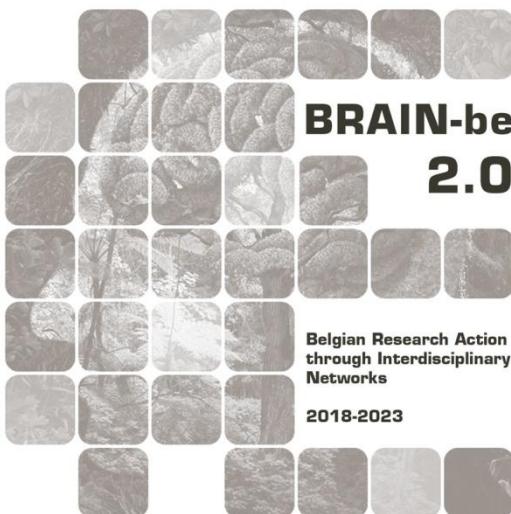


## NaPol-Intel

Nationalizing Police Intelligence in Belgium (1918-1961):  
Democratization Processes and Bureaucratic Knowledge Practices

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Pillar 2: Heritage science



## NETWORK PROJECT

### NaPol-Intel

*Nationalizing Police Intelligence in Belgium (1918-1961):  
Democratization Processes and Bureaucratic Knowledge Practices*

**Contract - B2/191/P2/NaPol-Intel**

## FINAL REPORT

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## **ABSTRACT**

The Napol-Intel project examined the history of the Belgian police forces in a context marked by increased centralisation. Based on an essentially local organisation in the 19th century, the Belgian police forces underwent a process of centralisation from the First World War onwards, marked above all by the strengthening of the Gendarmerie. The project sought to better understand how this process influenced the functioning of the police and its legitimacy in the eyes of the authorities and citizens. He explored the tensions between the democratisation process in society and the emergence of new forms of activism, focusing on two main themes: law enforcement and police intelligence management. The identification and availability of a large number of previously unknown sources went hand in hand with historical research that advanced knowledge on the subject and provided a better understanding of the transformations of the Belgian police system and their impact on the State and society.

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

The NaPol-Intel project examined the history of the processes of centralisation of Belgian police services and their impact on police information, from the end of the First World War to the early 1960s. Belgium in the 19th century was characterised by a strong tradition of local autonomy. The communal police forces, under the authority of the mayors, carried out most of the 'regular' policing tasks, while the Gendarmerie still played a secondary role. After the First World War, in an increasingly tense socio-political context, police services were gradually centralised at national level, with the creation of the Kingdom's General Police in 1934. The second German occupation and the post-Second World War period saw these centralisation processes strengthened still further. With the passing of the Gendarmerie Organic Law in 1957, the Gendarmerie became a central pillar in the Belgian police system.

The Napol-Intel project analysed the links between the transformations in Belgian society and the centralisation of police services during a period characterised by a fundamental contradiction in which a process of democratisation and pacification of social relations coexisted with the emergence of increasingly radical antagonistic forces. The aim was also to examine the way in which police information was created, managed and used, and the way in which the data collected helped to shape and legitimise police forces and their practices. One central theme has been identified to investigate these issues: the maintenance of public order. This theme provided a better understanding of the processes of democratisation of Belgian society at work in the 20th century, through questions concerning in particular the legitimisation of the occupation of public space, the possibility of expressing opinions or exercising political activism, in a context of redefinition of the boundaries between the public and private spheres, due in particular to the increase in State intervention.

## **2. STATE OF THE ART AND OBJECTIVES**

Police forces play a fundamental role in the functioning of the State. Yet, despite being widely discussed, controversial and mythologised, the subject of policing has long remained largely unknown to historians. Long considered a 'dirty' and politically motivated subject of little interest, police institutions have had a special relationship with history. When the latter was not an exclusively institutional or legal narrative, it could only be egocentric, anchored in the institutional memory with a view to insisting on an indispensable historical continuity, glorifying great figures and heroism while remaining silent about periods or missions deemed more delicate.

In recent years, the situation has improved, and the police are no longer a complete unknown, or merely the utilitarian foil for more noble historical questions. It has become an object of study in its own right. We know more about its missions, its functions and, above all, the interactions that the

various Belgian police forces maintain in society. However, this field of historiography, which is still very uneven depending on the period and lagging behind research carried out in other countries, still needed to be investigated from new angles. The real contributions of historiography are still only partial. The prospects for research are opening up more and more, particularly as a result of the classification and opening up of hitherto archive collections. The limited attention paid to police archives is one of the reasons for the uneven development of historiography. Either they remained in the bosom of the institutions, suffering from a lack of interest in their preservation or limited access in the name of hypothetical imperatives of security or the sensitivity of the information they contained. When they were available, the sources were often misused, suffering from a lack of basic historical criticism. All too often, they have been regarded as simply providing information on this or that social phenomenon. This is a positivist view that overlooks the constructed, selective and oriented nature of police archives and the specific logics, whether professional or administrative, of the cycle of their management-conservation-use by police officers or the public players with whom they interact.

In addition to these general explanations, there are Belgian particularities and emphases which have undoubtedly contributed to amplifying the logic of the late and partial development of police historiography in this area. The first reason is the particular context of recent police history. The 1998-2001 reform, which introduced two-tier integrated policing, was a direct consequence of the Dutroux affair and the distant culmination of successive scandals that had occupied public debate since the late 1970s. It was both a Copernican revolution in terms of the structures of the Belgian police system and a context of crisis which led to a twofold phenomenon: on the one hand, a defensive reflex on the part of the police forces which, in the face of criticism, were able to close themselves off to transparency and critical reflection, in a logic of a besieged citadel, coupled with a loss of sources in a context of reform carried out at breakneck speed, leading to very concrete measures, such as the numerous relocations of police territorial bases. On the other hand, this sequence of crises/reforms has focused the attention of police research on the present day. Journalistic, polemical and militant works have appeared and are still appearing. Unlike historians, who played little part in the debate at the time of the reforms, sociologists and criminologists largely took up the subject of the police alongside legal experts commenting on and explaining the new law. Their perspectives were essentially rooted in a logic of immediacy, all too often leaving aside the benefits of considering the realities of policing over the long term. Similarly, these studies have often neglected any form of reflection on the specificities of the time and rhythms of police transformation, beyond the traumatic and exceptional event of the Dutroux affair and its consequences.

The second reason is the country's political and institutional context. Political crises, on the one hand, and federalisation, which has already been implemented and is still in progress, on the other, all contribute to giving the police a status that is ambiguous and therefore difficult to grasp. It has to be said that in the successive reforms of the State, the police (and justice) have long remained outside the remit of the regions, in the sole bosom of the federal government, in the distant spirit of the choices made in the country in 1830 (local autonomy) and confirmed in the 1998 reform. It is only in recent years that there has been an awareness that the police could also be a subject for federalisation, despite the fact that some of their powers and duties now fall within the remit of the regions. While some thought is being given to this subject in the police and political worlds, it remains discreet and not very concrete. In this particular federalist political context, the police are first and foremost a reality that is still largely unthought of, even if the idea of a 'regional' police force has not been completely ignored for some years now.

The third reason is the difficult situation of police archives in Belgium. They have long been neglected. There are many reasons for this. In addition to the effects already mentioned of the 1998-2001 reform, the effects of wars, reflexes to protect sources or accumulated information about society and those who threaten it, and the sometimes haphazard and purely utilitarian management of documents, there are other factors to consider. The essentially local nature of the police force introduced in 1830 means that the archives of most of the Kingdom's police forces are de facto dependent on those of

the communes. Local situations therefore vary greatly, depending on the resources and wishes of the municipalities. Nor should we forget the military supervision of the Gendarmerie, which took the management of its documents outside the scope of the 1955 Law on Archives, with the consequences that this entailed.

The situation has improved significantly in recent years, thanks in particular to efforts initiated by local archivists and the State Archives. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the latter have tackled the problem head-on, both in terms of current archives and historical archives. The archives of the Aliens' Police, the Gendarmerie, the Judicial Police of the Public Prosecutor's Office and also the Kingdom's General Police within the Ministry of the Interior have been saved, inventoried and gradually opened up to research. In 2020, the biggest problem was with the Gendarmerie's archives. Its archives were scattered across various departments of the Federal Police. Little known and largely unexploited, they had no inventory, making any research extremely difficult. The project therefore set out to remedy this situation. After being centralised in the National Archives of Belgium (NAB), they were described and provided with research tools that quickly enabled researchers to navigate this huge mass of papers. These tools proved to be particularly useful, offering new and stimulating perspectives for understanding what the police was and what it meant to be a police force in Belgium from the beginning of the 19th century to the end of the 20th century.

From the outset, the project aimed to gain a better understanding of police intelligence from a historical perspective. Police and intelligence are two concepts that are intimately and invariably linked. From the police utopia of François-Jacques Guillotte to the 'Clearview AI' affair or the use of facial recognition software based on illegal data by the Belgian police, police work has often been confused with the collection and processing of information. Compared to the latter, intelligence is defined by Sébastien Laurent as 'an element of information theoretically enriched by verification and analysis' and it contributes to the decision-making process. Despite its decisive role in the functioning of the State, the economy or international relations, intelligence has only been addressed within the framework of questions on surveillance, the identification or use of information and communication technologies, the control of political radicalisation or even espionage. As a corollary of the inexorable growth of the State, and barely transcending the image, intelligence in the field of policing is often fantasised and has hence often been restricted to the practices of political police forces, willingly cultivating a culture of secrecy. Flies, snitches and spies have been the focus of the researchers' preoccupations, with no real questioning of their role in the construction of administrative knowledge. Within this very fragmented historiography, intelligence in the context of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes has attracted most of the attention.

For the past twenty years, however, researchers have begun to explore the history of information, surveillance and control technologies, particularly in the wake of Michel Foucault's work on the disciplinary society and security measures. It is only recently, however, that intelligence has emerged as the subject of a specific field of study, more focused on a historical anthropology approach, as evidenced by the work carried out in the field of 'Intelligence Studies'. In this emerging historiography, the specific policing aspect of intelligence generally only appears as an aside to its military, diplomatic or economic functions. The aim of this project was therefore to take a look at police intelligence, to highlight its specific characteristics and its role in the work of law enforcement agencies. It thus aimed to present new developments and consider new approaches in the history of the administrative management of information and, above all, in the history of the police. The project also aimed to address the questions, as yet little explored by historians, of the production and use of police intelligence, of the parties and tools involved in its development, and of the content that feeds it. Finally, the ambition was to confront this history with the present days, a time of unprecedented use of information and communication technologies to the benefit of the police.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

From the outset, from the very first days of the project's launch, every effort was made to facilitate the search for new and previously unknown sources and data. In this context, it was decided to systematically process two archive collections in parallel, in order to be able to communicate as much information as possible to the project partners as discoveries were made. The inventory work was carried out in accordance with the guidelines applicable to the National Archives of Belgium (NAB), meeting international standards in this area. It regularly enabled the publication of accurate inventories that were made available to researchers and the public. This work immediately brought to light data that was previously unknown and provided a powerful stimulus for historical research. Work began on the files that had already been transferred to the National Archives of Belgium shortly before the project was launched. Thus, work focused on opening the personal files of police officers (*gendarmes*) born between 1875 and 1915 that were kept in the former Police Museum (Brussels). The description of these thousands of personal files naturally fed into the prosopographic approach of the project. At the same time, the archives concerning the Gendarmerie brigades were opened up for research. The photographs contained in these archives were quickly used to examine issues relating for example to the buildings occupied by the Gendarmerie since the end of the 19th century. Work then focused on the archives of the Superior Operations Directorate (*Direction supérieure des Opérations [DSO]*), a directorate of the Gendarmerie General Staff, and more specifically on the archives relating to public order surveillance and law enforcement, a subject at the heart of the project. At the same time, in May 2021, a major operation was carried out to transfer archives from the former Police Museum to the National Archives. This resulted in the transfer of approximately 250 linear metres of various archives. The opportunity was taken to extract the documents most useful to the project from this vast collection and to process them as a priority. Significant work was carried out to identify the various departments that produced these archives and their contents. This made it possible to integrate the archives concerning surveillance and law enforcement into the inventory that was being finalised, thereby considerably increasing the corpus of sources that could be exploited. Work then focused on cataloguing the reports of "extraordinary events" and local police reports received by the Kingdom's General Police between 1941 and the Liberation in 1944. Given the poor condition and fragility of these archives, it was decided to digitise the documents in their entirety. They have been made on the internet, where they can now be consulted in the online research environment of the State Archives (AGATHA). Careful checks were carried out on the quality of the data and images.

The last two archives collections to be opened in parallel are the appointment files of Belgian police commissioners and the archives of the General Staff of the Gendarmerie, namely the archives of the DSO and the Superior Personnel Directorate. Finalising the work on this last inventory was no easy task, given the poor condition in which the archives were found in the Federal Police services. However, processing them once again brought to light a series of files, photographs, dossiers and registers that proved to be extremely useful for research.

The researcher attached to the National Archives of Belgium spent the final months of the project extracting, describing and making available the summary reports found in the mass of archives from the former General Police of the Kingdom, and was involved in the valorisation tasks, the results of which are explained below.

The work carried out by the researchers from UCLouvain and UGent associated with the Napol-Intel project consisted of the scientific enhancement of the archives opened by the National Archives of Belgium as well as the organisation of research activities around the project's theme. The aim was, thanks to the work of the post-doctoral researcher, to highlight several files in the archives opened by the NAB, to organise scientific activities designed to create a dynamic around the project, to coordinate the work of students and trainees and to enhance the value of the police archives through the development of the Menepolhis website ([www.menepolhis.eu](http://www.menepolhis.eu)), a digital platform on the history of policing developed by UCLouvain (Centre d'Histoire du Droit et de la Justice – CHDJ).

In terms of the scientific use of the archives, the choice of files to work on was made according to recent trends in research into the political, institutional and social history of European police forces in the twentieth century. Research was carried out on the purge files of police commissioners after the Second World War. The information contained in the files has enabled a prosopographical approach to the municipal police officers between 1934 and 1961. The archival material of the Gendarmerie has been used to study the material history of police functions. A history of the Gendarmerie buildings (*brigades locales*), both in terms of their distribution across the country and their spatial organisation, was undertaken on the basis of maps, plans and photographs of the brigades.

The opening up of the archives has also enabled students to write their Master's theses specialising in research into the history of the Gendarmerie, the history of the police or the history of intelligence in Belgium during the twentieth century. This work has also enabled a fresh look to be taken at the history of extremist movements and terrorism in the second half of the twentieth century and how they were dealt with by police institutions. Finally, the Napol-Intel project has created a research dynamic that has enabled research that had been underway for several years to be brought to a conclusion.

The initial results of the analysis of the archives and the research mentioned above have been systematically used to participate in workshops, conferences and the publication of articles.

In the end, the methodology implemented, based on collective, exploratory and sub-project work, produced a wide range of results, reflecting the wealth of sources opened up by the National Archives of Belgium and calling for future work on the history of the police in Belgium in the twentieth century.

#### **4. SCIENTIFIC RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Thanks to the project, approximately 300 linear metres of archives from the Gendarmerie and the Kingdom's General Police have been described, classified and opened up for research, and are now accessible to researchers and the general public. The NaPol-Intel project has made archives available that shed new light on the history of the 20th century in Belgium from a social, political, militant and security perspective, among others. Around 1,600 pages of inventories were published during the project. As planned, all of these inventories can be consulted and downloaded free of charge via the State Archives website. Beyond the project, they have already been extensively used by Belgian researchers, as well as French, German and Spanish researchers. These instruments cover a wide spectrum :

- The personal files of gendarmes born between approximately 1875 and 1915/1920 have been painstakingly catalogued. This collection contains 16,000 files (68.5 metres). In addition to the actual personal files detailing a gendarme's career, any disciplinary files and information relating to pensions, the collection also includes personal index cards. These come from either the Gendarmerie Staff Department or the Gendarmerie History and Traditions Centre (CHTG). These cards contain the surnames, first names, dates of birth and career summaries of thousands of Belgian gendarmes [Inv. NAB I 676 – AGATHA: [AGATHA - Search environment of the State Archives](#) / PDF: <http://webshop.arch.be/pdflist.php?pub=6155> ].
- Gendarmerie brigade files (1837–2003). This archive collection contains archives and documentation compiled by the former Centre d'Histoire et des Traditions de la Gendarmerie (Gendarmerie History and Traditions Centre) between 1975 and 2000 on the Gendarmerie's territorial and mobile units. It mainly consists of historical records, lists of commanders and staff members, photos of gendarmes and ceremonies, photo albums of gendarmerie buildings, press clippings, correspondence registers, complaints and other regulatory records kept by a brigade, and questionnaires relating to the activities of gendarmes during the 18-day campaign (1940). This collection is an important source for the history of Gendarmerie units and for local history [Inv. NAB I 688 – AGATHA: [AGATHA - Search environment of the State Archives](#) / PDF: <http://webshop.arch.be/pdflist.php?pub=6250> ].

- The archives of the Gendarmerie. General Staff. Superior Operations Directorate [DSO] (1945-1990). Begun in January 2021, the inventory of this very important collection took several months to complete. Part of the archives had been transferred to the NAB in 2020. However, thanks to the project, a large-scale repatriation of the archives that were still held by the Federal Police was organised in May 2021 and added to the archive collection. These files cover the period from 1945 to 1990 and concern the surveillance of movements, activities and elements considered subversive or likely to undermine public order, as well as files relating to the maintenance of order during specific events (strikes, demonstrations, festivities, security measures for international meetings, etc.). This collection is central to police intelligence, as it is the result of information gathering and surveillance carried out under the "Information Directive". These archives reflect the Gendarmerie's concerns in terms of maintaining law and order. It therefore contains information gathered on Walloon and Flemish movements, pirate radio stations, the army, the agricultural world and farmers' associations, pacifist movements, patriotic associations, student circles, trade unions and professional associations, political parties, the extreme left and the extreme right. These archives also shed light on the emergence of terrorism threat management. They therefore provide a unique overview of the social, political and law enforcement history of Belgium in the second half of the 20th century [Inv. NAB I 687 – AGATHA: [AGATHA - Search environment of the State Archives](#) / PDF: <http://webshop.arch.be/pdflist.php?pub=6245> ].

- The archives of the Ministry of the Interior. General Police of the Kingdom. Reports and accounts of extraordinary events of the 'Model 5' type (1941-1944). The result of increased centralisation from 1941 onwards, this archive contains around 12,000 reports written mainly by the Gendarmerie but also by the municipal police forces and sent to the General Police of the Kingdom between 1941 and the Liberation of the country in August 1944. These reports concern so-called "extraordinary events" such as strikes, demonstrations, acts of sabotage and attacks, assassinations, destruction of crops, theft of money or food, rebellions against the Gendarmerie, distribution of leaflets, etc. It therefore provides a rare insight into daily life, crime and Belgian society under German occupation. This collection has been fully digitised and is now freely available online [Inv. NAB I 684 – AGATHA: [AGATHA - Search environment of the State Archives](#) / PDF: <http://webshop.arch.be/pdflist.php?pub=6207> ].

- The archives of the Ministry of the Interior. General Police of the Kingdom. Police commissioner files (1919–2001). This collection, spanning 40 linear metres, contains the appointment files of police commissioners for the entire country, mainly between 1940 and 2000. Unfortunately, there are many gaps in the records for the first half of the 20th century. This is partly because the General Police of the Kingdom was only created in 1934. These files are not personal files as such but were originally files relating to the appointment procedure. Once the commissioner was appointed, the administration added the necessary information to the file: disciplinary sanctions, evaluations and data collected at the end of their career. The inventory also contains the files on the purging of commissioners after the Second World War, which were extensively used in the project. The inventory operations were completed in July 2022. The collection was then packaged and the inventory was published at the end of summer 2022 [Inv. NAB I 698 – AGATHA: [AGATHA - Search environment of the State Archives](#) / PDF: <http://webshop.arch.be/pdflist.php?pub=6322> ].

- The processing of the Gendarmerie archives. General Staff. [Superior Operations Directorate (DSO) and Superior Personnel Directorate (DSP)] has enabled the identification of very important data. These archives complement the archives described in the DSO archives inventory, published in 2021 [Inv. I 687]. The inventory operations began in January 2022 and were completed in May 2023. The processing of this archive collection took longer than expected. This is because archives were found and transferred from the Federal Police Services to the NAB during 2022 and early 2023. The collection grew from approximately 60 linear metres to just under 100 metres. In addition, it was decided to integrate the archives of the Superior Personnel Directorate into these General Staff archives. This inventory described a wide variety of archives: archives concerning the organisation of the Gendarmerie, journals, minutes of command meetings, notes and orders, quarterly reports from the DSO, parliamentary committee reports, etc. The DSO archives are then completed. They consist of

monthly reports from territorial groups – providing a detailed snapshot of the country, province by province – regulations and instructions enabling the study of the evolution of police information gathering over an extended period, correspondence, memos, press reviews, archives relating to the administrative police function – with files on Expo 58, escorts, the visit of Pope John Paul II, the Heysel tragedy and the fight against terrorism – and, finally, archives relating to the judicial police function – files on the use of weapons, the implementation of computer systems, crime and hold-ups, and the fight against drugs. The DSP archives consist of notes, orders, instructions and regulations relating to personnel management, all personnel directories and other lists useful for personnel management, archives relating to promotion to higher grades, archives of territorial units describing problems encountered within a unit – whether malfunctions, interpersonal problems or requests for reinforcements due to staff shortages – archives relating to litigation (appeals before the Council of State), and finally, archives concerning disciplinary investigations opened in connection with the Dutroux affair. The publication of this inventory has brought to light a set of archives that are essential to the management of the Gendarmerie, both from an operational point of view and in terms of personnel management [Inv. NAB I 708 – AGATHA: [AGATHA - Search environment of the State Archives](#) / PDF: <http://webshop.arch.be/pdflist.php?pub=6414> ].

- Due to time constraints, the processing of the archives of the Kingdom's General Police (1934-2000) could not be fully completed. These archives were very mixed and required extremely difficult classification work. However, a few series have been clearly identified and made available to researchers. These are the summary reports. They concern law enforcement, legislation, supervision of the Gendarmerie and municipal police forces, public morality, civil security (protection of nuclear power plants and SEVESO companies), and international police cooperation.

It is important to note that the NaPol-Intel project has led to the establishment of fruitful contacts and partnerships with the Federal Police. Since its creation, this organisation had shown little interest in its archives and old data. Thanks to the project, the full potential of this material was highlighted to the Federal Police's governing bodies. Informed of the project's objectives, the Federal Police's Personnel Directorate (DRP - HR) contacted the project promoter in 2021. During a visit to the Federal Police headquarters, we discovered no less than 600 metres of personal files on police officers, dating from around 1915 onwards – a continuation of the files that were kept at the NAB. Convinced of the usefulness and value of these archives, the Federal Police concluded an agreement with the National Archives with a view to hiring an archivist working under the latter's responsibility. The personal files in question often consist of two parts: one compiled by the Gendarmerie and the other by the Ministry of Defence. These files were probably transferred to the Gendarmerie during the demilitarisation of the institution in 1991. Unfortunately, these files were kept in very poor conditions. However, after a year of intensive work, tens of thousands of files have been reclassified, described and transferred to the National Archives of Belgium. These include 450 files on officers born before 1950 and approximately 22,000 files on gendarmes, also born before 1950. The files of individuals born after 1950 must still be kept by the Federal Police. The entire collection has been reclassified and packaged so that DRP staff can now find a file in a matter of minutes.

The success of this project led to the renewal of the agreement between the Federal Police and the NAB, this time with a view to processing all the old archives still held at the Federal Police headquarters. The NAB worked actively to identify, sort and transfer the Federal Police archives of great historical value. New skills have been developed. The partnership thus created with the Federal Police has proved to be very important in improving archive management within the central services of the Federal Police.

As a prelude to the international symposium organised at UCLouvain – Saint-Louis on 25 and 26 January 2024, the members of the Project organised a workshop at the National Archives of Belgium, intended as an opportunity to present the results of the project to the general public and Belgian police services, but above all as an opportunity for discussion and debate on two questions: the place

of police history in the training of future police officers, and the importance of putting police information into historical perspective in order to understand the current democratic issues at stake. This workshop « *Police d'hier et d'aujourd'hui : plongée dans le passé pour mieux façonner l'avenir. Bilan et perspectives du projet NaPol-Intel* » brought together around a hundred participants.

The first round table on police training brought together a panel of historians and police officers, as well as a training manager from the Federal Police. The discussions showed that it is not so much a separate history course that is needed, but rather the introduction of a historical dimension throughout the entire training programme for young police officers. According to the speakers, placing all societal phenomena in their historical context, such as the evolution of law enforcement techniques, would help to reposition the police profession as an integral part of a society shaped by a constantly evolving history. According to many participants, introducing historical aspects would also encourage the recreation of cohesion and “esprit de corps”, which former gendarmes who joined the Police Force have not always been able to rediscover or pass on to the new Federal Police, creating a gap with younger generations who have not experienced the Gendarmerie. Rediscovering a shared history could potentially give future police officers a better understanding of their profession. The conclusions of this debate certainly made an impression on the speakers, including those responsible for training, who see it as an opportunity to continue developing and expanding, for example, the exhibition organised at Kazerne Dossin entitled “Holocaust, police and human rights”. This exhibition is an example of how history can be used to stimulate reflection on very current issues of violence and strategies of resistance. Following these discussions, visits to the National Archives are planned for 2026 to expose young police officers to situations experienced by their predecessors.

The second round table echoed the very heart of the NaPol-Intel project, namely police information in the field of administrative policing. By exploiting the archives, we were able to show that information management has been cyclical. Each generation of gendarmes has seen its own major reform of the collection and management system, all marked by a surprising inability to learn from the past. Many of the current elements of this management system date back to the early 1980s. Faced with information overload and the introduction of information technology, police services began to reflect on these issues more than 50 years ago, but this is often overlooked. The aim here was to place this in its historical context in order to better learn from it. To date, more than three million people are believed to be recorded in the police databases, for one reason or another and for incidents dating back in some cases several decades. The provisions governing the archiving of data in these databases only date back to 2014. Although they appear to offer guarantees to citizens, the Police Information Control Body, a body attached to Parliament, points out that even today these provisions are very poorly enforced. Understanding the origins of this system for collecting and managing police information provides a better insight into the highly topical issues surrounding the management of police information in a State governed by the rule of law, where it is imperative to strike the right balance between police requirements and citizens' fundamental rights. It is probably due to a lack of interest in the historical evolution of this issue that successive reforms have failed to learn from the past. By studying this issue, the NaPol-Intel project has attempted to provide decision-makers with food for thought on how to improve the storage of police intelligence. The partnership with the Federal Police will also be an opportunity for the NAB to contribute their expertise in archiving within these databases. Contacts have been made in order to provide Belgian databases with consistent and effective archiving policies in line with international standards.

The results of the Napol-Intel project meet the expectations of the scientific community and the wider public to better document and understand the history of Belgian police institutions and their practices. Recently, the past of Belgium's police forces has been the subject of several popular television series and movies, while today, the police find themselves at the heart of political and media debates on issues such as the fight against terrorism, drug trafficking and violent interactions between the police and the public. The Napol-Intel project now makes it possible to deeper investigate the past of the Belgian police during the twentieth century and use new insights to respond to the current issues. The

results of the project show that the place of police history in Belgium has evolved considerably in recent years, under the impulse of international historiographical dynamics, a specific national context, and a major archival effort. Thanks to the scientific progress booked by the Napol-Intel project, the police are no longer an unknown actor, or merely utilitarian foil for more noble historical questions. They have become a subject of study in their own right. We know more about Belgian police forces' missions, functions and, above all, their interactions with society. Apart from that, the Napol-Intel project has led to many discoveries and questions regarding Belgian police history that open up new routes for further examination.

The scientific results of the Napol-Intel project have led to several major publications in the field of historical police studies. These publications consist of two books (including an English-language edited volume with the revised papers of the final conference "Police intelligence from Local to Global. From the 1750s to the Present-day") [being finalized], about ten articles in international peer-reviewed journals (including a special issue of the *Journal of Belgian History*), eight articles in non-refereed journals and book chapters, eight papers presented at national and international conferences, seminars, and workshops, and the (co-)organization of four scientific meetings (see point 5 below). These publications all explore new directions and issues in the history of Belgian police forces in the twentieth century.

Firstly, research has been initiated on police material culture, focusing on the architecture and symbolic power of police stations (in particular: gendarmerie brigades). This materiality encompasses the location, design and architecture of the spaces where police work is done, and made visible to the public, but also the tools and technologies available to police officers to carry out their work. Secondly, while other European countries have already been examining the post-World War II purging of their police forces for a number of years, Belgium has been lagging behind in this area. The archives opened up to research as part of the Napol-Intel project create new possibilities to examine the re-establishment of police legitimacy in Belgian society in the years following the country's liberation from Nazi occupation. The third area investigated during the Napol-Intel project concerns the techniques and uses of police intelligence. It addresses the largely unexplored questions of the production and uses of police intelligence, the institutions and tools involved, its contents, and how all these elements have changed over time. The final conference of the NaPol-Intel project examined these questions during the period from the late eighteenth century to the present day, and on a global scale (more details under point 5. Dissemination below).

Finally, the Napol-Intel project has opened up new perspectives for the wider social and political history of twentieth-century Belgium (particularly after 1945). For instance, drawing on the newly opened archival records of the gendarmerie that document practices of surveillance and order maintenance at social and political protests from the 1950s to the 1980s, new work has been launched about the environmental movements (1970-1980) in Belgium and other forms of popular protest and demonstrations.

In addition, this project has stimulated new research by allowing several doctoral dissertations to be completed or initiated, as well as six master's dissertations at the universities of Ghent and Louvain-la-Neuve. Both universities have also organized research seminars for their history students to work with the archives opened up by the project, and it is thus to be expected that more dissertations will follow in the coming years.

*Doctoral dissertations:*

- Completed : Somer D., *Former à la lutte contre le crime. L'École de Criminologie et de Police Scientifique de Bruxelles entre magistrats, experts et policiers (1919-1992)*, Louvain-La-Neuve, UCLouvain, 28 June 2022, supervisor : X. Rousseaux
- Completed : Welter Fr., *La police judiciaire près les parquets en Belgique (1919-1952). Une police décentralisée, moderne et politique*, Louvain-la-Neuve, UCLouvain, 7 November 2022, supervisor : X. Rousseaux

- Completed : Deweirt X., *Adoucissement des mœurs ou clémence judiciaire ? La violence juvénile : une exception dans la Belgique des Trente Glorieuses (1945-1975)*, UCLouvain, 3 February 2023, supervisor X. Rousseaux
- New doctoral research project launched: Putteman P. (former gendarme and Master in History of UGent), *De politiehervorming doorgelicht*, supervisors M. De Koster & Antoon Vrints [UGent]

*Master dissertations:*

- Baelden W., *Crimes, enquêtes policières et judiciaires au prisme d'un hebdomadaire illustré. Le Soir Illustré (1970-1980)*, UCLouvain, January 2021, supervisor X. Rousseaux.
- Soffers N., *La place des représentations des forces militaires et paramilitaires dans les productions médiatiques belges francophones sur les Tueurs du Brabant entre 1985 et 2020*, UCLouvain, January 2021, supervisor X. Rousseaux.
- Thayer J.-Fr., *Les commissariats d'Etterbeek, Schaerbeek et Woluwé-Saint-Lambert (1830-2020)*, UCLouvain, ongoing, supervisor X. Rousseaux (co-supervisor E. Debruyne).
- Gomrée C., *Terrorisme d'extrême gauche et gendarmerie belge Perception de la menace et mise en place du dispositif antiterroriste (1970 – 1985)*, UCLouvain, August 2023, supervisor X. Rousseaux (co-supervisor E. Debruyne).
- Fevery Y., *Surveillance van extreem-rechtse groeperingen door de Belgische Rijkswacht in de jaren 1970 en 1980*, UGent, ongoing, supervisor: M. De Koster.
- De Vidts K., *De relatie tussen de rijkswacht en demonstranten in het België van de Koude Oorlog*, UGent, ongoing, supervisor: M. De Koster.
- Van den Bossche, E., 1968: *Walen Buiten: Splitsing van de Leuvense universiteit*, UGent, ongoing, supervisors: M. De Koster & A. Vrints.

## 5. DISSEMINATION AND VALORISATION

As part of the project, the processing of the archives was accompanied by an extensive digitisation campaign. In total, more than 50,000 scans have been made available online, where they can be freely consulted on the State Archives' research platform:

- 1) All the minutes of extraordinary events 'Model 5' from the period 1941-1944 sent to the Kingdom's General Police were digitised due to their fragile condition. These archives had been poorly preserved before being transferred to the NAB. Only digital copies are now available for consultation online. This represents approximately 21,000 scans [[AGATHA - Search environment of the State Archives](#)].
- 2) The "carnets de campagne" of the General Staff (1952-1968) of the Gendarmerie have also been put online. These are notebooks containing transcripts of all communications sent by units to the General Staff concerning events or disturbances of public order. In this way, every strike, every demonstration and every incident that shook the country's towns and villages is recorded, day by day, hour by hour. This exceptional source is now available for anyone to consult on the web [[AGATHA - Search environment of the State Archives](#)].
- 3) Finally, the annual activity reports of the Gendarmerie (1950-1996), as well as the Information Bulletins (1950-1981), from the archives of the former Federal Police Documentation Centre, are now available online. These bulletins, published monthly for Gendarmerie officers, provide an overview of the country's social, political and economic situation and are therefore an extraordinary source of information on the history of contemporary Belgium and the concerns of the Gendarmerie. These last two items represent approximately 30,000 scans [[AGATHA - Search environment of the State Archives](#), nr. 3252-3276 & 3360-3402].

In terms of communication about opening up the archives to research, two articles were published in the online journal *Contemporanea*, the journal of the Belgian Association of Contemporary History (see publications). They presented the research possibilities offered by these archives and attracted the interest of a large number of researchers. Each time an archive collection was opened up for research, an article was published in the State Archives newsletter.

The workshop held on 24 January 2024 at the NAB provided academics, police officers and citizens with an opportunity to learn about the full potential of the police archives that have been discovered and the data they contain [[Polices d'hier et d'aujourd'hui : plongée dans le passé pour mieux façonner l'avenir - Archives de l'État en Belgique](#)]. The Federal Police clearly expressed its interest in the archives, particularly with a view to integrating them more fully into the training process for young police officers. In this respect, the afternoon was a real success, helping to strengthen ties with the Belgian police services and encourage the preservation of their memory.

Finally, it should be noted that the NAB has entered into a partnership with the newspaper *Vers l'Avenir*, which has led to the publication of a series of articles for the general public on the reports of events involving the Gendarmerie during the Second World War in various Walloon municipalities. Finally, a short report on the Gendarmerie archives was produced by the local television station RTC Liège, which can be viewed via the following link : [https://www rtc be/video/info/patrimoine/des-documents-de-la-gendarmerie-classes-quot-secret-quot-en-ligne\\_1512180\\_325.html](https://www rtc be/video/info/patrimoine/des-documents-de-la-gendarmerie-classes-quot-secret-quot-en-ligne_1512180_325.html)

From a more academic perspective, the dissemination and promotion activities can be divided into two main areas. The first involves four conferences and workshops, aimed at academics, archival specialists and professionals in the police and security sector. The second consists of the development of the online police history platform "Menepolhis" ([www.menepolhis.eu](http://www.menepolhis.eu)), a digital platform on the history of policing developed by UCLouvain (Centre d'Histoire du Droit et de la Justice – CHDJ). Seven events have been (co-)organised between 2021 and 2025:

- Closing workshop UGent-team, Brussels, 14-03-2025.
- Research seminar "Green movements and protests in Belgium, 1960s-1980s", for 2<sup>nd</sup> year Bachelor of History students at Ghent University, academic year 2025-2026.
- International conference: *Police Intelligence, from Local to Global. From 1750 to the Present-Day*, Université UCLouvain Saint-Louis, Brussels, 25-26 January 2024.
- Workshop: *Polices d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. Plongée dans le passé pour mieux façonner l'avenir. Bilan et perspectives du projet Napol-Intel*, National Archives of Belgium, Brussels, 24 January 2024.
- Workshop: *Regards croisés pour une histoire de la matérialité policière (Québec-Belgique)*, 13 January 2023 (online).
- Conference: *5<sup>de</sup> Dag van de Belgische Migratiegeschiedenis / 5<sup>e</sup> Journée d'histoire belge des migrations*, Amsab-ISG, Ghent, 29 September 2022.
- International seminar: *Penser les archives à l'ère du numérique : quels usages ? Pour quelle histoire ?* (CIEQ, UQTR et Tempora, Rennes 2), Trois-Rivières – UQTR (Ca), 29 January 2021 (online).

Among the seven events, the conference "Police Intelligence, from Local to Global" was the main scientific meeting at which the project's results were disseminated to the national and international research community. It was held on the Campus Saint-Louis Brussels, at the UCLouvain on Thursday 25 and Friday 26 January 2024 [[Police Intelligence, from Local to Global. From 1750 to the Present Day | Université catholique de Louvain](#)]. The aim of the conference was to bring the results of this project to the attention of Belgian and foreign colleagues also working on these issues, and to enable

a comparison of the Belgian situation with that of other countries, over the long period from the eighteenth century to the present day. The conference brought together around twenty Belgian and foreign researchers. The meeting was divided in seven panels.

This conference examined the multiple facets and roles of police intelligence in policing and crime control practices, in line with new approaches to the history of bureaucracy and information management and, above all, to the history of police forces and policing. It addressed the largely unexplored questions of the production and use of police intelligence, the institutions and tools involved, its content and how all these have evolved over time, from the late eighteenth century - when modern police systems and the trans-regional security culture of political surveillance began to develop - to the present day - an era of unprecedented use of information and communication technologies in policing. The conference examined these developments on a global scale, analysing the transnational exchange of information and the circulation of intelligence knowledge and techniques, as well as how they manifest themselves at regional and local levels. "Intelligence" was not only situated in its traditional context of high-level political policing and criminal investigation, but also in the everyday practices of 'street policing', outside the strict political and judicial spheres, in both exceptional and ordinary contexts. Thus, several papers dealt with aspects of 'grassroots' intelligence and its sources - citizens, but also the procedures that underpin it, such as complaints, testimonies, neighbourhood enquiries - in the context of local surveillance practices.

In terms of dissemination, the Napol-Intel research team has also invested in the further development of an online platform that was launched in 2017, by feeding it with the archival resources and research carried out as part of Napol-Intel. Called "Menepolhis" (for Methodological network on police history), the aim of this platform is to discuss the epistemological, critical and methodological issues involved in writing the history of Western European police institutions from the *Ancien Régime* to the present day in a concise and educational manner. Menepolhis is neither a history of the police, nor an encyclopedia of the police, nor a methodological manual of police history. It is a little of all of these things. This platform reflects the dynamism of historiography and the many cross-border collaborations between crime, policing and security historians. Notes, case studies and 'thematic dossiers', structured around six main themes, are made available to researchers, students, police officers and anyone dealing with police institutions or archives in their 'historical' approach. Menepolhis is an evolving and collaborative tool. Napol-Intel has enabled this platform to make huge strides forward: among other things, video clips on the history of the police and tables of contents of three internal gendarmerie magazines (covering the period 1946-1999) have been put online. The latter is the first stage in the process of digitization of these sources. Navigation tools such as a timeline and a map enabling navigation between the different contents of the site have also been implemented. And finally, virtual tours of former gendarmerie brigades (buildings) have been created using gendarmerie brigades' archives, discovered by the project.

In addition, Napol-Intel has benefited from collaborations with other research projects. Firstly, the archivist of the National Archives, funded by the Belgian Federal Police [Project POLFED], regularly participated in the exchange of information on the archives that had been uncovered. A research assistant specialized in digital humanities has been hired conjointly with the "Pardons" project (BRAIN-be 2.0.) for 20% working on Napol-Intel. The research assistant has worked on the valorization of results on the Menepolhis website. Finally, members of the project had the opportunity to bring their expertise to an additional operation of the State archives: the collection, digitization, and valorization of the photographic collection of the Scientific Police Laboratory of Liège (by Laurence Druez, archivist at the State Archives of Liège) (see infra "Books and edited volumes").

## 6. PUBLICATIONS

### Books and edited volumes

- Campion J., De Koster M., Renglet A., Rousseaux X. (eds.), **forthcoming**, *Police Intelligence, from Local to Global. From 1750 to the Present-Day*.
- De Koster, M., **2024**, *Historische criminologie. Een inleiding*. Gent: Owl Press.
- Vrints, Antoon, **2024**, *De afrekening : geweld tegen collaborateurs in Antwerpen, 1918 en 1944-1945*, Aalter, Ertsberg.
- Druez L., Rousseaux X. (eds.), **2023**, *Scènes de crimes. La photographie policière, témoin de l'enquête judiciaire*, Bruxelles, Racine.

### Edited inventories

All these archive inventories can be downloaded free of charge via the State Archives webshop:

[Webshop - Home](#)

- Charon A., **2023**, *Inventaire des archives de la Gendarmerie. État-major général (versements 2021-2023) (1920-2000)*, Bruxelles, AGR. (240 pages)
- Charon A., **2022**, *Inventaire des archives du ministère de l'Intérieur. Police générale du Royaume. Dossiers des commissaires de police (1919-2001)*, Bruxelles, AGR. (232 pages)
- Charon A., **2021**, *Inventaire des archives de la Police fédérale. Service Historique. Dossiers personnels et documentation concernant les gendarmes (1870-1990)*, Bruxelles, AGR. (374 pages)
- Charon A., Amara M., **2021**, *Inventaire des archives du ministère de l'Intérieur. Police générale du Royaume. Rapports et comptes rendus d'évènements extraordinaire de type « Modèle 5 » (1941-1944)*, Bruxelles, AGR. (100 pages)
- Charon A., **2021**, *Inventaire des archives de la Gendarmerie. État-major général. Direction supérieure des Opérations (1945-1990)*, Bruxelles, AGR. (302 pages)
- Charon A., **2021**, *Inventaire des archives de la Police fédérale. Service historique. Dossiers de brigades de Gendarmerie (1837-2003)*, Bruxelles, AGR. (376 pages)

### Peer-reviewed articles

- Renglet A., **2025 (forthcoming)**, « De héros à paria. Itinéraire d'un commissaire de police de Bruxelles entre occupation et libération (1935-1962) », *Cahiers du CRHiDI*.
- Amara M., Charon A., **2025**, “Big Brother à la Gendarmerie? La gestion de l'information policière au service du maintien de l'ordre en Belgique”, *Journal of Belgian History*, LV, 2005, 3-4, p. 158-190. [Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine, LV, 2025, 3-4 | JBH - BTNG - RBHC](#)
- Campion J., De Koster M., Renglet A., Rousseaux X., **2025**, “Comprendre les ‘chagrins des Belges’? Bilans et perspectives de l'historiographie policière et de la sécurité en Belgique (périodes moderne et contemporaine)”, *Journal of Belgian History*, LV, 2005, 3-4, p. 10-31. [Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine, LV, 2025, 3-4 | JBH - BTNG - RBHC](#)
- Campion J., Teicher E., **2025**, “Filmer et être filmé. Pistes pour une approche historienne du rapport policier aux images animées”, *Journal of Belgian History*, LV, 2005, 3-4, p. 192-214. [Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine, LV, 2025, 3-4 | JBH - BTNG - RBHC](#)
- Renglet A., **2025**, “‘Reconstituer les cadres des polices locales. L'épuration des commissaires de police en Belgique après la Seconde Guerre mondiale’”, *Journal of Belgian History*, LV, 2005, 3-4, p. 136-157. [Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine, LV, 2025, 3-4 | JBH - BTNG - RBHC](#)

- Rousseaux X., Mazy V., **2025**, "La caserne au canton : la gendarmerie belge au prisme de son implantation territoriale (1796-2001)", *Journal of Belgian History*, LV, 2005, 3-4, p. 193-214. [Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine](#), LV, 2025, 3-4 | JBH - BTNG - RBHC
- De Koster M., Vrints A., **2024**, "Van bovenaf, van onderuit, en weer terug? Tendensen in het onderzoek over politie in de moderne stad", *Stadsgeschiedenis*, 19, 1, p. 1-7.
- De Vuyst M., **2024**, "De arm der wet biedt een helpende hand: het politieoptreden en de verhouding politie-bevolking in de stad Aalst, 1850-1914", *Stadsgeschiedenis*, 19, 1, p. 8-28.
- Van Vyve M., **2024**, "De Luikse Brigade de Sûreté en de Aanslagen van 1894", *Stadsgeschiedenis* 19, 1, p. 43-61.
- Campion J., **2024**, "Francopol, un espace renouvelé ou parmi d'autres de l'histoire de la coopération policière internationale?", *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, vol. 32, n°1, p. 115-137.
- Campion J., **2024**, "Le temps, l'espace et la sécurité publique. Faut-il parler de 'moment policier' contemporain?", *Revue de Droit Pénal et de Criminologie*, n° 1, p. 20-29.
- De Koster M., Erkul A., **2023**, "Removing local nuisances, arresting masterless strangers, and granting 'nights on request'. The policing of vagrancy in late-nineteenth-century Antwerp and Brussels", *TSEG- The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, 20 (1). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52024/tseg.13642>
- Rousseaux X., Somer D., Welter Fr., **2023**, "Une histoire de la police scientifique en Belgique. Photographie d'identification et laboratoires de police judiciaire (1830-1999)", in Druez L., Rousseaux X. (eds.), *Scènes de crimes. La photographie policière, témoin de l'enquête judiciaire*, Bruxelles, Racine, p. 60-95.
- Campion J., **2022**, "The Gendarme, the Chief Military Prosecutor and the Minister. Belgium's Use of Capital Punishment for Acts of Collaboration, 1944–1952", *Revue internationale de droit pénal. RIDP*, vol. 93, n°2, p. 87-96.
- Campion J., Touchelay B. (dir.), **2021**, "Les contes fantastiques de l'État", *Comptabilité(s). Revue d'histoire des comptabilités*, n°14, online : <https://journals.openedition.org/comptabilites/>
- Campion J., Touchelay B., **2021**, "Dis, dessine-moi un État: comptabilités et budgets sous le regard de l'historien", *Comptabilité(s). Revue d'histoire des comptabilités*, n°14, online : <https://journals.openedition.org/comptabilites/5294> .
- Campion J., **2021**, "Quels moyens pour la sécurité publique? Une histoire de la gendarmerie belge au prisme de ses budgets (1919-1957)", *Comptabilité(s). Revue d'histoire des comptabilités*, n° 14, <https://journals.openedition.org/comptabilites/4895> .
- Campion J., **2020**, "Stabilité et crises du système policier belge (1830-2018)", *Lien social & Politiques*, n° 84, p. 35-59.

#### Articles in journals without peer-review and book chapters

- Renglet A., **2025 (forthcoming)**, book review: "Vincent Milliot et alii (eds.), Histoire des polices en France, des Guerres de religion à nos jours, Paris, Belin, 2021", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*.
- Druez L. & Rousseaux X., June **2024**, "L'enquête judiciaire en images", *Belgica*, p. 116-119.
- Druez L. & Rousseaux L., **2024**, "Sous l'œil de la police", *Science Connection*, 70, 2024, p. 24-28. (Nederlandse versie : "Het oog van politie", *Science Connection*, 70, p. 24-28). Online: [Magazine Science Connection | Publications | Belspo](https://magazine.scienceconnection.be/publications/belgica)

- Campion J., De Valkeneer Chr. & Fancis V., **2023**, "Jalons pour une évaluation de la réforme des services de la police belge", special issue of the *Cahiers du GEPS*, Bruxelles, Politeia, n° 10 (86 p.).
- Campion J., **2023**, "L'exercice de la police en tenue civile : débats et pratiques au sein de la gendarmerie belge (19<sup>e</sup>-20<sup>e</sup> siècles)", in Carbone F. (ed.), *Forza alla legge. Studi Sotrici su Carabinieri, Gendarmerie E Politizie Armate*, Rome, Società Italiana di Storia Militare, p. 71-91.
- Mazy V., **2023**, "MeNePolHis. L'histoire de la police au cœur du numérique", *Contemporanea*, t. XXXVIII, n° 4 (online).
- Renglet A., **2023**, book review: Christine G. Krüger, "Die Scylla und Charybdis der socialen Frage'. Urbane Sicherheitsentwürfe in Hamburg und London (1880-1900)", *Historisches Zeitschrift*, vol. 316, n° 3, p. 773-774.
- Campion Jonas, **2022**, "Exercer la sécurité publique au niveau local en Belgique (1830-2020)", in Grandjean G., Maquet J., Lempereur M. (eds.), *Histoire des institutions diachroniques. Le pouvoir politique en Wallonie*, Liège, Presses de l'Université de Liège, p. 307-335.
- Charon A., **2022**, « L'ouverture à la recherche des archives des services de police : un pan entier de l'histoire de Belgique désormais accessible », in *Contemporanea*, Tome XXXVIII, n°3. [En ligne] < <https://www.contemporanea.be/fr/article/20223archlangpolice> >.
- About I., Grandjean N., Claire Lobet-Maris C., Rousseaux, **2022**, "De la photographie d'identité à l'algorithmique faciale : enjeux historiques et éthiques. Un entretien avec Ilse About, Nathalie Grandjean et Claire Lobet-Maris. Propos recueillis par Xavier Rousseaux", in *Photographica, 5: Portraits choisis, portraits subis*, p. 153-163
- Charon A., **2021**, « " 22 v'là les gendarmes ! " Des milliers de dossiers personnels de gendarmes désormais accessibles aux Archives générales du Royaume », in *Contemporanea*, Tome XLIII, n°2. [En ligne] < <https://www.contemporanea.be/fr/article/20212-archieven-kort-agr-gendarmes> >
- Campion J., **2021**, "Des espaces 'exceptionnels' à sécuriser : éléments d'histoire de la cohabitation policière à la frontière franco-belge (20<sup>e</sup> - 21<sup>e</sup> siècles)", *Carnets de Géographes*, n°15, *Les dimensions spatiales du maintien de l'ordre*, <https://journals.openedition.org/cdg/6903> .
- Campion J. (dir.), **2020**, "La police locale en Belgique : sociohistoire d'une institution, d'un concept et de pratiques", *Cahiers du GEPS* special issue, n°4 (114 p.).
- Campion J., **2020**, "Introduction: la police locale, socio-histoire d'un concept", *Cahiers du GEPS*, n°4, "La police locale en Belgique : sociohistoire d'une institution, d'un concept et de pratiques", p. 7-14.
- Campion J., **2020**, "Locale, de proximité ou communautaire ? Généalogie et évolution d'une conception de la police en Belgique depuis l'indépendance", *Cahiers du GEPS*, n°4, "La police locale en Belgique: sociohistoire d'une institution, d'un concept et de pratiques", p. 15-30.

#### **Conference and workshop papers**

- Rousseaux X., 3 April **2025**, "Naissance de la police technique et scientifique en Belgique: de la photographie au laboratoire", conference *Cent ans de police technique et scientifique*, Federal Police, Brussels.
- Campion J. & Rousseaux X., 21-22 October **2024**, « Reloger les gendarmes, rééquiper les casernes, restaurer l'État. Belgique 1914-1950 », International conference organised by the UQAM-GRHG, *L'intendance suivra ? Le logement militaire en Occident (Antiquité – temps présents)*, Montreal (Ca.).

- Campion J., 24-26 January **2024**, "Information Sources or Intelligent Documents? Exploring the History of Policing in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Quebec through the Police activity reports", paper presented at the international conference "Police Intelligence, from Local to Global. From 1750 to the Present Day", Brussels.
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