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***“New forms of policing and the feeling of
(un)safety among the shopkeepers in Athens and
Piraeus”***

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Ecological approach of Chicago School
Community crime prevention
Problem Oriented Policy

- Chicago Area Project, (C.Shaw, 1932)
- “Interventions designed to change the social conditions that influence offending in residential communities” (M.Tonry & D.Farrington, 1995)
- Crime reduction through the improvement of the wider social conditions and the involvement of “the community in a process of cooperation to resolve the problems that it faces” (H.Goldstein, 1979)

Situational Crime Prevention

- Does not aim at the change of criminal's personality but at the change of his/her decision or ability to commit crimes (*P.Ekblom, 2006*)
- The reduction of criminal opportunities can be achieved either by reducing crime's attractiveness or by eliminating the actual criminal opportunities hindering its commission (*A.Grawford, 1999*)

The most notable drawbacks of situational prevention:

- the displacement of criminality
- the excessive extension of surveillance to the detriment of individual liberties (*zero tolerance*)

Rational Choice & Routine Activity Approaches

Clarke, V. R, 1976 – Felson M., 1997 - Clarke R.V. and Felson M., 1993

Criminals aim to gain from the crimes that they commit and therefore they choose them among a series of alternatives evaluating the existence of appropriate conditions (space, time, accessible victim, absence of control) to commit a crime

The role of citizens' participation is very important

Conditions for success

- the delimitation of residents' voluntary participation
- the clarification of its prerequisites and their incentives
- the proper coordination of actions taken in this context

Policing of proximity in Greece

3 pillars of criminal policy (2010-2014) of the Ministry of Citizen Protection:

- Modern,
- Effective police
- Close to the citizen

“aiming to be implemented through the collaboration of Hellenic Police with other competent authorities and social agents”

Implementation of 2 new measures

(January 2010)

1. Neighborhood Officer

- The 218 *neighborhood officers* -placed overall at 45 police stations- patrol neighborhoods on motorcycles two by two, are uniformed and perform duties of preventive policing
- In collaboration with residents and local agents, approaches the problems associated with neighborhoods security, intervenes to resolve them, contributes to crime prevention and strengthens citizens' feelings of safety

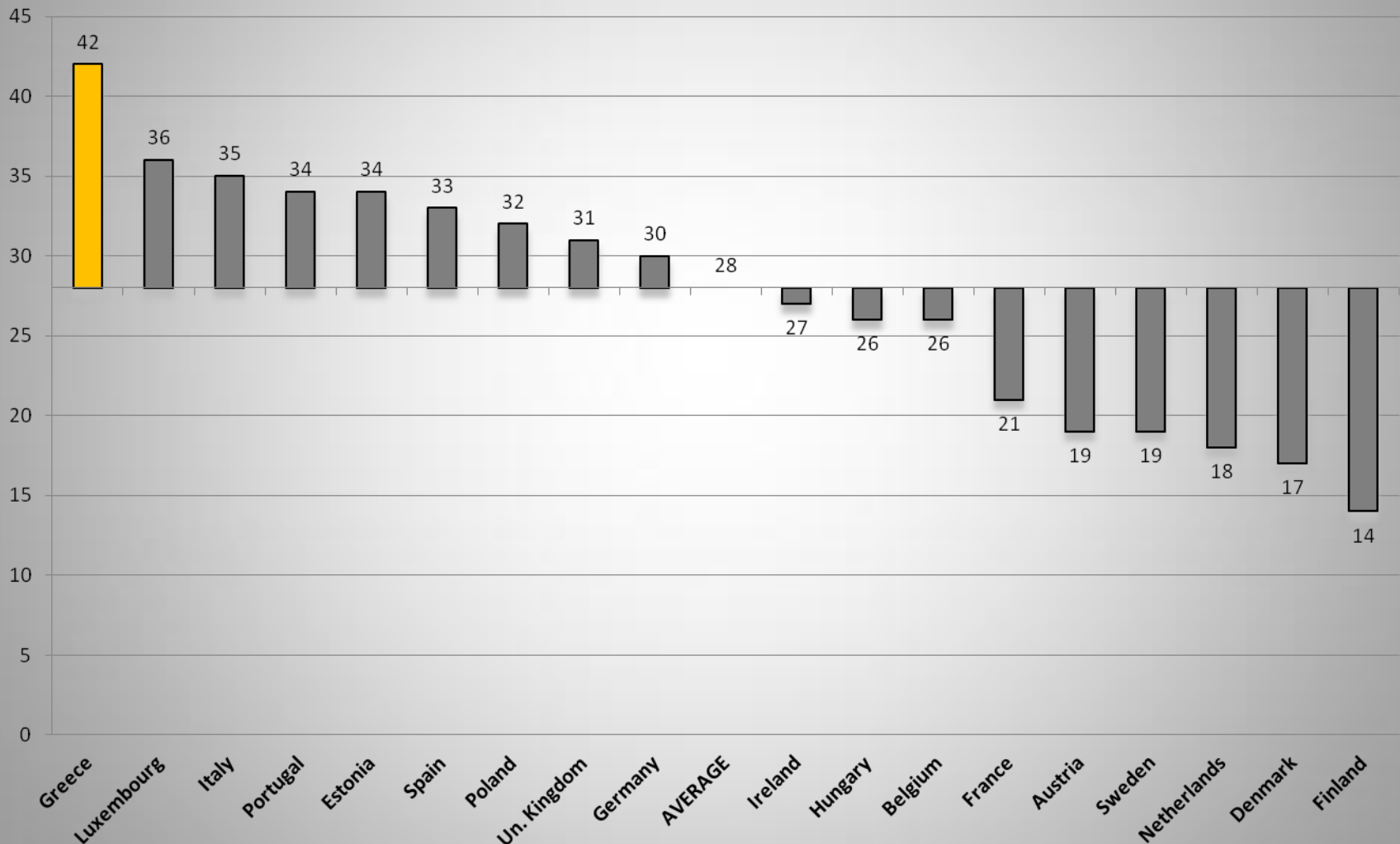
2. Police units of motorcycle patrols DI.AS.

(Dias = Zeus)

- 2004 policemen in the area of greater Athens and 444 in Thessaloniki, who ride large displacement motorcycles two by two and patrol cities' neighborhoods by a policy design based on the size of each area and the crime mapping
- The duties of this unit have mainly preventive but also repressive character in an attempt to reduce crime rates and to enhance citizens' feelings of security

Percentage of population feeling unsafe on the streets after dark, results from the 2005 EUICS

Source: Van Dijk, J.J.M., Manchin, R., Van Kesteren, J.N., Hideg, G. (2007a). *The burden of crime in the EU. A comparative analysis of the European Survey of Crime and Safety (2005 EU ICS)*, Gallup Europe, Brussels.



RATES OF FEAR OF CRIME/UNSAFETY IN ATHENS

YEAR	RATES OF FEAR OF CRIME/UNSAFETY
1998 <i>Zarafonitou 2002</i>	58.7%
2004 <i>Zarafonitou 2008</i>	52.7%
2005 <i>EU ICS</i>	55%
2006 <i>Zarafonitou, Courakis 2009</i>	56.5%
2010 (shopkeepers) <i>Zarafonitou et al. 2011</i>	58,9%

The lack of confidence in the police and the fear of crime

- The role that the presence of police plays in this context, has proved to be decisive, especially if it is **willing, effective, and appreciated by the community** (Box et al., 1988)
- The police is perceived by citizens as “an organization in the service of the **local population**” and, as such,
- **Satisfaction from police services** “constitutes a ‘logical’ criterion for its assessment” (Killias, 2001)
- Those who feel more **intense fear are those who are also most dissatisfied** by the work of the **police** and who seek greater policing (Zvekic, 1997)

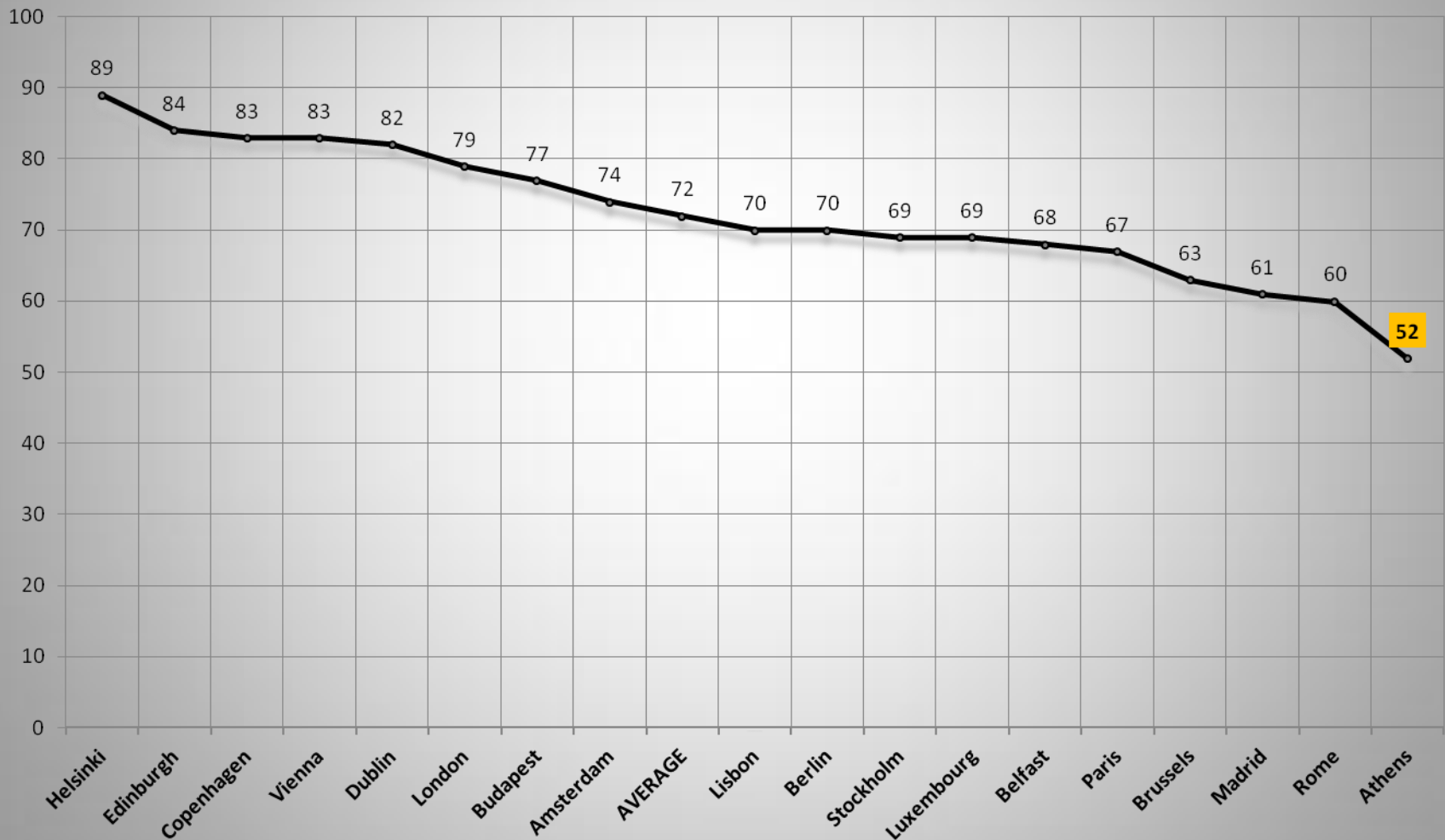
Evaluation of police work in their domicile area

Source: Ch. Zarafonitou, *Insecurity, fear of crime and attitudes of the inhabitants of Athens toward the criminal phenomenon*, Panteion University, 2004.

Evaluation	Total	Unsafe	Victims
Effective	28.2%	22.4%	24.2%
Ineffective	71.8%	77.6%	75.8%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Evaluation of police in European capitals. % of residents saying the police is doing a good job

Source: Van Dijk, J.J.M., Manchin, R., Van Kesteren, J.N., Hideg, G. (2007a). *The burden of crime in the EU. A comparative analysis of the European Survey of Crime and Safety (2005 EU ICS)*, Gallup Europe, Brussels.



The main characteristics of the new forms of policing in Greece (DIAS & NO)

- ***proximity*** to citizens and to their problems,
- ***immediacy*** of their actions and thus the pursuit of effectiveness,
- ***accessibility*** from the public,
- ***visibility*** (in order to deter crimes' commission)
- implementation at the ***local level***, and
- ***collaboration*** with local agents and citizens.

Research Profile

1. The **first part** of the survey was held by the completion (*from 1/5/2010 to 30/06/2010*) of **questionnaires** (229) by a representative sample (*clustered sampling*) of **shopkeepers**,
in **3 areas** where the new measures of policing were implemented:
 - center of Athens [K],
 - center of Pireaus [P],
 - an outlying area [H]
2. The **second part** of the survey was carried out (*June 2010*) through semi-structured **interviews** with **representatives** of:
 - neighborhood officers (12),
 - members of the DIAS unit (2),
 - commanders of the police departments of each area (6) and
 - two (2) responsible officers of the Directorate of Athens

A. Main findings from the interviews with police officers

1. Neighbourhood Officers (NOs) *have assimilated* the priorities of **their mission**:

- the **feeling of safety**
- the **confidence** in the police
- **crime prevention**

VS

their **colleagues** who *ignore or degrade* its exact content

2. NOs believe that their mission *can succeed*

VS

their **colleagues** whose attitudes is rather *cautious or even negative*

3. The role of the Neighbourhood Officer in *the enhancement of police image* in citizens' representations is *unanimously accepted*

4. As **negative features of NOs** they refer to:

- the absence of effective **support, infrastructure** and **information**
- the need for a central “**coordinator of the unit’s activities**”

VS

their **Commanders** who refer to the fact that: “**Police Stations have been denuded**”

5. Concerning the **effectiveness of Neighbourhood Officer:**

- Unanimously positive (NOs) **VS**
- Unanimously negative (Commanders)

6. NOs themselves are also confident about the **positive attitudes of residents** towards them

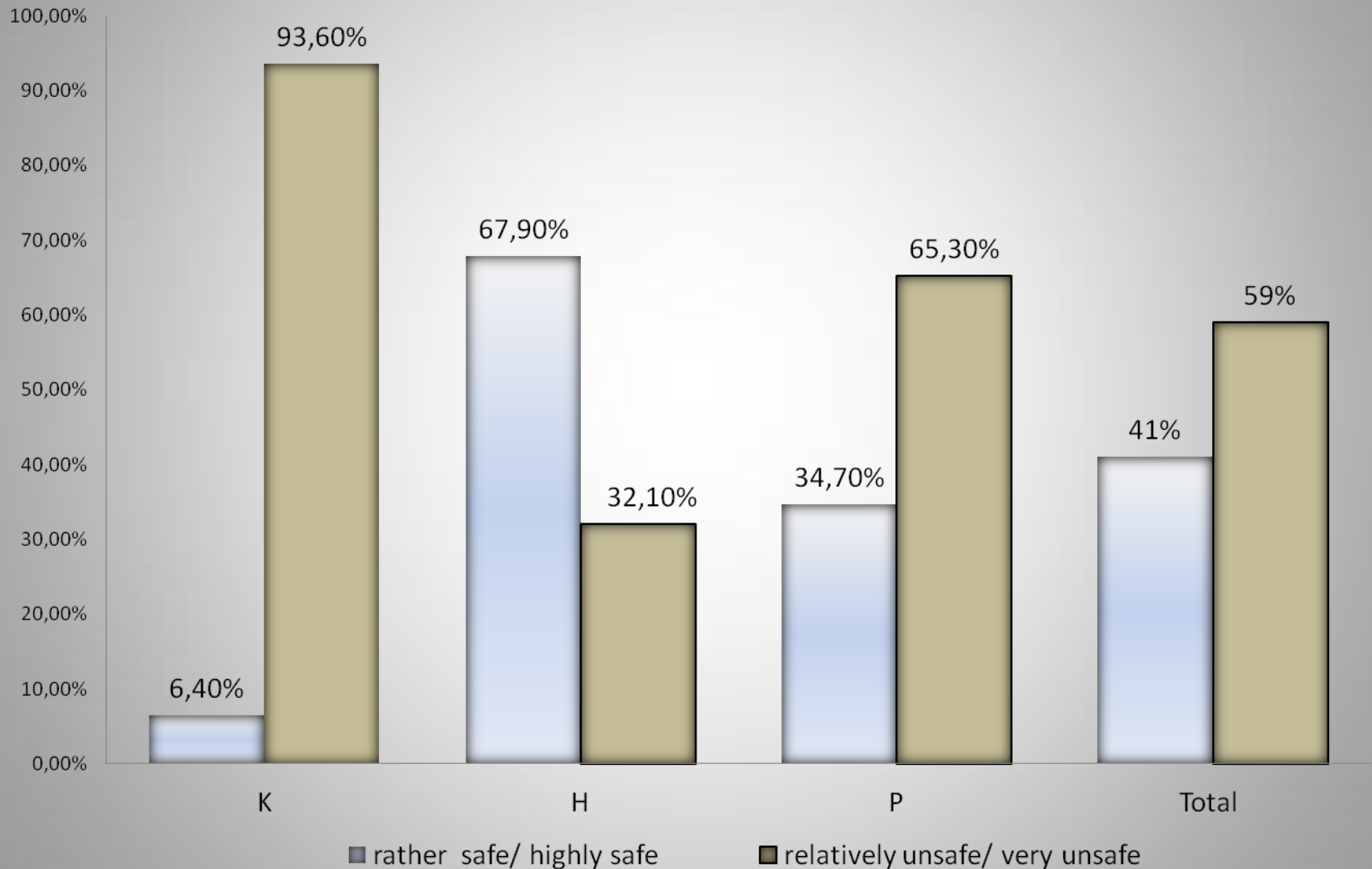
7. Overall **assessment** of the main forms of policing:
unanimously positive about **DIAS**

8. Finally, as regards the speculation regarding “**law and order**” as well as “**security and freedom**” the police officers believe in general that safety is feasible without violating the individual freedoms of citizens.

The majority of answers converge on the view that this is a pseudo-dilemma, identifying the root of every problem at the educational level of a society.

B. Main findings concerning the shopkeepers' attitudes

1. (Un)Safety



2. As major threats they refer to:

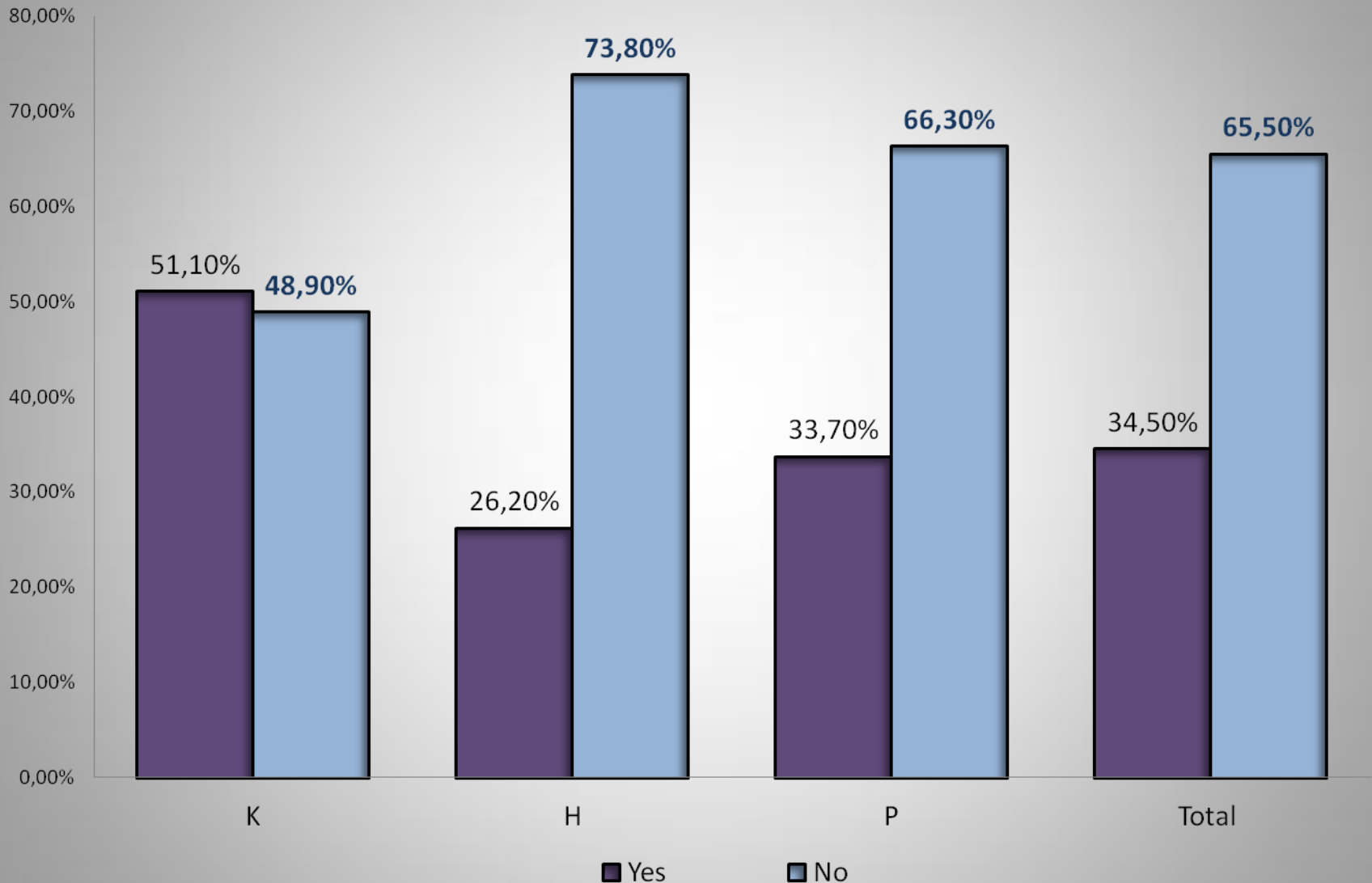
- The financial crisis (30,6 %)
- The thefts and burglaries (25,5%)
- The professional competition, the aliens and the state policies.

3. “What could make you feel safer in this area?”:

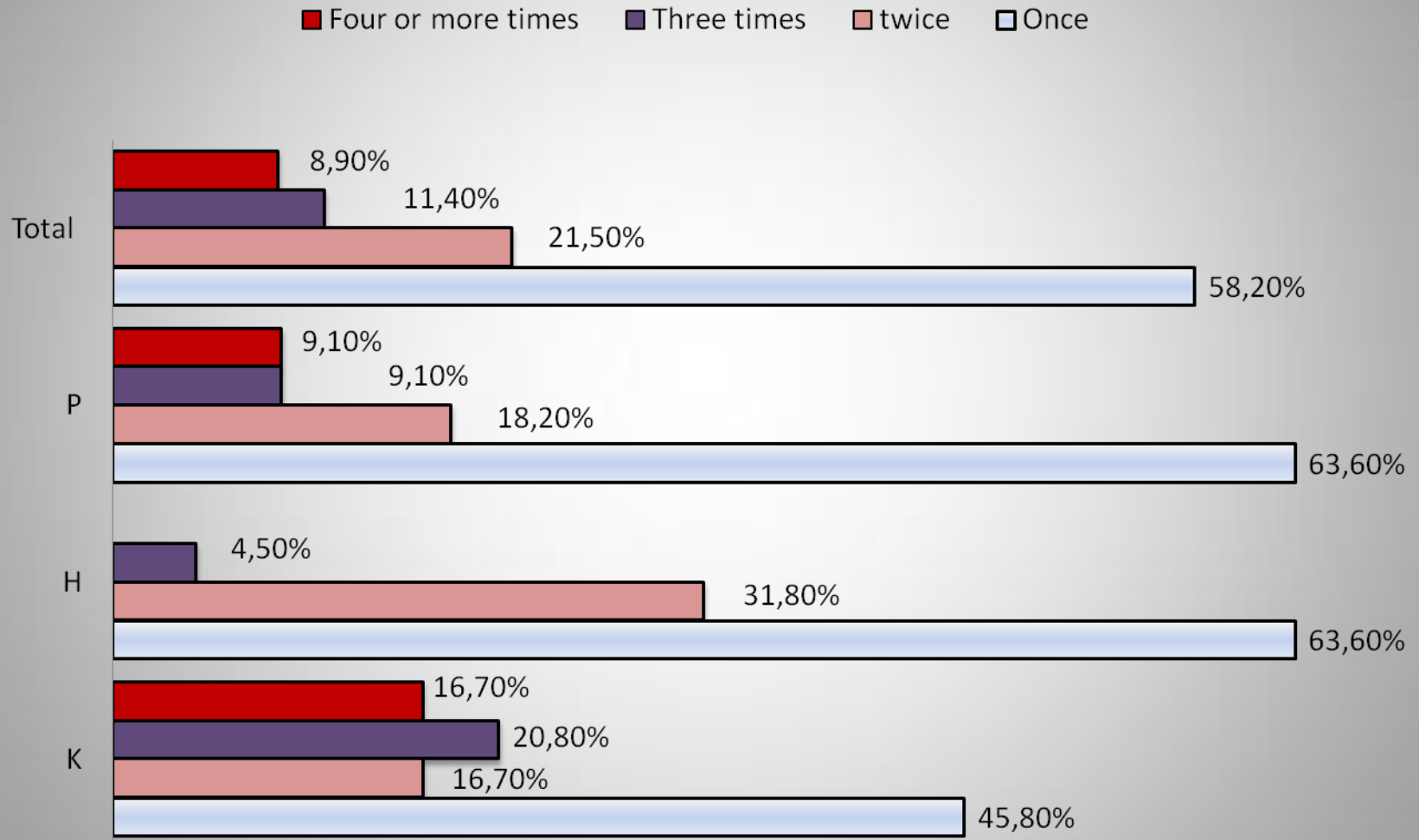
- The police patrols (66,7%),
- The DIAS Forces (12,7%),
- The patrols cars(7.5%),

NO gathers only 0,4% corresponding to 1 answer!

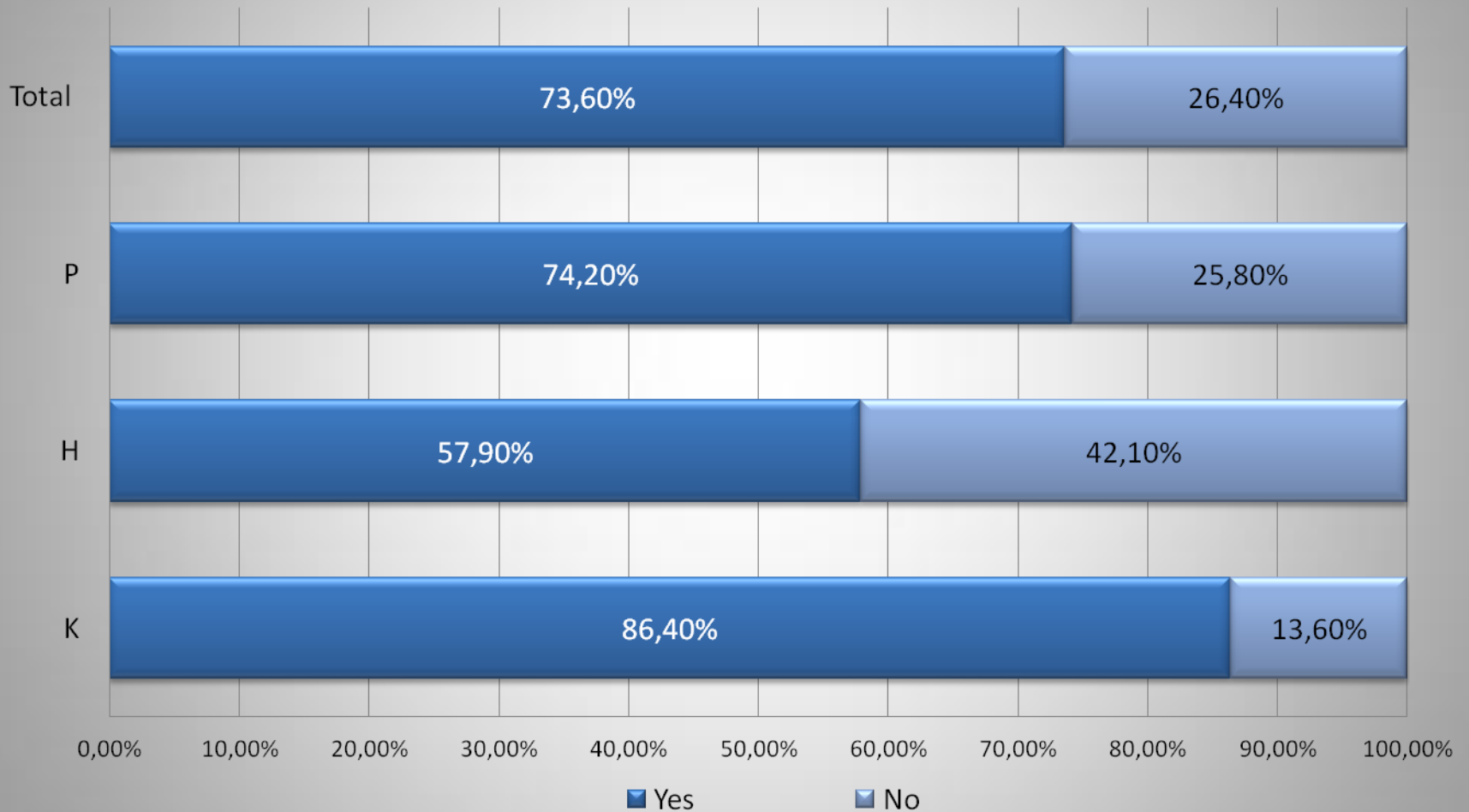
4. “Previous victimisation in the area of their professional activity”



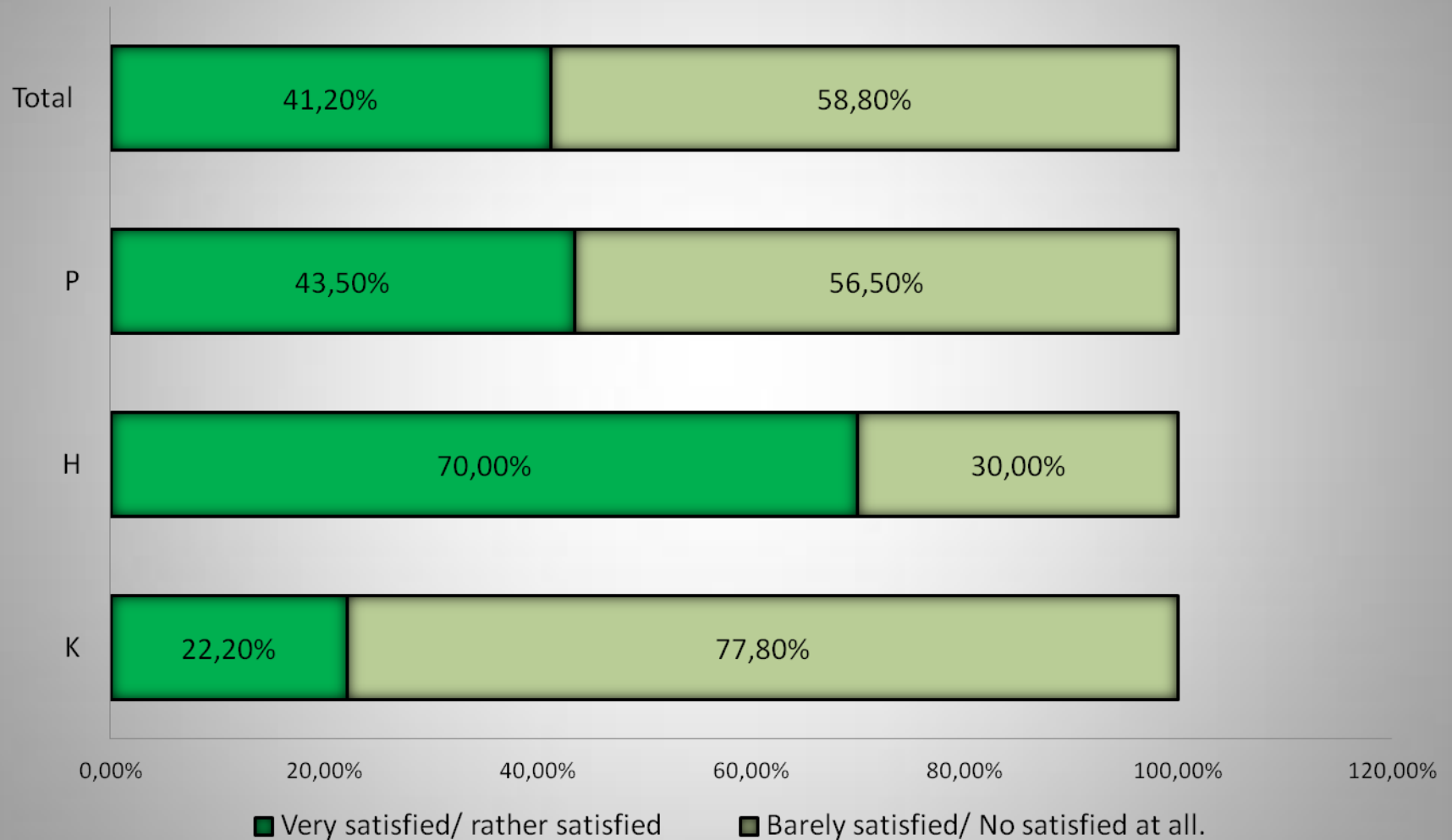
5. “Repeated victimisation”



6. “Reporting to the police”



7. “Satisfaction from the reporting to the police”



7a. “Reasons for (dis)satisfaction”

➤ The “satisfied” rank their replies as follows:

- *early intervention,*
- *interest and effort,*
- *effectiveness*

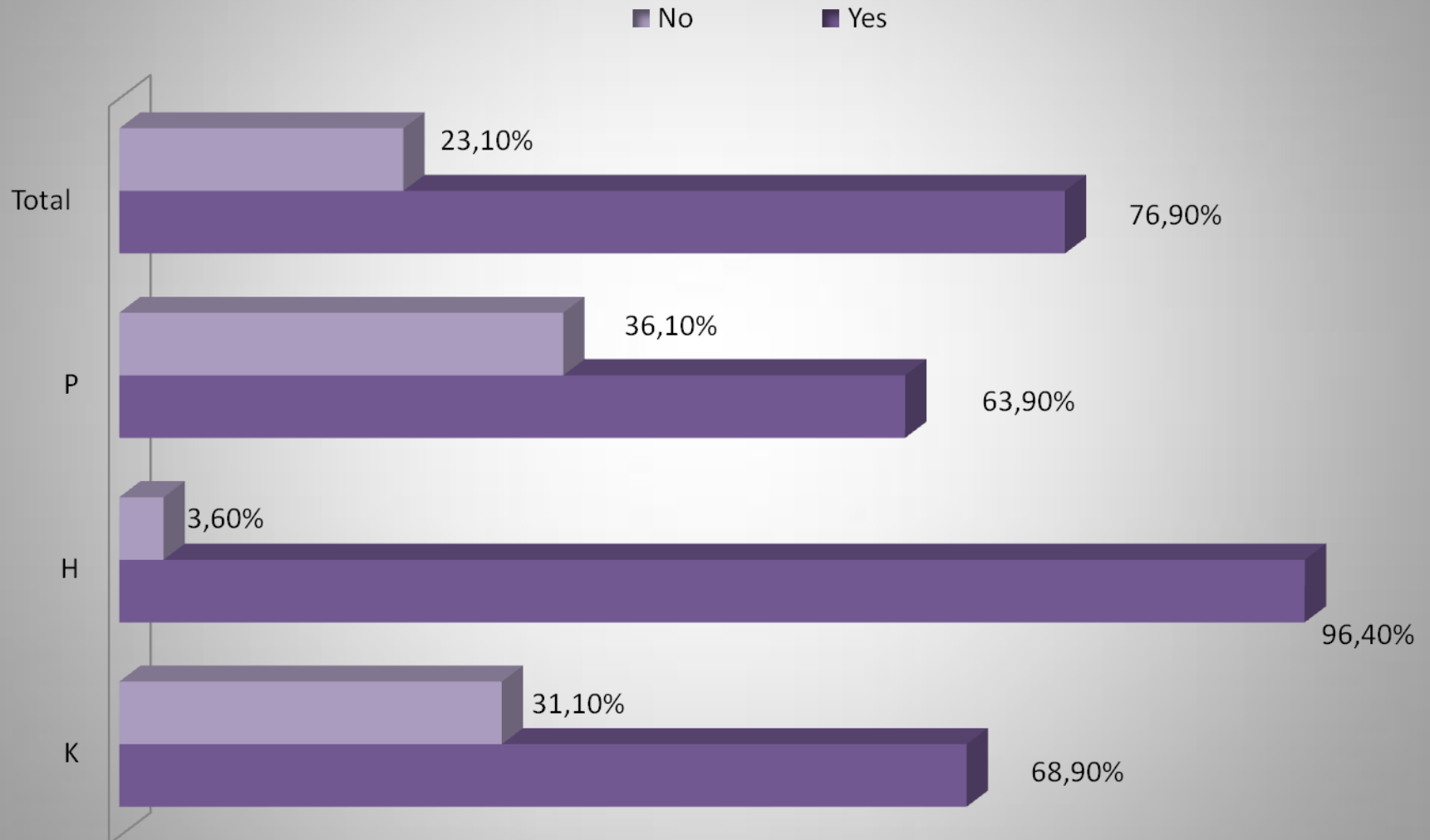
➤ The “dissatisfied” refer to:

- *ineffectiveness,*
- *indifference,*
- *lack of presence,*
- *insufficient treatment and*
- *bureaucracy*

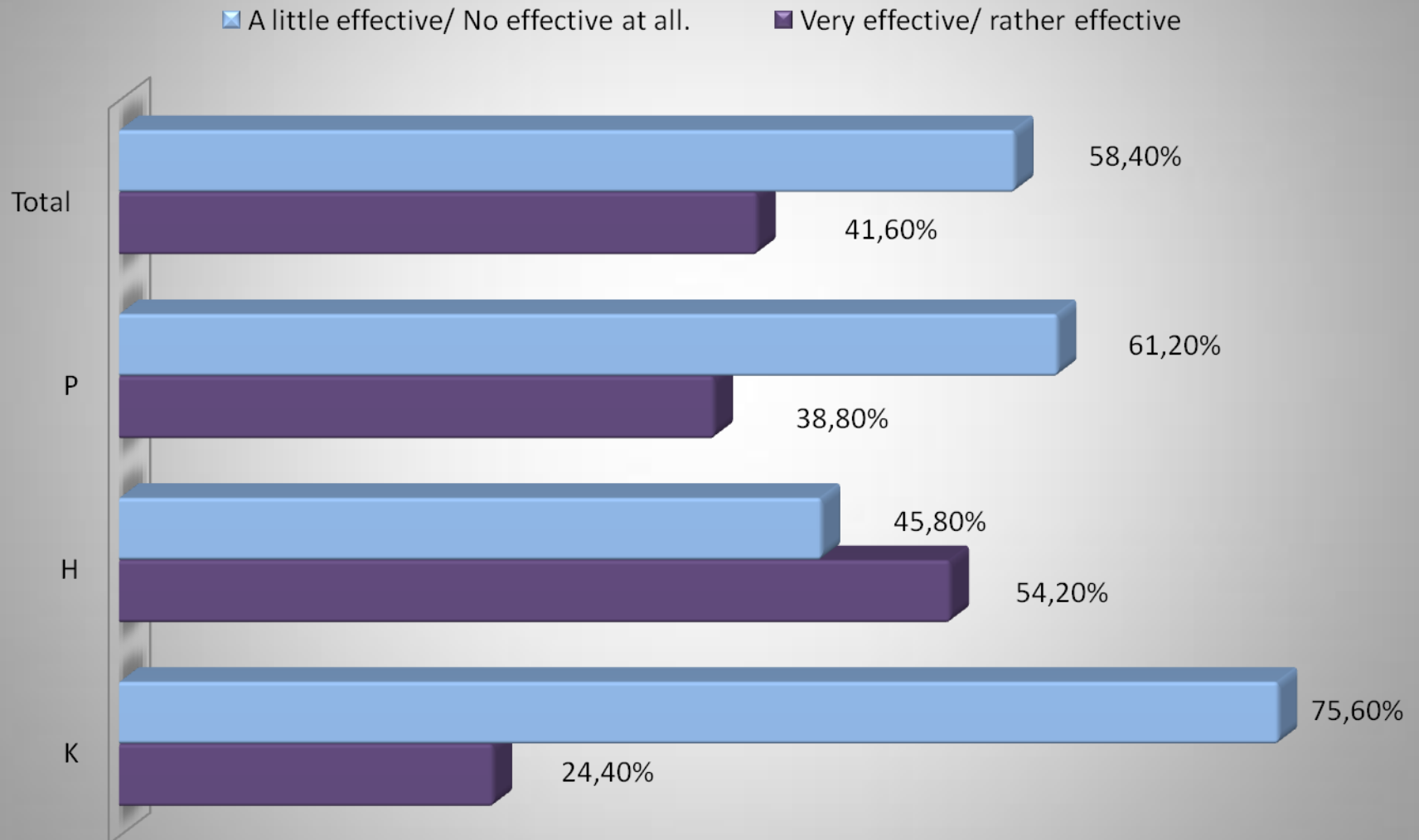
8. Risk perception

87,1% of the respondents believe that either themselves or their enterprise/shop **will be victimized within the following months**. These rates are uniformly distributed in all three areas.

9. “Self security measures”



10. “Evaluation of the police effectiveness in tackling crime in local area”



11. Respondents' main complaints towards NOs :

- Insufficient presence at the area (70,3%),
- Limited information about N.O. (18,6%)
- Ineffectiveness (3,5%)

11a. N.O. should be improved according to the following:

- Sufficient presence and more patrols (78,1%),
- Contact with/information of citizens (10,4%),
- Effectiveness (4,9%),
- More staff (2,7%),
- No answer (3,8%)

12. “Suggestions concerning the improvement of the police in general”

- more intensive police presence (by 26,5%)
- more patrols (16,5%)
- better training (10,4%)

13. “The attributes that the police should have ”

- cooperation with citizens (23,90%),
- accessibility of citizens (19,90%)
- better training (16,50%),
- visibility of presence (15,80%),
- cooperation with other police forces and units (9,30%), and
- respect of human rights (7,30%)

14. “Do you believe that individual freedoms should be limited in order for the citizens to feel safer?”

- The majority of respondents disagree (61,9%)
- Almost one third accepts the limitation of individual freedoms in order their safety to be increased

VS Police officers who strongly disagree with the pseudo-dilemma: “safety or freedom”

The affirmative answers is much higher:

- among the “unsafe” (45,5%) **VS**
- the “safe” (27,7%)

DISCUSSION-CONCLUSION

1. ***A cautious stance has been observed towards the Neighborhood Officer, stemming from the fact that:***
 - *their social role outweighs the police one and their bureaucratic the executive one*
 - NO could not be considered as “Community policing”,
 - Although, both shopkeepers and police officers seem to approve a police model *combining the features of proximity and effectiveness*
2. ***The lack of citizens’ confidence to the police is associated with their feelings of unsafety***
3. ***Usafety*** is positively correlated with ***victimisation*** and mainly with repeated victimisation. On the contrary, the ***perception of risk does not prove to influence unsafety decisively*** since it is equally distributed, indicating a ‘rational’ assessment of this risk

Unsafety is associated with the perception of general problems regarding an area's social and physical 'disorder'

These problems are more intense in the ***central area of Athens***, because of:

- The environmental degradation,
- The high presence of immigrants and mainly of illegal ones
- Drugs and Prostitution
- Street crime
- Illegal trade
- The serious consequences of the financial crisis (shops' closure)

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION

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