necessity of local policies analysis regarding the safety of citizens in the European big cities.

In this context, I decided to analyse the way in which the European global cities above-mentioned enclosed urban safety in public policies. The present paper discusses the strategies developed by local authorities from Paris to secure personal safety for residents and tourists. The methodology comprised the analysis of public documents of the local authorities: city hall, police, and tourism office. The analysis is structured alongside several dimensions: safety for travelers in Paris; safety in Paris for tourists; safety for women; safety of the local transport; level of risks to be victim of street crimes and prevention of crime victimization.

Keywords: urban safety, global city, local policies, Paris.

INTRODUCTION

Concerns about urban safety in the European space have entered a new stage when the European Forum for Urban Security (EFUS) was set up in 1987 (Edwards et al. 2013: 262). Over the years, the representatives of the cities reunited under the aegis of this Forum have tried to propose a new perspective and adapted to the realities with which the European urban space is confronted:

_____

[*] Senior researcher habilitated, Laboratory '*Violence and Crime. Mediation and Prevention'* Institute of Sociology – Romanian Academy. E-mail: catibalica@yahoo.com

> "In summary, EFUS has used the concept of urban security to reframe problems of crime and violence as problems of social justice, not just criminal justice, which are concentrated in cities but often have their origins elsewhere, for example in forms of financial and organized crime, but which can and ought to be prevented through social and economic policy interventions by partnerships of municipal authorities that are driven both by scientific insight and by popular democratic will." (Edwards et al. 2013: 263)

The interest of European criminologists for urban safety has become greater since the terrorist attacks in Madrid (2004) and London (2005) (Edwards and Hughes, 2013: 257–258). The term urban security was little used in the academic environment until 2013 when a group of criminologists decided to analyse urban safety strategies in several European countries: Italy, Portugal, Spain (Recasens et al. 2013), Finland (Virta 2013), Germany (Frevel 2013), United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland (Gilling et al. 2013).

Out of the definitions used in various international documents, I chose to select for this study the following description of urban safety:

> "[…] a citywide and participatory process to address the risk factors, and above all, protection factors of insecurity in cities, creating the conditions of more sustainable, inclusive, cohesive and just cities." (Universidad Alberto Hurtado 2008 apud Habitat III, 2015:2)

The terrorist attacks which took place in the last years in some European cities (Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Munchen, Nice, London, Barcelona) brought into attention the necessity of local policies analysis regarding the safety of citizens in the European big cities and not only.

In this context, I decided to look at how local authorities in big cities have integrated strategies for preventing citizens' victimization in local policies in order to increase the urban safety while increasing the risk of terrorist attacks. And since most studies have highlighted the fact that, after World War II, two European cities have developed particularly as compared to major European metropolises (Clark and Moonen, 2013), I made a choice between these two cities: London and Paris. Moreover, due to the way they have developed since the 1990s, these two cities have been described by specialists as global cities characterized by "very high concentration of the world's financial and related industries" (Ancien 2011: 2473). We chose Paris for several reasons, one of them was the fact that it was the city

that was hit by two terrorist attacks in 2015 (the Charlie Hebdo attack and the November 13 attack near Stade de France) that were with a large number of victims.

Paris as a global city

Paris is a global city with a population of 6.7 million (Paris and Haute de Seine, Seine-Sant-Denis and Val-de-Marne) and a density of 8,803 inhabitants / square km (Insee 2017). The development plan initiated in 1960 by the French authorities (the so-called Grand Paris) led to the transformation of this city into a large urban agglomeration (Desponds and Auclair 2017) which acts as the gateways for business, investment and tourism (Clark and Moonen, 2013:7). In the typology of European city strategies, Paris is included in the "world city" category as it has:

> "Attributes: Large (>5m) population, $300m+economy, established financial and headquarter capitals, dynamic business services ecosystem supported by national government.
> Strategic priorities: Infrastructure upgrades responsive to growth, vigilance on business climate, more favorable governance and fiscal arrangements." (Clark and Moonen, 2013:8)

At the same time, before the terrorist attacks, Paris was positioned on the top places in various international charts on the best performing cities. In a top of the world's 25 most performant cities, Paris was considered to be the world's third-largest city in terms of performance (Global Cities Index 2015) and ranked 19th as a Global Cities Outlook (Kearney, 2016). It has to be said that the two indices used in the assessment of the cities have different dimensions. The Global Cities Index Global has evaluated "business activity, human capital, information exchange, cultural experience and political engagement" and Cities Outlook 2015 has estimated how cities can develop into four areas: "personal well-being, economics, innovation, governance"(Kearney, 2016: 1).

After the terrorist attacks, the position of Paris in the international hierarchies remained as good as it was before. Recent assessments of how the city evolved and strategies adopted locally made it possible to place this city on the third place in the hierarchy of the world's best-run cities (Jones Lang LaSalle Incorporated, 2017).

Moreover, Paris was considered one of the safest 10 cities in Europe in 2015, more precisely Paris was ranked 9th in the region (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015). Even after the terrorist attacks that took place in this city, Paris has remained among the world's secure cities. In 2017, in a top of the world's safest 60 cities, Paris was ranked 24th (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2017: 5).

Paris is a touristic city that is visited annually by more than 20 million tourists coming from all over the world. The 2015 terrorist attacks have had direct

consequences on the intention of tourists to travel to this city. Thus, in 2014, the city was visited by 22.4 million tourists (Office du Tourisme et de Congrés, 2014: 4), of which 17.19 million were international tourists (Statista 2017). For the following years, official statistics recorded declines in tourists from 17.19 million (2014) to 16.99 million (2015) (Statista 2017). The decrease in the number of international tourists was also felt in 2016. Experts estimate that in 2016 the number of tourists decreased by about 1.5 million people as compared to 2015 (Hosie 2017). Financial resources from tourist activities (150 billion euros in 2014 – France 24, 2015) were also affected by the decrease in the number of tourists.

METHODOLOGY

As global cities are also tourist cities, the analysis has been focused on identifying how the concept of *urban safety* has been transposed into local policies for residents and tourists in Paris. The research aims to identify the strategies developed by the local authorities in Paris after the terrorist attacks of 2015 in order to ensure the personal safety of the inhabitants/ tourists visiting the city.

Research methodology included the analysis of documents published online by local authorities (prefecture, city hall, police, tourism offices) and analysis of the local authorities' web sites in Paris. The English and French versions of the documents and webpages were analysed. The analysis has been structured on several dimensions: tourists 'safety, residents' safety, women's safety, transport safety, victimization and victimization prevention strategies.

Among the research objectives were: 1) identifying the presence/ absence of basic rules for the protection of citizens/ tourists; 2) identifying the presence/ absence of information on emergency telephone numbers; 3) analysis of strategies to increase citizens' safety and reduce the risk of victimization for different categories of people (women, tourists, children and the elderly).

In order to identify the way in which the local authorities from Paris implemented personal safety at the level of local politics, I decided to analyse the information posted on the websites of the City Hall (www.paris.fr), Police (www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr) and Official website for tourists (ComitéRégional du Tourisme Paris http://en.visitparisregion.com; Official website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau -https://en.parisinfo.com). Due to the fact that I noticed the existence of differences between the English and French versions for the three above-mentioned websites I decided to analyse both versions of the websites.

The analysis of the information posted on the sites of the mentioned institutions was carried out between 25th of October – 11th of November 2017.

RESULTS

Paris City Hall

The website of the Paris City Hall (www.paris.fr) contains little information intended only for the safety of tourists, the vast majority of the information included in the structure of the web site and the posted documents are meant to inform citizens about local strategies to prevent delinquency and the risk of exposure to certain types of crime.

The English versions of the Paris City Hall contains only information related to the Police's phone-number and the list of Police's sections. Although the website has links at the websites for the tourists who are interested to spend the night in Paris, it does not contain allarms/ warnings related to the risks associated with the night life in Paris.

The French version of the website contains practical information which aim to prevent supplementary costs related to transport by taxi. That information is included in the special section UEFA Euro 2016. That information is also in English.

As shown at the beginning of this section, the City Hall web site contains more information on delinquency prevention. The French version of the website also contains a section on Prevention et Sécurité (Prevention and Security) in which the directions of actions of the French authorities are described. Among those directions of actions it is the fight against incivilities, the prevention of delinquency and the protection of vulnerable categories, such as seniors/ old people and tourists.

The Paris *Contract of prevention and security* (Le *Contrat Parisien de Prévention et de Sécurité*) is the document which contains information about the measures taken until 2015 and the plan of action for the authorities from Paris for the next five years (2015–2020). The implementation of the measures provided for in this document will be carried out by local institutions (Paris City Hall, Paris Police, Paris Prosecutor's Office) and non-governmental organizations with competence in the field of prevention of delinquency (www.paris.fr). There is a Prevention Contract in each area adapted to the problems in that area (www.paris.fr)

The action plan for 2015–2020 contains actions for preventing the youth delinquency, the protection of old people, of tourists and homeless, to prevent violence against women, to prevent victimisation in public transport and train stations, the increase of people's security during the night, preventing

radicalization and preventing offenses committed by foreign minors (*Contrat Parisien de Prévention et de Sécurité*).

All of the information posted on the City Hall web site reveals that there is also a Paris rehabilitation prevention program coordinated by the Paris City Hall, the Penitentiary Reintegration and Probation Service (Service pénitentiaire d'insertion et de probation de Paris - SPIP) (www.paris .fr).

Paris Police Department

The website of the Préfecture du Police (www.prefecturedepolice.interieur. gouv.fr) has three versions: in French, English and Chinese. One can notice the differences between the French and English version of the website. The French version of the website contains more information, including those devoted to the increase of personal security of the tourists and those related to policy for citizens' safety.

The *Actualité* section of the French version contains information about *Plan Tourisme 2017* and its axes: securing tourist areas, creating institutional partnerships and developing interventions in support of victims. Through the activities included in this plan, the Paris police tried to provide more security to tourists coming to this city from 15th of June to 15th of September. During this time, special police units (Group d'Action Touristique and Unité de Sécurisation Touristique) operate in tourist areas. At the same time, tourist areas are video monitored through the Urban Supervision Center. In addition to the information contained in this plan, a video with concrete tips for tourists has been uploaded on this page to prevent victimization. The video contains images of examples of thefts of phone, purses or cards and how they can be avoided. This video is also accessible for tourists visiting the English page of the web site.

ConvetionParisenne de site July 17, 2017 is another document posted in the Actualité section through which we are informed about measures taken locally by police, city halls, tour operators, and other tourism related institutions (https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr).Particular attention has been paid to terrorist attacks. Thus, at the end of 2015, the police posted a poster and a video with instructions to teach Parisians and tourists how to act in the event of an ongoing attack, protect and alert the institutions. The poster and video information and images posted on the police website are well structured and accessible to French speakers.(Https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/Nous-connaitre/ Actualites/Prevention/Comment-reagir-en-cas-d-attaque-terroriste-la-video). Victims of terrorism can access online information on their procedures and rights, starting in July 2016, through a single Office for the disclosure and declaration of victims of terrorism (https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/Nous-connaitre/ Actualites/Demarches/Terrorisme-creation-d-un-guichet-unique-d-information-et-de-declaration-pour-les-victimes).

The Vigipirate Plan is another section where information on the three stages of alert (*1. Vigilance; 2. Sécurité renforcée Risque d'attentat; 3. Urgence attentate*) and information on the current status of the Paris alert (at the time access to the Web site November 11, 2017 – Level 2 *Sécurité renforcée Risque d'attentat* was activated) (https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/Vous-aider/Prevention-des-risques/Plans-saisonniers-et-dispositifs-d-alerte/Le-plan-Vigipirate).

The English version contains, from the beginning, warnings related to risk situations for tourists and basical rules for prevention of victimisation. All this information was included in section *Advice for tourist* FAQ. Tourists have also access to information regarding measures which can be taken in the case of victimisation and contact details of foreign embassies in Paris. The police web site provides quick access to information to help tourists know about the risks of being criminally offended (theft, aggression, or cheating). Additionally, tourists are taught how to react if they are victims and informed about the formalities to be filled in the case of victimization.

Tourists have also access to a set of publications which inform them about the ways in which they can prevent victimization. The publications are in English but some of them (such as Guide to Stay Safe in Paris) have versions in seven foreign languages (English, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Russian, Spanish and Arabic). "Guide to Stay Safe in Paris" (2013) is the publication prepared by the Préfecture de Police to prevent the victimization of tourists. It can be downloaded from the website of the institution and contains information to teach tourists to avoid victimization as a result of crimes such as theft, robbery, aggression. Particular attention is paid to the theft of phones, cards, cars, identity papers. The deceptions committed by taxi drivers and false policemen are also important sections of the guide, tourists being informed about the real cost of taxis and the type of bady the police have to present.

Paris Tourism Bureau

The official website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau (Office du Tourisme et des Congrès de Paris https://en.parisinfo.com) is a website that contains information published in French and other 10 international languages (English, Spanish, German, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Russian, Japanese, Chinese, Korean).

This analysis included only the French and English variants of the web site. Both versions of the web site have in the *Pratique/Adressesutiles* section details of police, fire and health emergency numbers (112), Drug Info Service, and contact details for police units in the 20 Paris districts. In this section also, three guides for tourists (French and English) were published, the analysis of which revealed that information for tourists' safety is limited. Two guides have inserted emergency number 112, and only one guide (Paris City Guide 2017-2018) contains tips to

teach tourists how to avoid being victimized by phone theft, cards, checks or identity papers.

Another section containing information to increase tourists' safety is *Daily life: useful info.* This section also has information to increase the safety of tourists. Staying safe in Paris is the subsection that provides information on Safety advice in Paris, information on police units and the *Vigipirate* program. Here tourists find concrete tips through which tourists can avoid becoming victims of theft, robbery or aggression. Tourists are also informed of the necessary procedures if they were victims of crime, police units and forensic services that can be contacted if they were victims. We note the presence of a special *Vigipirate*plan to increase security and fight against terrorism. Tourists get little information about this local authority plan. They are informed that the plan: 1) may include the involvement of citizens in identifying luggage and abandoned packages, and 2) require enhanced security measures when entering tourist attractions, closing tourist attractions and left-luggage services (*Vigipirate* security measures). Also, in the Staying safe section of Paris, travelers find the Stay safe guide in Paris (2013). This is the same guide that tourists also find on the Police Web site (see the Paris Police section).

The analysis of the ComitéRégional du Tourisme Paris web site (http://en.visitparisregion.com) highlighted that this institution is less concerned with the safety of tourists. Thus, on the official website there are three guides for tourists published in English. Only one guide (My summer in Paris) contains on the last page information about the emergency number and a phone number for situations where the tourist has lost or has his car stolen. Information on the telephone number to which the police, ambulance or fire brigade can be contacted has been placed in the *Useful information* section.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the websites of the three local authorities in Paris (City Hall, Police and Tourism Office) revealed that there is a concern from authorities to ensure the safety of citizens and tourists visiting this city. Local authorities have posted information and documents aimed at informing citizens and tourists about measures to prevent victimization and the procedures necessary for victimization. The French version of the Paris City Hall web site contains different information from the one in English. The English version provides only minimal information and links to the Paris Police website. The analysis of the French version of the Paris City Hall website highlights the increased interest of local authorities with competence in the field of crime prevention and instrumentation for the safety of

citizens and tourists. *Contrat Parisien de Prévention et Sécurité* 2015–2020 elaborated by the local Paris authorities is the best example of how to work together in the field of crime prevention. This document (posted on the City Hall's website) contains the directions of intervention in the field of problems identified at the city level (increasing the safety of women, elderly, tourists, diminishing delinquency, drug use), but also in case of the recent problems faced by the city's population (youth radicalization or delinquency committed by foreign minors).

The analysis of the website of the documents posted by the City Hall, the Police and the Office du Tourisme Paris highlighted that most tourist guides were developed in 2013. Although the Paris population and tourists have faced two of the largest terrorist attacks in the European space, and the websites of the City Hall and the Tourist Office were not included and information meant to prevent victimization of the population/ tourists as a result of terrorist attacks. A single website (Office du Tourisme et des Congrès de Paris, https://en.parisinfo.com) contains a minimum of information about the *Vigipirate* anti-terrorism plan, but no information on how the population works in terrorist attacks. Local authorities in Paris seem to have a different view of other local authorities in other cities of the world affected by terrorism. For example, the Mayor of London website contains a special section on the work of *the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC)*. This section presents the priorities of *the Police and Crime Plan 2017–2021*, and the activities aimed at preventing terrorist attacks occupy a special place in the structure of this plan.

The Paris Police website is by far the best adapted to prevent victimization of tourists and citizens. The information is easily accessible, well structured and contains concrete information designed to reduce the risk of victimization for tourists and citizens. Information on *Plan Tourisme 2017* shows that the police is trying to take new measures to increase urban safety. Those interested in knowing how to protect themselves in the event of terrorist attacks have the opportunity to access the police website and find out what action they should take if they are in the vicinity of an ongoing terrorist attack. Unfortunately, tourists who do not speak French do not have access to information on what a person should take in case of terrorist attacks.

The analysis highlights the efforts of the Paris Police, the City Hall and the Tourism Office to prevent the victimization of the population and tourists in this city. Measures taken to prevent specific offenses create the necessary framework to ensure personal security appropriate to the specificities of this global city. Although the Police Web site offers information to provide urban safety in the face of the terrorist attacks, this information is still difficult to access by non-French

tourists. The lack of information on anti-terrorism measures on the websites of the Tourism Office or City Hall and the lack of information in international languages are some of the vulnerabilities identified at the level of the information posted by the assessed Paris local authorities.

REFERENCES

ANCIEN, D. (2011). Global City Theory and the New Urban Politics Twenty Years On: The Case for a Geohistorical Materialist Approach to the (New) Urban Politics of Global Cities. *Urban Studies*. 48(12): 2473–2493.

CLARK, G, MOONEN, T. (2013). *Europe's cities in a global economy: tre ands, challenges and opportunities*. London conferences. October 2013. Global Cities Initiative. Centre for London.

COMITÉ RÉGIONAL DU TOURISME PARIS. (2016). *My summer in Paris*. CRT/Rb and Terre de Sienne. France.

DESPONDS D. AUCLAIR, E. (2017). The new towns around Paris 40 years later: New dynamic centralities or suburbs facing risk of marginalisation? *Urban Studies*. 54(4):862–877.

EDWARDS, A. GORDON, H. LORD, N. (2013) Urban security in Europe: Translating a concept in public criminology.*European Journal of Criminology*. 10(3):260–283.

FRANCE 24. (2015). *France set record number of tourists in 2015*. 21.08.2015. Available at http://www.france24.com/en/20150821-france-set-record-number-tourists-2015-business-economy-paris.

FREVEL, B. (2013). Managing urban safety and security in Germany: Institutional responsibility and individual competence. *European Journal of Criminology*. 10(3): 354–367.

GILLING, D. HUGHES, G. BOWDEN, M. EDWARDS, A. ALISTAIR, H. TOPPING, J. (2013). Powers, liabilities and expertise in community safety: Comparative lessons for 'urban security' from the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland.*European Journal of Criminology*. 10(3):326-340.

HABITAT III. (2015). *Issue Papers 3 – Safer Cities*. New York. 31 May 2015. Available at: https://unhabitat.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Habitat-III-Issue-Paper-3_Safer-Cities-2.0.pdf

HOSIE, R. (2017). *Paris tourist number drop due to fears over further terror attacks*. 22 February 2017. Available at http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/paris-tourist-numbers-drop-franch-terror-attacks-further-charlie-hebdo-bataclan-shooting-isis-a7592836.html

INSTITUT NATIONAL DE LA STATISTIQUE ET DES ÉTUDES ÉCONOMIQUES (INSEE). (2017). *Les resultats des recensements de la population*. Available at https://www.insee.fr/fr/information/2008354

JONES LANG LASALLE INCORPORATED. (2017). *The Universe of City Indices 2017*. Available at: http://www.jll.com/cities-research

KEARNEY AT. (2016). *Global Cities 2015: The Race Accelerates*. Available at https://www.atkearney.com/documents/10192/5911137/Global+Cities+201+-+The+Race+Accelerates.pdf, Accesed at 30.09.2017.

LE PLAN VIGIPIRATE. Available at: https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/Vous-aider/Prevention-des-risques/Plans-saisonniers-et-dispositifs-d-alerte/Le-plan-Vigipirate. Accessed at 11.11.2017

MAIRIE DE PARIS, PREFECTURE DE POLICE, PARQUET DU TRIBUNAL DE GRANDE ISTANCE DE PARIS, ACADEMIE DE PARIS, PREFET DE LA REGION ILE-DE-FRANCE. *Contrat Parisien de Prévention et de Sécurité 2015-2020.* Available at https://www.paris.fr/services-et-infos-pratiques/prevention-et-securite/la-prevention/l-animation-des-politiques-de-prevention-de-la-delinquance-4788

MAYOR OF LONDON. (2017). *A Safe City for All Londoners. Police and Crime plan 2017-2021*. Greater London Authority 2017. Available at: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/mopac_police_and_crime_plan_2017-2021.pdf

OFFICE DU TOURISME ET DE CONGRÈS. (2014). *Le tourisme à Paris – Chiffres clés.* Available at www. PARISINFO.com.

PRÉFECTURE DE POLICE. (2013). *Guide to Stay Safe in Paris.* Imprimérie de la dostl. Available   at https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/English/Publications/Guide-to-staying-safe-in-Paris. Accessed at 1.11.2017.

RECASENS, A. CARDOSO, C. CASTRO, J. NOBILI, G. G. (2013). Urban security in southern Europe. *European Journal of Criminology.* 10(3): 368-382

STATISTA. (2017). *Number of international overnight visitors to Paris from 2010 to 2016.* Available at https://www.statista.com/statistics/310377/international-overnight-visitors-to-paris/.

THE ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT. (2017). *Safe Cities Index 2017. Security in a rapidly urbanizing world.* Available at http://safecities.economist.com/safe-cities-index-2017 Accesed at 2.11.2017

THE ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT. (2015). *The Safe Cities Index 2015. Assessing urban security in the digital age.* Available at: http://safecities.economist.com/the-safe-cities-index-2015. Accesed at 2.11.2017.

VIGIPIRATE SECURITY MEASURES. Available at https://en.parisinfo.com/practical-paris/useful-info/staying-safe-in-paris/vigipirate-security-measures. Accessed at 6.11.2017

VIRTA, S. (2013). Governing urban security in Finland: Towards the 'European model'. *European Journal of Criminology*. 10(3):341–353.

UNIVERSIDAD ALBERTO HURTADO. (2008). *Manual for the prevention of urban crime and violence in Latin America.* Santiago.