

# EQUALITY BETRAYED

THE IMPACT OF ETHNIC PROFILING IN  
**FRANCE**

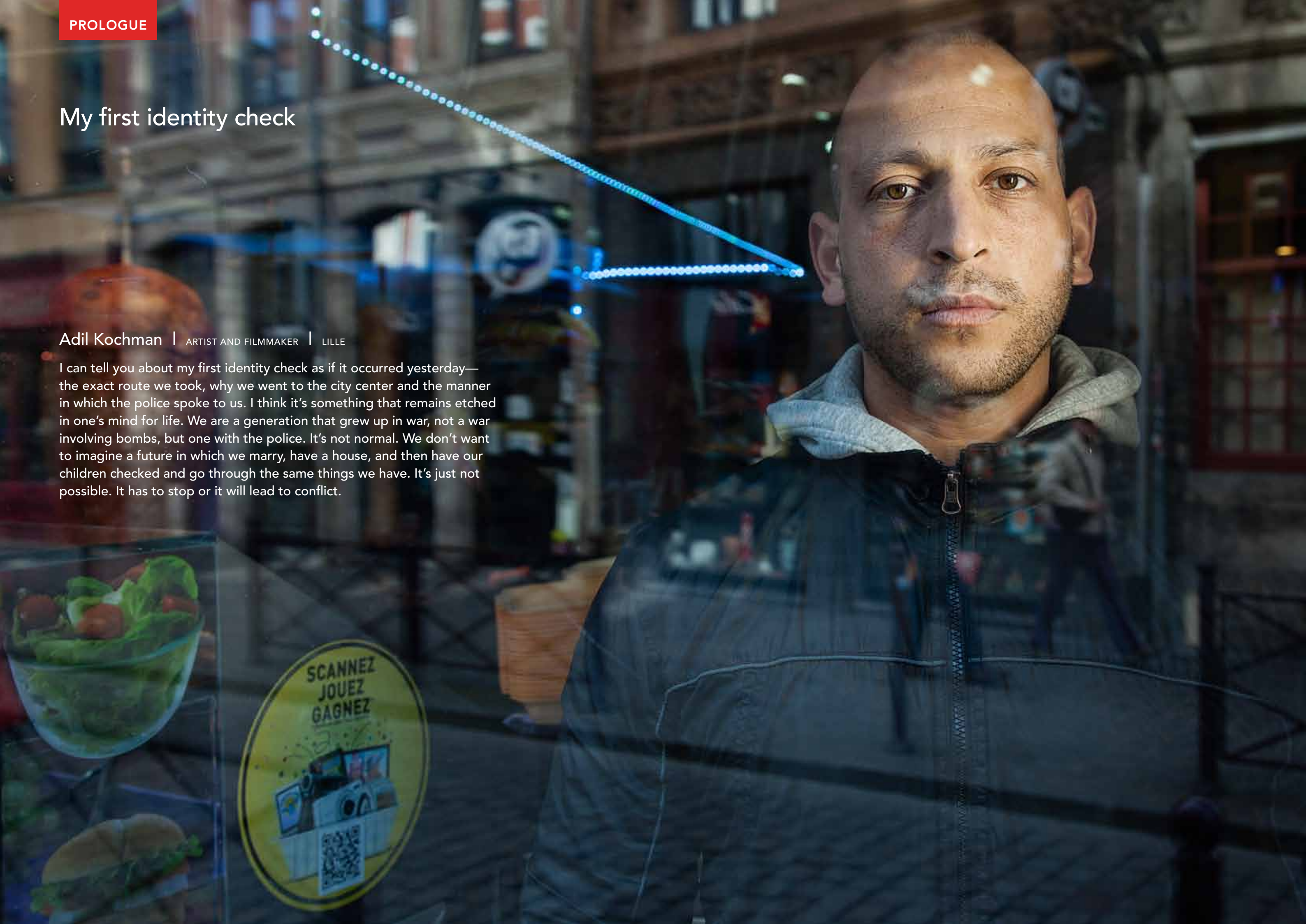


OPEN SOCIETY  
JUSTICE INITIATIVE

## My first identity check

Adil Kochman | ARTIST AND FILMMAKER | LILLE

I can tell you about my first identity check as if it occurred yesterday—the exact route we took, why we went to the city center and the manner in which the police spoke to us. I think it's something that remains etched in one's mind for life. We are a generation that grew up in war, not a war involving bombs, but one with the police. It's not normal. We don't want to imagine a future in which we marry, have a house, and then have our children checked and go through the same things we have. It's just not possible. It has to stop or it will lead to conflict.







## Achille Ndari

COMEDIAN AND ACTOR | PARIS

My first experience of an identity check was when I was in my first year of law school. When I got home, I raced up the stairs and lay on my bed and cried and cried, without fully understanding why. But I cried without being able to stop. I realized that what I was learning in school was out of sync with reality.

I had always said to my close family that my skin color doesn't exist, that it only exists for those that want to see it, but for me it doesn't exist. My father raised me to think this way. But that day, I realized that something about me was different. I think that at that moment my faith as a 'Dijonese' citizen, my faith as a French citizen, disappeared, evaporated, dissolved.

“France is an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. It guarantees equality before the law for all of its citizens without distinctions based on origin, race or religion.”

The opening words of the French Constitution set out the most fundamental values of the French Republic: a social contract between citizens founded on freedom and equality. Yet, for a growing number of French residents this ideal is undermined on a daily basis: when police officers stop, question and search people based on what they look like or where they live rather than on anything they have done. **This is ethnic profiling.**

A study conducted by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) and the Open Society Justice Initiative in 2009 at five locations in and around railway stations in Paris produced the first quantitative data revealing the magnitude of the problem. Persons perceived as black were stopped by police at 6 times the rate of those perceived to be white. Those perceived to be Arab were stopped at 8 times the rate of perceived whites.

In 2011, a European Union survey found that 25 percent of French residents from minority populations reported being stopped by police in the prior two years, as compared to 10 percent of the majority population.

A 2010 survey by the EU’s Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) found rates for targeting North Africans and Sub-Saharan Africans for street and vehicle stops in France that were amongst the highest percentages of stops targeting minorities in the EU.

Every survey comes to the same conclusion: visible minorities in France are stopped far more often than their white counterparts.

This report tells the story of the impact of this discrimination and the way it plays out for individuals, their social networks, for police and for public safety. It is told through the stories and experiences of people for whom being randomly stopped and searched by police because of the way they look is an everyday event. Their experience reflects larger patterns.

**Ethnic profiling or *contrôle au faciès*** is defined as the use by law enforcement of generalizations grounded in perceived ethnicity, race, religion or national origin—rather than reasonable suspicion, objective evidence or individual behavior—as the basis for making decisions about who has been or may be involved in criminal activity.

The breadth of the powers granted to police by French law gives officers great personal latitude as to whom they check and how they treat those people.

## BROAD POLICE DISCRETION WITHOUT ACCOUNTABILITY: **A RECIPE FOR DISCRIMINATION**

Under existing French law, only one of the four legal standards that authorize police identity checks includes a requirement of individualized suspicion. In this case, French police are authorized to carry out identity checks whenever they have one or more plausible reasons to suspect, based on a person's behavior, that a person has committed, attempted to commit or is preparing to commit an offence.

Three further sections of the law permit police to carry out checks unrelated to behavior, without justifying why they checked a particular individual rather than another. They are authorized to carry out identity checks in order to "prevent a violation of public order" or in international transport areas (train stations, bus stations, airports, etc.), without basing these checks on individual suspicious behavior. Prosecutors may also designate zones in which, over a given time period, police can carry out identity checks, again regardless of an individual's behavior.

These vague and permissive regulations pave the way for discriminatory identity checks.

In addition, there is no written legal basis regulating the conditions for body pat-downs, and police are not required to provide individuals with a justification for these more intrusive actions.

Individuals who have been checked generally have no idea why they were singled out for a stop and it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to hold to account the responsible officers or their superiors. Some checks are logged in police internal records (there is a record when documents are checked against official databases, for example; and any

check that results in a further legal outcome such as a fine or arrest is recorded). But many are not. Overall, recording is partial and not open to external review.

A great many police checks leave no trace at all. It is nearly impossible for a person stopped to prove that it occurred, let alone obtain redress when stops infringe their basic rights. Without reliable data, police supervisors are unable to monitor whether stops respect the letter and spirit of the law, verify that the tactic is an effective law enforcement method, and introduce remedies and reforms when shortfalls are evident. Good police management includes monitoring the use of police powers and services to assure that resources are used effectively. This absence of accountability has serious consequences.

All people care deeply about being treated fairly. When individuals experience policing as fair, it enhances their trust in the institution and their support for the law because they feel a part of the value system reflected in fair and efficient policing. When police actions are seen as biased and unfair, people lose trust in police, the police lose legitimacy, and public support and cooperation dissipate, sometimes with serious consequences for public order.





## Yannick Danio

POLICE OFFICER AND POLICE UNION REPRESENTATIVE | PARIS

A police force that has the population against it cannot work, it is not possible. Constant identity checks are counterproductive. We police officers, as well as experts, academics, and people who observe us, all say it. It has no rhyme or reason. We need to reverse course and allow only justified identity checks and not identity checks by the shovelful. The National Police needs to work with the public. Police working against citizens is the world upside down.



## IMPACTS OF PROFILING: DESIGNATING **SECOND-CLASS** **CITIZENS**

**Belief in the Republican ideal** of equal treatment is a belief in a shared value system. The police and their actions manifest these values—and their limits. The French National Consultative Commission for Human Rights observed in 2010 that:

*“The national identity card has become a symbol of belonging to the national community... identity checks affect individuals’ sense of belonging, in particular the legitimacy of their belonging to the national community. They do so in a public manner as these checks are carried out in front of passersby.”<sup>1</sup>*

Discriminatory identity checks send a message to both the person stopped and to all passersby about the prevailing social order and who belongs and who does not. Consequently, entire sectors of the population are left feeling that no matter what they do, they will always be second-class citizens simply because they “don’t look French”.



## A GENERATIONAL EXPERIENCE; TEACHING CHILDREN TO **LIVE WITH DISCRIMINATION**

**It is particularly difficult** for second and third generation French citizens to be singled out for identity checks. Their life experience and nationality is French, yet police actions send a message that they are not truly French. The message is particularly clear when young people who are visible minorities are with white French friends, and the police stop them and not their friends, even though they have grown up together, are in the same place, and are doing the same thing at the moment of the stop.

Many parents of minority children feel obliged to prepare their children for an inevitable stop by the police, and to guide them on how to behave. French sociologist Didier Fassin calls this “a very particular form of civic education” for his children—a conversation that is unpleasantly familiar to French minority families.

*I decided it was a good idea to start a very particular form of civic education with my son and his friend, explaining to them—not without a deep discomfort—that, in today’s France, their skin color exposed them to frequent identity checks, and that, when they faced this type of situation they had to remain irreproachably emotionless, whatever the manner the police treated them.*

*I wasn’t being particularly original; I learned later that parents of the neighboring social housing complex told their sons the same thing. We need to ask ourselves very seriously about what it means to need to teach our children the banality of discrimination and the adoption of a submissive attitude when confronted with injustice. What does it mean for a democracy, that we are obliged to accept such deviation from a state of law?<sup>2</sup>*

**Adjai Ahoudian** | LOCAL COUNCIL OFFICIAL | PARIS

Adjai contrasts the excitement he felt when he first received the card that identified him as an elected official with the disillusionment of being singled out for an identity check.

You think to yourself ‘ho la la, this card is a sign of my full belonging to the French Republic... And then ‘poof’, when that moment comes [of an identity check], a familiar memory immediately rises to the surface. You realize that while you belong to the Republic and you live in the Republic, you aren’t actually a full citizen. You are a second-class citizen. You are continually reminded that due to your face, due to your skin color, due to your appearance that you are not really from here—even when you are an elected official of the Republic.

## FEEDING STEREOTYPES, DAMAGING LIVES

**When members of the public repeatedly see** visible minorities stopped and searched by police, they often assume the police must have a reason, and that all these individuals must be criminal or dangerous. This feeds discriminatory stereotypes and stigmatization of entire groups of people, contributing to broader racism and xenophobia. If the police view visible minorities as suspicious, why should employers, landlords, cafe owners, and shopkeepers not do so as well?



As a result of frequent discriminatory checks, people adjust their lifestyles, and will take a longer route to work or school to avoid places where police checks are common. Many describe limiting when and where they shop; or turning around and avoiding police whenever they see them. The delay caused by an identity check may lead to a job dismissal, a lost employment opportunity, a failed exam, or some other missed appointment.

**Morad Aggoun** | ELECTED OFFICIAL AND FATHER OF FOUR | LYON

Because of the checks, at 20 we already thought like 40 year olds. And that's what I don't want them to do to my son. I want my son to enjoy the time of his carefree days like other kids: to be full of dreams...I want my son to travel around the world. I don't want him to be locked up inside himself because of identity checks that make him think that outside of his small neighborhood there is no life for him.

**Moradel Ruddy** | PRODUCER AND EVENT ORGANIZER | LYON

At the time I worked in a factory. The check lasted half an hour. I told them I would be late for work, and that they were checking me for nothing, that at least they could write a note to explain my tardiness. They responded, "Your work can call the police station." When I told my boss that the police had checked me, he didn't believe me. Since I had arrived for work 20-25 minutes late, they fired me.





Omer Mas Capitolin | A LOCAL COUNCIL OFFICIAL | PARIS

When you are checked in public, it creates a really unpleasant image. I wonder what passersby think - whether they really think that I committed a crime or that I really did something illegal - especially when the check occurs in the neighborhood where I work. It's especially the human effect it can have afterwards. An example that I find particularly striking is when I walk down the street and I pass someone who shifts their bag to the other side - there is no mystery. I also try not to go to stores on Saturdays as I will likely be followed, be checked.

## EMBARRASSMENT AND HUMILIATION

**Ethnic profiling starts with an identity check** that is generally carried out in public and often highly visible. People stopped by police are acutely aware of being watched by passersby and deeply embarrassed. They fear that strangers assume they must be criminals or troublemakers. This embarrassment is compounded when those bystanders are employers, teachers, neighbors, family, or friends. The experience can be profoundly humiliating and traumatic.

Identity checks often lead to a pat down or search. During a frisk or search individuals are obliged to stand, in public, with their arms and legs spread out while police pat down their bodies from head to toe. Officers often search and touch their genital area in public as well. Those interviewed were hesitant to talk about this experience, which they experienced as a form of sexual violation. But the experience has become so common that young people have coined the term "the triangle" to describe pat downs of their groins and genitalia.

Said Kebbouche | FATHER OF FOUR, COMMUNITY ORGANIZER | LYON

"It is as if you did something wrong when the only thing wrong that you did was to be present. You feel that the simple fact of existing is a problem. When one hasn't experienced this it is difficult to imagine the type of humiliation—it's to the point that it causes pain. There is even a feeling of humiliation when you are not checked yourself, but you know someone who is checked, even then it can cause pain. It's something very intimate."





## Hicham Kochman (aka Axiom)

ARTIST, COMPOSER AND AUTHOR | LILLE

Those who do not live this harassment don't understand what we are talking about. They don't know what it does to you, how it makes you feel, to be singled out, to be second tier, third tier, told you are nothing and to shut up. They make you believe that you are nothing and no one. It's a daily, ongoing form of humiliation. You are insulted daily. The police are armed, too, so there's a danger that exists every day.



## FEAR AND PROVOCATION

**Escalation and hostility during an identity check** stoke the fires of mistrust and engender fear in visible minority communities in France. French sociologists have reported on the oral transmission of stories of unfair police practices and how these shape attitudes towards police.<sup>3</sup> Researchers note that "this fear is particularly strong amongst young people from poor neighborhoods who experience repeat identity checks, verbal provocation...and various forms of humiliation."<sup>4</sup>



## Youssef Boubaker | POLITICAL SCIENCE STUDENT | LYON

I have this feeling of fear all the time. It's a very particular feeling that I get every time I pass a police officer, or every time I go somewhere. I cross my fingers and I hope that I won't be checked.



The individuals interviewed for this report, as well as participants in a series of 2011-2012 community and police “town hall”-style meetings and academic researchers all describe tense and mistrustful police-community relations in France. It is now common in certain areas of France to hear people talk of their fear of the police and of the range of problems that this generates.

Fear and hostility on both sides—among French minorities and among the police—increase the risk of conflict during encounters. A disturbing manifestation of this trend is the filing by police officers of charges of “insult” or “revolt”<sup>5</sup> against individuals stopped, sometimes in retaliation for perceived hostile attitudes.



There is evidence of police officers adopting an aggressive approach to a stop, suggesting a deliberate bid to provoke a response that will lead to potential charges. French criminologist Fabien Jobard has described how, during observational research in which he rode with police in their cars, an officer lamented the fact that a man failed to respond aggressively during a stop, although the officer attempted to provoke such a response by repeatedly shoving him in the chest.<sup>6</sup> Young people report being called “dirty Arab” or “dirty Black” as well as the frequent use by officers of the informal “tu” form of address (something the new Code of Police Ethics is expected to expressly forbid).<sup>7</sup>

These dynamics have been recognized by official police monitoring mechanisms and documented by academics and human rights organizations. Almost a decade ago, the National Police internal affairs department concluded that officers tended to resort “sometimes too systematically to allegations of insult and revolt” with little evidence to support the charge.<sup>8</sup> In 2007, the police oversight body reported that police officers continued systematically to press these charges.<sup>9</sup> Two years later, in 2009, Amnesty International found that this trend continued, and anecdotal evidence suggests little change to this day.

“Insult” or “revolt” charges are serious: the offence of insult can lead to up to six months imprisonment and a fine of up to €7,500, while that of revolt can lead to one year imprisonment and a fine of up to €5,000.<sup>10</sup>

These charges result from the stop itself rather than any prior unlawful behavior, yet can lead to a criminal record. Because of the disproportionate number of stops experienced by visible minority individuals, this increases their chances of being arrested under these circumstances, which otherwise would not have occurred.

**Lyes Kaouah** | THEATRE STUDENT | LYON

When we walk in the city and we see the police, we feel unsafe. But there are other people for whom the police presence provides a sense of security. There are really two Frances. There is our France, the France of the poor suburbs, of immigrants, of persons of foreign origin, of the unemployed, and then there is the France of the others—those that feel reassured by police cars.

When the police check us, stories of police brutality run through our minds and we say to ourselves ‘it could be me’. The older we get, the more we think about that.

## CONSEQUENCES FOR SAFETY AND PUBLIC ORDER

**Parents often worry for their children**, as they are anxious about how they might react if checked by police, knowing how much they may smart at being repeatedly singled out and humiliated. The anxiety is heightened by a shared narrative of fear of police brutality. Reports of deaths at the hands of police over the last decade, circulated via the media, social networks or word of mouth, have created a fear that checks can easily “go wrong” and escalate to extreme consequences.<sup>11</sup>

In 2005, on an evening in early November, Bouna Traore, Zyed Benna, and Muhittin Altun, aged 15, 17 and 17 respectively, were on their way home from a soccer match in a Paris suburb, when a police van crossed their path. They had done nothing illegal but ran from the possible police check and hid in an electrical generator. Bouna and Zyed were killed and Muhittin suffered severe burns across his body.

The riots that ensued marked the worst urban violence in modern French history. The riots expressed broader discontent than identity checks alone. But in France as in the US, the UK, Sweden and elsewhere, the police check was the deadly spark that ignited the combustible, pre-existing tensions between French citizens, particularly visible minorities, and the French police.

The size and scope of the 2005 riots was unique, but smaller incidents of unrest sparked by discriminatory identity checks that go wrong are common.<sup>12</sup> In August 2012, a riot broke out in Amiens following an identity check of a young man attending a funeral. Gunshots were fired at the police during the riot.<sup>13</sup> Anger and frustration with the discriminatory way in which identity checks are performed by the police are a central factor fueling the vast majority of France’s most significant riots over the last decades.<sup>14</sup>

Riots are the most extreme reaction, but the work of patrol officers has become increasingly difficult. Officers face reduced cooperation, and sometimes outright hostility, particularly from young people. At times, officers have been assaulted. In these conditions, basic police services suffer and both public safety and officer safety are jeopardized. These problems are directly related to the loss of trust and police legitimacy generated by biased and unfair practices.



Latifah El Boukhari | SOCIAL WORKER | LILLE

In my work I see and talk with young people aged 15-16, about school and all sorts of things. And it's always the same—they get out of school with their schoolbags and the police check them. It's repetitive and it's tiresome. Since they are very young when the persecution starts, they grow up developing a hatred of the police. I see it every day. It's a sick thing. It's crazy. At the age of 19-20, this hatred causes riots and fights with the police. I'm scared. I fear for the future, of what can happen between my children and the police. Of course it's scary. It's very, very scary.



## TRUST IN POLICE IS LOST; POLICE EFFECTIVENESS SUFFERS

A 2010 survey by the **National Demographic Institute** (INED) showed that members of the majority population and immigrants from Southern Europe and their descendants had relatively high levels of trust in the police. Immigrants from Northern or Sub-Saharan Africa and their descendants, who are disproportionately subject to identity checks, had far lower levels of trust, particularly among the second generation. This was also true of those from French overseas departments, which are predominantly black.



The survey also found a clear relation between those groups reporting higher rates of repeat identity checks and lower levels of trust in the police. Many French visible minorities are subjected to repeated identity checks, and are also more frequently frisked or searched than 'white' French people. In 2010, the police oversight body reported a high frequency of stops that result in searches; and NGO reports have also uncovered widespread frisks of children in particular.<sup>15</sup>

The INED study found that only 25 percent of people who had not been stopped in the last year expressed a lack of trust in police, compared to 54 percent of those that had been checked. The French section of the Eurojustis survey showed that negative encounters with police also generate mistrust amongst those who indirectly share these experiences—for instance by witnessing such treatment or hearing about it via a family member or neighbor. The erosion of trust increases when the check is more intrusive—and involves a frisk or a search.

Loss of trust in police and fear affects relations in concrete and troubling ways. When trust in police breaks down, members of the public are reluctant to report crime and suspicious activities to police, and are unwilling to cooperate and provide information.<sup>16</sup> This makes it more difficult, if not impossible in some cases, for police to become aware of crime and suspicious activities in a neighborhood and to gather key information to prevent or solve incidents of crime and disorder. As effective law enforcement is made more difficult, public safety in turn is undermined. Recent survey-based research also supports these findings in France, mirroring dynamics that have been extensively studied in the UK, the United States and beyond.<sup>17</sup>

Proposals that would introduce a greater level of accountability into the use of stop and search tactics in France have been opposed by the police unions, even as many officers privately admit to their concerns about the impact of a loss of trust on their ability to work effectively.

**Mounir Seydi** | COMMUNITY ORGANIZER | PARIS

What changed is that for the first time in my life I said to myself "the police, or many police officers, are racist." Now, I couldn't trust the police. Whatever happens to me, I couldn't trust them, that's obvious. When I see the police now I am afraid of being arrested, being checked, whereas before I didn't have that feeling.



## Issa Coulibaly

COMMUNITY ORGANIZER

PARIS

What people do not understand about these abusive controls is that it's real violence for those who are targets. The feeling of being treated differently, that's the first reckoning, the first awareness of a certain discrimination, of some difference, of a certain exclusion. So the influence and importance these police checks can have are very strong. Besides school and parents, they, the police, are the ones representing authority, and the checks can do a lot of damage to the perception young people have of authority. Trust is destroyed and distrust sets in. In addition, generalizing this, the police are the state, the police are the Republic, the nation. So the discriminatory policing damages one's trust in institutions.







## Stéphane Lievin

POLICE BRIGADIER, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITE SGP POLICE FO POLICE UNION | PARIS

Obviously, if the public has the feeling that police are not in the service of their fellow citizens and instead work in the service of the state, or meeting quotas, that will then be exploited politically, well, then it is quite obvious that the public will not work with its police. Citizens will not provide intelligence that can be used for investigations. Trust brings us intelligence, knowledge about what is going on in a neighborhood, good and bad.

## THE WAY FORWARD; REBUILDING TRUST AND POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

**Although the problems are significant, there is a way to repair the damage done.**

The residents of troubled areas are well aware of the prevailing destructive dynamics and want to see things improve. In local meetings in Paris and the surrounding area in 2011 and 2012, residents, while complaining of unfair treatment, also expressed a common desire to rebuild community-police relations, improve police services, and local safety. Police officers expressed the same sentiments.

Recently, the French government has begun to take notice. President François Hollande responded to growing public concern over the issue in his 2012 electoral campaign manifesto, including a pledge to enact measures to end ethnic profiling. Unfortunately, his campaign promise has yet to result in meaningful action.

There have been some small steps. The government has agreed to re-instate visible badge-numbers on police uniforms, which should make it easier for members of the public to identify individual officers who fall short of the required standards of appropriate behavior. A new version of the Police Code of Ethics, expected to be introduced in 2014, contains some amendments relating to identity checks, for instance requiring use of more courteous forms of address.

But more polite behavior alone will not solve the problem. Of the respondents in the 2009 CNRS/Justice Initiative study, those who experienced repeated stops—and visible minorities report more repeat stops than white people—had a stronger and more negative reaction to police even when they reported courteous behavior during the stop they had just experienced.

Ending ethnic profiling and rebuilding trust between visible minority communities and the police will require a far wider range of measures:

- The law should include a requirement of reasonable suspicion for all identity checks, and clear grounds for frisks and searches.
- Checks should be documented, with each person who is stopped receiving a record of the encounter. This data should be used to monitor officers' use of checks to see that these powers are applied effectively and fairly;
- Officers should be supported with relevant training and supervision.

These measures can address and reduce unfair stops, but in order to rebuild trust and good relations, they need to be accompanied by broader outreach, dialogue and a focus on improving police services, starting with the communities where relations are under the greatest strain.

In the absence of substantive action by the government, discriminatory identity checks have continued unabated. The result has been continued damage not just to those targeted by the practice, but to the broader social fabric, and to the Republican ideal that underpins the values of law and democracy in France. Stop-and-search tactics could play a legitimate role in policing—when these are based on individualized grounds for reasonable suspicion and not on pejorative stereotypes.

**Police officers must use their powers wisely and sparingly, and with greater consciousness of the effect they have. When they do so, evidence suggests the police too will see benefits. Failure to heed the warning signs risks fostering a more damaged, more divided, and more dangerous society.**



# ENDNOTES

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- 2 Didier Fassin, *La Force de l’Ordre : Une anthropologie de la police des quartiers*, (Paris, Seuil, 2011), p. 26.
- 3 See for example: Michel Kokoreff, *La force des quartiers. De la délinquance à l’engagement politique* (Paris: Payot, 2003) ; Didier Lapeyronnie, *Ghetto Urbain: ségrégation, violence, pauvreté en France aujourd’hui* (Paris: Robert Laffont , 2008); Marwan Mohammed, *La formation des bandes. Entre la famille, l’école et la rue* (Paris, PUF, 2011).
- 4 Kokoreff, p. 152.
- 5 Per Articles 433-5 and 433-6 of the French Criminal Code.
- 6 Fabien Jobard, “Le nouveau mandat policier Faire la police dans les zones dites de ‘non-droit’,” *Criminologie*, Vol. 38 no. 2, (Autumn 2005), pp. 109-110.
- 7 Human Rights Watch, “The Root of Humiliation: Abusive Identity Checks In France,” (Washington DC: Human Rights Watch, 2012), p. 22.
- 8 As cited in, European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT), “Rapport au Gouvernement de la République française relatif à la visite effectuée en France par le Comité européen pour la prévention de la torture et des peines ou traitements inhumains ou dégradants (CPT),” CPT/Inf (2007) 44, (Strasbourg, December 10, 2007), at para 17.
- 9 In its 2006 annual report, the National Commission on Security Ethics (CNDS), that has since been dissolved, raised concern over “an increase in procedures for insult used in too systematic a manner by law enforcement personnel”. Commission nationale de déontologie de la sécurité, *Rapport 2006 au Président de la République et au Parlement* la Documentation Française, Paris 2007, at p. 29. (FRENCH « une inflation des procédures pour outrages engagées de manière trop systématique par les personnels des forces de l’ordre ».)
- 10 In 2011, 14,964 persons were found guilty of insult and rebellion against law enforcement officials. These constituted 2.2 % of all criminal offences. See, Ministère de la Justice, *Les chiffres clés de la Justice* 2012, (Paris: Service Support et moyens du ministère, 2012), p. 17.
- 11 Louise Fessard, “Violences policières: le déni de l’Etat.” Mediapart, (June 7, 2012).
- 12 See for example Michel Kokoreff, “Le durcissement des controles, ou la fabrique sociale de la haine” *Mouvements*, No 62, (April-June 2010).
- 13 Louise Fesard, À Amiens, “Valls demande “l’ordre républicain” et les habitants une police moins “provocatrice.” Mediapart, (August 15, 2012); and “Les émeutes d’Amiens peuvent-elles s’étendre?” *Marianne* 2—Avec AFP, (August 15, 2012).

- 14 As discussed in Didier Lapeyronnie, Michel Kokoreff, *Refaire la cite*, (Coédition Seuil-La République des idées, 2013); Fabien Jobard, “Police, Justice et Discriminations Raciales,” in Didier Fassin and Éric Fassin, eds., *De la question sociale à la question raciale? Représenter la société française*. (Paris: La Découverte, 2006).
- 15 In its 2010 annual report the National Commission of Security Ethics noted the systematic use of pat-downs made by police officers during identity checks carried out under prosecutor’s orders (authorization by Prosecutors for police to carry out checks in certain areas over a certain time period), without reasonable suspicion. In its responses to the CNDS the Ministry of Interior confirmed that these pat-downs were a common practice. See Commission Nationale de Déontologie de la Sécurité, “Rapport Annuel 2010” (Paris), pp 36-37; and Human Rights Watch.
- 16 See, for instance: Jason Sunshine and Tom R. Tyler, “The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing,” in *Law and Society Review*, 37 (2003), pp. 513-548; Tom R. Tyler and Jeff Fagan, “Why Do People Cooperate With the Police?” in *Ohio Journal of Criminal Law*, 6, (2008), pp.231-275; KristinaMurphy, Lyn Hinds and Jenny Fleming, “Encouraging Public Cooperation and Support for Police,” in *Policing and Society*, Vol. 18, no.2 (2008), pp.136-155; Lorraine Mazerolle, et al, *Legitimacy in Policing: A Systematic Review* (Oslo: The Campbell Collaboration, 2012); amongst others.
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“ When we walk in the city and  
we see the police, we feel unsafe.  
But there are other people  
for whom the police presence  
provides a sense of security.  
There are really two Frances.”

Lyes Kaouah

THEATER STUDENT | LYON





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