
POLICING DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: THE CASE OF GREECEGiorgos Triantafyllou¹, Anastasios Valvis² & Theoni Spathi³**Abstract**

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has presented modern societies with numerous unprecedented challenges. Indeed, what began as a health emergency evolved into a global crisis, affecting all aspects of organised societal activities, such as the economy, education, travelling, etc. Against this background of unparalleled change, Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs) have been tasked to perform a wide array of duties, including not only traditional policing but also new tasks related to public health safety, such as enforcing the measures against the spread of COVID-19. Consequently, this expanded portfolio of responsibilities questioned implicitly LEAs' priorities, emphasising the need for quick adaptation to the new policing needs through a versatile approach to policing. Using Greece as a case study, this paper has a twofold objective: First, to map what have been the most important changes in urban policing during the pandemic, focusing on LEAs' responsibilities, tasks, mandates, and priorities through the lens of human security. Second, to explore if and how those changes have affected the relationship between civilians and the LEA personnel, emphasising on the

¹ Research Associate, Center for Security Studies (KE.ME.A), Ministry of Citizen Protection; Research Fellow, South-East Europe Programme, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). ORCID id: 0000-0002-7595-8155.

² Research Associate, Center for Security Studies (KE.ME.A), Ministry of Citizen Protection; Research Fellow, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of the Peloponnese. ORCID id: 0000-0001-8728-0946. a.valvis@kemea-research.gr

³ Research Associate, Center for Security Studies (KE.ME.A), Ministry of Citizen Protection. ORCID id: 0000-0002-4908-8678.

Urban Crime - An International Journal, Vol 3, No 2, ISSN 2732-6187. © Laboratory of Urban Criminology of Panteion University 2020. The content of Urban Crime-An International Journal, first published in 2020, is freely available to download, save, reproduce, and transmit for noncommercial, scholarly, and educational purposes. Reproduction and transmission of journal content for the above purposes should credit the author and original source. Use, reproduction, or distribution of journal content for commercial purposes requires additional permissions from the Laboratory of Urban Criminology of Panteion University 2020.

perceptions of the latter on the ground of public acceptance of the police's role compared to the pre-COVID-19 period.

Keywords COVID-19, LEAs, policing, human security, implications

Introduction

It was December 2019 when news from China started spreading around the world about a new, highly infectious virus. On the 31st of the same month, Chinese officials notified the World Health Organization (WHO) about a group of approximately 40 citizens that identified carrying a new virus, while less than two week later, China recorded its first COVID-19 death. Before too long, the WHO declared, on January 30, a global public-health emergency (Kennedy, 2020). Over the next three months, the pandemic has changed the world's way of living in a shocking and dramatic way. By April 15, numbers had already gone uphill with more than two million infections worldwide and 130,528 deaths (Johns Hopkins University & Medicine, 2020). A daily record of infections and deaths because of COVID-19 led many governments around the world to take immediate measures to mitigate the spread of the deadly virus. Suspension of international air travel, issuance of stay-at home orders and border sealing to foreigners were the most common measures taken by governments worldwide. Although there were variations on the specifics of these public health orders among the countries, the common denominator was that they prohibited movement outside of home except for essential services, including healthcare workers and first responders, and a pre-customary list of vital activities that included obtaining food or medicine, checking on and providing assistance to a relative (usually elderly people or people with disabilities), and travelling for health care (White & Fradella, 2020:703). Within this context, security institutions like the police were placed at the core of this health-related crisis and its consequent implications. Indeed, the police staff particularly was considered as the second most important state (official) agent only after the health workers to provide services to alleviate the crisis that has resulted in uncertainty, fear of life and insecurity across the globe. Police around the world have been called upon to monitor the implementation of government decisions. Undoubtedly, from the stand of police studies, we were witnessing the first global police event in history, since it

was the first time ever that police in most countries worldwide have been asked to act against the same fundamental threat. Undeniably, according to Sheptycki (Sheptycki, 2020:158) “the pandemic panic concerning the novel COVID-19 virus marks a watershed and can be viewed from the standpoint of police studies as a massive global field experiment in how different practical manifestations of police power are operationalized under different local social and political contexts, and further with what consequence for human well-being the world over”. However, government decisions that appointed the police as the most suitable state institution to undertake the implementation of political decisions on civil restrictions, as a measure to moderate the spread of the pandemic, undoubtedly provoked considerable debate on whether these tasks fall within the role of the police *par excellence*. The fact that governments’ decisions entailed signs of constitutional rights’ infringement, along with the threat of sanctions for violation of those orders, seem to contest police’s fundamental role, the protection of civil/public liberties and the freedom of movement. To this end, various questions raised, especially whether the police should not have engaged in the prevention of COVID-19 expansion, or at least not in such a level. The following pages will attempt to explain why the police was and still is the most appropriate institution to enforce governmental decisions related to the mitigation of the pandemic. This paper is based on an in-depth overview of the escalation of the pandemic in Greece *vis a vis* the directives given to the police authorities to monitor and impose the implementation of the corresponding measures. It draws upon various social science disciplines, such as international relations and criminology, articulating a concise yet thorough literature review on human security implications in tandem with a presentation of principal meanings of policing. For the purpose of this paper secondary resources have been exploited for the development of the theoretical framework, while for the presentation of the case study and the elaboration of the impact of the pandemic on the policing in Greece the authors used primary resources (i.e., presidential degrees, minister decisions, etc.) and interviews retrieved from mainstream media platforms. The following part of the paper will attempt to provide the reader with a concise but enlightening definition of what the police is and what policing means.

Theoretical foundations of policing during the pandemic

Defining policing

The word *police* derives from the latin word *politia*, which means “civil administration” (Dempsey, 2016:36). Thus, etymologically, the police can be seen as those involved in the administration of a city” (Dempsey, 2016:36). As such, the term *policing* encompasses more than mere law enforcement. In fact, policing can have a variety of definitions, including the prevention and detection of criminal acts, the promotion and preservation of public order, as well as the provision of assistance to the general public (Osse, 2006: 49). In general, policing is being understood as an institutional umbrella, taking effect as a governmental activity, or better a mechanism of governance (Sheptycki, 2000:21). Building on this understanding, two major theoretical approaches on policing stem from Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. On the one hand, Weber approached the police as “the coercive arm of state”, while Durkheim underlines the social role of the police, putting in the front light the influence police can play to the morality of the society and its social values (Terpstra, 2011). Along the line on Weber’s approach, Bittner (1970: 36 and 2000:40) has argued that the use of force is understood as a fundamental rule that characterises the day-to-day police-citizen interaction, thus laying at the heart of the police role, as “the police are nothing else than a mechanism for the distribution of situationally justified force in society” (see also Manning, 1978). This role of the police is a result of the *social contract* between the state and society, according to which citizens have abandoned their right to exercise physical violence (except of course in exceptional cases), handing it over to the police to effectively protect society at large (Reiman, 1985).

As already mentioned, the police, following a *social contract* with society, are entitled as the only accepted institution to exercise power to protect the latter. Simply, policing is power, and it is absolutely intertwined and a prerequisite for good governance (Bayley, 1985:189). Police, as a security service, is composed of public servants “linked through a complex division-of-labour by a common metier” (Sheptycki, 2017). Their role entails a wide range of tasks and responsibilities, such as tracking, surveillance, unending vigilance, and a constant readiness to apply force (including lethal), aiming at reaffirming its institutional role of preserving social order, preventing crime, and governing society’s insecurity (Bowling et al., 2019:37). As Rancière (2004, p. 29,

quoted in Shaw & Meehan, 2013) further puts it “the police is thus first an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying, and sees that those bodies are assigned by name to a particular place and task”. Such an understanding recognizes the police as upholding a notion of social, geopolitical, as well as *natural law*, which relies on an interpretation of policing as attached to bodies, structures, as well as emotions. The paradox of achieving the maintenance of peace and order in a society using force, which is an integral part of policing, is being overcome through the claim that the police represent the democratic will of the people and the rule of law. Yet even though the police are a symbol of crime control, the fundamental principles of order and community security seem to be, to a considerable extent, pervasive within social culture (Reiner, 2016). With this assumption it becomes clear that the aim of the police is, in addition to what has been mentioned above, to strengthen informal social control in order to minimize the need to resort to police intervention and violence, thus achieving a fairer and more effective intervention in large-scale incidents of crime and social unrest. However, as Johnston argues, by defining policing as “acts of governance directed toward producing security” leads to assumptions that in fact downplay the inclusiveness of the term (Johnston, 2000:10). The term *policing* should be understood along with the term security, which encompasses a wide range of threats. Thus, inevitably, over time the police are part of the social reaction and response to situations that are characterized as fundamental existential threats.

There have been different models and approaches on policing, stemming from the scientific research outcomes, as well the international police practice. As Vidali discusses (2012), policing can take the following main forms, with the following to have been the main three, being differentiated by the traditional policing forms: community policing, problem-oriented policing (pop) and intelligence-led policing. Each of these models has been developed during different eras, thus being influenced from various economic, political, social and societal incentives, having led to a great variety of intervention forms, levels of discretion at line level, levels of decision-making, command focus and communication flows, as well as range of community involvement and policy activity along with success measurements. Community policing model’s roots lay back in the 80s stemming from failing policing methods in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. It is focused on participatory crime prevention policies, where Law Enforcement Agencies are in close collaboration

with the community actors, aiming to reduce petty-crimes and social disorder⁴, through taking into consideration the local characteristics (in each neighborhood) and applying specific solutions to them (Tilley, 2008). As Zarafonitou (2019:41-52) discusses, this model has been also applied in the Greek reality through the “Neighbourhood Police Officer”, having faced a lot of difficulties during its implementation, as its effectiveness is linked not only with the level of organization and administration of the Police, but also with the degree of involvement of citizens and local actors. Turning to the other two forms, both Problem-oriented-policing (POP) and Intelligence-led policing (ILP) have been related to community policing, with the former to have been defined as an approach to develop targeted interventions, via identifying one specific problem, thoroughly analyzing it, developing a tailored response and evaluating it for future interventions (SARA model application: Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment) (Goldstein, 1979: 236-243; Popcenter, 2022)⁵. Finally, the latter (ILP) having its roots in the United Kingdom during the 1990s, capitalizes mainly on the crime risk management and assessment through the appropriate application of technological advances on data collection and analysis for the police to have a “more proactive focus” (Tilley, 2008).

Further on, this paper will explain what the role of the police during the pandemic was, discussing whether that was compatible with its constitutional mandate.

Policing the Pandemic from a Human Security Perspective

In a recent article, Sheptycki described the pandemic as a “moment of rapid transition” where “the reproduction of order is in question, the management of risk is tenuous and the governance of security paramount” (Sheptycki, 2020:159). The question is, how we define *security* under such circumstances. Drawing from the field of International Relations, this part will attempt to shade light on the term *security* aiming to explain the correlation between new threats and the request for more engagement from the side of the police. As McSweeney writes, “Security [...] is an elusive term. Like peace, honour, justice, it denotes a quality of relationship which resists definition. It has an

⁴ It has been also proposed that through the application of broken windows policing, “small offenses add up to destroy community life and that small offenses encourage larger ones, consequently police should pay particular attention to disorders” (Popcenter, 2022 - [Glossary | ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing | ASU](#))

⁵ [The SARA Model | ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing | ASU](#)

active verbal form which seems to take it out of the realm of the abstruse, and a hard tangibility in its nominal form which promises something solid and measurable” (McSweeney, 1999:13). In its modern version, the term *security* is an integral and necessary characteristic of the state which is ensured by both military and diplomatic means. The term began to be exploited politically at the end of the 18th century in the context of the broader reasoning about the nature of the *social contract* which in general likened or better, identified the state with the individual. According to McSweeney, the theory of the *social contract* was understood by Rousseau, as it was also by Locke and Montesquieu, “as the product of individual desire for security and liberty”: this is the fundamental problem to which the institution of the state provides the solution (McSweeney, 1999: 13). Rothschild concludes: “It was in the military period of the French Revolution, above all, that the security of individuals was subsumed, as a political epigram, in the security of the nation” (Rothschild, 1995:64). Indeed, *national security* was the construction of a doctrine designed to bridge the traditional division between the interests of the state abroad and those of the state at home, and to fill the gap amid everyday life and the defence of the national interest. *Security* in the Cold War era has been criticized for belonging primarily to the state; people, like the armed forces, were its instruments, but also, potentially, its enemies.

As Wolfers argued, the content of national interest had different meaning in the past, when it was perceived in terms of welfare especially during the early years of the ‘New Deal’. A decade later, the same term received a different interpretation being ‘practically synonymous with the formula of national security’ (Wolfers, 1962:148). Building on this understanding, “the state had become an organism, appropriating to itself the capacity for *cura* and its derivatives” (McSweeney, 1999: 21). Indeed, during the Cold War security was linked with politico-military terms and had been constructed in people’s minds as a national prerogative, which could safeguard their welfare and prosperity as a society. The major international relations theories at that time, realism, neo-realism and liberalism supported that idea and despite their differences, regarded the state as the most important political unit that has sustained all the changes that took place over several centuries. States find in weapons the means to preserve their security. However, this condition led to a vicious circle, since the weapons created violence and thus insecurity to their own people. Consequently, security studies focused mostly on the security of people against violence and a variety of forms of insecurity. Nevertheless, defining “security” remains under discussion. Baldwin argued that if

anyone wants to clarify the term, questions such as security for whom, security for which values, how much security, security from what threats, and security by what means, must be thoroughly examined (Baldwin, 1997:9-13). By adding questions such as how much security, from what threats and by what means, we can further our understanding of the contemporary meaning of *security*. Probably one of the most famous and accurate definitions of *security* is that of Soroos who defines security as ‘the assurance people have that they will continue to enjoy those things that are most important to their survival and well-being’ (Soroos, 1997:236). In the same direction Kourakis has placed a comprehensive framework of the term indicating that “security” (ασφάλεια) exists when someone or something is not being exposed to danger (Kourakis, 2006: 1217). He underlines, however, the difference between *security* and *safety* with the second term addressing dangers related to things and persons, while the first one referring to the living conditions of individuals (Kourakis in: Zarafonitou, 2007). Thus, as Baylis and Smith suggest, there is a consensus on the concept of security in that it implies freedom from threats to core values (Baylis & Smith, 2005: 300-302). However, the most imperative unit remains the state in the spectrum of international relations, and so it seems unorthodox to leave it aside. The state is probably the only organization which has the structure and the capacity to ensure people’s welfare. Thus, national security should be linked with human security. According to the United Nations Development Program Report back in 1994, human security is defined as “first safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities’ (UNDP, 1994:23). Fulfilling this condition requires, as Kerr indicates, ‘a seven-pronged approach to address economic, food, health, environment, personal, community, and political security’ (Kerr, 2007: 92). In this light, the role assigned to the police in adhering to the measures that governments have imposed on their citizens aimed at containing the spread of COVID-19 seems to be justified. Indeed, ‘Human Security’ encompasses all aspects of human insecurities going beyond physical violence. Thus, the police, apart from responding exclusively to the security needs of interpersonal violence by providing physical safety from aggressive behavior of other, it has been asked to provide the society with a broader meaning of safety by addressing, among other insecurities in life, the one related to health (Gasper & Gomez, 2015:100-116). Besides, the threats to security are also related to the recognition of the person-centred attention

to the intersections of multiple dimensions of life, requiring a coordinated approach through partnering with other agencies and members of the communities the police serve (Gasper, 2005:221-245). The police were asked to coordinate with other agencies, mainly from the health sector, to contain the spread of the virus, indicating a major shift in its role as this had been perceived thus far. Below, we will discuss whether this governmental decision has been a rational one and what has been the cost for the police, in operational terms and in relation to the social acceptance of its role.

The role of the police during the pandemic

The previous section attempted to justify the police's role as the principal state security institution to cope with the variety of challenges that fall under the scope of, what has been defined as, human security. This part will put emphasis exclusively on the role of the police during the pandemic aiming at justifying whether this role falls within the traditional scope of the police as well. It is generally agreed that the measures taken by the governments in order to mitigate the spread of the COVID-19 had a restrictive orientation. Although not complex in nature, these orders usually suspend public liberties and restrict free movement of people. Violating them provokes potential sanctions as being a criminal offence, ranging from a simple, although not small, fine, to imprisonment for a certain time (Cave & Dahir, 2020). Given the nature of the response, one could argue that the police have the constitutionally awarded authority to secure the implementation of governmental decisions. Although, the police, again by constitution is entrusted to guard these liberties, during the pandemic their typical orientation has been challenged with governmental decisions pressing them to prioritize controls and restrictions against their principal mandate. Indeed, despite differences in patterns from state-to-state emanating from each country's different socio-economic context and the objective distinctions of the degree each state has been hit by the pandemic, in principle, the police response had many commonalities. Across continents, the security sectors were not expected to just fight criminality by catching the criminals or managing the traffic and so on. Police have been asked to do much more, mostly by imposing movement restrictions or by assisting the health staff in contact tracing of infected citizens. Their *new* role also included providing safety to the health and essential services staff, preventing attacks and abuse to them and ensure free flows of essential supplies while at the same time restraining black market methods and

cyber frauds related to the pandemic. The question that instantly evolves is related to the compatibility of these roles with the essential principles of policing prior to the outbreak. The simple answer would have been positive, given that violations of the imposed legally binding restrictions were deemed as criminal offenses accompanied with fines, arrests and even imprisonment. This assumption seems reasonable as any activity that can be classified as criminal falls within the police's responsibility. Moreover, public officials seem to be perseverant in the implementation and enforcement of restrictive measures, seeking, in this way, the increasing involvement of the police. Based on the *social contract* mentioned above, governments turned to the unique and uncontested authority of the police to use force to deal with citizens violating the COVID-19 restrictive measures. The operational capabilities of the police are equally a particularly important argument for all those who believe that this role was well assigned to it. Manning, back in 1978, in order to describe this constant alert of the police used the term the 'impossible mandate' (Manning, PK, 1978). Being available around the clock every day, the police's mandate on crime control seems impossible to be followed given that most of their interventions do not involve crime (Reiss, 1971). Indeed, citizens resort to the police for a multitude of grounds that go beyond their main purpose and are not related to crime issues. Based on its monopoly on violence, citizens call on the police for the purpose of peacekeeping, dispute management and the maintenance of public order. It is not only that the police handle such a variety of issues that can complicate their role. It is mostly because "no human problem exists, or is imaginable, about which it could be said with finality that this certainly could not become the proper business of the police" (Bittner, 1974: 244). Yet, the principal mission of the police is the protection of life (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). This admission defines a clear benchmark for the police urging them to evaluate both the means and ends of their decisions before acting. Within this context, every single police decision is being processed and understood through the lens of the "protect life" doctrine (Kane & White, 2013). To this end, the police and the subsequent enforcement of the restrictions posed by the governments across the globe, meet Bittner's conception of a "human problem" that requires the use of force to be resolved. Thus, given the mandate of the police and their principal role to protect life, their engagement with the enforcement of the restrictions related to the spread of COVID-19 is justifiable.

Policing during the pandemic: the case of Greece

Timeline of the pandemic's spread in Greece

Monitoring closely the fast-paced spread of COVID-19 worldwide, the Greek government began taking preparatory measures early in 2020. Indeed, in January 2020, the Ministry of Health announced that thirteen public hospitals throughout the country were designated as National Reference Points (NRPs) for COVID-19 patients; all with intensive care units (ICUs) and/or negative pressure facilities, equipped with plenty of the necessary consumables (masks, gloves, etc.). Additionally, all the other public healthcare facilities were placed on high alert, being prepared to receive non-COVID-19 patients, to alleviate the pressure on COVID-19 NRPs. In retrospect, the pandemic in Greece can be examined in four broadly defined phases. The first phase began late in February 2020 and lasted for a bit more than two months, until the end of April. More precisely, on February 26, a 38-year-old woman from Thessaloniki was diagnosed as the first COVID-19 patient in Greece, having recently returned from a trip to Italy, which at that time was being hit by the pandemic harder than any other European country. The following day, on February 27, the Ministry of Health announced the decision to cancel all massive public events throughout the country, while precautionary guidelines were released, emphasizing the importance of personal hygiene and social distancing. In early March, the government took measures, at local level, aiming to slow down the virus' spread, such as the suspension of schools and all cultural events in the most severely affected areas. Yet, as the number of confirmed COVID-19 cases continued to increase daily, on March 10, all educational activities (from pre-school to higher education) were suspended nationwide, and within the following ten days almost all forms of economic, social, and recreational activities were also halted, including the temporary closure of all catering businesses (restaurants, cafes, bars, etc.), commercial enterprises (shopping malls and local shops), and places of religious worship. Meanwhile, on March 12, the first COVID-19 patient died, following a ten-day hospitalization in an ICU; this milestone would signal the need for more drastic measures to combat the pandemic's spread. Indeed, on March 22, following the Prime Minister's address to the nation, which was broadcasted live by all nationwide TV channels, the Greek authorities announced a general lockdown applying

to all non-essential movements across the country, effective 06:00h on March 23⁶. For most of the country, this first lockdown lasted for more than a month, until early in May 2020.

The second phase begun on May 4th, when the government decided to gradually lift the lockdown restrictions, based on a strategy that would be implemented in three phases⁷. This decision was primarily taken based on the relatively low numbers of COVID-19 patients and deaths, compared to other European countries. Yet, the population's continuously increasing compliance fatigue, coupled with pressure from economic stakeholders in anticipation of the summer tourist season in Greece, helped turn the scale in favour of loosening the lockdown restrictions. Indeed, on May 4 some local shops were allowed to reopen, while the following weeks, all students of secondary education were allowed back to school, in an attempt not to lose their final, end-of-the-year exams. On May 25th, restaurants and cafes were reopened, yet under strict restrictions on allowed capacity, to avoid overcrowding. A couple of weeks later, on June 13, the Greek Prime Minister visited the landmark island of Santorini, in a highly symbolic move that signaled Greece's optimism as it reopened its borders to tourists from selected countries. Throughout the summer season, the government had to enforce temporary, mini lockdowns, mainly on islands that, at some point, registered high numbers of COVID-19 patients. On September 14th the new school year began with all students returning to the classrooms. Yet, towards the end of the tourist season in Greece, at the end of September, the daily numbers of COVID-19 confirmed patients and deaths begun to increase, alarming the authorities about the need to alleviate the pressure on the national healthcare system. Indeed, on October 24th, the use of special face masks became compulsory, both for indoor and outdoor use, in all parts of the country on orange or red health emergency⁸. Nevertheless, this was not enough to

⁶ e-νομοθεσία.gr. *Απαγόρευση κυκλοφορίας από αύριο, Δευτέρα 23-3-2020 στις 06.00 το πρωί, στην ελληνική Επικράτεια*. March 22, 2020. Available in Greek at <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/law-news/apagoreuse-kuklophorias> (accessed on February 10, 2022).

⁷ National Public Health Organization. *Σχέδιο σταδιακής Αποκλιμάκωσης περιοριστικών μέτρων - Γέφυρα ασφάλειας για μια νέα καθημερινότητα*. April 28, 2020. Available at <https://covid19.gov.gr/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/2.-Covid-19> (accessed on February 10, 2022).

⁸ TO ΒΗΜΑ. *Κορωνοϊός: Σε ισχύ νέα μέτρα – Μάσκα παντού κι απαγόρευση κυκλοφορίας*. October 24, 2020. Available at <https://www.tovima.gr/2020/10/24/vimatv/koronoios-maskapantou> (accessed on February 12, 2022).

reverse the rapidly deteriorating situation, thus on November 5, the Greek Prime Minister announced a second nationwide lockdown.

The third phase of the pandemic in Greece begun on November 7, 2020, with the enforcement of the second general lockdown within the year⁹. Same as during the first lockdown, all non-essential movements were prohibited, both locally and from one region to another, while commercial, recreational, and cultural activities were once more suspended. Schools and other educational activities switched to online mode. However, this time it became well apparent that the population's compliance fatigue was considerably higher than ever before, thus more than two weeks into the lockdown, there were no signs of considerable improvement of the situation, as the daily numbers of COVID-19 patients and deaths remained significantly high, contrary to what was anticipated by both the government and the health specialists. More to that, the anticipation of Christmas and New Year's celebrations ruled out the scenario of prolonging the second lockdown after mid-December; indeed, on December 14, commercial shops reopened under the hybrid format of 'click away', combining online and telephone orders with pick up outside the shop upon appointment. However, the euphoria of relative normality did not last for long, as on January 3, 2021, another national lockdown was implemented, as the spread of COVID-19 seemed to be getting out of control¹⁰. Albeit some variation in the enforced measures, restrictions of movement and all other relevant limitations remained in place until May 2021, being primarily applied in Athens, Thessaloniki and other urban areas, where the numbers of COVID-19 patients and deaths was pervasively high.

Finally, the fourth phase of the pandemic in Greece, during which this paper was written, was initiated by the introduction of the COVID-19 vaccines into the Greek health care system. This phase overlapped for several months with the previous one, as from January until May 2021, while vaccines were being used in Greece, the lockdown and other restrictions of movement remained well in place, to contain the virus' spread. On December 27, 2020, an ICU nurse of the Evaggelismos Hospital in Athens, an elderly man, as well as the President of the Hellenic Republic, the Greek Prime Minister

⁹ Capital.gr. *Καθολικό lockdown από το Σάββατο και για 3 εβδομάδες - €800 σε εργαζόμενους που θα μπουν σε αναστολή - το video με τις δηλώσεις*. November 5, 2020. Available at <https://www.capital.gr/politiki/3493057/katholiko-lockdown> (accessed on September 21, 2021).

¹⁰ Ε-νομοθεσία.gr. 2021. Available at <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/law-news/> (accessed on September 25, 2021).

and President of the Hellenic Parliament were the first to receive the COVID-19 vaccine in the country¹¹. Their vaccination signaled the beginning of Operation Freedom, which was the code name given to the National Operational Plan for Vaccination against COVID-19¹².

The Hellenic Police's role during the pandemic

The Hellenic Police (Elliniki Astynomia) was formed, under its present structure, in 1984 when the Gendarmerie (Chorofylaki) and the Urban Police Forces (Astynomia Poleon) were merged (Law 1481/1-10-1984, Government Gazette 152A)¹³. Ever since, the Hellenic Police (HELPO) has been the main Law Enforcement Agency (LEA) in Greece, recognized as such through the provisions of Law nr. 2800/29-2-2000¹⁴. Currently, the HELPOL operates under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Citizen Protection, with its mission being defined along two main axes: a. to “ensure peace and order as well as citizens` unhindered social development, a mission that includes general policing duties and traffic safety” and b. to “prevent and interdict crime as well as to protect the State and the democratic form of government within the framework of constitutional order, a mission that also includes the implementation of public and state security policy”¹⁵. Structure-wise, the HELPOL is comprised of both central and regional Services and with a distinct hierarchy¹⁶. The Hellenic Police`s headquarters (HQ) is the supreme authority over these Services, working towards the fulfillment of the Force`s mission, within the wider framework of the Ministry`s policy. For this reason, the HELPOL HQ schedules, directs, oversees, and monitors the entirety of the HELPOL`s activities, ensuring the necessary conditions for the exercise of its authority. Therefore, in its continuous mission to serve and protect citizens, the Hellenic Police

¹¹ Kathimerini. Γεγονός οι πρώτοι εμβολιασμοί στην Ελλάδα κατά της Covid-19. December 27, 2020. Available at <https://www.kathimerini.gr/society/> (accessed on September 3, 2021).

¹² Ministry of Health. Available at <https://www.moh.gov.gr/articles/health/emboliasmoi-covid-19/> (accessed on September 25, 2021).

¹³ Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως. 1984. Νόμος 1481/1-10-1984. Τεύχος 152Α, 8 Οκτωβρίου 1984, available at <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-astynomikos-astynomia/> (accessed on September 25, 2021).

¹⁴ Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως. 2000. Νόμος 2800/29-2-2000. Τεύχος 41Α, 29 Φεβρουαρίου 2000, available at <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-astynomikos-astynomia/armodiotetes-organon/n-2800-2000.html> (accessed on September 25, 2021).

¹⁵ Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Citizen Protection. *Hellenic Police*, available at <http://www.astynomia.gr/index.pHelPol?lang=EN> (accessed on October 10, 2021).

¹⁶ Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως. 2014. Προεδρικό Διάταγμα Υπ`Αριθμ. 187Α. Τεύχος 281, 31 Δεκεμβρίου 2014.

has responded to our times` demands and challenges by improving training, adopting a modern crime prevention policy, increasing the utilization of science and technology, and exploiting all international law enforcement cooperation possibilities¹⁷. Evidently, this self-provided description of the HELPOL`s role is based on a rather wide and dynamic understanding of policing. More precisely, in addition to the narrowly defined policing representing “peace and order”, “crime prevention”, and the State`s protection, the HELPOL understands its role as encompassing a wider array of duties, which are being necessitated by “our times` demands and challenges”. Indeed, the reference to the “citizens` unhindered social development” serves as an all-encompassing umbrella that allows the HELPOL to take up various duties and responsibilities, depending on the circumstances, in line with the implementation “of public and state security policy”¹⁸. Along this line, it came as no surprise that since early 2020, the HELPOL was assigned various tasks, pertaining to the implementation of the government`s policies against the pandemic`s spread. Of course, the HELPOL`s role varied from one phase of the pandemic`s spread to another, as the set of measures that were in place was constantly changing, to keep up with the dynamic process of the virus` spread. Even so, since the early days of the pandemic in Greece, the HELPOL has been tasked to perform, quite often simultaneously, the following:

a. To enforce the various restrictions and/or limitations of movement that were implemented primarily during the national lockdowns, but also throughout the pandemic`s different phases. Regarding this responsibility, undoubtedly, the most challenging task was to check whether people on the move had a valid justification, carrying the necessary documents. More precisely, either during the national lockdowns or during the various mini lockdowns that were implemented at the local level, people could move outside their home only for some very specific reasons; that would be: 1. To go to the pharmacy or to visit a doctor, whenever advised to do so; 2. To go to a food store, whenever delivery is not available; 3. To visit a bank, for services that were not available online; 4. To provide essential assistance to a person in need; 5. To go to a major religious ritual (funeral, marriage, baptism) or, for divorced parents and/or parents being separated to be in contact with their children; and 6. To exercise outdoors or to take one`s pet for a walk, individually or in pairs, observing the social distancing

¹⁷ Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Citizen Protection. *Hellenic Police*, available at <http://www.astynomia.gr/index.pHelPol?lang=EN> (accessed on October 10, 2021).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

measure of 1,5m¹⁹. For any of the above reasons, each time that anyone wanted to leave home had to complete, in hard copy, a special form, or send a text message to a dedicated number (13033), which, in turn, would text back an authorization message for each exceptional move. More to that, special documentation was necessary for moving to and from one's work, which varied depending on the work's nature and requirements (public employees, private sector, self-employed, etc.). This type of movement could only be justified during each individual's working hours and the relevant permission could not be used as justification for any other activity. Additionally, special reasoning was required for moving from one region to another, aiming to contain the virus' spread by those who wished to travel frequent between the country's major urban centers and the countryside. For extended periods of time, even after the national lockdowns were lifted, those travels were only allowed once from any point of origin towards one's place of permanent residence, except for provable medical appointments. Nevertheless, despite the reason necessitating the movement outside one's home, all citizens were required to carry their ID or any other official identification document, as well as – in cases that no text message was sent to 13033 – a self-signed attestation indicating the purpose or category of movement (codes 1-6 above).

b. To enforce and monitor the use of face masks, both indoors and outdoors, as necessitated by the directives of health authorities.

c. To enforce and monitor the social distancing regulations in shops and commercial enterprises, restaurants, bars, and cafes, as well as all other public and private facilities where special restrictions were applied. More precisely, for all indoor facilities the maximum allowed number of people was calculated based on the facility's size in square metres (m²), with the relevant legislation providing for severe fines²⁰.

Overall, in order to enforce those movement restrictions and monitor the citizen's compliance with all applicable measures at any given time, the HELPOL had to dedicate considerable human resources. In practice this necessitated a combination of

¹⁹ E-νομοθεσία.gr, (2020). Available at <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/law-news/> (accessed on September 26, 2021).

²⁰ Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως, 2020. Κοινή Υπουργική Απόφαση Δ1α/Γ.Π.οικ. 37992. Τεύχος 2401B, 17 Ιουνίου 2020. Available at <https://www.mindev.gov.gr/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/KYA.pdf> (accessed on October 12, 2021).

fixed checkpoints (e.g., at motorways' toll gates) with mobile patrol units throughout the country, with emphasis on urban city centers and the islands.

The pandemic's implications on the Hellenic Police

The COVID-19 pandemic had various implications not only on the role of the HELPOL, but also on the relationship of the HELPOL with the Greek society. Often, these concerns have been raised by the official representatives of the police personnel. A striking example was Mr. Georgakarakos', President of the Panhellenic Federation of Police Personnel, intervention during a radio show, expressing his concerns about the role of the police during the pandemic. More precisely, he raised social concerns about the flexibility the police should show, following the government's political decisions and directions when imposing fines on citizens for disobeying restriction measures. In addition, he specifically underlined how the restrictions and the corresponding fines could have a negative impact on the daily interaction between the police and the public²¹. Despite the fact that his points were valid, there was no formal reaction from any relevant authority, thus the HELPOL continued to be responsible for all the restrictive measures related to COVID-19.

Clearly, the most obvious implication of the pandemic on the HELPOL was the unprecedented increase of its workload, which was by no means balanced by an increase of its available human resources. Even before the pandemic, the HELPOL had a rather challenging set of problems to address, ranging from the sharp increase of petty crime and cybercrime to the pervasive nature of drug-related crimes, and to various forms of fraud and organized crime²². Indicatively, the number of fraud cases had increased from 1,991 in 2010 to 3,327 in 2019, while smuggling had increased from 166 cases in 2010 to 1,747 cases in 2019. Moreover, since 2015, the protracted migration and refugee crisis necessitated the continuous, daily involvement of the HELPOL throughout the country, stretching too thin the available police personnel. Against this background, assigning to the HELPOL yet another responsibility of major

²¹ Radio Show 'Radio Show by M. Niflis & A. Pavlopoulou', *Realfm* 97,8, 26.11.2020, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/101356841711063/videos/440722450258102/> (accessed on October 12, 2021).

²² Ministry of Citizen Protection – Hellenic Police. *Statistical Data*. Available at <http://www.astynomia.gr/index>. (accessed on October 9, 2021).

social importance, namely enforcing and monitoring the implementation of the measures against the pandemic's spread, had a rather negative impact on the HELPOL's ability to perform equally well on all fronts. In fact, throughout the pandemic and until nowadays, the problem of limited human resources being tasked with a wide range of responsibilities has resulted in extended understaffing for several HELPOL departments, especially local police stations and road traffic police.²³ Once more, these concerns were pinpointed by the president of the Panhellenic Federation of Police Personnel. During one of his several interviews in TV talk-shows as a police representative, he highlighted the disproportionate burden Hellenic Police had to carry over imposing the restriction decided by the government in a daily basis, focusing mainly on the rise of night shifts and its impact on the police personnel's lives and operational efficiency. He also mentioned the inadequate protection measures provided to the police officers and the high risk of being infected that they were constantly facing.²⁴ Acknowledging the severity of this problem, in September 2021, the newly appointed Minister of Citizen Protection, Mr. Panagiotis Theodorikakos, highlighted the need to remedy understaffing of the HELPOL, especially in the Attica region, as a top priority in his agenda²⁵.

Yet, despite its inadequate human resources, the HELPOL seemed to perform rather well during the early months of the pandemic in Greece. According to the Greek research and policy institute diaNEOsis, the society's trust towards the HELPOL has increased over the recent years. Indeed, according to diaNEOsis' nationwide opinion polls, in January 2018, 72,3% of the sample expressed trust towards the police²⁶, while in April 2020, the same indicator had gone up to 77,1%.²⁷ Moreover, diaNEOsis' polls

²³ Πανελλήνια Ομοσπονδία Αξιωματικών Αστυνομίας (Π.Ο.ΑΞΙ.Α.). *Αποτελέσματα διενεργημένου Διοικητικού Συμβουλίου Π.Ο.ΑΞΙ.Α. 08/06/2021*. Available at <https://poaxia.gr/index.pHelPol/login/announcements-poaxia-2/1375-17-03-2021> (accessed October 16, 2021).

²⁴ Open TV. Ωρα Ελλάδος. December 3, 2020, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=57Yq2tsIhd8&t=21s> (accessed October 16, 2021).

²⁵ Kathimerini. *Τ. Θεοδωρικάκος: Το 22% των αστυνομικών δεν έχει ακόμη εμβολιαστεί*. September 14, 2021. Available at <https://www.kathimerini.gr/society/> (accessed on October 16, 2021).

²⁶ διαNEOσις. *Τι Πιστεύουν Οι Έλληνες - 2018*. Μάρτιος 2018. Nationwide poll conducted by MRB Hellas in January and February 2018, on behalf of diANEOSIS. The poll was based on a nationwide sample of 1,250 people for each of its two parts (and about 2,500 people for some common questions) and it was conducted based on Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). Available at <https://www.dianeosis.org/research/tpe-2018/> (accessed on February 23, 2020).

²⁷ διαNEOσις. *Πώς Ζουν Οι Έλληνες Στην Πανδημία*. Απρίλιος 2020. Nationwide poll conducted by Metron Analysis in April 2020, on behalf of diANEOSIS. The poll was based on a nationwide sample of 1,256 people and it was conducted based on Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI).

show that the feeling of insecurity among the Greek public decreased considerably within a few months. More precisely, in November-December 2019, insecurity was the dominant feeling among the Greek society with 38%, while in April 2020, it had fallen to the second place (30,9%), with optimism ranking first with 39,8%.²⁸ What is particularly interesting about this data is that in April 2020, Greece was in a nationwide lockdown, yet the Greek society seemed to foster positive feelings towards the HELPOL, despite the latter being responsible for enforcing and monitoring the implementation of all movement restrictions.

However, as months went by and the pandemic became a protracted reality in Greece, same as around the world, the society's compliance fatigue, coupled with the HELPOL personnel's exhaustion and stress, took a toll on the society's relationship with the HELPOL. Especially after the second national lockdown, the society's tolerance against the strict measures decided by the government and implemented by the HELPOL ran very low, resulting in frequent complaints for police misconduct, often manifested through protests and violent clashes with police personnel. Indeed, almost one year after the first national lockdown, it was clearly evident that the dominant perception among the general public was rather disapproving of the HELPOL's role and performance, describing a significantly different relationship than in April 2020. More precisely, in March 2021, a nationwide opinion poll by Prorata revealed that 58% of the responders had a negative opinion about the HELPOL, while 44% thought that the HELPOL performed its duties worse than LEAs in other EU member states²⁹. Further on, a striking 61% argued that the HELPOL had been using excessive force against the public and, along the same line, 53% argued that the recent violent incidents between civilians and the police were solely or primarily due to the HELPOL personnel's misconduct.³⁰

Interpreting the data presented above leads to two main observations. On the one hand, the society's changing perception of the HELPOL can be explained as a result of the

Available at <https://www.dianeosis.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/covid-19-v4.pdf> (accessed on October 9, 2021).

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Prorata. *Έρευνα Επικαιρότητας Με Αφορμή Τα Γεγονότα Των Τελευταίων Ημερών Στη Νέα Σμύρνη*. Μάρτιος 2021. Nationwide poll conducted by Prorata. The poll was based on a nationwide sample of 800 people and it was conducted based on Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI)

Available at <https://prorata.gr/2021/03/13/ereyna-epikairptitas-me-aformi-ta-gegonota-sti-nea-smirni/> (accessed on October 18, 2021).

³⁰Ibid.

changing feelings within society itself. As such, the growing economic problems of many households, health insecurity and social isolation, against the background of prolonged restrictions of movement, led to high levels of stress, inevitable exhaustion, and insecurity about the days ahead. Given that the HELPOL personnel were the state's representatives in monitoring and enforcing most of the pandemic-related restrictions, over time, a considerable part of the Greek society associated the restrictions with the HELPOL, forming a negative perception on the latter. On the other hand, the performance of the HELPOL throughout the pandemic has been essentially the performance of its personnel. Arguably, on the individual level the HELPOL personnel have been affected by the pandemic more than any other profession, with the obvious exception of medical staff. Being at the forefront against the spread of COVID-19, the HELPOL personnel were considerably impacted by the pandemic, professionally, physically, and mentally. Given the sudden burst of the pandemic, the HELPOL had essentially no time to train and prepare its personnel for any of the pandemic-related duties that were assigned to them. As such, being daily in close contact with potential COVID-19 patients, the police personnel ran a high risk of infection, with implications not only for their families but also for their colleagues and, by extension, for the HELPOL overall. This problem became particularly acute after the summer of 2020, and it was repeatedly highlighted by various Unions of HELPOL personnel³¹. Indeed, since the second national lockdown, the HELPOL had to successfully address an even greater challenge: the performance of all tasks assigned to it (traditional duties and pandemic-related responsibilities), with even less available human resources, as many HELPOL personnel were in quarantine, against the background of a public opinion that was progressively considering the HELPOL as a part of the problem, rather than an institution that could offer help.

Conclusions

This paper is an initial assessment of the pandemic's impact on the role of the police and policing in Greece. The first part had a twofold objective. On the one hand, it sought to explain the role of the police as a key state agency to deal with numerous challenges

³¹ Naftemporiki. *Κορονοϊός: Δεν κάνει διακρίσεις - Δεκάδες κρούσματα στα Σώματα Ασφαλείας*. August 22, 2020. Available at <https://m.naftemporiki.gr/story/1630385> (accessed on October 17, 2021).

and aspects of what is described in international literature as human security. On the other hand, it focused on the pandemic itself and the responsibilities that were assigned to the police, considering whether those responsibilities are compatible with LEAs' traditional role. Indeed, following the most well-known and commonly accepted definitions, the authors concluded that the preservation of people's good health falls within the conceptual understanding of human security. Therefore, one could argue that the police, in a contemporary framework, is entitled, as the major state security agency, to deal with such issues. The counterargument that health related issues, despite being under the conceptual umbrella of human security, do not require a police response to be dealt with, as accurate as it may be, it could be highly contested when examined against the background of a fast-spreading global pandemic crisis. In other words, desperate times call for desperate measures. As far as the practical aspect is concerned, the violation of the restrictive measures placed by the government to prevent the spread of COVID-19 had the character of violations of classic offences, accompanied by fines and in some cases temporary imprisonment. As in other cases of recorded offences, the police are the body *par excellence* responsible for maintaining order and enforcing the law. Besides, as mentioned earlier, it is the *social contract* per se that provides the government with the flexibility to ask the police for using their unique and uncontested authority to use force against citizens violating the restrictive measures.

The second part of the paper aimed at shedding light on the pandemic's implications on policing. The relationship between citizens and any LEA has been always under discussion, ever since the formation of societies in ancient years.³² On the one hand, citizens are entitled to the feeling of security and protection of their human rights, especially during times of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic. A rightful, strategic, stable, and effective governmental system that ensures the accountability, transparency and responsiveness of all related actors plays a pivotal role to the proper management of such crisis, instilling a sense of security to the society. On the other hand, excessive governmental authority, and the implementation of restrictive measures for crisis management, can be perceived by citizens as violation of specific human rights, resulting in various reactions, from questioning the implementation of restrictions to violent clashes with LEAs.

³²Hess, K.M., Orthmann, C.H., Lim Cho, H., 2013. *Introduction to Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (11th edition)*, Stamford: Cengage Learning.

Law enforcement agencies have been on the forefront of the global COVID-19 pandemic, as they are the ones that have been mandated to monitor and, in some instances, enforce the imposed emergency measures inside each country, including Greece. Police personnel have been influenced physically, psychologically, and professionally from the repercussions of the pandemic, as this newly appointed role has brought an additional burden to their already heavy workload. Indeed, the ‘impossible mandate’ of the police started reaching its operational capability limits with representatives of the police officers raising concerns. In addition, the sudden burst of the pandemic left no time for the personnel to receive adequate training and preparation on how to deal with similar situations. Thus, police officers were facing a constant threat of getting infected themselves, something which finally happened leaving many of them in quarantine and thus further pressuring the already stretched capabilities of the HELPOL. Another difficulty recorded was related to the public acceptance of the HELPOL’s role. Analyzing the data of different opinion polls and statements of police officers’ representatives some very interesting, alas preliminary, conclusions emerge:

To begin with, the Hellenic Police, as an institution, received major credits of the successful containment of the first wave of the pandemic during the spring of 2020. However, one year later, the continuous imposition of new measures coupled with a widespread feeling of ambiguity concerning governmental decisions, challenged seriously the HELPOL’s public image. Moreover, in order to mitigate the adverse impact of this health-related crisis, on a multisectoral level, and ease tensions not only among police and the community but also intra-organizationally, specific short- and long-term strategies should be developed. Furthermore, providing continuous training for the HELPOL officers, as well as for all other personnel assigned responsibilities for enforcing the implementation of emergency, health-related measures is essential and should be recognized as a top priority for both the relevant ministries and the government. Finally, given that the pandemic is still ongoing, further analysis is required to examine and assess in detail the magnitude of the implications on the HELPOL’s operational capabilities and social acceptance, as well as on the formation of a new conceptual understanding of policing.

References

- Baldwin, D. A., 1997. The Concept of Security. *Review of International Studies*, 23:1 (5-26).
- Bayley, D., 1985. *Patterns of policing: A comparative international analysis*. Rutgers University Press.
- Baylis, J. and Smith, S. (eds.), 2005. *Globalization of World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bittner, E., 1970. *The Functions of Police in Modern Society*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Mental Health.
- Bittner, E., 1974. Florence nightingale in pursuit of Willie Sutton: A theory of the police. In H. Jacob (ed.), *Potential for reform of criminal justice*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Bowling, B., Reiner, R., and Sheptycki, J., 2019. *The politics of the police* (5th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Cave, D., and Dahir, A. L., 2020. *How far should police go in enforcing coronavirus lockdowns?* New York Times. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/02/world/australia/coronavirus-police-lockdowns.html> (accessed on September 8, 2021).
- Dempsey, J.S. and Forst L.S., 2016. *An Introduction to Policing* (8th ed). Boston: Cengage Learning.
- Gaspar, D. and Gómez, O. A., 2015. Human security thinking in practice: 'personal security', 'citizen security' and comprehensive mappings. *Contemporary Politics*, 21:1 (100-116).
- Gaspar, D., 2005. Securing Humanity: Situating 'Human Security' as Concept and Discourse. *Journal of Human Development*, 6:2 (221-245).
- Goldstein, H., 1979. Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach. *Crime & Delinquency*, 25:2 (236-243).

Johns Hopkins University & Medicine. 2020. *COVID-19 dashboard*. Coronavirus resource Center. Available at <https://coronavirus.jhu.edu/map.html> (accessed on July 5, 2021).

Johnston, L., 2000. *Policing Britain: Risk, Security, and Governance*. Harlow: Longman.

Kane, R. J., and White, M. D., 2013. *Jammed up: An examination of career-ending police misconduct*. New York: NYU Press.

Kathimerini. 2020. *Γεγονός οι πρώτοι εμβολιασμοί στην Ελλάδα κατά της Covid-19*. Available at <https://www.kathimerini.gr/society/561208456/gegonos-o-protos-emvoliasmos-stin-ellada-kata-tis-covid-19/> (accessed on September 3, 2021).

Kathimerini. 2021. *Τ. Θεοδωρικάκος: Το 22% των αστυνομικών δεν έχει ακόμη εμβολιαστεί*. Available at <https://www.kathimerini.gr/society/561498025/t-theodorikakos-to-22-ton-astynomikon-den-echei-akomi-emvoliastei/> (accessed on October 16, 2021).

Kennedy, M., 2020. *WHO declares coronavirus outbreak a global health emergency*. NPR. Available at <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2020/01/30/798894428/who-declares-coronavirus-outbreak-a-global-health-emergency?t=1634907376769> (accessed on September 10, 2021).

Kerr, P., 2010. Human Security. In A. Collins (ed.), *Contemporary Security Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Manning, P. K., 1978. The police: Mandate, strategies, and appearances. In P. K. Manning and J. Van Maanen (eds.), *Policing: A view from the street*. New York: Random House.

McSweeney B., 1999. *Security, Identity and Interests*. Cambridge: Cambridge

Naftemporiki. 2020. *Κορωνοϊός: Δεν κάνει διακρίσεις - Δεκάδες κρούσματα στα Σώματα Ασφαλείας*. Available at <https://m.naftemporiki.gr/story/1630385> (accessed on October 17, 2021).

- Osse, A. (2006). "Understanding Policing: a resource for human rights activists", *Amnesty international*: Netherlands. Available at <https://www.amnesty.nl/> (accessed on February 25, 2022).
- Prorata. 2021. Έρευνα Επικαιρότητας Με Αφορμή Τα Γεγονότα Των Τελευταίων Ημερών Στη Νέα Σμύρνη. Available at <https://prorata.gr/2021/03/13/ereyna-epikairptitas-me-aformi-ta-gegonota-sti-nea-smirni/> (accessed on October 18, 2021).
- Reiman, J., 1985. The social contract and the police use of deadly force. In F. A. Ellison and M. Feldberg (eds.), *Moral issues in police work*. Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Reiner, R., 2016. *Crime*. London: Polity.
- Reiss, A. J., 1971. *The police and the public*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Rotschild, E., 1995. What is Security. *Daedalus*, 124:3 (53-98).
- Shaw, I.G.R., and Meehan, K. 2013. Force-full: power, politics and object-oriented philosophy. *Area*, 45:2 (216-222).
- Sheptycki, J., 2000. *Issues in Transnational Policing*. London: Routledge.
- Sheptycki, J., 2017. The police intelligence division-of-labour. *Policing and Society*, 27:6 (620-635).
- Sheptycki, J., 2020. The politics of policing a pandemic panic. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 53:2 (157-173).
- Skolnick, J. H., and Fyfe, J. J., 1993. *Above the law: Police and the excessive use of force*. New York: The Free Press.
- Terpstra, J., 2011. Two theories on the police – The relevance of Max Weber and Emile Durkheim to the study of the police. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 39:1 (1-11).
- Tilley, N., 2008. Modern Approaches to Policing: Community, Problem-Oriented and Intelligence-Led. In Newburn, T. (ed.), *Handbook of Policing* (2nd ed.). London: Willan.

- UNDP. 1994. Human Development Report 1994. New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vidali, S., 2012. *Police: Crime control and Human Rights*. Athens: Politia
- White, M. D. and Fradella, H. F., 2020. Policing a Pandemic: Stay-at-Home Orders and What they Mean for the Police. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 45 (702-717).
- Wolfers, A., 1962. *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Zarafonitou, Ch., 2019. Community forms of prevention of crime and fear of crime: LCCP and Police Neighbourhood Officer. *Criminology (year 9)*, (42-51) (available in Greek).
- διαΝΕΟσις. 2020. *Στην Εποχή της Πανδημίας*. Available at <https://www.dianeosis.org/2020/04/stin-epoxi-tis-pandimias/> (accessed on October 9, 2021).
- Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως. 1984. *Νόμος 1481/1-10-1984*. Τεύχος 152Α, 8 Οκτωβρίου 1984.
- Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως. 2000. *Νόμος 2800/29-2-2000*. Τεύχος 41Α, 29 Φεβρουαρίου 2000.
- Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως. 2020. *Κοινή Υπουργική Απόφαση Δ1α/Γ.Π.οικ. 37992*. Τεύχος 2401Β, 17 Ιουνίου 2020.
- Κουράκης, Ν. 2006. Ασφάλεια και Ελευθερία: τα μεταξύ τους στατικά και δυναμικά όρια. *Νομικό Βήμα*, 54:8 (1217-1226).
- Κουράκης, Ν. 2007. Ασφάλεια και Ελευθερία. Τα μεταξύ τους στατικά και δυναμικά όρια. Στο Ζαραφονίτου, Χ. (επιμ.), (Αν)ασφάλεια, Αντεγκληματική Πολιτική και Δικαιώματα του Ανθρώπου. Αθήνα/Κομοτηνή: Α.Ν. Σάκκουλας, (15-33).
- Πανελλήνια Ομοσπονδία Αξιωματικών Αστυνομίας (Π.Ο.ΑΞΙ.Α.). 2021. *Αποτελέσματα διευρυμένου Διοικητικού Συμβουλίου Π.Ο.ΑΞΙ.Α.* Available at: <https://poaxia.gr/index.php/Pol/login/announcements-poaxia-2/1375-17-03-2021> (accessed October 16, 2021).