Policing Opportunities and Threats (WP 1.2)

COMPOSITE
COMPARATIVE POLICE
STUDIES IN THE EU

Second Cross-Country Comparison

(WP 1.2)

Identification of policing opportunities and threats in the European Union, and the role of external parties

Contents

Management summary

This report's aim is twofold: (1) to develop an overall picture of the policing[1] environment, with an extra emphasis on the role of external parties, in ten European countries; and (2) to engage in a cross-country comparison. This report is largely based on 441 interviews with police officers and knowledgeable external stakeholders (such as journalists, trade union representatives, members of the public prosecution, mayors, et cetera) who have been interviewed in the period between January and May 2011 in ten countries: Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, the Republic of Macedonia, the Netherlands, Romania, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Although this report cannot but offer a snapshot in time, as all cross-section environmental analyses do by definition, it provides an interesting diagnosis of current and future trends in European policing from the perspective of 441 representatives of external and internal parties active in the European policing field of 2011.

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1 For the sake of variety in wording, we use terms such as policing, police and police force interchangeably.

To guide data collection regarding the policing environment, two different environmental frameworks from the academic business literature were used that offer theoretical lenses that help to see the critical trees in the otherwise rather impenetrable forest of the environment. On the one hand, a classical **PESTL** analysis was completed, where interviewees were asked to identify the major trends that currently or in the not-too-distant future impact their activities. This framework provides a list of potentially important issues in an organisation's **P**olitical, **E**conomic, **S**ocial, **T**echnological and **L**egal environment. On the other hand, resource dependency theory was applied to structure the analysis of the external parties that affect a police force's functioning, as well as to analyse how police forces sought to handle their interaction with these external parties. Together, these two theoretical frameworks facilitate the development of a high-quality analysis of the environment of the police forces in our ten participating countries. This analysis offers insights, together with the analysis of resources and capabilities (see work package 2), into the strategic context in which European police forces are operating, and in which they try to change their organisations such that they can improve their performance.

From the PESTL analysis, a number of interesting observations can be derived. First, the effect of the **economic crisis** on the police forces should not be underestimated. Almost all police organisations that were involved in our study have been severely affected by the economic crisis through budget and salary cuts. This is, in a sense, counter-intuitive because economic downturns also seem to lead to more crime, social unrest, et cetera. In other words in "bad times" you need more police, not less. From our interview data, a positive relationship emerges between the severity of the economic downturn, on the one hand, and the impact of the economy on the police forces, on the other hand. That is, the police forces in countries hit most severely by economic decline have been and will be confronted with the largest budget and salary cuts. Second, albeit posing a few interesting challenges, the **technological development** is generally seen as very positive from a policing perspective. Especially ICT advancements are viewed as offering positive opportunities to policing, as these may help the police in their ongoing efforts to catch criminals and keep order, and to work more efficiently with less tedious work. German police officers, however, tended to be rather apprehensive with respect to recent developments in ICT-technology, pointing out that these developments also provided new opportunities to criminals and facilitated the emergence of new types of crime. This was also mentioned in other countries (e.g. the Netherlands and France), but to a lesser extent. German police officers indicated that in Germany politicians and public opinion seem to be reluctant to give police similar rights to use modern surveillance techniques as in the UK or the Netherlands – a quite understandable reluctance given the specific German experience with repressive regimes in the 20th century.

Social developments are, by and large, evaluated to be very negative for policing, generating challenging threats. These social trends do not so much have a short-term impact, but rather gen-

erate a strong damaging impact on policing in the long(er) term. These developments are related to changing norms and values, decreasing authority of the police, changing demographic composition, and increasing inequality in society[2]. Especially the interviewees from large Western European democracies such as France, Germany and the United Kingdom perceive these social developments as major and harmful. In the Republic of Macedonia and Spain, the assessment of these societal trends is much less negative. And in Italy and Romania, the dominant perception is even that social trends offer positive opportunities, rather than negative threats. But whatever the overall assessment, these societal changes are considered to be the greatest long-term challenge for the police.

Governmental authorities and **political parties** have the ultimate power over the police. In all countries, police officers report an

2 The police officers tend to think of the past as a "golden age" where everybody was respecting their authority. It is doubtful whether this is actually the case.

increasing influence of the government. This can be through large and small reorganisations, the setting of police priorities, the appointment of top police officers, launching new responsibilities, introducing performance standards, developing new police procedures, and even by an increasing tendency to micromanage the police. These governmental initiatives are abundant in the ten European countries. Some of these organisational changes are broad in scope, while others are targeting a specific force, department or procedure. As so many of the external trends are of a political nature, and because of the formal power of the government over the police, the logical follow-up expectation would be that these political initiatives have a large impact on the police. However, this is far from what was reported by the interviewees. On the contrary, in general these government-induced changes have less of an impact than economic, social and technological trends. In most countries, these government-induced changes are seen as slightly negative for the police, but here there are large differences across our set of ten countries. In the Czech Republic,

France, Germany and the United Kingdom, these government-induced changes are assessed as strong negatives. In Belgium, the Netherlands and Romania, though, they are evaluated to be slightly positive. This is perhaps because these changes are perceived to give more responsibility, autonomy, and power to the police organisation and these changes are not related to micromanagement of the police by imposing strict policies and performance measures.

The central **legal issues** differ greatly from one country to another. In some countries, there are many legal changes, already in place or expected to come into force in the (near) future, with a tough impact on the police. In other countries, such as Germany, important legal changes do not seem to play a major role – at least as of now and with respect to the two German states where the interviews were conducted. In this respect, there is a large difference between the countries that still need to adapt their legal structure to European standards, such as the Republic of Macedonia and Romania, and the mature Western

democracies with well-established legal practices.

All in all, the PESTL analysis suggests that the economic downturn has a strong and negative impact on the European police forces. Although the associated budget cuts can potentially have a long-lasting effect on the police, the overall impact is largely of a short-term nature that, for a large part, already has run its course. Rather, societal and technological developments are perceived to generate the largest long-run impact on European police forces, hence representing the greatest opportunity for and the largest threat to the police. By and large, government-induced changes are assessed to have limited impact on the police. This suggests that the police forces should focus on developing their knowledge of technology, as well as on deepening their understanding of and adapting their dealing with societal trends. Reorganisations that do not contribute to increasing technological knowledge or understanding of societal trends run the risk of having little, if any, impact on the strategic positioning of the police, and may even negatively influence police performance.

Across our set of ten countries, there is a large overlap as to the importance and nature of the key PESTL trends, suggesting convergence in the European Union[3]. This is certainly the case with the economic and technology trends, and largely so with the societal changes, which are the challenges associated with the largest impact. Here and there, some smaller cross-country differences could be observed (e.g., demographic changes in society are perceived as more important in Germany than elsewhere), but a large number of societal changes can be found in all European countries. Only when it comes to legal and political changes, we see significant differences between the police forces in the ten countries, simply because they all operate in a different legal and governance framework, which is in a different stage of development in Eastern vis-à-vis Western Europe. The sizeable overlap in trends suggests that European police forces can learn

3 Of course, the Republic of Macedonia is not a formal EU member. However, this country is involved in an active policy of adoption of EU policing standards.

from each other's mistakes and successes in dealing with these economic, societal and technological challenges – e.g., as to how to cut costs, how to advocate police authority, and how to deal with ICT advancements. Especially because the timing of these trends may differ somewhat from country to country.

Major conclusions PESTL:

1 The economic downturn has a strong and negative impact on the European police forces. Although the associated budget cuts can potentially have a long-lasting effect on the police, the overall impact is largely of a short-term nature that, for a large part, already has run its course.

2 Societal and technological developments are perceived to generate the largest long-run impact on European police forces, hence representing the greatest opportunity for and the largest threat to the police.

3 By and large, government-induced changes are assessed

to have limited impact on the police. This suggests that the police forces should focus on developing their knowledge of technology, as well as on deepening their understanding of and adapting their dealing with societal trends. Reorganisations that do not contribute to increasing technological knowledge or understanding of societal trends run the risk of having little, if any, impact on the strategic positioning of the police, and may even negatively influence police performance.

4 There is a large overlap as to the importance and nature of the key PESTL trends, suggesting convergence in the European Union.

Beside the PESTL analysis, a study of the identity, role and influence of external parties – or stakeholders – was carried out. From this, we learned that the cross-country differences as to external parties are somewhat larger than those regarding the external PESTL trends, probably simply because the legal framework varies across countries. Nevertheless, in all countries, a government is often the formal authority. In some cases, this is the national government; in other countries, this is the local government; and sometimes, this is yet another level of government (e.g., Länder in Germany, a regional board in the Netherlands, or an autonomous community such as Catalonia in Spain). In general, the interviewed representatives from police forces feel that the demands from and expectations of the government are not very predictable. Perhaps because of this, police forces are very active in managing the expectations of the relevant governmental authority or authorities. By and large, the assessment is that they are doing a reasonably successful job in this respect.

The prosecution is often viewed as the second-most important external party, generally associated with high levels of authority and influence over the police. Moreover, this external stakeholder is believed to have a good understanding as to what police work is all about, expressing its demands and expectations pretty clearly. Nevertheless, on average, the interviewed police representatives feel that they do not perform well in terms of satisfying the expectations of the public prosecution. Actually, they think that fulfilling these expectations is hard to achieve, given the tension between what they are asked to do and the insufficient resources to be able to do so.

The third type of external party referred to by the interviewees is the general public – a very heterogeneous collection of citizens, and institutions and associations representing citizens in society that reflect an equally heterogeneous set of policing demands and expectations. On average, this stakeholder group does not understand policing very well, and has no formal authority over police forces. The general public is nevertheless very influential, and, according to police officers, their expectations of the police are pretty obvious. By and large, police forces are evaluated to not perform well here, falling short of what is expected from them by the general public. Only in the Republic of Macedonia and Romania, the police officers believe that they are performing in line with the general public's expectations. It is often mentioned by police officers that it is hard to meet

the expectations of the citizens. This finding is quite interesting and requires further study. Almost all police forces find it very hard to manage the expectations of this important stakeholder and there are no clear guidelines or uniform approach for this.

Depending on the country-specific security governance structures and legal frameworks, our focal police forces have to cooperate more or less intensively with other police and security forces. These other forces have a very good understanding of policing, as could be expected from external parties operating in the same "business", but they often have no formal authority and little influence over the focal police forces. Their expectations are not very predictable, as these can change overnight due to new priorities.

Last but not least, there are all kinds of partner organisations, such as juvenile care, tax authorities, emergency services, prisons, educational institutions, and more. The police forces in all countries actively cooperate with such partner institutions or organisations to fight crimes and keep or-

der. These institutions or organisations neither have formal authority nor formal influence over police forces, and they have a limited understanding of the police. Their expectations as to the police are also subject to unpredictable changes. By and large, the interviewees express the opinion that the police do not manage the expectations of these partner organisations very well. Notable exceptions here are the Czech Republic and Romania. In the Czech Republic, for instance, police forces are said to actively work together with partner organisations in the Integral Rescue System, which might be a reason for their higher level of performance in this respect.

Major conclusions external parties:

1 In general the European police forces perform rather satisfactory on the expectations of their most important external stakeholders; the government (i.e. often the formal authority), and the judicial bodies (e.g. public prosecution).

2 However the performance of the police versus the expecta-

tions of the citizens is significantly lower. Although the expectations of citizens are pretty clear, the police find it difficult to fulfil these expectations. This is partly due to citizen's lack of understanding of police work, but may also be caused by the lack of active management of citizens' expectations.

3 Given the considerable influence of the citizens on the police, this suggests that police forces need to improve the management of the expectations of citizens.

4 The performance of the police regarding the expectations of partner organizations is also quite low. By and large, the interviewees express the opinion that the police do not manage the expectations of these partner organisations very well.

Introduction

This document is the second report on the assessment of the external environment of the police in ten European countries based on the interviews performed in the period running from January 2011 to May 2011. The participating countries are: Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Republic of Macedonia, the Netherlands, Romania, Spain, and United Kingdom.

The purpose of this second cross-country report is twofold:

» To take stock of the policing opportunities and threats in the ten participating EU countries.

» To offer a discussion document for academics and police officers that enables

  a. Detection of key similarities and dissimilarities of this environment across our set of ten countries.

  b. Investigation of whether similar opportunities or threats are interpreted differently across our set of ten countries.

As indicated above, one of the purposes of this cross-country report is to stimulate a high-level debate on the challenges the European police is facing, and to enable further fruitful discussions between academia and EU police forces on the opportunities and threats emerging in and from the police environment. Some preliminary conclusions and a number of hypotheses were already discussed at various seminars – for instance, at the COMPOSITE conference (for researchers) organised on May 27 2011 in Utrecht, the Netherlands, and the COMPOSITE End User Board meeting (for academics and practitioners) held in Lyon, France, on June 30 2011. These meetings and other engagements, within and across countries, provided a collective learning experience and offered new insights that benefit this second cross-country comparison.

The current full report differs in a number of aspects from the earlier interim cross-country report. The most important differences between this full report and the earlier interim report are:

1 Work package 1 uses a so-called mixed-method approach, where open questions are combined with near-survey data (Creswell, 2003). This enables COMPOSITE to provide both qualitative analyses as well as statistical testing of relationships. Qualitative analysis is a powerful method to identify topics and their interconnections, if the phenomena under study are largely unexplored – as is the case here. Quantitative analysis offers COMPOSITE the opportunity to find statistical relationships that cannot be inferred at a single-country level (e.g., hidden relationships between the type of opportunities / threats identified and the job level of the police officer who identified them). The full report presents results from both the **qualitative as well as the quantitative analyses.**

2 The full report builds on **uniform and standardized definitions** of environmental trends and external parties. After the academic COMPOSITE meeting in Utrecht (May 27, 2011), we initiated a careful definition convergence procedure. This triggered a re-coding and reanalysis of the data in each and every country. Now, these definitions are aligned across all ten countries to ensure that environmental trends and external parties that seem similar across countries are indeed similar.

3 There seem to be large differences in the impact of these similar environmental trends and external parties on the various police forces in the different countries. *Why do seemingly similar environmental trends or external parties have such a large and diverse impact on the police forces in the different countries?* This report discusses this **variety in impact of similar environmental trends and external parties** in much more detail.

4 The full report is based on a somewhat different dataset than the interim report. The full report draws heavily on the quantitative data in the two score sheets on PESTL trends and external parties (see Appendix D), which were not

yet included – let alone analysed – in the first interim report. Note, however, that the score sheets were not fully utilised in all interviews, which limits what we can do with this quantitative information.

5 The full report is accompanied by **all ten country reports** in Appendix E. Each country report discusses in detail the environmental trends, opportunities and threats for that specific country, as well as the external parties in every country. Note that each country report has been compiled and written by each respective country team.[4] [4]Moreover, for the full cross-country report, we not only used the findings discussed in these country re-

ports, but also the underlying "raw" data.

This initial analysis of the external policing environment is meant as a steppingstone for further work, and not only as the final report for work package 1. It is also a necessary ingredient for a strategic analysis of the police forces in the EU (the result of the work in work package 1, together with work packages 2 and 4a), and will provide the basis and background for studying organisational changes that will follow in the next three years.

4 Specifically, work package 1's leadership has been actively involved in coordinating the fieldwork across countries. Part of this task involved the preparation of data collection and coding protocols and procedures, as well as commenting on interim country reports. However, note that the appended country reports have not been edited by members of work package 1's leadership team.

Methodology and data

This document is based on data collected through structured interviews with police officers and representatives of external parties of almost twenty different police forces (see Appendix A) in ten European countries. In each and every country, one or more research partners were responsible for conducting, transcribing and analysing (the raw data from) these interviews. The *ex ante* data collection preparation and *ex post* cross-country data analysis were executed by Utrecht University's work package 1 leadership team, in close collaboration with the leadership teams of work package 2 (University of Durham) and work package 8 (University of Antwerp).

In this chapter, we briefly discuss key issues relating to methodology and data. Note that, from a methodological perspective, the approach taken here is a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods, with an emphasis on the former. That is, the core of the data consists of qualitative information collected via structured interviews. Here, we followed well-established methodological guidelines regarding case study research by carefully preparing a structured interview protocol and strictly coordinating data coding procedures (Yin, 2009). Moreover, part of the information is of a quantitative nature, which offers the opportunity to apply low-n statistical techniques (as in, e.g., Heijltjes and van Witteloostuijn, 2003). [5]

5   Key here is n, which is the number of observations. Potentially, the number of observations varies from 10 to 438, depending upon the level of analysis. The level of analysis can be, e.g., countries (n = 10), police forces (n = 20) or respondents (n = about 438), or a combination thereof (then, we are in the realm of multi-level statistical analysis). The size of n, together with the nature of variables included in the analysis, determines what statistical techniques can be applied.

2.1
Interview preparation

Before the interviews were conducted, a detailed interview protocol was developed, together with a proposed **sampling strategy**. The sampling strategy involves a trade-off between the wish for representativeness (see below) and binding capacity constraints. Ideally, we would have liked to capture all potentially relevant variation through the composition and size of our sample. But this was simply undoable, given the resources available. After extensive discussions in the leadership team and the COMPOSITE research group as a whole, the decision was made to focus on four potential sources of relevant variation (i.e., as to the views regarding environmental trends and external parties[6]):

The choice of statistical techniques is discussed in the respective substantive chapters. One aspect of the data, though, already restricts the set of available statistical techniques, as what we have here is a cross-section data set.

6   Note that the leadership team took notice of the needs from the perspective of work package 2 as well, as the interview protocol integrated issues

(1) hierarchical levels within the police; (2) uniform versus non-uniformed police; (3) rural versus urban police forces; and (4) representatives from parties external to the police versus internal police officers. So, the proposed **sampling strategy** involved ensuring there was a good mix between internal and external interviewees, the former across higher and lower levels in the police forces, uniformed as well as investigative police officers, and rural as well as urban police forces. Specifically, the proposed sampling strategy implied the following series of interviews:

» Two officers at the top level (2 interviews).

and questions from both work packages 1 and 2. Moreover, preliminary inquiries relating to work packages 5, 6 and 8 on organisational change, identity and performance, respectively, were taken on board. This was done to provide opportunities to engage in exploratory integration analyses, as well as to pilot-test ways to collect information relating to the key constructs essential to later work packages within COMPOSITE. We return to this issue in forthcoming COMPOSITE publications.

» Three officers from each of the subgroups of uniformed versus non-uniformed officers and urban versus rural areas at the senior level (9 interviews).
» Three officers from each of rural and urban at the supervisory level (6 interviews).
» Eighteen officers in urban and rural police stations at the operational level (18 interviews).
» Twelve representatives from relevant outside stakeholder groups, such as union members, local councillors, journalists, prosecutors and academic experts (12 interviews). bers, local councillors, journalists, prosecutors and academic experts (12 interviews).

In total, this gives a proposed sample of 47 interviews per country, implying a grand total of 470 for ten countries.

Before the interviews were conducted, every country research partner submitted their sampling strategy for their country, which included a mapping of our requirements to the local context, suggesting deviations from the proposed sampling strategy if needed a this mapping exercise might imply the need for adaptation of the proposed sampling strategy to local country-specific circumstances. This, for instance, triggered lively discussions on the exact definitions of the different hierarchical levels distinguished within different focal police forces, as well as on the implication of the local country-specific situation context as to differences in rural and urban areas, and country-specific distinctions between investigative and uniformed police. Only after the sampling strategy was agreed upon by the work package leader, the interviews could be and were scheduled and conducted.

Together with the leaders of work package 2 (University of Durham), 5 (University of Durham), 6 (Erasmus University), and work package 8 / Action Line I (University of Antwerp), a standard interview protocol was developed, including questions related to this set of work packages, albeit with a clear focus on work packages 1 and 2. This joint effort facilitates efficiency, and offers opportunities to achieve synergies across the work packages. In December 2010, the draft interview protocol was pilot-tested in Belgium, the Netherlands, Romania, and the United Kingdom. The pilot-testing experience was used to develop a revised interview protocol. This revised interview protocol was extensively discussed during a meeting of the whole COMPOSITE research team in Oranienburg on January 12 and 13 2011. Subsequently, two varieties of the standard interview protocol were developed: a so-called elite interview protocol for top-level police officers and an external interview protocol for representatives of external stakeholder groups (non-police officers).

In conducting the interviews, all countries used the same three interview protocols (referred to as the "Standard", "Elite" and "External" protocol; in Appendix D, we reproduce the parts of the protocols that relate to work package 1). This is needed to make reliable and sensible comparisons across countries. However, the country contexts are too different to work with a fully standardised and rigid interview protocol. Therefore, to allow some flexibility to anticipate or react to country-specific contextual circumstances, the interview protocol includes a mix of open-ended questions and near-survey

items with Likert scales. The open-ended questions are used to collect rich, context-specific and often qualitative information; the near-survey items are meant to generate quantitative data. This combination of two types of questions / items reflects the mixed methodological approach referred to above. An interview took, on average, about two hours. In addition to the sampling strategy and the interview protocol, we must emphasise that there were important requirements regarding the experience and knowledge of the interviewers, given the complexity of the data collection method in combination with the profiles of the interviewees.[7]

2.2   Overview of conducted interviews

On average, about 44 interviews were conducted in each of the ten partner countries, from 30 in Italy

7 The leadership team prepared all material in English. It was expected that all country teams, with the exception of the United Kingdom's, would produce protocols in the local language, using well-established back-translation procedures.

to 54 in Germany (see Appendix B). Table 1 presents the distribution of interviews across hierarchical levels. Top-level police officers represent about 11 per cent of all interviewees. The vast majority of interviewees were operational-level police officers (in total, 37 per cent of all interviewees). The actual sample differed somewhat from the ideal sampling strategy, as could be expected, given large contextual differences across countries.[8] More top-level police officers were interviewed and a somewhat lower number of representatives from external parties

8 Another important issue is access to police forces and interviewees. In this respect, too, the COMPOSITE team was confronted with substantial cross-country variety.

than proposed in the initial sampling strategy.

Appendix B shows that a reasonable distribution across the various hierarchical levels was achieved, by and large, but with a few notable exceptions. In Belgium, a relatively large number of top-level interviews is conducted, and a rel-

Type of interviewee	Interviews	Percentage	Sampling strategy
Police forces	382	86%	74%
Top/strategic level	44	11%	4%
Senior level	85	21%	19%
Supervisory level	67	17%	13%
Operational level	146	37%	38%
External parties	59	14%	26%
Total	441	100%	47

Table 1: Distribution of interviews across hierarchical levels

atively low number of operational and senior-level interviews. In France, there are relatively many operational-level interviewees, and less senior and top-level interviewees. In Germany, the number of interviews with representatives from external stakeholder groups is relatively low. In Italy, a lower number of interviews have been done at the supervisory and operational level. In the Republic of Macedonia, most interviews are at

the senior and operational level, the supervisory level is not interviewed at all, and only one interview is conducted at the top level. In the Netherlands, the top level is relatively over-represented. In Romania, a large number of operational-level interviews have been conducted, but only two with representatives from external parties.

2.3
Representativeness

As said, this document is based on information collected through 441 interviews relating to 17 police forces in ten European countries. Therefore, this document reports the findings from a cross-country analysis of environmental trends and external parties. However, neither the sample of police forces nor that of the interviewees (or the set of countries, for that matter) can be regarded as representative. Given binding capacity constraints, representativeness was out of reach (by far), which was already recognised in the proposal writing stage of COMPOSITE[9]. Rather, we opted for depth

9 Note that this is not really an issue in Action Line II's work packages,

and richness. So, we should be careful not to draw too strict conclusions as to national differences or "the" police. In every country, one or more police forces have been extensively studied, but we cannot exclude the possibility that there are differences between our focal police force(s) and other police forces in a specific country. For example, the Romanian Border police, although very large, may not be representative of all Romanian police. Furthermore, the interviews were often held in one particular region within the respective country, implying that we cannot be certain that the findings hold true for this country at large. Finally, an average of 44 interviews per country is too little to guarantee representativeness. This is a low number when considering the total size of the police forces (there are police forces with more than 100,000 police officers).

We also need to be aware that we did our investigations in a

where the analyses shift to organisational change projects. As studying the latter is the main focus of COMPOSITE, Action Line I's key aim is to provide the background information necessary for this later work.

very short period of a couple of months. In some case, our results would have been very different if we had done our interviews one or two years earlier. For instance the economic crisis would probably not have been mentioned in 2008. Another case in point may be France where after eight years of legal change in favour of the police forces, France has recently passed the first law in ten years which is giving more power to lawyers. Such events might be quite important regarding the conclusions and their interest in a long term period.

Nevertheless, we believe that our findings are interesting in their own right for at least two reasons. First, even if interpreted with caution, the outcomes of our cross-country analysis offer a rich description of issues central to many (i.e., 17) police forces in Europe with respect to environmental trends and external parties. Jointly, our set of findings points to some interesting conclusions regarding policing opportunities and threats in the Europe, particularly to the extent that the findings are similar across our ten countries and twenty police forces. Second, a key aim of work package 1 (and work packages 2

and 4, for that matter) is to provide the background information essential for other work packages. That is, if we want to really understand the organisational changes within the focal police forces that COMPOSITE is going to study in the next years, the background information provided in the current report is critical. It provides a better understanding of the contextual setting within which the organisational change processes are embedded.

Finally we need to stress that our conclusions and observations in this report are almost completely based on the perceptions of police officers and knowledgeable external professionals. So if we report changes in criminality, these trends are based on our interviews, not on quantitative factual research on changes in criminality.

Environmental context of the police in ten European countries

This chapter presents the results from a classical PESTL analysis (Johnson & Scholes, 2000) of COMPOSITE's twenty police forces in the ten participating countries. It aims to answer the following question:

"What are the main Political, Economic, Social, Technological and Legal trends that impact the police forces?"

A PESTL analysis is a standard instrument in the toolkit of strategic management. Organisations do not operate in a vacuum; they are influenced by and they do influence their environment. To understand this (reciprocal) organisation-environment interaction, key is to understand their nature and the nature of the changes, in terms of direction and potential impact, in the environment. The environment is a multi-headed monster, though. This is why many different theories from many different disciplines circulate in the academic literature dealing with this organisation-environment interaction.

A well-known example is industrial organisation, which is the microeconomics of competition; another is organisational ecology, which is the sociology of industry evolution (van Witteloostuijn & Boone, 2006). And there are many, many more. In this context, the PESTL analysis is, indeed, a tool – and not a theory (van Witteloostuijn, 2001). In a way, it offers a (lengthy) checklist of environmental aspects that might impact the interaction of any organisation with its environment. An aspect from this list, in turn, can be associated with a specific theory. Consulting this specific theory is then needed to understand the nature of the interaction of the organisation with this specific aspect of the environment. For example, if the PESTL analysis reveals that changes in competition imply a great challenge for the organisation, then a deep understanding of the possible impact of this change in competition on the organisation can subsequently be facilitated by applying insights from industrial organisation theory. This understanding can then, in turn, feed back into a diagnosis as to how the organisation should anticipate or respond to the expected

change in competition by initiating organisational change.[10]

The example of competition seems to suggest that this type of analysis is only relevant for commercial (profit) organisations. Indeed, much of the work in strategic management, and hence PESTL, originates in the literature dealing primarily with commercial enterprises. However, the very same toolkit (and the underlying theories, for that matter) [11] can be ap-

10 So, a PESTL analysis is only one piece of the larger puzzle of organisational change and performance, as briefly explained in the original COMPOSITE proposal (see, e.g., Parker & van Witteloostuijn, 2010), as is the analysis of the impact of external parties (see the next chapters). Another piece of this puzzle, for example, is an analysis of the organisation's strengths and weaknesses as reflected in assets, capabilities, competencies and resources – an analysis central to work package 2. In future work in the context of work package 8, we will shed more light on this puzzle by combining insights from and data relating to different pieces.

11 Take the example of organisational ecology. This is a Darwinian selection theory of the evolution of organ-

plied to non-commercial organisations as well. This is immediately clear from the application of the PESTL framework to the public sector by Johnson and Scholes (2000). Of course, different environmental aspects may be important or similar aspects may work out in a different way if applied to the public sector. But that is something a PESTL analysis is supposed to reveal anyway: which aspects from the environment (are expected to) affect the focal organisation in what way?[12] That is, al-

isational populations that has been applied extensively to the world of non-commercial organisations (e.g., hospitals, labour unions and kibbutz). For an overview, we refer to Hannan and Freeman (1989).

12 Again, briefly discussing an example may clarify these issues. For policing, aspects of the political environment may turn out to be particularly important – much more so than for commercial enterprises. Also, the relationship is probably very different, as police forces – contrary to commercial enterprises – operate directly under political authority. Another example is competition. Although police forces do not compete head-on with other police forces in the way (non-monopoly) commercial enter-

Relative impact	Negative impact of environment	Positive impact of environment
High impact of environment	Germany, France, Netherlands	Republic of Macedonia, Romania
Low impact of environment	UK, Czech Republic, Belgium	Spain, Italy

Table 2: Perceived impact of the overall policing environment

though the PESTL tool as a framework is universally applicable, for each and every (type of) organisation, the outcomes tend to be specific for the (type of) organisation at hand. All this is not different for police forces. But the proof of the pudding is in the eating. So, in this chapter, we will prepare a police pudding using the PESTL ingredients.

3.1 Main changes in the environment

When we asked the interviewees to describe the change trends in the environment, we also asked them to rate these changes in terms of the expected impact of those trends on the police force, as well as to assess the direction

prises do, they have to "compete" for their share in scarce resources, as is revealed by the current budget cuts imposed on police forces all across Europe.

of the effect (i.e., positive, negative or both) of these trends. This was measured on a scale from –1 (very negative impact) to +1 (very positive impact). Also, interviewees evaluated each trend's importance, ranging from 1 (not important at all) to 7 (extremely important). Using this information, we can conduct a quantitative analysis of the overall environmental assessment across countries, forces, levels and the like. Here, we focus on cross-country differences – if any. From this exercise, we can see that interviewees from six countries perceive the overall police environment to be negative. These countries are, from high to low: Germany (–0.57), France (–0.47), United Kingdom (–0.36), Czech Republic (–0.34), Belgium (–0.20) and the Netherlands (–0.14). From these six countries, interviewees from three countries rate the impact of the environment on the police force as significant (reflected in a score higher than 5.5). These are Germany (6.03),

France (5.75) and the Netherlands (5.72). In three other countries, the impact of the environment on the police is considered to be less severe, with scores just below the threshold: United Kingdom (5.49), Czech Republic (5.41) and Belgium (5.15).

In four countries, the impact of the environment on the police is perceived to be positive. These countries are the Republic of Macedonia (0.02), Romania (0.11), Spain (0.06) and Italy (0.36). The impact of the environment is thought to be high in the Republic of Macedonia (5.90) and Romania (5.77), and relatively low in Spain (5.21) and Italy (5.33). The results are summarised in Table 2.

Overall, the analysis of the environmental trends points to an environment that is somewhat negative for the police, although the policing environment is perceived to be relatively positive in the Southern and Eastern European countries,

compared to the negative view in the Western European countries.

Looking into the type of environmental trends observed in the ten countries, we may conclude that in Europe many common opportunities and threats are perceived. However, although the trends are named similarly (e.g., economic crisis, or changes in government), the perception of the implications of these similar changes in the police environment are different across the participating countries. In the separate country sections, we will reflect in greater detail on the perception of the particular environmental change trends and their implications. The main quantitative findings are listed in Table 3.

Overall, our interviewees identified 1,575 environmental trends. Almost 500 trends have a predominantly social nature (31%), more than 350 are primarily political in character, and just about 300 trends (19%) have an economic profile. Of lesser importance are the legal trends (nearly 250; 16%) and the technological trends (about 200; 12%). Technological and economic trends have the highest impact of the five types of trends, followed by social trends. The impact of political and legal changes is considered to be pretty moderate. Both the economic and social trends are perceived to have a fairly negative impact on the police forces. Legal trends and, particularly, technological trends are evaluated to be beneficial for police forces. Interestingly, the political trends are considered to be least predictable, thus making it hard for police forces to prepare

themselves for these changes. Not surprisingly, the technological and the economic trends are viewed as largely foreseeable.

3.1.1 Differences in PESTL trends

There are, as can be expected, large differences across our sample of ten countries. We have visualised these differences in Figure 1.

1 Rather unsurprisingly, the **economic** trends are considered to have the largest negative impact in all ten countries. Not in a single country is the economic situation of 2011 evaluated to be positive. The perceived impact is different, though. In some countries (e.g., France, Germany, Romania and the Netherlands), the impact of the economy is assessed to be high. In other countries (e.g., Spain and Belgium), the effect of the state of the economy is considered to be rather limited[13].

13 This finding may, in part, be the result of multicollinearity. That is, economics might have fed into politics before having a major effect on the

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictability
Political trends	23%	Medium (5.8)	Slightly negative (–0.2)	Low (5.4)
Economic trends	19%	Very high (6.1)	Negative (–0.6)	High (5.8)
Social trends	31%	High (6.0)	Negative (–0.4)	Medium (5.6)
Technological trends	12%	Very high (6.2)	Positive (0.3)	High (5.8)
Legal trends	16%	Medium (5.8)	Slightly positive (0.1)	Medium (5.6)

Table 3: PESTL trends

Figure 1: PESTL trends per country

2 With respect to the **technological** trends, we notice a relatively high degree of cross-country agreement about the direction of the impact of these trends as well. In all countries except for Germany, technology is judged as having a positive impact on the police. There are, however, cross-country differences regarding the impact of technology. In Germany, the Republic of Macedonia and Romania, the effect of technological changes is perceived to be large, and in Italy as relatively small.

3 In by far the majority other countries (especially in the large EU countries of France, Germany and the UK), the **social** changes are regarded as very negative for the police forces. The interviewees in Italy and Romania form an exception, evaluating the effect of social trends as positive.

4 The evaluation of the impact of **legal** changes varies considera-

police: only if governments decide to initiate large budget cuts will the economic downturn be translated into a direct (negative) impact on police forces.

bly across the various countries. In France, the legal changes are considered to have a high negative impact. In three countries (the Netherlands, Italy, and the Republic of Macedonia), the legal changes are assessed to have a high but positive impact. And in Romania and Germany, the legal changes are deemed to be positive, but of little impact.

5 With respect to **political** changes, we find that the differences across the countries are the largest. This is no surprise, as each country has its own political system and police governance structure. Remarkably, political changes are not considered to be of high impact in any country. Thus, although political changes are viewed as rather unpredictable and are sometimes evaluated to have a positive impact on police forces (e.g., in Romania) and sometimes a negative effect (e.g., in Germany and the UK), the impact of political trends is assessed to be average or low in all countries. This suggests that although (a) the political movement(s) in power can change due to elections,

(b) political priorities shift with that on a regular basis, and (c) politicians can even exert their influence by launching reorganisations and engaging in micro-management policies, all in all the impact of these politically induced changes are of lesser importance than those deriving from the economic, social and technological trends.

For every environmental change, we have asked interviewees to assess the likeliness, predictability, direction, impact and timing of the change. Table 4 gives the correlations between these change characteristics. It seems to be that trends that are more likely to happen are associated with a shorter time frame (i.e., they are happening now, basically) and that their predictability is higher. Moreover, the results suggest that more predictable changes have a higher impact, but this positive correlation is probably for a large part caused by the category of political changes, which are seen as (highly) unpredictable and as having little impact. Most remarkable is, probably, that these change characteristics are hardly related to begin with.

	Likeliness	Predictability	Direction	Impact	Timing
Likeliness of trend	1.0				
Predictability of trend	**0.3**	1.0			
Direction of trend	-0.1	0.0	1.0		
Impact of trend	0.2	**0.4**	0.0	1.0	
Timing of trend	**-0.3**	-0.1	0.1	-0.1	1.0

Table 4: Correlations between change characteristics[1]

1 Only the shaded correlation values are significant (p < .1).

3.1.2 Differences in PESTL clusters

Due to the coding procedure that we applied to PESTL trends, with a single code for each trend, we were able to create a hierarchy of changes in which every PESTL trend received a four-digit code. The first digit indicates the type of trend (P, E, S, T or L). The second code offers a further refinement of the PESTL trend typology (see Appendix C), and shows the different kinds of trends within the PESTL typology. This enables us to produce a more in-depth cross-country comparison, as visualised in Figure 2.

ICT improvements are evaluated to have the largest influence on police forces. Other **technological** improvements (e.g., in forensic technologies) are deemed to be of

much lesser importance. Budget cuts are the **economic** aspect with the largest negative impact, but the other economic trends are also seen as very negative. Among the **social** trends, the (perceived) decreasing authority of the police is judged to have a very high and negative impact. Changing demographics, crimes, and societal norms and values are all social trends that are assessed to have a considerable and negative impact on the police. It is noteworthy that globalisation and immigration are not considered to be very important trends in all countries (although there are exceptions as we shall see later in this report).

There is one type of **political trend** that stands out: international politics, which is considered to be associated with a very negative and high impact. This is caused by the

fact that international terrorism is part of this trend, which is perceived to have a high negative impact on the police force, perhaps because it is an additional task that distracts from other police work. The other types of political trends – i.e., changes of governments and government influence (e.g., through reorganisations, policy setting, priority shifts, introduction of processes and procedures, and micromanagement) have little impact. The in-depth analysis of the legal trends reveals large differences. Although legal changes are generally seen as positive, the perceived diminishing legal powers of police officers are considered to have very negative influence. Internationally induced legal changes are evaluated to be positive, but the direction of this trend is largely determined by the fact that all Romanian interviewees were sampled from the Romanian Border police. The Roma-
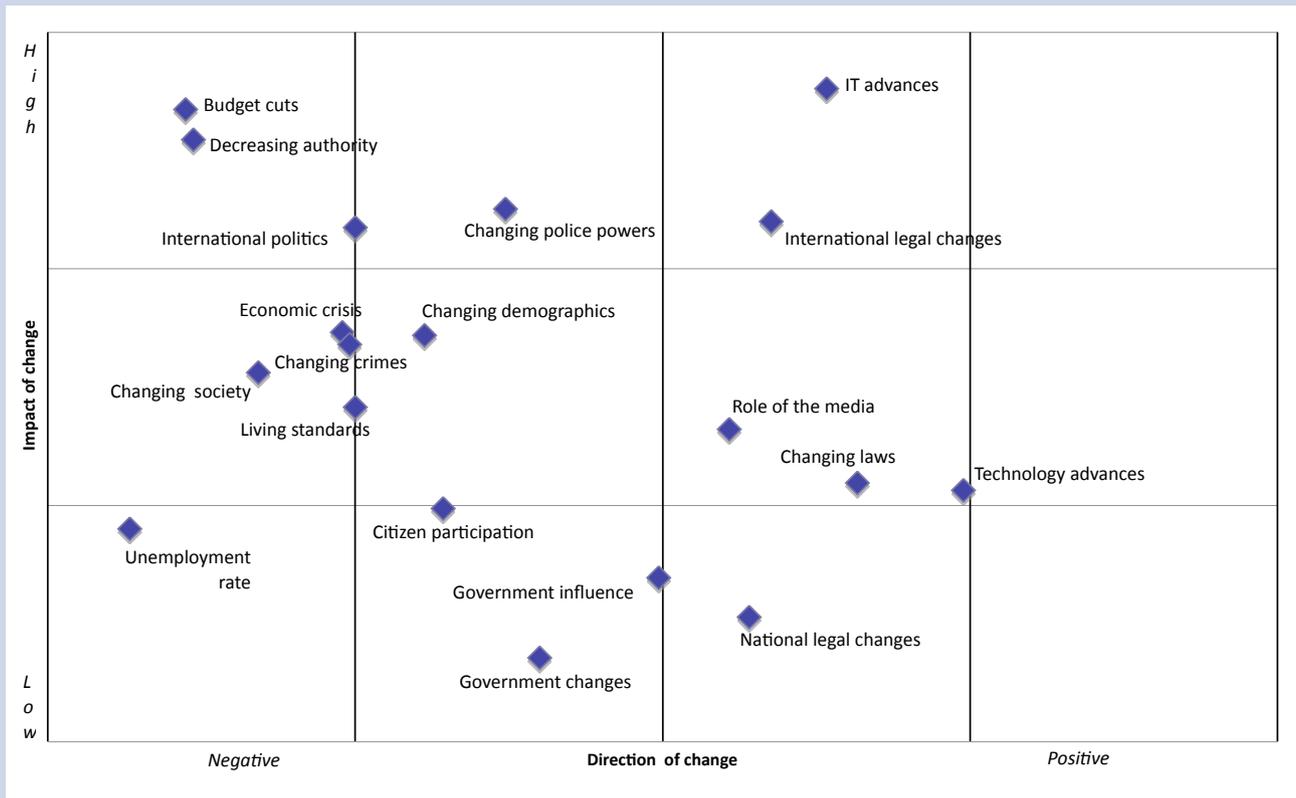
Figure 2: PESTL trends more closely examined

nian interviewees mentioned this trend relatively often. In other countries, this trend is not considered to be very positive.

3.2 Opportunities and threats in the participating countries

As stated above, similar environmental trends may have different implications per country, and may be perceived in a different manner by different police forces within countries. Therefore, we now move to an analysis of environmental challenges at the country level. That is, this section describes the opportunities and threats per country, one by one, offering a high-level overview for each country. More details can be found in the appended country reports.

3.2.1 Opportunities and threats in Belgium

The Belgian scores are listed in Table 5.1. In Belgium, **legal** and **technological** trends have the largest impact on the police force. Regarding technology, the interviewees mention the increased availability of ICT for citizens, criminals and police officers. For citizens, more ICT means that they have more access to information, triggering them to become more critical as to what the police do (and do not) and how the police perform. Criminals profit from easy information transfer, too, making existing criminal activities more efficient and effective, and offering opportunities to engage in new types of cybercrime. Furthermore, the police can optimise internal processes, and also have more ac-

cess to information and support, too. The interviewees see this trend as positive, all in all, but not very predictable. The most important legal trends relate to more international cooperation and to an increasing number of legal rules. Especially the increase of the legal rule stock is perceived as having a negative impact on the police. The effect of **economic** and **social** trends is assessed to be medium. Both types of environmental challenges are evaluated to have a negative impact. The state of the economy is a point of concern for most of the interviewees. Examples of social changes are the ageing of society and the increasing expectations of citizens, combined with less respect for authority. **Political** trends are believed to have a rather low impact on policing. The interviewees observe an international trend toward more right-wing political thinking. Furthermore, on all levels (national, regional, and local), the interviewees see government changes.

3.2.2 Opportunities and threats in the Czech Republic

Table 5.2 provides the Czech

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	18%	Low (4.9)	Slightly positive (0.2)	High (5.4)
Economic trends	27%	Medium (5.0)	Negative (–0.4)	High (5.6)
Social trends	30%	Medium (5.0)	Negative (–0.4)	High (5.4)
Technological trends	12%	High (5.5)	Slightly positive (0.3)	Medium (4.8)
Legal trends	13%	High (5.7)	Slightly negative (–0.3)	Low (4.5)

Table 5.1 Top environmental trends (PESTL) in Belgium

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	20%	Low (5.2)	Slightly negative (−0.3)	High (5.7)
Economic trends	33%	High (5.8)	Very negative (−0.7)	High (5.9)
Social trends	24%	Low (5.2)	Negative (−0.4)	Medium (5.6)
Technological trends	6%	Low (5.0)	Slightly positive (0.3)	Low (4.9)
Legal trends	18%	Medium (5.4)	Slightly positive (0.1)	Medium (5.6)

Table 5.2 Top environmental trends (PESTL) in the Czech Republic

scores. In the Czech Republic, the **economic crisis** is the environmental change with the highest, severely negative, impact on the police. This effect is evaluated to be negative, because the new government announced to reduce government expenditures, leading to budget cuts for the police. This will not only imply wage cuts, but also no room for renewal of equipment, which is badly needed. Other economic changes have to do with unemployment. This leads to a reduced living standard among (unemployed) citizens, which might generate extra criminality. Additionally, a few **legal changes** are assessed to have a significant impact. The most important legal changes in the Czech Republic involve the amendments of the Police Act,

in which the local-level municipal police will most likely become part of the national-level state police. All other trends have limited impact on the police. The **political** changes are considered to have a somewhat negative impact on policing. The Minister of the Interior is relatively new, as are the police president and his deputies. Interesting is that not many of interviewees mention ICT as the main **technological** change, as they do in the other countries. Rather, they focus on other technologies such as the modernisation of the car park, which has improved the perception of the police as a modern security body. As in most other countries, **social** trends, such as changing norms and values, are considered to have a negative impact on the police.

3.2.3 Opportunities and threats in France

The French scores are presented in Table 5.3. In France, **legal** changes are considered to be very important, having a negative impact on the police. This is related to the reform of the judicial procedures in France. This reform is very unpopular within the police: *"They're killing the judicial."*[14] The reform gives more rights to criminal suspects and fewer rights to police officers. This change was initially expected to lead to a large decline in motivation within the police force. However, now that the reform has been implemented, it turns out not to be as bad as was first feared. The **economic** changes are considered to be even worse for policing. The interviewees mention that France has become a consumption society. This leads to more crimes, because people seek a higher living standard. Furthermore, the police are confronted with budget cuts, going as far as not having patrol vehicles available, having to share them with other units or

14 Occasionally, we literally cite an interviewee to illustrate the argument made. These quotes are printed in italics.

having to do more foot patrols. **Social** trends are assessed to have a medium impact on the police. Criminality is changing in France in the sense that police officers think that criminals are become younger and more violent. They show less respect for the police than before. **Technological** advancement is also viewed to produce a, generally positive, medium impact on the police. The interviewees refer to a number of changes, such as the growing importance of forensic labs, CCTV and mobile devices. An expected downside is that the technological changes trigger more cybercrime. The availability of new technology-based methods is used by management to "control" the police. As one of the interviewees states, "we are managed by statistics." The new statistical software programmes are perceived as a useful management tool at the more senior levels, but the lower levels consider it as a controlling device first of all. **Political** changes are believed to have the lowest impact on the police. Police officers perceive that they are very much influenced by the media and politics. If they set a priority, the police have to react to this. The interviewees indicate that they feel manipulated by the media and politics. Another political change relates to organisational reforms within the police, aiming at more efficiency by means of control and centralisation.

3.2.4 Opportunities and threats in Germany

The German scores are summarised in Table 5.4. **Technological** progress, particularly in the field of ICT, is seen as the trend with the greatest impact on the police. But where these technology trends are perceived as an opportunity in most countries, the German interviewees view this as both an opportunity as well as a threat.

As in many other countries (e.g., France), **social** changes are evaluated to be important trends affecting the police. Amongst the relevant social trends, changes in the social composition of society (as a result of, e.g., immigration, shifting income distribution, ageing population, urbanisation, and migration within Germany) are mentioned very frequently, as well as changes in social values (less respect for police and authorities in general, more violence, et cetera). Demographic factors (such as an ageing society, urbanisation, migration, and low birth rates) are remarkably more prominent among the answers in Germany than in other countries. This can possibly be attributed to the fact that a large part of the interviews were conducted in the state of Brandenburg, which – as part of the former GDR – was confronted with low birth rates and ongoing emigration to the more prosperous parts of Germany in the

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	32%	Low (5.3)	Slightly negative (–0.3)	Medium (5.7)
Economic trends	9%	High (6.3)	Very negative (–1.0)	High (6.0)
Social trends	17%	Medium (5.8)	Very negative (–0.9)	Low (5.5)
Technological trends	16%	Medium (5.6)	Positive (0.7)	Low (5.5)
Legal trends	26%	High (6.2)	Very negative (–0.8)	High (6.4)

Table 5.3 Top environmental trends (PESTL) in France

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	19%	Medium (5.6)	Negative (–0.7)	Low (6.0)
Economic trends	15%	High (6.1)	Very negative (–1.0)	Medium (6.3)
Social trends	39%	High (6.2)	Negative (–0.7)	Medium (6.3)
Technological trends	19%	High (6.4)	Slightly negative (–0.1)	High (6.7)
Legal trends	8%	Low (4.9)	Slightly negative (–0.1)	Low (6.0)

Table 5.4 Top environmental trends (PESTL) in Germany

wake of the reunification process. The **economic** changes are seen as the largest threat to the police, with high and strongly negative impact. Most interviewees, however, viewed economic changes mostly with respect to the expected development of *Land* (state) budgets. Although Germany due to its strong export sector managed to get through the economic crisis better than other European countries, *Land* governments are still under considerable pressure to cut down on personnel costs and trim the deficit – particularly in the states of Berlin and Brandenburg where the interviews were held. **Political** changes are deemed to have a medium and negative impact. Mentioned frequently, in this respect, are European developments (e.g., open borders, Eastern enlargement of the EU, free

flow of goods, people, money and information, the Europeanisation of law, and increased cross-border cooperation). Other political changes referred to are changes in the *Land's* governments (a new coalition government and new Minister of the Interior). These changes are relevant because the German *Länder* (states) are responsible for all police matters, implying that the *Länder* governments decide upon the resources police forces are allotted, as well as on the structural framework of police organisations. Changes in the *Land* government are seen as both positive and negative. In the German states of Berlin and Brandenburg, where the interviews were held, **legal** changes, such as new laws and court decisions, that might affect police work were rarely mentioned.

3.2.5 Opportunities and threats in Italy

Table 5.5 reports the scores for Italy. **Legal** trends are believed to have the highest impact. This distinguishes Italy from the other countries. This is probably partly because in Italy the inevitable evolution of the legal framework is generally considered as "physiological", evolving according to the evolution of social and criminal phenomena. Another reason is that new rules and procedures have been established for the coordination between central and regional authorities, due to Constitution reform that generated devolution of competences from the national state to regions. This entailed new coordination needs – e.g., between the Corpo Forestale and Regional bodies – in the field of agriculture and forestry policies and surveillance. Additionally, an overall reform of the Corpo Forestale took place, widening its scope and enhancing typical police duties. **Social** trends, as legal trends, have also a high impact, which is considered to be positive. This is partly due to the fact that the population has an increasing sensibility toward police forces'

effort. For instance, increasing attention towards urban security or towards environmental issues, results in a more fruitful cooperation of the population with Arma dei Carabinieri and Corpo Forestale dello Stato.

As in other EU countries, there is in Italy an apparent contradiction between falling crime rates, on the one hand, and a decreasing perception of safety, on the other hand. The demand for protection from the citizens is growing, as is the request for attention to factors that affect the quality of life, including the difficulties associated with ethnic and cultural integration, urban blight, inequality and exclusion. In relation to international context changes, the Arma dei Carabinieri and Corpo Forestale dello Stato are expanding their interven-

tion, facing criminal threats from globalisation processes and new emerging markets. This trend is seen as a challenge, being related to new needs in terms of increasing effort and new knowledge development (an example for the Corpo Forestale is the increased circulation of problematic goods, such as illegally imported exotic flora and fauna, an example for Arma dei Carabinieri is the growing partipation to international peacekeeping and police missions). But the very same trend also provides new cooperation opportunities. The Arma dei Carabinieri is also strengthening an international network with similar police forces, increasing opportunities for exchange of good practices, also in the training area. This requires a stronger effort from the side of the police, in terms of cooperation with foreign institu-

tions and of new knowledge needs. These changes are perceived as as a natural and partly predictable evolution, not necessarily being negative or positive.

Economic trends are evaluated to be negative. In this changing operational environment, both the Arma dei Carabinieri and Corpo Forestale are confronted with budget cuts. Although difficulties must be faced, a positive side-effect might be that budget cuts are a stimulus toward increasing optimisation efforts. They are fostering the development of economies of scale in public administration, such as shared initiatives between central and local offices. Additionally, such cuts may push the police toward innovative and effective solutions. Despite these positive side-effects, the budget cuts are referred to as one of the most critical ongoing challenges. **Technological** changes are mostly seen as positive. For example, they enhance the possibility of strong control and protection on the ground. Police officers underline how their efforts must be seen from the perspective of being active developers, not only users, of new technology, by leading or contributing to

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	17%	Low (4.8)	Slightly positive (0.2)	Low (2.8)
Economic trends	14%	Medium (5.3)	Slightly negative (–0.2)	High (5.9)
Social trends	25%	High (6.0)	Very positive (1.0)	Low (3.0)
Technological trends	11%	Low (4.0)	Positive (0.5)	High (6.0)
Legal trends	33%	High (6.1)	Positive (0.6)	High (5.8)

Table 5.5 Top environmental trends (PESTL) in Italy

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	35%	Medium (5.9)	Slightly negative (–0.1)	Low (5.6)
Economic trends	18%	Medium (5.9)	Slightly negative (–0.3)	Low (5.5)
Social trends	25%	Medium (5.9)	Neutral (0.0)	Medium (5.8)
Technological trends	8%	High (6.3)	Positive (0.7)	High (6.4)
Legal trends	14%	High (6.0)	Positive (0.5)	Medium (5.9)

Table 5.6 Top environmental trends (PESTL) in the Republic of Macedonia

the development of specific technologies to support their activities. New technologies are generally considered to be one of the largest opportunity to increase the quality of work and of the service provided to citizens.

3.2.6 Opportunities and threats in the Republic of Macedonia

In a number of respects, the Republic of Macedonia is different from the other countries in our sample. The Republic of Macedonia has relatively recent experiences with armed conflict in its territory, and is not a full EU member. Consequently, the Republic of Macedonia focuses much energy and devotion to adapting the Macedonian legal framework to EU norms. This strong **legal** trend,

leading to substantial changes in national legislation, is seen as very positive, with high impact on the police. **Technological** advancements are also perceived as very positive for the police, being associated with a very high perceived impact. The other three types of trend – **economic, political and social** – are assessed to have a medium impact on the police, with an effect that is often evaluated to be slightly negative or neutral.

The scores for the Republic of Macedonia are given in Table 5.6.

3.2.7 Opportunities and threats in the Netherlands

The Dutch scores are provided in Table 5.7.

Legal changes, although infrequently mentioned, are considered to have a high impact on the Dutch police. There is a difference between national legal changes, which are seen as largely positive, and international legal changes, which are perceived as very negative. The two aspects mentioned regarding the national legal changes are the reform of legal police-related frameworks and procedures, and the trend to outsource police tasks to external security parties. The **economic** crisis is thought to have a large

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	22%	Medium (5.5)	Slightly positive (0.2)	Low (4.3)
Economic trends	14%	High (6.0)	Negative (–0.6)	High (4.8)
Social trends	36%	Medium (5.6)	Negative (–0.4)	High (5.1)
Technological trends	19%	Medium (5.7)	Slightly positive (0.3)	Medium (4.5)
Legal trends	9%	High (6.2)	Slightly positive (0.1)	Medium (4.5)

Table 5.7 Top environmental trends (PESTL) in the Netherlands

and very negative impact on the police. This is partly due to its impact on crime statistics, given the positive relationship between economic hardships in a society and crime rates, as well as direct negative impact on the police as a consequence of cuts in the police's budgets. **Technological** trends are believed to have a slightly positive impact on the police. Advances in ICT provide the police with improved means to prevent and identify criminals and crimes. At the same time, interviewees stressed the difficulty for police organisations to deal with the changes in ICT technologies. The fast advances in ICT lead to challenges in dealing with the overload of information available through a wide array of media and tools such as the Internet, CCTV and phone log-

ging. Moreover, new technologies generate new types of crime (e.g. cybercrime), and increasingly provide criminals with better tools for secure communication.

The interviewees in the Netherlands mentioned many **social** changes, such as those as to the type of criminality (criminals become younger and more violent, increasing network building among previously independent criminal groups, increasing professionalisation of criminals in terms of knowledge and technology, et cetera), and more cross-country criminality due to open borders. Furthermore, the interviewees observe a change in norms and values, which implies a hardening of society and decreasing respect for authority. The most important political change identified in the Dutch

sample involves the restructuring of the police (i.e., the creation of a national police force in combination with reducing the number of regional forces from 25 to 10), a more right-wing political climate, and the changing role of the police as supplier of safety and security. The latter trend is mostly due to an increasing influence of politics on police work, where politics sets priorities based on incidents rather than on long-term strategic goals.

3.2.8 Opportunities and threats in Romania

Table 5.8 reports the Romanian scores. In Romania, **social** developments and the **economic** climate are assessed to have the largest impact on the police. In Romania, the impact of the economic crisis on the police is perhaps most severe, among our set of ten countries. Budget reductions already resulted to a 25 per cent salary cut for all state employees. Social trends, such as the changing role of the media and the decreasing authority of the police, are considered to be positive for the police. In Romania, interviewees largely emphasise the positive aspects of **technological** trends. Technolo-

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	17%	Medium (5.7)	Very positive (0.7)	Medium (5.8)
Economic trends	31%	High (6.1)	Very negative (−0.6)	Medium (5.9)
Social trends	11%	High (6.1)	Slightly positive (0.3)	High (6.0)
Technological trends	15%	Medium (5.9)	Very positive (0.7)	Medium (5.9)
Legal trends	27%	Low (5.2)	Positive (0.4)	Low (5.1)

Table 5.8 Environmental trends (PESTL) in Romania

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	28%	Low (4.8)	Slightly positive (0.1)	Low (4.6)
Economic trends	11%	Medium (5.0)	Negative (–0.5)	Medium (5.1)
Social trends	30%	High (5.5)	Slightly negative (–0.1)	Medium (5.1)
Technological trends	9%	High (5.7)	Positive (0.6)	High (5.2)
Legal trends	21%	Medium (5.3)	Slightly positive (0.3)	Medium (5.0)

Table 5.9 Environmental trends (PESTL) in Spain

gy is thought to have a medium impact on policing, but a very positive one. **Political** changes are generally considered to be positive, but the frequent changes in the political arena lead to a perception of an instable government, which is seen as negative for the police by making it harder to create strong ties of support and cooperation. Last but not least, the key **legal** trend involves the convergence to international law. This is viewed as the most important change, and seen as positive for the police force, although its impact is pretty low.

3.2.9 Opportunities and threats in Spain

The scores for Spain are provided in Table 5.9. As in many other countries, **technological** ad-

vancements are seen as largely positive, with a high impact on the police. But the interviewees point to some negative aspects, too: technology can help the police to work more efficiently, but it also fosters cybercrime. **Social** changes are assessed to have a high impact on the police as well, but this is not seen as very positive. Among the youth, changes in social values and cultural patterns generate new challenges; they have less respect for authority, and engage more in alcohol and drug use. Immigration is an important social change. Spain receives many immigrants each year, which leads to social tension between immigrants and locals in the districts. The **economic** crisis has a medium impact, negatively affecting the whole country. Budget cuts have influenced the Spanish police

forces, too; their material resources are reduced, and the police officers' wages were decreased with five per cent. What makes matters worse is that there is more social tension, and that the need to safeguard public order has increased.

Many **legal** changes occur in Spain. All kinds of law changes influence the police work, as these changes tend to involve extra monitoring tasks. A positive point is that the legal changes are associated with new training activities, which help the police force to be updated. All in all, these legal changes are considered to have a slightly positive effect. Finally, although many interviewees mention **political** changes, the impact of these changes is evaluated to be relatively low. In Catalonia, there were elections in November 2010. In Catalonia, a change of government that brought power to a nationalist and right-wing party initiated positive changes, due to the newly introduced priorities regarding security. The implied political support for more police on the street had a positive effect on policing in Catalonia.

3.2.10 Opportunities and

Country	Share	Impact	Direction	Predictable
Political trends	21%	Low (5.4)	Negative (–0.5)	Medium (5.0)
Economic trends	17%	High (5.9)	Very negative (–0.7)	High (5.9)
Social trends	42%	Low (5.4)	Negative (–0.4)	Medium (5.3)
Technological trends	8%	Medium (5.6)	Slightly positive (0.3)	High (5.8)
Legal trends	12%	Low (5.3)	Slightly positive (0.1)	Low (4.3)

Table 5.10 Environmental trends (PESTL) in the United Kingdom

threats in United Kingdom

The British scores are presented in Table 5.10. The **economic** downturn is viewed as probably the most important challenge in the UK, with a high and very negative impact on the police. Not all interviewees perceived the budget cuts as negative, though. As one interviewee commented, *"the police force is a massive leviathan... We could easily assimilate 25% cuts if we did it properly."* As in the Netherlands, there is much attention for **social** changes in the UK. Further inequality in society, increased public order demand, increased misuse of alcohol and drugs, a changing attitude towards the police and increased domestic violence are all important social trends. These changes are mostly diagnosed to be a direct result of poverty and unemployment[15]. Change of government policies and policing strategies are two important **political** changes. Both the social and political changes have a negative impact on the

15 The riots in London and other large English cities in August 2011 provide evidence fort his observation, emerging after the interviews had been conducted.

police force. **Legal** changes are less frequently mentioned than the other types of changes, and the interviewees who referred to such changes do not agree on the direction of the trend's impact, as approximately the same number of interviewees evaluates this as positive, negative or both. The particular legal changes mentioned reflect high diversity, including changes to the Children's Act, the Fraud Act and the Sexual Offences Act. In terms of impact, **technological** trends are assessed as influential at a medium level.

3.3   Main changes in the environment – themes

In this section, we shift the focus to the underlying themes dominating the main environmental PESTL changes, as referred to by our 441 interviewees. Specifically, we will discuss four common trends that are observed in all ten countries. We will reflect on these

Country	BE	CZ	FR	GE	IT	MC	NL	RO	SP	UK
Impact	Low	Low	Low	Med	Low	Med	Med	Med	Low	Low
Direction	0	–	–	– –	0	0	0	++	0	– –

Table 6: Impact and direction of political changes

trends in more detail to see what is common to these trends and what is different across our sample of ten European countries. In so doing, economic, political, social and technological opportunities and threats pass under review in greater detail. Only legal trends are missing, as these do play a minor role in quite a few of our sample of ten European countries (so, for a discussion of the impact of legal changes, we refer to the above country-specific sections).

3.3.1 Government influence

In all countries, we see political changes. Typically, between 20 and 30 per cent of all environmental trends in a country are political in nature. The country scores are summarised in Table 6. The impact of these trends is generally assessed to be quite low, however, when compared to economic, legal, social and technological changes. The impact on the police is considered to be slightly negative, on average, although the Romanian interviewees view the effect as quite positive and British and German interviewees believe that the impact is quite negative.

Most of the political changes have to do with changes of government at the national, regional or local level. The police forces in all countries are influenced by such changes of government, particularly by the associated (changes in) government decisions and policies. We can distinguish, roughly, between two types of political environmental changes: political influence and government influence. The first type of changes mostly involves the general political climate in the focal country; the second type of changes relates to the specific policies initiated by the government leading the country or region.

A number of interviewees referred to the right-wing political climate in their countries. This trend is, for example, emphasised by interviewees in Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain. In Belgium, this right-wing political climate is perceived as an international trend, and is evaluated to be a threat because a different role is expected from the police. Contrary to this, in the Netherlands and Spain, the right-wing political climate is believed to bring opportunities for police work. For example, in the Neth-

erlands, there is more focus now on safety and security. A negative effect of this focus is that people become more critical towards the police, because they expect the police to solve all crimes and other safety and security issues, and to guarantee 100 per cent safety and security. In Catalonia in Spain, the nationalist right-wing party brought positive changes, also because of a stronger focus on safety and security. The right-wing Catalonian government promotes more police on the street, and are committed to give political support to the police.

Germany is the only country in which interviewees mentioned left-wing influences. These influences are mainly coming from smaller groups in the community, and are only perceived in the city of Berlin; the Brandenburg police interviewees did not mention this left-wing influences at all. In Berlin, left-wing activism has been an issue for several decades with significant fluctuation in degree. According to some police officers, left-wing militants have become better organised and more knowledgeable about police tactics which is seen as potentially threatening to public

security and the security of police officers as well.

At the national level, interviewees in a number of countries mention the large influence government and politics have on the police work. A large number of interviewees emphasise that they have to work according to the priorities set by the government, which change each time a new government takes over. These priorities often have to do with the political climate mentioned above, which is currently leading to more populist politics and policies. Additionally, police-related policies become more and more incident-driven, which does not always comply with the internal priorities of the police. In France, interviewees even stated that they felt "manipulated" by politics.

The interviewees in the different countries named different changes concerning government influence. The influences referred to differ across international, national and local governments. For example, interviewees from the Republic of Macedonia and Romania emphasise that international influences trigger important politically motivated changes in their country's police. Romanian interviewees are concerned with adhering to the Schengen area and full integration into the EU police infrastructure. Similarly, interviewees from the Republic of Macedonia refer to the implications of their country's move to convergence with EU norms, procedures and rules as to policing.

In a number of countries, the interviewees observe that government influences have led to far-reaching reforms, mostly in the direction of centralisation, in an attempt to make the police work more efficiently. In the Netherlands, the government is currently engaged in implementing policies aimed at centralisation in the police organisation. Specifically, the Dutch police will have to reorganise the current 25 police forces into ten, on top of which a new national police force will be introduced. These types of centralisation-promoting reorganisations are not regarded as a positive change by a large number of interviewees. Many interviewees share the opinion that a clear vision on police work is lacking in the political arena, and that – hence – the reason for why these change have to be implemented is unclear. In the UK, the new government started to implement a substantial reform as of 2010 with the aim to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the police. Only in Spain, the interviewees argue that the local police are given an expanding set of responsibilities, following the transfer of tasks from the national to the local police forces.

3.3.2 Economic crisis

The economic crisis has influenced the police in different ways in different countries, but police forces in all countries have been impacted by the current economic downturn. The assessments per coun-

Country	BE	CZ	FR	GE	IT	MC	NL	RO	SP	UK
Impact	Med	High	High	High	Med	Med	High	High	Med	High
Direction	–	– –	– –	– –	0	–	– –	– –	–	– –

Table 7: Impact and direction of economic changes

Country	BE	CZ	FR	GE	IT	MC	NL	RO	SP	UK
Unemployment (%)	8.5	7.1	9.5	7.4	8.4	31.7	5.5	8.2	20	7.9
GDP per capita	37,800	25,600	33,100	35,700	30,500	9,700	40,300	11,600	29,400	34,800
GDP growth 2010	2.2	2.3	1.5	3.6	1.3	0.7	1.8	–1.3	–0.1	1.4
GDP growth 2009	–2.8	–4.1	–2.7	–4.7	–5.2	–0.9	–3.9	–7.1	–3.7	–4.9

Table 8: Economic situation in the participating countries (Source: Eurostat, CIA World Factbook)

try are listed in Table 7. Clearly, in almost all countries, the impact of the economic crisis is severely negative.

By and large, we can distinguish between two types of economic influences on policing: indirectly, through influences on society; and directly, in the form of their effect on the police budget. The first type of influences follows from the general state of the economy in the countries. Interviewees in almost all countries mention that the state of the economy in their country is not very good, or not good at all. Interviewees in Belgium, for instance, refer to a deterioration of the economic climate. In most countries, the economic crisis is associated with a high level of unemployment and / or with a rising level of unemployment. The interviewees in the Republic of Macedonia indicate that their country's economic performance was already below par before the current crisis, and that the latter now leads to higher migration of people out of the country. In France, interviewees argue that he ongoing move toward the consumption society comes with higher expectations of citizens, because they want to achieve a higher standard of living. Unemployment and the desire of a higher living standard jointly generate more social tension, and accordingly more crime. The police are faced with a difficult task: on the one hand, they have to fight against more crime, due to the economic downturn; but on the other hand, they are themselves faced with tougher budget constraints.

These budget constraints have different implications per country. In France, the government launched a "Global revision of public policies". However, the interviewees point out that a better name would be a *"Global revision of public budgets"*. In the Czech Republic, interviewees remark that there is no room for renewal of equipment, notwithstanding the fact that the current equipment is outdated. In the Netherlands, the budget cuts lead to questions as to whether tasks will have to be outsourced, such as organising security at certain events. In Italy, the budget cuts imply lower recruitment.. In Belgium, salaries will not decrease, but the extras, such as working overtime, will. In the UK, 20 per cent of the budget must be cut in the next four years, but police officers cannot be made redundant. Therefore, no new police officers are recruited, and current police employees are stimulated to retire early.

More extreme are the examples of Romania and Spain, where substantial wage decreases for police employees have already been im-

plemented. In Romania, there was a 25 per cent cut in the salary of all state employees, in combination with layoffs. About 5,000 Romanian police employees will be made redundant in the coming years, meaning a reduction of approximately 15 to 20 per cent of the total police force in Romania. As a consequence of this, Romanian police officers may decide to migrate or to resign from police work. Moreover, some suicides of police officers have been linked to the bad economic situation of the Romanian police. In Spain, there are fewer resources available, and a five per cent decrease in wages has been introduced. Interviewees in the Czech Republic mentioned a decrease in wage funds as well.

Most interviewees perceive the economic crisis and the associated budget cuts as a threat, and hence as a negative change. However, there are a few interviewees who also see opportunities associated with this development. For example, in Italy, some of the interviewees mentioned that the budget cuts give the police the opportunity to really engage in a serious process of optimisation, which might lead to shared initiatives, and a search for innovative and effective solutions. Table 8 shows illustrative economic figures. These figures are echoed in the comments made by the interviewees. The lowest gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (in euros), combined with the highest unemployment rate, is found in the Republic of Macedonia. Furthermore, Romania has a relatively low GDP per capita, but does not perform that badly on unemployment. The other countries where salary cuts were introduced score low on GDP per capita relative to the other countries. Spain suffers from high unemployment relative to other countries. The Czech Republic does relatively well in terms of unemployment, though. The Netherlands is the top performer in terms of GDP per capita, and in terms of level of unemployment. Indeed, Dutch interviewees are also less concerned with budget cuts than their counterparts from other countries[16]. There is a strong positive correlation between GDP growth, on the one hand, and the direction and impact of the economic crisis on the police, on the other hand. The correlation between GDP growth and direction is 0.6, and between GDP growth and impact –0.7. So, in countries with low economic growth rates, the impact of the economic crisis is larger and more negative. Apparently, the (perceived) impact of the economic crisis on the police forces is strongly correlated with the actual development of the economy. The influence of the political decision process seems to be minimal, as

16   Notwithstanding this economic top position within Europe, the Dutch government has decided to engage in an unprecedented downsizing program, involving an overall budget cut of 18 billion euro. However, the right-wing profile of this government implies an emphasis on security, which is by police officers considered as good news for the police.

Country	BE	CZ	FR	GE	IT	MC	NL	RO	SP	UK
Direction	-0.4	-0.4	-0.1	-0.9	-0.7	1.0	0.0	-0.4	0.3	-0.4
Impact	5.0	5.2	5.5	5.8	6.2	6.0	5.8	5.6	6.1	5.4

Table 9: Impact and direction of social changes

the impact of the country's economic performance on the police is hardly mitigated at all by political factors.

3.3.3 Social pressures

A number of police interviewees mentioned that society becomes more individualistic, valuing traditions less. The assessments per country are listed in Table 9.

Again, we can distinguish between two broad categories of effects of social developments on the police: social developments in society that lead to more demand for police, on the one hand, and social developments influencing the police directly, on the other hand. This implies that many social changes reflect a two-edged sword. A clear example of this is that quite a few interviewees across different countries mentioned that society is hardening: there is more violence in society, less respect for each other, and less social control. In the UK, interviewees referred to increasingly more issues related to alcohol and drugs abuse, largely being triggered by the bad economic situation of many in British society (reflected in increasing poverty

and unemployment). Spanish interviewees point to similar social developments. In Spain, there are issues with juveniles considering a lack of respect as well as alcohol and drugs abuse. The level of civility among the young population is lower than ever, according to the interviewees in Spain; nothing seems to matter to them. For example, they do not care anymore about the public space. They get drunk or drugged and destroy cars, break windows and so on. Our interviewees report that this did not happen as much before. And indeed, youth unemployment is extremely high in Spain, having increased to about 40 per cent in the current economic crisis.

The police are influenced by these changes in society in the sense that they perceive less respect for authority. Also, people are behaving more violently toward the police. Indeed, quite a few interviewees believe that people justify violence much easier than before. This implies a two-edged sword, as at the same time the public's expectations are rising. That is, citizens expect the police to provide answers to their questions and to solve their problems at all times of

the day during all days of all weeks of the whole year, year after year. One of the interviewees in the UK posed the question: *"Does the police continue to try and police by consent in the traditional model in an increasingly non-consensual society?"* In Spain, interviewees mentioned that police forces are negatively impacted by the loss of core values in society, because there is less trust in and respect for them. Such erosion in core values is perceived by interviewees from most countries. However, in the Czech Republic, interviewees indicated that they thought that the police only face the issue of decreasing authority [17].

Another key social trend that emerged in many countries relates to immigration. Not surprisingly, the immigration issue is raised particularly forcefully by interviewees from the urban police forces

17 It would be useful to compare these comments with the real figures of crime (number of murder, of violent crimes). For instance in France, even if the police officers say that people are more violent, the number of violent crimes (e.g. murders) has been decreasing for years.

Country	BE	CZ	FR	GE	IT	MC	NL	RO	SP	UK
Net migration (per 1000)	5.1	-3.2	1.2	1.6	5.2	-0.5	1.9	0.0	1. 4	2.6

Table 10: Migration 2010 (Source: Eurostat and CIA World Factbook only for Macedonia)

and the border police. The type of immigration is different across the participating countries, however. For example, some interviewees mentioned that immigration is mostly from Muslim countries, which received a further boost as a consequence of the current revolutionary events in the Arabic states. Even police interviewees in Romania mentioned an increase in immigration following such events, although Romania experiences net emigration (see Table 10 below). Other interviewees primarily referred to issues associated with immigrants from Eastern European countries. In Spain, immigration was even evaluated to be the most important social change. About 15 to 20 per cent of the population in the regions that the interviewees represent are immigrants. The interviewees mentioned that, statistically, immigration is not associated with higher crime rates, but that the police have to play a role in reducing social tension and citizen complaints. They then have to mediate between immigrant and non-immigrant communities, which is not easy because the immigrant groups tend not to trust the police very much. In France, police interviewees remarked that they had to maintain order at demonstrations by illegal immigrants.

In Belgium and the Netherlands, police interviewees indicated that open borders lead to new types of crime. For example, Eastern European groups come into the country to commit organised crimes. An example of this is the Romanian groups that are involved in "skimming": obtaining bank account information with which money can be stolen from citizens and organisations. This happens, for example, by placing a device on ATM machines to read the card information, together with a camera for reading a person's pin code, with which money can subsequently be deducted from that person's account. The UK interviewees referred to challenges associated with increased immigration from other European countries, too.

Next to new types of crime, they also point to the language problem that occurs with these new groups of immigrants in their interaction with the police, because they do not speak English very well.

Table 10 presents the migration numbers per 1,000 persons in a country, which reflects the net effect of persons coming in and leaving the country. A positive number indicates that there are more people entering than leaving, while a negative number means that more people are leaving than entering.

The figures in Table 10 partly match with the interviewees' perceptions discussed above. For example, the high numbers for Spain and the UK are in line with the perceptions of the interviewees. Spanish interviewees indicate to have quite some problems with immigration, similar to their British counterparts. However, Italian interviewees not explicitly mentioned immigration as a major social change, notwithstanding Italy's highest net

Country	BE	CZ	FR	GE	IT	MC	NL	RO	SP	UK
Direction	0.3	0.3	0.7	-0.1	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.3
Impact	5.5	5.0	5.6	6.4	4.0	6.3	5.7	5.9	5.7	5.6

Table 11: Impact and direction of technological changes

immigration figure. This might be due to the fact that immigration is not a newly emerging phenomenon, but rather a stable factor of influence that is seen as a "natural" part of Italian society.

The only two countries with negative migration figures in Table 10 are the Republic of Romania and Macedonia. Even though Romanian interviewees refer to the increasing immigration of people from the Arabic states, the number of people leaving the country is probably still higher than the number of people entering. In both countries, the explanation offered for net emigration by the interviewees relates to the observed tendency of inhabitants to migrate to more prosperous countries.

3.3.4　Changes in ICT

The average evaluation scores of technological changes per country are listed in Table 11.

The changes in ICT affect the police in three different ways: they give more opportunities to the police, but also to citizens and to criminals. So, again, we have a two-edged sword here. For police forces, advances in ICT are therefore perceived as an opportunity as well as a threat, although the positive perception of ICT is, in most countries, perceived as much stronger.

The advances in ICT give criminals the opportunity to communicate in a more efficient and secret way, and offers more access to information. Moreover, many interviewees observe that advances in ICT lead to new types of crimes, such as cybercrime. The importance for the police to keep up with the advances in ICT is high, because they need to fight against these new types of crime. This is often difficult, as is, for example, explained by the interviewees in the Netherlands, where there is not enough capacity and knowledge to keep up with cyber-

crimes. In the Republic of Macedonia, for instance, the police's ICT is not yet at a sufficient level, implying the need to invest heavily in ICT capacity and knowledge – e.g., to fight against cybercrime. Macedonian interviewees mentioned that ICT would be the most important aspect that they would improve upon when they were asked what they would do with a 25 per cent budget increase.

In work package 4 of the COMPOSITE project, research into ICT changes and their impact on policing was, is and will be conducted. One of the themes that is described in work package 4's first deliverable (Denef et al., 2011) is the role of user acceptance, which refers to degree of acceptance of ICT advancements by the police. As in their report, in the context of work package 1, we find that it is hard for the police to stay up-to-date with technological developments in the world of ICT. For the police, advances in ICT of-

fer opportunities as well, for at least three reasons. First, ICT advancements help to gain access to information and to secure communication. Second, ICT makes information sharing easier. Indeed, integrating systems in order to work more efficiently and to share information is indicated to be one of the main themes in ICT trends for the police in work package 4's first deliverable (Denef et al., 2011). Third, social media offer a way for police to communicate with the public, maybe reaching a group that would not have been reached without social media, such as the younger populations in a country. In all these different dimensions of ICT's potential, police forces are currently experimenting to find out what does and what does not work in achieving their objectives. Both a threat and opportunity, from the perspective of policing, is the availability of ICT to the public. The public increasingly uses social media, Internet, and mobile phones (including mobile Internet) to communicate. A key effect of the changing social norms and values mentioned above is that citizens become increasingly demanding and critical. The extensive use of social media, Internet

and mobile phones facilitates the quick development and diffusion of opinions among citizens. On the one hand, this provides the police with new sources of potentially valuable information. On the other hand, spreading bad news about or opinions of the police emerges easier and quicker. For example, citizens can film every incident in which a police officer misbehaves and place this on the Internet, influencing the reputation of a whole police force. This trend is also acknowledged by Denef et al. (2011), stating that *"social media [...] puts additional pressure on the status of police in society and its legitimacy."* In the Netherlands, interviewees mentioned that police officers suffer from information overload. An investigative police interviewee gave the example of tap-

ping phones and explained that no so long ago, with a simple mobile phone, the log of the phone used to be around three pages. However, nowadays, with a large number of people using smart phones, this can amount to up to hundreds of pages of information.

3.4 Hypothesis testing

This section presents the results from simple statistical analyses of the perceived differences or similarities as to environmental opportunities and threats between a few of the various sub-groups of interviewees, as explained in Chapter 2's discussion of the sampling design. Two sub-groups are distinguished in the context of our statistical analyses: police officers (or "insiders") versus representatives of external stakeholder groups (or

Types of trends	Police officers	External representatives
Political trends	24%	24%
Economic trends	19%	19%
Social trends	30%	21%
Technological trends	11%	13%
Legal trends	16%	22%
Features of trends	Police officers	External representatives
Impact of changes	5.5	5.9
Direction of changes	–0.2	–0.4
Predictability of change	5.3	5.6

Table 12: PESTL differences between police officers and external representatives

Hypotheses	Results
H1.1: Police officers (insiders) mention changes of government more often than do external representatives (outsiders).	Rejected (p = 0.85)
H1.2: Police officers (insiders) mention social changes more often than do external representatives (outsiders).	Supported (p = 0.05)
H1.3: Police officers (insiders) mention criminal changes more often than do external representatives (outsiders).	Rejected (p= 0.75)
H1.4: Police officers (insiders) are more specific in the trends they identify, while external representatives (outsiders) view the wider context.	Not tested
H1.5: Police officers (insiders) see the change in demand for public order as more important than do external representatives (outsiders).	Not tested
H1.6: Police officers (insiders) perceive social changes differently from external representatives (outsiders).	Not tested

Table 13: Hypotheses as to PESTL differences between police officers and external representatives

"outsiders"); and lower-level versus higher-level police officers. In advance, three remarks are worth making:

1 To guide our statistical analyses, we formulated a series of benchmark hypotheses. As a source of inspiration, we benefited from the country reports (see Appendix E), discussions with police officers and academics, the input from the academic workshop in Utrecht (the Netherlands) and the descriptive statistics that emerged from the data collected. Note that the data collected only allow for a test of a sub-set of the initially formulated hypotheses.

2 For the sake of brevity, we refrain from offering an extensive rationale for each and every formulated hypothesis. In follow-up studies, which will be submitted to academic journals, this will be done much more extensively, after consulting and reviewing the relevant academic literatures.

3 Below, for the sake of complete

ness and transparency, we will list all formulated hypotheses – i.e., both the tested and the non-tested ones. Given the nature of the data, the statistical analyses are limited to straightforward mean-comparison t-tests. With such tests, we find evidence for or against the benchmark hypotheses that the mean scores of two different sub-groups of interviewees are statistically significant (requiring the p value to be below 0.1).

3.4.1 Differences between insiders and outsiders

Table 12 shows lists interesting differences between police offers and external representatives (or, in other words, between insiders and outsiders). Police officers mention social trends more often than external representatives do, while outsiders have the tendency to emphasise the importance of legal trends more than insiders do. Moreover, police officers view the direction of changes as less of a threat than external representatives do. Additionally, the insiders'

Types of trends	Operational	Supervisory	Senior	Top
Political trends	21%	25%	26%	20%
Economic trends	21%	18%	17%	18%
Social trends	35%	32%	25%	31%
Technological trends	11%	12%	12%	13%
Legal trends	13%	12%	20%	19%
Features of trends	**Operational**	**Supervisory**	**Senior**	**Top**
Impact of changes	5.7	5.5	5.8	5.4
Direction of changes	–0.3	–0.2	–0.1	–0.2
Predictability of change	5.5	5.4	5.5	5.7

Table 14: PESTL differences across a police force's hierarchy

evaluation of the impact of trends is associated with lower scores than that of outsiders. Finally, both sub-groups agree, on average, as to the predictability of change.

Table 13 provides the list of initial hypotheses, as well as the results from simple mean-comparison t-tests. These initial hypotheses were generated by the international research team in the Utrecht conference and where based on qualitative insights and their experiences in conducting the interviews. Three hypotheses could not be tested easily with the availabl

data, [18] and for two hypotheses (H1.1 and H1.3) no support could be found. That is, the hypotheses that insiders mention changes of government (H1.1) and criminal changes (H1.3) more frequently than external representatives are not supported by our data. We could find evidence, however, for

the hypothesis that police officers refer to social changes more often than external representatives do (H1.2).

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18 In future work, we will further explore this issue. Perhaps, recoding of the raw data will provide the opportunity to do some extra tests.

3.4.2   Differences between lower-level and higher-level police officers

Table 14 shows a few interesting differences between lower and higher-level police officers in terms of the frequencies with which the interviewees referred to types of trends and their features.

A linear relationship between the frequency of the trends reported and the hierarchical level of the police officer could not be found. Senior police officers refer to political trends more often than the other levels do. Both top-level ranks do not mention political trends a lot. Rather, they tend to suggest social trends, just as operational

Hypotheses	Results
H2.1: Lower-level police officers tend to refer to specific changes, and higher-level police officers to abstract trends.	Not tested
H2.2: Higher-level police officers tend adopt a strategic, and lower-level police officers an operational perspective.	Not tested
H2.3: Lower-level police officers tend to mention legal and political trends more often, and lower-level police officers tend to refer to social and economic trends more often.	Supported ($p < 0.01$)
H2.4: The impact of social trends is perceived as higher by lower-level police officers.	Supported ($p = 0.06$)
H2.5: ICT trends are rarely mentioned by higher-level police officers, but often by lower-level police officers.	Rejected ($p = 0.57$)
H2.6: Lower-level police officers are more negative about budget cuts than higher-level police officers.	Rejected ($p = 0.89$)
H2.7: Lower-level police officers are less negative about legal trends than higher-level police officers.	Supported ($p = 0.02$)

Table 15: Hypotheses across PESTL differences across a police force's hierarchy

and supervisory officers do. Legal trends are much more frequently identified by top and senior-level officers, and much less so by interviewees at the operational and supervisory levels. Officers at the operational and supervisory levels tend to view the impact of changes as somewhat more negative and less predictable than interviewees in top-level ranks. The latter see changes in a more positive light. However, these differences are not statistically significant. From Table 15, we can learn that social trends are indeed much more often referred to by operational police officers. They also tend to think that the impact of social trends is larger, compared to the view expressed by interviewees at the senior and top rank. Senior and top-level police officers are less negative as to the effect of legal changes. These findings provide support for hypotheses H2.3 and H2.4 (H2.1 and H2.2 could not – yet – be tested). Overall, the differences between higher and lower-ranked officers are quite limited, though, as is clear from the lack of support for hypotheses H2.5 and H2.6. There seems to be a reasonable consensus on the relative importance of the five types of trends, their impact and their direction across the hierarchical levels in the police forces. Differences between the ranks are only evident in the case of social and legal trends. Lower-ranked officers mention social changes more often and emphasise their high and negative impact, whereas higher-level police officers tend to refer to legal changes more frequently, but they are relatively less positive (-0.04 instead of +0.23) about the effects of legal changes on the police.

External parties of the police in ten European countries

This chapter builds upon a conventional external stakeholder analysis of the overall police forces in the participating countries. We refer to Johnson and Scholes (2000) for more details on stakeholder analysis. A stakeholder analysis offers, in a way, a specific type of environmental opportunities and threats evaluation (see Chapter 3) by targeting a key element in an organisation's environment: parties inside and outside the organisation that (a) are influenced by the focal organisation and (b) exert an influence upon the focal organisation. This aspect of influence is critical. Without any influence either way, from the focal organisation on the party and / or vice versa, this party is not defined as a stakeholder. Here, we only focus on stakeholder parties that, in the eyes of the interviewees, exert influence on the police.

Strictly speaking, these stakeholder parties can be located inside and outside the focal organisation. It should be noted, however, that our analysis focuses on external parties only – i.e., groups and individuals that do not belong to the focal police force, but who have influential connections with the police (such as government, citizens and the public prosecution).

Internal parties (such as employees, groups of managers, internal pressure groups, et cetera) are not part of this analysis. An external stakeholder analysis from the perspective of the police is meant to explore the following question:

Which external parties in the police environment have an impact on the police's behaviour and performance, and what are characteristic differences across these external parties in terms of the nature of the relationship with the police, their influence, and the extent to which the police satisfies their expectations?

By answering this question, we will obtain a more precise diagnosis, in terms of opportunities and threats, of a key aspect of the police's environment.

Specifically, in this chapter, we focus on two aspects of an external stakeholder analysis. First, we seek to find out which external parties are on the list of a police force's stakeholders to begin with. After all, the identity of external stakeholders may differ across countries, police forces, and subgroups of interviewees. Second, we explore the importance of seven features that may characterise each external stakeholder:

1 Level of formal authority. Some external parties have formal authority over the police, and others have not.

2 Level of influence. External parties may differ considerably in terms of the level of influence on the police.

3 Level of understanding. Some external parties have a better understanding of the police than others.

4 Predictability of expectations. The degree of predictability of what external parties expect from the police can differ substantially across external parties.

5 Meeting expectations. The expectations of external parties can be more or less difficult to satisfy.

6 Management of expectations. The expectations of some, but not all, external parties are actively managed by the police.

7 Performance on expectations. The extent to which the police perform in line with external parties' expectations does differ significantly across external parties.

As in Chapter 3, our data are from interviews with 441 police officers and representatives from external parties, reflecting both qualitative and quantitative information (see Chapter 2 on methodological issues). And as in Chapter 3, we proceed in two steps. First, we will present descriptive statistics, across all ten countries and per country, in terms of both the identity of the main external parties as well as their characteristics. Second, we will do some simple non-parametric t-tests to see whether there are significant differences in the assessment of external parties in terms of identities and character-

Type of external party	Frequency	Total
Local government	75	5%
National government	250	17%
Other government	165	11%
Other police organisations	214	15%
Citizens	199	14%
Partner organisations	316	22%
Judicial bodies	166	11%
Other external partners	76	5%

Table 16: Main clusters of external parties of European police forces

istics across sub-groups of interviewees (insiders versus outsiders and across the police hierarchy; see Chapter 3).

4.1 Main external parties

The main external parties identified by the interviewees in the participating countries are listed below in Table 16. As we will see below, these overall labels and frequencies hide cross-country differences, partly because the governance and legal structure are different from country to country and from police force to police force. For instance, where in one country the local government is the dominant governing and reporting body, in another country this might be the national government. Hence, the overall scores as represented in Table 16 should be interpreted with this in mind, and should be used as a reference point only when discussing the findings for the ten individual countries in Section 4.2.

From Table 16, we can learn that after the government (i.e., local government, national government, and other government institutions together take over a third of all references to external parties), partner organisations are most frequently mentioned (22%), followed by other police organisations (15%) and judicial bodies (14%).

As indicated above, seven questions were asked to the interviewees about each and every external party. To facilitate comparison, interviewees were asked to assign a score between 1 and 7 was to the following features of the external

External party	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Performance
Level of formal authority	1.0					
Level of influence	0.4	1.0				
Level of understanding	0.2	0.1	1.0			
Highly predictable	0.1	0.1	0.3	1.0		
Well managed expectat.	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	1.0	
Performance on expect.	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.6	1.0

Table 17: Correlations between features of external parties

External party	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Performance
Local government	High (5.1)	**Very high (5.6)**	High (4.8)	Low (3.8)	**Very high (5.5)**	**Very high (5.5)**
National government	Medium (4.7)	High (5.0)	Medium (4.7)	Low (3.7)	High (5.3)	High (5.3)
Other government	Medium (4.5)	High (5.2)	High (4.9)	Low (3.8)	High (5.3)	High (5.4)
Other police organisations	Low (3.0)	Medium (4.1)	**Very high (5.9)**	Low (3.3)	High (5.3)	High (5.0)
Citizens	Very low (2.9)	High (5.2)	Low (3.8)	**Medium (4.1)**	High (5.3)	High (5.1)
Partner organisations	Very low (2.6)	Medium (4.2)	Medium (4.5)	Low (3.5)	High (5.0)	High (5.3)
Judicial bodies	**High (5.4)**	High (5.1)	High (5.2)	Low (3.9)	High (5.3)	High (5.1)

Table 18: Features of external parties[1]

1 Here scores higher than 5.5 are considered to be very high, between 4.75 and 5.5 high, between 4-4.75 medium, between 3-4 low, and lower than 3 very low. It should be noted that, perhaps, a rescaled score per question (e.g., based on their distance from the mean) might more appropriate as some questions have notoriously high scores (e.g., performance).

parties: (1) the level of formal authority, (2) the level of influence, (3) the level of understanding of police work, (4) the predictability of their expectations, (5) the difficulty of meeting these expectations, (6) active management of this external party, and (7) the police's performance in terms of satisfying this external party's expectations. These features are not independent, but imply a subtle web of interdependencies, as can be revealed from the bivariate correlation structure reported in Table 17.

Not surprisingly, external parties with formal authority exert high influence and have a better understanding of the police, and their expectations tend to be actively managed, leading to somewhat higher performance. From Table 17, we can also see that it is harder to meet the expectations of (a) external parties that understand policing well and (b) external parties with expectations that are not predictable.

Table 18 reports the average scores, aggregated over all interviewees in all countries, for each feature per external party.

Interviewees in all countries referred to **judicial bodies** as an (and even the most) important external party. They reflect the category of external parties which overall score the highest on formal authority, which is associated with a high level of influence, too, as well as a good understanding of police work. What they want from the police is pretty predictable, and the expectations of the judicial bodies are reasonably well man-

aged by the police. In contrast with this, however, the performance of the police in terms of meeting the (probably tough) expectations of judicial bodies is rather mediocre. The most important judicial body is the public prosecution. The following storyline emerges from the interviews. The public prosecution is a demanding external party: they expect much information and high performance. The police need to provide data and evidence, so that cases can be solved. The police thus have to cooperate with the public prosecution, and they need to be transparent. Well-defined procedures help the police to manage the expectations of the public prosecution. Furthermore, the police try to be in frequent contact, and to satisfy their needs, to the extent they can. Public prosecution expects support in investigations, and a high quality of the files they receive from the police. The common goal, shared by the police and public prosecution, is crime fighting. Communication is key. The police realise this by engaging in informal contacts, but also through formal coordination platforms. In several countries, the police interviewees indicate that the public prosecutors are often not hap-

py with the quality of the reports they receive from the police – for example, because they are badly written. This is a concern. Some interviewees emphasise the importance to write high-quality reports, because this may help you further in your career, or because this means you will receive the ' best' investigative cases.

Local government is also mentioned as a key external party by a large share of the interviewees in the ten participating countries. In many countries (e.g., in the Netherlands and United Kingdom), local government has the formal authority over the police; in other countries, there is no formal authority, but still influence from local government can be substantial. It comes as no surprise, then, that local government scores highest on influence of all external parties. Local government has a mediocre understanding of the police, with expectations that are fairly predictable. But police forces are believed to be quite good at managing the expectations of the local government, and are assessed to perform very well as to meeting local government's expectations. Local government expects law enforce-

ment and safety of citizens in their city or region. Both police tasks are expected to be executed in a timely manner, implying that quick responses are requested. Also, local governments want to share information with the police, and want the police to provide assistance. The police try to manage these expectations by arranging meetings with the local governments, formally as well as informally. Furthermore, if local government has formal authority over the police, they try to live up to the local government's rules and procedures.

The formal authority and the level of influence of the **national government** are somewhat lower than that of local government. But as we will see later in the per-country analyses, this result is very much dependent on the legal and governance structure in the country at hand. As a rule, the national government expects the police to exchange information with them, and to provide assistance in fighting crime and keeping order. They want the police to enforce the law. The police have to obey the central government, of course, as the country's ultimate formal authority, and report to them properly. By

performing their tasks well and in time, they try to manage the expectations of the central government.

A totally different external party are the **citizens**. They are perceived to have a poor understanding of policing, but their expectations are rated as highly predictable. They do not have formal authority, but through elections and other means of pressure, they have a high influence on policing. Our interviewees suggested that the police is mediocre in managing their expectations and performs generally low on the expectations of this external party. Citizens have different roles in different countries. For example, in some countries citizens are seen as an important cooperation partner, because they are often the first ones to see a crime (and can thus help to catch a criminal red-handed). In other countries, citizens are not seen as a source of information. In all countries, citizens need protection from the police. They expect safety, protection, and problem-solving intervention. In a number of countries, interviewees mentioned that citizens become more demanding, expecting quick and successful problem-solving performance by the police in a large number of cases. The police manage these expectations by investing in fast response times, by solving problems as they emerge, and by trying to make the citizens aware of their own responsibility. Furthermore, the police seek to be visible, by communicating with the citizens directly or via social media.

Interviewees refer to **other police organisations** as cooperation partners, because of the shared task of defending public order and safety, and to fight crime. The other police organisations are said to expect cooperation, information sharing and clear communication. This is realised by politically imposed agreements and coordination meetings, but also through "voluntary" higher management agreements. Cooperation is organised in the form of joint task forces and integrated action systems. By their very nature, other police organisations are believed to have a very good understanding of policing, but their expectations are not predictable and, perhaps because they do not have formal authority or influence on the focal police force, they are not very well managed. Hence, it comes as no surprise that the level of the focal police force's performance as to satisfying other police organisations' expectations is evaluated to be very low.

The police work together with a number of **partner organisations** to reach their common goal of providing safety to citizens. For example, they work together with schools, health service organisations, and tax agencies. In the Netherlands, these are referred to as so-called chain partners, because they all add to the "chain of safety". These partner organisations work together with the police, but also want protection from the police. One of the interviewees mentioned that as soon as the police cooperate with these partners, they expect you to solve all their cases. To reach the common goal, agreements are made, and information is shared. In the case of schools, for instance, police officers visit schools and educate the youth. Next to the partner organisations referred to above, the police work together with several other institutions or organisations, such as emergency services, foreign institutions, and all kinds of public and private organisa-

tions. These non-police organisations mostly expect safety, protection and information from the focal police force. The police manage these expectations by communication, through formal as well as informal channels. As a rule, these organisations have no authority and little influence over the police. They somewhat understand policing, but their expectations are not predictable, nor are their expectations managed very well. As a result, police performance here is assessed to be average.

4.2 External parties in the participating countries

This section offers a summary of the findings as to external parties and their characteristics for each of the ten European countries separately. In this way, we can spot differences across countries. Of course, all we can do here is to provide a high-level overview. For more details per country, we refer to the individual country reports appended to the main text.

4.2.1 External parties in Belgium

The most important party is the **local government** – i.e., the mayor and aldermen. They have formal authority over the local police units, and they exert a very high level of influence. They understand policing and expect the police to work efficiently, but also to deal with priority crimes, often prioritised by the media. Rules and procedures help the police in Belgium to live up to these expecta-

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well-managed expectations	Perceived Performance
Local government	15%	Very high (6.1)	**High (5.8)**	**High (5.5)**	Low (3.6)	**Very high (6.2)**	High (5.6)
National government	3%	**Very high (6.3)**	High (5.3)	High (5.0)	**High (5.0)**	High (5.0)	**Very high (6.0)**
Other government	6%	Medium (4.2)	High (5.3)	High (5.1)	Low (3.0)	High (5.4)	**Very high (6.0)**
Other police organisations	41%	Low (2.2)	Medium (4.5)	**High (5.5)**	Low (3.2)	High (5.2)	High (5.6)
Citizens	4%	Low (1.4)	High (5.0)	Low (2.3)	Medium (4.1)	High (5.7)	Low (4.7)
Partner organisations	9%	Low (1.8)	Low (2.8)	Low (2.9)	Low (3.5)	Medium (4.0)	Medium (5.0)
Judicial bodies	22%	Very high (6.1)	High (5.5)	High (5.3)	Low (3.8)	High (5.4)	High (5.8)

Table 19.1: External parties in Belgium [1]

1 Here scores higher than 6.0 are considered very high, between 5.0 and 6.0 high, between 3-5 medium, and between 1-3 low. This applies to Table 19.1 to Table 19.10.

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well-managed expectations	Perceived Performance
Local government	7%	High (5.3)	High (5.8)	Medium (4.8)	Medium (4.0)	High (5.3)	High (5.7)
National government	6%	**Very high (6.8)**	**Very high (6.8)**	Medium (4.8)	Medium (3.8)	High (5.0)	High (5.8)
Other government	16%	Medium (3.0)	Medium (4.8)	High (5.2)	Medium (3.6)	High 5.2)	High (5.3)
Other police organisations	16%	Low (2.1)	Medium (3.5)	**Very high (6.4)**	Medium (3.1)	**High (5.6)**	High (5.6)
Citizens	13%	Low (2.0)	Medium (4.6)	Medium (3.6)	Medium (4.8)	Medium (4.8)	Medium (4.8)
Partner organisations	23%	Low (1.7)	Medium (4.0)	High (5.1)	Medium (3.4)	High (5.3)	**High (5.9)**
Judicial bodies	9%	High (5.6)	High (5.8)	Medium (4.6)	**Medium (4.9)**	Medium (4.5)	Medium (4.1)

Table 19.2: External parties in the Czech Republic

tions. However, communication via coordination platforms and informal contacts plays an important role as well. The police perceive that they are actively managing the expectations of the local government, and that they are doing this well.

The **judicial bodies**, particularly the public prosecutor, expect the police to carry out their task to the best of their abilities; they need to fight crimes, and they have to keep order. Furthermore, the police are expected to facilitate and support the public prosecution's activi-ties. By means of liaison roles (so-called "DIRJU's", who are persons bridging the police and prosecution) and other means of communication, these expectations are lived up to. Although the predict-ability of the expectations of the public prosecution is assessed to be quite low, the performance of the police as to meeting the public prosecution's expectations is eval-uated to be quite high.

The average scores for Bel-gium are listed in Table 19.1.

Other police organisations, such as the federal police units, were frequently referred to in Bel-gium. The local police expects clar-ity as to what of the federal police expects from them, so that they can give the needed support. Fur-thermore, the local police need accurate information. Informal contacts help to manage the ex-pectations of the federal police. Furthermore, liaison officers play a role in this relationship, and joint task forces are in operation (for example, in the case of important events or manifestations). Police units from the neighbouring coun-tries share the task with the Bel-

gian police to protect the borders. They expect their Belgian partners to be good colleagues, and they want to exchange information on criminals crossing the border. They prefer to set joint priorities and to cooperate in a smooth way. Rules and procedures play an important role to facilitate this, but again communication is key.

Representatives from **other government** bodies, such as the governors of provinces, expect that the police contributes to a positive image of the provinces, and participation in initiatives. Next to that, they expect that the police forces within the province collaborate well. Informal meetings and contacts, as well as a liaison-officer help manage these expectations.

Representatives from **national government** bodies, such as the minister of internal affairs and minister of justice, pay attention to issues related to cross-border safety and security. They expect enough police capacity for border-related crime-fighting. Rules and procedures help to manage these expectations, as well as direct supervision and liaison roles.

Citizens were rarely mentioned in the Belgian context. However, the performance of the police with respect to the expectations of this high-influence party is evaluated to be low. This implies a paradox, as (a) the expectations of the citizens are rather clear and (b) these expectations are well managed according to the Belgian interviewees.

4.2.2 External parties in Czech Republic

Table 19.2 provides the average scores for the Czech Republic.

Judicial bodies are assessed to have a high level of authority and influence. The most important judicial body is the public prosecution, which gives the police directions as to investigation tasks, and which expects that the case is properly investigated, solved and closed. Furthermore, they expect a high quality, because they are dependent on the quality and speed of police work. Courts expect the police to cooperate with them. The police have to deliver evidence on cases. The local government has as a main priority the safety of citizens. The safety actions by the po-

lice should be mainly preventive, to increase safety in the community. The expectations of local government are often higher than the capabilities of the police to meet these expectations. Therefore, the police have to seek balance in their communication.

The **citizens** demand absolute safety and protection, which is impossible to achieve. One way to try to live up to these expectations is to investigate offenses and crimes, quickly and effectively.

The police work together with **partner organisations** in the so-called Integral Rescue System, which consists of the police, medical emergency services, and fire brigades. The pillars of this system are personal safety (police), technical safety (fire brigades), and health protection and saving lives (medical emergency services). All pillars expect mutual help from each other. Furthermore, social workers expect protection against aggressive persons from the police. The police try to meet these expectations by patrolling in the office, giving physical protection and visiting stakeholders. Given the high score on performance per-

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
Local government	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-
National government	14%	High (5.5)	High (5.6)	Medium (4.8)	Low (2.5)	High	**High (5.8)**
Other government	5%	Medium (4.2)	High (5.0)	Medium (3.8)	Medium (3.0)	**Very high (6.2)**	High (5.8)
Other police organisations	11%	Medium (3.6)	Medium (4.7)	**High (5.9)**	Medium (3.2)	High (5.5)	High (5.7)
Citizens	6%	Low (2.7)	**High (5.9)**	Medium (3.3)	**Medium (3.6)**	High (5.6)	High (5.3)
Partner organisations	44%	Low (2.7)	Medium (4.2)	Medium (4.2)	Medium (3.4)	High (5.4)	High (5.3)
Judicial bodies	17%	**Very high (6.1)**	High (5.3)	High (5.2)	Medium (3.3)	High (5.8)	High (5.5)

Table 19.3: External parties in France

4.2.3   External parties in France

The average scores for France are listed in Table 19.3. The interviewees in France did not reveal a clear view on the police's external parties' concerns and expectations. It is more the other way around, namely that the police have expectations and concerns towards other parties. In France, the self-reported performance of the police on the expectations of the external stakeholders is quite high. There is much difference across external stakeholders in this respect, with the perceived performance varying between 5.3 and 5.9. Puzzling, though, is that the predictability of the expectations of quite a few of the external parties is quite low.

The **judicial bodies** are named as one of the most important external parties in France. They are concerned with quality and clear judicial proceedings. The police should strictly apply the rules of law, with no deviance whatsoever. The police need to live up to this expectation by sticking to the strict rules. This is of course not always the case as many official reports underline the bad respect of procedures inside the police force; many police officers are poor in maintaining procedural hygiene [19]. The local state authority is another important external party. They want the police to implement the government policies and guide-

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19 This phenomenon is not special for France. In many countries this experience was mentioned.

lines. The local state authorities are part of the ministry of interior. The "prefets" are appointed and dismissed by the national government. The police seek to be as responsive as possible, in answering to their request. The police have no other choice than to do so, because the local state authorities are their direct hierarchical authority. Local elected representatives (such as the mayor) are important external parties, too. They expect trouble-free cities, and they are concerned with the expectations and complaints of the population. But they have no power on the police forces. They can only ask but

the local state authorities can refuse. The police inform the local elected representatives, and report serious matters. Furthermore, they take part in local meetings and so-called patrol-specific areas. Their focus is on the specific issues that are prioritised by national politics.

Patrol police have most contact with public social institutions, public schools, public transportation companies, and professional football clubs. These external parties are mostly concerned with their own interests: safety at the bus, at the schools, and at the football

matches. Investigative police refer to social insurance agencies, experts, cell phone companies, banks, and forensic laboratories as important external parties. But here it is argued that it is the police that want something from these external parties, and not the other way around. The social insurance agencies want the police to investigate their cases.

4.2.4 External parties in Germany

The most important external parties are the **judicial bodies** (court and public prosecution). As

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
National government	11%	Medium (4.2)	High (5.5)	Medium (3.0)	Medium (4.0)	High (5.1)	High (5.0)
Local government	25%	Low (2.1)	Medium (4.6)	Medium (4.8)	Medium (4.9)	High (5.1)	**High (5.5)**
Other police organisations	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Citizens	13%	Low (2.1)	Medium (4.6)	Medium (4.1)	Medium (4.9)	**High (5.7)**	High (5.1)
Other government	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Judicial bodies	19%	**Very High (6.5)**	**Very High (6.2)**	**High (5.2)**	**High (5.4)**	**High (5.7)**	**High (5.5)**
Partner organisations	28%	Low (1.9)	Medium (4.7)	Medium (4.4)	Medium (4.8)	High (5.0)	High (5.3)

Table 19.4: External parties in Germany

in all countries, they need high quality case information. In Germany, laws regulating criminal procedure give judicial institutions formal authority over the police with respect to criminal investigation. This is reflected in the score in the table below, where only the judicial bodies have a very high level of authority and influence over the police. When investigating a crime, German police officers act as supporting agents of the public prosecutor's office and have to take orders from there. It is important to note, however, that German police forces do not depend on the public prosecutor's office when it comes to other police functions such as traffic safety or public order. Courts also play a major role for the police because they have the authority to decide whether a particular police activity was lawful in case someone objects and brings the case to court. Last but not least, judges need to give permission for crucial police activities such as search, detention, or the testing of blood alcohol. It is obvious that judicial bodies are a very important external party for the police. They score very well on all accounts. They have authority, influence, they understand the police, have predictable expectations which are managed, leading to a reasonable performance.

Second is the **local government**, i.e. the municipal institutions. Unlike in most other countries, municipal authorities have no formal authority over the police in Germany with the exception of North Rhine-Westphalia, reflected in a very low score here, although police put a lot of emphasis on keeping a good relationship with municipal offices dealing with public safety, youth, health, social affairs et cetera Most communities also keep security partnerships with police authorities. Police very often are called in cases when local authorities are out of duty, because police are the only public authority next to emergency services and fire brigades that are on duty 24 hours a day and seven days a week.

Within the group of **partner organisations**, the emergency services are an important party. Ambulances, fire brigades, and the police cooperate closely and hold collective debriefings. Schools are also mentioned as an important party in the prevention of juvenile crime and traffic accidents.

Citizens in general are fourth in line being mentioned as a relevant external stakeholder. This group of external stakeholders is not as homogeneous as other groups, and it is therefore harder for the police to identify the will and the needs of the citizens. This requires the police to take on different roles from service provider to consultant and mediator.

Politics are named also as an important external party; especially the *Land* government and – only in the case of Berlin and to a much lesser degree than the Land government – the administration of the city districts. The Ministers of the Interior define the political frame of policing. The Ministry of the Interior is the most powerful institution within the system of police and has the formal power to punish, transfer and even dismiss a police officer in case the wrongdoing warrants it. The police however, have to remain politically neutral. They try to do this by being well-informed about the political direction, and keep regular contact with politicians.

4.2.5 External parties in Italy

The average Italian scores are listed in Table 19.5. **National and local government**, such as ministries, regions and cities, are mentioned to have formal authority over and a very high influence on police activities, due to the Italian institutional and legislative governance structure. The performance on the expectations of national and local government is good to excellent, with scores ranging from between 4.5 to and 6.0.

Roughly similar assessments are made as to **judicial bodies**, particularly prosecution offices. Here, the formal authority is evaluated to be very high, too, and they have a good understanding of policing. Nevertheless, the formal authority and influence of the judicial bodies is lower than that of the national and local government.

Important external parties referred to are **other police organisations**, which have influence on the activities of the focal police force in terms of mutual cooperation needs. Concerns are mainly related to some overlap in functions and duties among the five national-level police forces and, therefore, the need for effective coordination and information sharing. The interviewees evaluate the focal police force's performance on the expectations of these other police organisations to be good.

Citizens are thought to exert very high influence on the police. They are considered as the key reference for police work, and concerns are related to the need to be as close as possible to them in the field.

Other **partner organisations** that were mentioned include envi-

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
National government	2%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Local government	7%	Low (2.0)	Medium (4.0)	Low (2.5)	Medium (4.5)	High (5.0)	Medium (4.5)
Other government	5%	**Very high (6.0)**	Very high (6.0)	**Very high (6.5)**	**Very high (6.0)**	Very high (6.0)	Very high (6.0)
Other police organisations	18%	**Medium (4.0)**	Medium (3.8)	High (5.7)	High (5.0)	Very high (6.0)	Very high (6.0)
Citizens	7%	Medium (4.0)	**Very high (7.0)**	Very high (6.0)	Medium (4.0)	**Very high (7.0)**	-
Partner organisations	22%	Low (1.0)	Medium (4.3)	High (5.8)	Very high (6.0)	Very high (6.3)	**Very high (6.5)**
Judicial bodies	9%	High (5.0)	Medium (3.0)	Very high (6.0)	Very high (6.0)	Very high (6.0)	-

Table 19.5: External parties in Italy

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
National government	5%	High (5.8)	**Very high (6.4)**	Low (2.8)	**High (5.8)**	Medium (3.8)	Medium (3.6)
Local government	27%	Medium (4.2)	High (5.3)	Medium (4.7)	High (5.0)	High (5.8)	High (5.8)
Other government	17%	Medium (4.7)	Medium (4.9)	Medium (3.8)	High (5.1)	Medium (4.6)	Medium (4.8)
Other police organisations	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Citizens	26%	Medium (3.4)	High (5.2)	Medium (3.8)	Medium (4.8)	High (5.4)	High (5.7)
Partner organisations	11%	Medium (3.8)	High (5.1)	Medium (3.8)	High (5.5)	High (5.8)	Very high (6.0)
Judicial bodies	12%	**High (5.9)**	Medium (4.6)	**High (5.3)**	High (5.3)	**High (5.9)**	**Very high (6.3)**

Table 19.6: External parties in the Republic of Macedonia

ronmental associations, volunteer organisations, universities, private research institutes, the civil industry, international organisations, and politicians. While private sector actors have no major influence on police forces, relationships and mutual dependencies with public bodies are fully regulated by law. Therefore, there is little room for unexpected influences in this domain.

4.2.6 External parties in the Republic of Macedonia

Table 19.6 gives the average scores for the Republic of Macedonia. The most important external party in Macedonia are the **citizens** in all forms, ranging from concerned residents and witnesses to victims and even criminals. In this category, both individual citizens as well as citizen action and lobby groups are classified. These different citizens and representative bodies basically expect that the police work professionally according to the law. Police officers in Macedonia note that they actively manage the expectations of citizens by working in a timely and efficient manner, and that this re-

sults in increased trust and increased levels of cooperation. The Macedonian police scores high on this aspect, in the eyes of the interviewees.

The second group is the **local government**, which consists of several local authorities such as the municipal councils, mayors, and local security councils. Here the interviewees perceive a tension. This has to do with the perceived lack of cooperation from the local authority, on the one hand, and their unrealistic expectations as to what the police can

and should achieve, on the other hand.

The third group are **national government organisations** such as ministries. The expectations across different ministries vary somewhat (e.g., the Ministry of Justice has a different relationship with the police than the Ministry of External Affairs). Here, the introduction of new legal structures does produce bottlenecks. In the worst case, not meeting ministerial demands will lead to budget cuts. Police officers think that the national government has little understanding of police work.

The fourth most important party are the **judicial bodies**, which includes the public prosecutions office. Here, strict adherence to the law is of greatest importance.

Finally, a variety of **partner organisations** (for training, inspection services, et cetera) are mentioned. With them, cooperation is necessary to solve cases and fight crime.

4.2.7 External parties in the Netherlands

In Table 19.7, the average scores for the Netherlands are listed.

In the Netherlands, the most frequently mentioned external parties are the **partner organisations**. This group consists of a conglomerate of institutions from disparate sectors such as the public health, housing, public transport, or finances. The purpose of this chain of safety is to solve cases together – an integral / comprehensive way of working, and also to share the responsibility for the cases. The way in which the police manage these parties is to make agreements and share information. Even though this is a difficult process, because police officers feel that they are always the

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
National government	10%	High (5.8)	High (5.9)	High (5.0)	Medium (4.8)	**High (5.8)**	Medium (4.9)
Local government	25%	High (5.5)	High (5.3)	Medium (4.3)	Medium (4.4)	High (5.3)	**High (5.3)**
Other government	1%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other police organisations	1%	Low (2.0)	Medium (3.0)	**Very high (6.0)**	High (5.0)	Very high (5.0)	High (5.0)
Citizens	12%	Medium (3.4)	High (5.0)	Low (2.9)	Medium (4.2)	Medium (4.9)	Medium (3.6)
Partner organisations	36%	Low (2.5)	Medium (3.8)	Medium (4.0)	High (5.1)	Medium (4.2)	Medium (4.9)
Judicial bodies	11%	**Very high (6.0)**	**Very high (6.3)**	High (5.3)	**High (5.5)**	High (5.3)	Medium (4.8)

Table 19.7: External parties in the Netherlands

"problem owner", the police want to invest in these relationships, because they know they cannot create safety on their own. They have no formal authority, but some influence and are somewhat knowledgeable about policing. The police forces perform reasonably well on their expectations.

The **local government** is responsible for public safety in the Netherlands. Here, the police sometimes have the perception that they are used to resolve almost all problems regarding safety and security. The police feel that other parties should also play a role in providing security, and that the municipality is sometimes demanding too much from the police (e.g., enabling grandiose festivities for the public and expecting that the police will always provide security).

Judicial bodies, in particular the public prosecution, needs great quality legal dossiers to put criminals behind bars. Both parties (police and public prosecution) have to work together, but there are sometimes difficulties in the way both parties look at certain issues. The public prosecution has

a more legal stance – and has authority in single cases – and the police may stress other aspects more, such as safety and prevention. This is certainly the case with the new nodal way of investigating versus the old way of inspecting. This new way of working demands a different way of working from the prosecution; it sometimes takes effort to align both parties.

Citizens want the police to be there for them 24 hours a day, seven days a week (24/7). At the same time they are increasingly critical about authorities. The police inform citizens, and make them aware of their own responsibilities. Also, the police try to involve citizens in their work. All in all this party is a very influential stakeholder, which is perceived to not understand policing very well. Although the police try to manage the expectations of citizens, their performance is assessed to be mediocre.

The **national government** – i.e., the Ministry of Security and Justice – is the fifth most important stakeholder. They set the national strategy and national procedures to which all police forces

should adhere. These have been established in 2011, which makes it too early to see consequences of this establishment.

4.2.8 External parties in Romania

Table 19.8 summarises the average scores for Romania. In Romania, the **national government** is the most mentioned external party. With this, a diverse list of authorities, directorates and ministries is meant. The most important party here is the Ministry of Administration and the Interior to which the Romanian Border Police belongs. In this relationship, interviewees see difficulties in communication, especially bottom-up communication. An important central body is the National Customs Agency, which also has an important role to play regarding border-crossing points. Strong interpersonal relationships greatly improve the relationship between the police and the customs agency. The level of authority and influence is assessed to be mediocre.

Citizens and citizen organisations are another important external party. Especially the citizens in

the local communities around the border-crossing points are important as sources of information and cooperation.

The **other police forces** and organisations of national security are important external parties, too, as the border police has to work together with these actors frequently to solve crimes. Here, sharing (giving and receiving) of information is a key discussion point.

In Romania, as in the other countries, **judicial bodies** are important external stakeholders, with a high level of police understanding.

The police is evaluated to perform very well on satisfying their expectations.

Finally, for the Romanian Border Police, **partner organisations** such as Frontex, Interpol, and Europol are important stakeholders as well. They even score the highest on authority. The interviewees do not attribute high formal authority to any of the mentioned external parties.

4.2.9   External   parties   in Spain

Table   19.9   provides   Spain's

average scores. The most mentioned external party in Spain are other police organisatons. They formally expect coordination and joint work. However, several conflicts arise when police forces work together, because what to do and how to do this can be rather fuzzy and unclear. Everybody seems to perceive that the required coordination results in a lack of autonomy and in delays, particularly because much information exchange is needed.

Government at different levels is referred to as important external party. The police are responsi-

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
National government	28%	Medium (3.1)	Medium (3.8)	High (5.3)	Medium (4.8)	High (5.3)	High (5.3)
Local government	6%	Medium (3.5)	Low (2.1)	Medium (4.8)	Medium (4.9)	Medium (4.3)	Medium (4.3)
Other government	6%	Medium (3.6)	**Medium (4.5)**	High (5.3)	High (5.0)	Very high (6.1)	Very high (6.0)
Other police organisations	29%	Low (2.8)	Medium (3.5)	High (5.6)	Medium (4.9)	High (5.6)	High (5.5)
Citizens	9%	Low (2.8)	**Medium (4.5)**	Medium (4.6)	High (5.4)	High (5.8)	High (5.6)
Partner organisations	10%	Medium (4.5)	Medium (3.7)	**High (5.8)**	**High (5.8)**	**Very high (6.2)**	Very high (6.2)
Judicial bodies	2%	Medium (3.3)	Medium (4.0)	**High (5.8)**	High (5.3)	Very high (6.0)	**Very high (6.5)**

Table 19.8: External parties in Romania

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
National government	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Local government	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other government	26%	Medium (4.8)	High (5.3)	High (5.3)	High (5.3)	**High (5.8)**	High (5.8)
Other police organisations	29%	Medium (3.9)	Medium (4.8)	**Very high (6.2)**	**High (5.8)**	High (5.2)	High (5.6)
Citizens	19%	Medium (3.9)	High (5.3)	Medium (4.1)	High (5.2)	High (5.4)	High (5.6)
Partner organisations	12%	Medium (3.5)	High (5.2)	Medium (4.8)	High (5.6)	**High (5.8)**	**High (5.9)**
Judicial bodies	10%	**Very high (6.1)**	**High (5.8)**	High (5.2)	High (5.5)	High (5.4)	High (5.8)

Table 19.9: External parties in Spain

ble for the enforcement of the law. The government wants the police to follow their instructions and implement their security public policies. Furthermore, they want the police to deliver information, so that they can make decisions. The police have to obey government, and that is how they manage their expectations. In one of the focal police forces, not following the political guidelines has resulted in a lack of political support for the police force. This was due to a conflict of priorities; the politician's instructions were in conflict with the police's internal priorities.

Citizens and citizen's organisations are a third group of important external parties. Citizens expect safety, punctuality, and adequate problem solving. It is hard to meet the citizens' demands, because there is always room for more and they have little understanding of actual police work. However, behaviour towards citizens should be clearly improved; it is not seen to be as good as it should be. Businesses and traders organisations require safety, particularly regarding specific types of businesses, local areas and specific times of the year. Furthermore, they expect information. The police hold peri-

odic meetings with these organisations, and give informal talks. It is not easy to meet the expectations, because the organisations have specific demands, which are hard to prioritise. Much attention is paid to citizens and citizen's organisations, as the police feel that they have to serve the public.

Judicial bodies expect information about the cases and events to be judged. The relationship between the police and the judicial bodies is good; the police meet their expectations. However, this leads to a large amount of bureaucratic deskwork. The police try to

perform very well. This is important, because judicial bodies can request other police forces to come into action.

4.2.10 External parties in the United Kingdom

The average scores for the United Kingdom are listed in Table 19.10. In the United Kingdom, the **local government** is the main external stakeholder. The police are actively managing this stakeholder by establishing direct liaison contacts and close cooperation. The local government expects the police to respond fast to incidents and to have a high quality of communication. Sometimes, the local government's expectations are a little bit unrealistic. However, it is not the local government, but the national government whose influence and authority are viewed as very high. The police scores high on meeting the expectations of the local government; the performance on satisfying the expectations of the national government is much lower. This is probably because the latter's expectations are much less well managed by the police. The **citizens** expect the police to be visible, respond quickly and resolve long-term problems. Interaction with the public is of greatest importance. Although they have no formal authority, they are assessed to have influence, being associated predictable expectations. All in all, performance here is average.

The United Kingdom stands out in that the **judicial bodies** score pretty low on formal authority and influence. Nevertheless, the performance of the police with respect to meeting their expectations is quite high.

External party	%	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
National government	5%	**Very high (6.5)**	**Very high (6.6)**	Medium (4.0)	Medium (4.7)	Medium (4.0)	Medium (4.6)
Local government	5%	Medium (3.5)	Medium (4.1)	High (5.3)	Medium (4.2)	Medium (4.8)	High (5.2)
Other government	31%	Medium (3.9)	Medium (4.9)	Medium (4.9)	**High (5.2)**	High (5.3)	High (5.4)
Other police organisations	5%	Medium (3.9)	High (5.0)	**Very high (6.3)**	High (5.1)	**High (5.5)**	**High (5.7)**
Citizens	19%	Medium (3.3)	High (5.0)	Medium (3.8)	High (5.0)	High (5.0)	Medium (4.9)
Partner organisations	25%	Medium (3.1)	Medium (4.4)	Medium (4.3)	Medium (4.8)	High (5.0)	High (5.0)
Judicial bodies	7%	Medium (3.5)	Medium (4.6)	Medium (4.2)	Medium (4.8)	High (5.3)	High (5.4)

Table 19.10: External parties in the United Kingdom

External party	Government	National government	Local government	Other police forces	Citizens	Partner organisations	Judicial bodies	Other
External party representatives	7.2%	12.2%	16.5%	12.9%	12.9%	20.1%	10.1%	7.9%
Internal police officers	11.8%	5.0%	16.1%	17.0%	13.9%	21.0%	10.4%	4.8%

Table 20: Insiders versus outsiders and the importance of external parties

Partner organisations are very important in the United Kingdom. Although they do not have formal authority or influence, the police perform pretty well on satisfying their expectations. Educational institutions are, just like in Germany, mentioned as an important stakeholder. However, where in Germany traffic education and crime prevention were considered the most important goals, in the UK the safety of the educational institutions and their direct environment seem the most pressing aspects. In the UK, the police feel they are expected to resolve parking problems outside schools and to ensure the orderly behaviour of secondary school pupils and third-level students. As one interviewee stated, *"It's not so much that crime is taking place (in schools),* *it's what the school children get up to once they're outside that is the issue."* It is mentioned that while schools want the police to patrol and maintain order, they do not want police officers to make arrests.

4.3 Statistical testing

This section presents the results from simple statistical analyses of the perceived differences or similarities as to external parties between a few of the various sub-groups of interviewees, as explained in Chapter 2's discussion of the sampling design, and similar to what is done in Section 3.3 on hypothesis testing in the context of the environmental PESTL analysis. With the latter, the analysis below shares the distinction in two sub-groups of interviewees and the application of simple t-test statistics. That is, first, two sub-groups are distinguished in the context of our statistical analyses: police officers (or "insiders") versus representatives of external stakeholder groups (or "outsiders"); and lower-level versus higher-level police officers. Moreover, second, given the nature of the data, the statistical analyses are limited to straightforward mean-comparison t-tests. With such tests, we find evidence for or against the benchmark hypotheses that the mean scores of two different sub-groups of interviewees are statistically significant (requiring the p value to be below 0.1). The difference with Section 3.3, though, is that we here refrain from formulating a priori hypotheses. Rather, we opt for an exploratory approach by simply running post hoc tests for differences across the above-mentioned groups.

4.3.1 External party differences between insiders and outsiders

From Table 20, we can learn that there are minimal differences be-

	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Difficulty to meet expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
External party representatives (N=139)	3.8	5.2	4.7	5.2	4.3	5.1	5.0
Internal police officers (N= 1155)	3.7	4.7	4.7	5.1	3.6	5.3	5.4

Table 21: Insiders versus outsiders and features of external parties

tween insiders and outsiders in the types of external parties they define. Representatives from external parties refer to the national government somewhat more often, but this is largely offset by the fact that internal police officers mention other government agencies somewhat more often.

In Table 21, we see little differences between insiders and outsiders as to the features of external parties as well. External party representatives believe that the influence of external parties is somewhat higher than the police officers themselves think. Police officers tend to evaluate that it is quite easy to meet the expectations of external parties, and they overrate both their management skills and their performance when

compared to the performance assessment of the external party representatives.

In **Macedonia**, internal interviewees mentioned the central government institutions as important, while the external interviewees focused more on the local municipal governments and international government. Furthermore, whereas the police interviewees indicated that they manage the expectations of external parties very well, the external interviewees mentioned the need for improvements in communication and cooperation between the police and external parties.

In **Romania**, citizens were mentioned by both types of interviewees, but the other important ex-

ternal parties referred to differed across insiders and outsiders. The external parties that were mentioned by external party representatives mostly depended on the work location of the interviewee. For example, the Chief of the Bureau of Air Transport Police named the airport and passengers as important parties.

In **Spain**, external party representatives expressed a broader picture of interactions with government than internal police officers did; they discussed institutional loyalty, while the internal police officers discussed specific guidelines of the government. In collaboration with other police forces, insider interviewees perceived their own performance as better than that of other forces, whilst exter-

nal party representatives looked at this more objectively, and described general tensions in the collaboration. Outsiders did not mention citizens as an important external party.

In the UK, overall, there is a lack of difference in insiders' and outsiders' views on external parties understanding of policing and of police performance against external parties' expectations. Notable differences between insiders and outsiders in the UK are the level of understanding of police activities for the National Health Services, which is scored higher by external party representatives than by internal police officers, and the dif-

ficulty to meet expectations, which is scored lower. Additionally, educational institutions are scored as having higher influence by external party representatives than by police officers.

4.3.2 External party differences between lower-level and higher-level police officers

In the participating countries, different external parties are referred to by interviewees across different hierarchical levels. Higher-ranked interviewees mostly refer to policy-related and higher-level parties, whilst lower-ranked interviewees mostly refer to external parties

they encounter in their daily work. In Table 22, the differences in the sorts of external parties that are mentioned by lower and higher-level police officers are reported.

There are some noteworthy differences between higher and lower-level police officers. The higher-level police officers tend to specify other police and security forces and judicial bodies more. Lower-level police officers mention citizens and partner organisations somewhat more. Higher-ranked police officers also tend to identify the national government as an important external partner. Lower-ranked police officers tend to refer to the local government as an

External party	Government	National government	Local government	Other police forces	Citizens	Partner organisations	Judicial bodies	Other
Operational level	12.7%	4.9%	20.7%	12.2%	16.3%	20.5%	8.2%	4.5%
Supervisory level	12.8%	8.1%	15.5%	12.0%	14.7%	16.7%	12.4%	7.8%
Senior and top level	7.7%	3.2%	17.4%	14.6%	12.6%	25.5%	13.0%	6.1%
Top level	15.7%	2.3%	11.6%	28.5%	10.5%	12.2%	16.9%	2.3%

Table 22: Police force hierarchy and the importance of external parties

	Frequency	Authority	Influence	Understand policing	Predictable expectations	Difficulty to meet expectations	Well managed expectations	Perceived Performance
Operational level	551	3.6	4.6	4.7	4.9	3.5	5.1	5.3
Supervisory level	250	3.5	4.8	4.7	5.1	3.6	5.2	5.4
Senior and top level	427	3.7	5.0	4.7	5.2	4.0	5.5	5.5

Table 23: Police force hierarchy and features of external parties

important partner. This finding indicates that higher-level police officers are mostly concerned with higher-level external parties, such as the central government, whereas lower-level police officers are mostly concerned with external parties related to their daily job, such as local government, but also citizens.

In Table 23, the difference in features of external parties referred to by lower and higher-level police officers can be found. From the table, we can learn that senior police officers think the level of authority of partners is higher, as is their influence. Senior police officers also perceive that their expectations are more predictable, though they believe it is much harder to meet

their expectations. Senior and top-level police officers are also more positive about the performance of the police. In short, senior police officers tend to be somewhat more positive about the performance of the police.

In **Germany**, operational interviewees were the only group mentioning emergency services as an external party. Politics were more important for senior and supervisory levels. In **the Republic of Macedonia**, senior-level mentioned central government as an important party, while local government is perceived more important at the operational level.

In **the Netherlands**, the same external parties are highlighted

by interviewees from different levels of the hierarchy. However, the way these parties are related to is different. The higher-level interviewees, for example, deal with the chief of prosecution service, while lower-level interviewees are involved with with prosecutors on a case-by-case basis. Higher-level interviewees tend to focus on policy-related partners and authorities, whereas lower ranks tend to mention concrete operations/partners.

In **Romania**, the members of top or senior level, on the one hand, identified higher-order structures of the police, governmental bodies and national agencies as external parties. Supervisory and operational interviewees, on the other

hand, mentioned mostly external parties related to their particular current responsibilities at the border.

In **Spain**, top-level interviewees refer more to global actors, relating to the police as a whole, while supervisory and operational levels mostly refer to actors related to their daily job.

In **the UK**, the scores given by interviewees indicate that the higher the rank, the lower the perceived authority of the local government on police activities. The same is the case for citizens. Educational institutions are only named as external party by supervisory and operational interviewees, because they mostly have to deal with this external party

.

Conclusions

From the PESTL analysis, a number of interesting observations can be derived:

» The effect of the **economic crisis** on the police forces should not be underestimated.

» **Technological development** is generally seen as very positive from a policing perspective.

» **Social developments** are, by and large, evaluated to be very negative for policing, generating challenging threats.

» In all countries, police officers report an **increasing influence of the government.**

1 The effect of the economic crisis on the police forces should not be underestimated. Almost all police organisations that were involved in our study have been severely affected by the economic crisis through budget and salary cuts.

2 Technological development is generally seen as very positive from a policing perspective. Especially ICT advancements are viewed as offering positive opportunities to policing, as these may help the police in their ongoing efforts to catch criminals and keep order, and to work more efficiently with less tedious work.

3 Social developments are, by and large, evaluated to be very negative for policing, generating challenging threats. These social trends do not so much have a short-term impact, but rather generate a strong damaging impact on policing in the long(er) term. These developments are related to changing norms and values, decreasing authority of the police, changing demographic composition, and increasing inequality in society.

4 In all countries, police officers report an increasing influence of the government. This can be through large and small reorganisations, the setting of police priorities, the appointment of top police officers, launching new responsibilities, introducing performance standards, developing new police procedures, and even by an increasing tendency to micromanage the police. These government-induced changes have less of an impact than economic, social, and technological trends.

All in all, the PESTL analysis suggests that societal and technological developments are perceived to generate the largest long-run impact on European police forces, hence representing the greatest opportunity for and the largest threat to the police. By and large, government-induced changes are assessed to have limited impact on the police. This suggests that the police forces should focus on developing their knowledge of technology, as well as on deepening their understanding of and adapting their dealing with societal trends. Reorganisations that do not contribute to increasing technological knowledge or understanding of societal trends run the risk of having little, if any, impact on the strategic positioning of the police, and may even negatively influence police performance.

Beside the PESTL analysis, a study of the identity, role and influence of external parties – or stakeholders – was carried out. From this, we learned that the cross-country differences as to external parties are somewhat larger than those regarding the external PESTL trends, probably simply because the legal framework varies across countries. Nevertheless, in all countries there is a consistent and small set of external parties:

1 The **government** is often the formal authority. In some cases, this is the national government; in other countries, this is the local government; and sometimes, this is yet another level of government (e.g., *Länder* in Germany, a regional board in the Netherlands, or an autonomous community such as Catalonia in Spain). In general, the interviewed representatives from police forces feel that the demands from and expectations

of the government are not very predictable. Perhaps because of this, police forces are very active in managing the expectations of the relevant governmental authority or authorities. By and large, the assessment is that they are doing a reasonably successful job in this respect.

2 The **prosecution** is often viewed as the second-most important external party, generally associated with high levels of authority and influence over the police. Moreover, this external stakeholder is believed to have a good understanding as to what police work is all about, expressing its demands and expectations pretty clearly. Nevertheless, on average, the interviewed police representatives feel that they do not perform well in terms of satisfying the expectations of the public prosecution. Actually, they think that fulfilling these expectations is hard to achieve, given the tension between what they are asked to do and the insufficient resources to be able to do so.

3 The third type of external party referred to by the interviewees is the **general public** – a very heterogeneous collection of citizens, and institutions and associations representing citizens in society that reflect an equally heterogeneous set of policing demands and expectations. On average, this stakeholder group does not understand policing very well, and has no formal authority over police forces. The general public is nevertheless very influential, and, according to police officers, their expectations of the police are pretty obvious. By and large, police forces are evaluated to not perform well here, falling short of what is expected from them by the general public.

4 Depending on the country-specific security governance structures and legal frameworks, our focal police forces have to cooperate more or less intensively with other **police and security forces**. These other forces have a very good understanding of policing, as could be expected from external parties operating in the same "business", but they often have no formal authority and little influence over the focal police forces. Their expectations are not very predictable, as these can change overnight due to new priorities.

5 Last but not least, there are all kinds of **partner organisations**, such as juvenile care, tax authorities, emergency services, prisons, educational institutions, and more. The police forces in all countries actively cooperate with such partner institutions or organisations to fight crimes and keep order. These institutions or organisations neither have formal authority nor formal influence over police forces, and they have a limited understanding of the police. Their expectations as to the police are also subject to unpredictable changes. By and large, the interviewees express the opinion that the police do not manage the expectations of these partner organisations very well.

All in all, the external party analysis suggests that police forces perform pretty well on the expectations of the government (i.e. often the formal authority) and the judicial bodies (e.g. public prosecution). However the performance of the police versus other parties

is significantly lower. This is especially true of the performance of the police versus the expectations of the citizens. Although the expectations of citizens are pretty clear, the police find it difficult to fulfil these expectations. This is perhaps partly due to citizen's lack of understanding of police work, but is largely caused by the lack of active management of these expectations. Given the considerable influence of the citizens on the police, this suggests that police forces need to improve the management of the expectations of citizens.

6. Literature list

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Appendix A: Overview of police forces

	Name of police force	Country
1	National police	Belgium
2	Municipal Police	Czech Republic
3	Police Nationale	France
4	Brandenburg Police	Germany
5	Berlin Police	Germany
6	Arma dei Carabineri	Italy
7	Corpo Forestale dello Stato	Italy
8	National Police	Republic of Macedonia
9	Koninklijke Marechaussee	The Netherlands
10	Politie Amsterdam-Amstelland	The Netherlands
11	Politie Rotterdam-Rijnmond	The Netherlands
12	Politie Gelderland Zuid	The Netherlands
13	Romanian Border Police	Romania
14	Mossos d'Esquadra	Spain
15	Policía Municipal de Madrid	Spain
16	South Yorkshire Police	United Kingdom
17	Greater Manchester Police	United Kingdom

Appendix B: Overview of interviews per country

Type of interviewee	Number of interviews	Type of interviewee	Number of interviews
Police forces Belgium		**Police forces Italy**	
Top/strategic level	14	Top/strategic level	2
Senior level	4	Senior level	14
Supervisory level	8	Supervisory level	4
Operational level	6	Operational level	4
External party representatives Belgium	5	External party representatives Italy	6
Total Belgium	**37**	**Total Italy**	**30**
Police forces Czech Republic		**Police forces Republic of Macedonia**	
Top/strategic level	5	Top/strategic level	1
Senior level	7	Senior level	19
Supervisory level	7	Supervisory level	0
Operational level	12	Operational level	21
External party representatives Czech Republic	9	External party representatives Macedonia	9
Total Czech Republic	**40**	**Total Republic of Macedonia**	**50**
Police forces France	**N.A.**	**Police forces the Netherlands**	
Top/strategic level	N.A.	Top/strategic level	6
Senior level	N.A.	Senior level	8
Supervisory level	N.A.	Supervisory level	8
Operational level	N.A.	Operational level	19
External party representatives France	N.A.	External party representatives the Netherlands	9
Total France	**40**	**Total the Netherlands**	**50**
Police forces Germany		**Police forces Romania**	
Top/strategic level	5	Top/strategic level	1
Senior level	6	Senior level	8
Supervisory level	17	Supervisory level	4
Operational level	26	Operational level	27
External party representatives Germany	-	External party representatives Romania	2
Total Germany	**54**	**Total Romania**	**42**

Appendix B: Overview of interviews per country

Type of interviewee	Number of interviews
Police forces Spain	
Top/strategic level	7
Senior level	10
Supervisory level	12
Operational level	12
External party representatives Spain	7
Total Spain	**48**
Police forces United Kingdom	
Top/strategic level	3
Senior level	9
Supervisory level	7
Operational level	19
External party representatives United Kingdom	12
Total United Kingdom	**50**
Total	**441**

Note: no data was available of the level of interviewees in France

Appendix C: Clustering of PESTL trends

Trend	Frequency
Political trends	
10 - Government influence	169
11 - Political influence	21
12 - Impact of government change	95
13 - International politics	46
14 - Populist politics	11
15 – Privacy	11
18 - Constant change	3
19 - War and conflict	10
Economic trends	
20 - Social security	5
21 - Unemployment rate	30
22 - Economic crisis	113
23 - Budget and salary cuts	123
24 - Economic policy	1
25 – Competition	1
26 - Economic development	11
27 - Economic inequality	1
28 - Pooling of resources	5
29 - Economic (other)	14
Social trends	
31 - Citizen participation	28
32 - Critical citizens	25
33 - Relations with citizens	1
34 - Perceived unsafety	20
35 – Immigration	18
36 - Changing society	91
37 - Decreasing authority	45

Trend	Frequency
38 - Changing demographics	53
39 - Changing Crimes	62
40 - Role of the media	39
41 - Living standards	42
42 - Police changes	9
43 – Events	8
43 - Police changes	2
44 - Work attitude	9
45 – Vulnerability	3
46 - Global warming	3
47 – Infrastructure	11
48 – Globalization	2
Technology trends	
50 - Technological advances	51
51 - ICT advances	117
52 - Information ubiquity	12
53 – Standardization	3
54 – Databases	2
Legal trends	
60 - Changing laws	79
61 - National legal changes	60
62 - International legal changes	28
63 - Legal impact on organisation	4
64 - Change in labour regulations	1
65 - Role of law in society	2
66 - Increasing legal rules	8
67 - Changing police powers	49
68 - Outsourcing police activities	4

Appendix D: Questions WP1 in interview protocol – theme III & IV

THEME 3: ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT

Question 3a: What are the main changes in the environment that have occurred or will occur that will affect this core activity of your police force/unit?

Question 3b: What are the main political/economic/social/technological/legal changes in the environment that impact upon this core activity of your police force/unit?

Question 3c: Please answer the following structured questions per identified environmental change

» This change is very likely to occur (1..7)
» The impact of this change on our core activities is highly predictable (1..7)
» The impact that this change will have on our core activities is (positive/negative/both)
» The impact of this change on our core activities will be very large (1..7)
» This change will occur within (6 months/7-12 months/13-24 months/25+ months)

THEME 4: EXTERNAL PARTIES

Question 4a: Who are the key external parties (individuals, groups, or organisations) of your police force/unit with respect to THIS core activity?

Question 4b: What are the key issues/expectations/concerns of these external parties?

Question 4c: How does your police force manage the expectations of this external party?

Question 4d.1: Do you feel that you have managed to influence this external party in a way that helps you in your activities?

Question 4d.1: How was this done?

Question 4e: How will meeting the expectations of this external party impact upon your police force?

Question 4f: How will not meeting the expectations of this external party impact upon your police force?

Question 4g: Please answer the structured questions per identified external party.

» This external party has formal authority over our activities (1..7)
» This external party has high influence on our activities (1..7)
» This external party has a good understanding of policing (1..7)
» This external party's expectations are highly predictable (1..7)
» It is very difficult for us to meet this external party's expectations (1..7)
» We actively manage this external party's expectations (1..7)
» We perform very well on this external party's expectations (1..7)

Appendix E:
WP1 Country reports

Attached to the cross country report are the 10 country reports describing in detail the opportunity and threats in every country. The ten countries and attachments are:

1 Belgium
2 Czech republic
3 France
4 Germany
5 Italy
6 Macedonia
7 The Netherlands
8 Romania
9 Spain
10 United Kingdom

Acknowledgments

Feedback and Contact

If you have comments or feedback to this report, please contact us.

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