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In Fulfilment Of The Requirements  
For The  
Degree Of Doctor Of Philosophy.

FROM FATE TO CHOICE - PRIVATE BOBBIES,  
PUBLIC BEATS: PRIVATE SECURITY PATROL  
AND THE DIMINISHING BOUNDARIES OF  
NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICING.

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Submitted By

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August, 1993.



- 8 DEC 1993

## ABSTRACT .

Neighbourhood private security patrol as a crime control strategy demonstrates society's increasing demand for security and assurance - factors which the public police provide ineffectively. Private security's function of preventative surveillance is likely to be aligned more closely to public needs than is the public police's post-event priority of detection. Street patrol by private security personnel symbolizes an attempt by some citizens to re-create the preventative aspects of traditional policing. But it predominates only in the residential areas of the economically privileged. This demand for target-hardening, by the surveillance of whole groups and categories of people, is best described not as part of a contemporary shift from individual to collective social control, but rather as a trend away from collectivism towards active individualism. Although social and emotional influence is apparent in the rationale for this strategy, its creation also concerns the institutionalization of the classical concepts of self-help and choice - principles which are actively acceded to and encouraged by the state. In order to react to crises individuals require social confirmation for their beliefs about the reality of crime and its control. The Home Office, Police and other interested agencies, including the Private Security Sector, provide this confirmation and they come together with communities as joint creators of new institutions. Thus, as classicist forms of control become marketable, lay-persons may participate more in policing their own neighbourhoods. This heralds the end of policing provision as fate - for as modern capitalism pluralizes it allows in private policing agents and strategies. However, while this form of control may be effective for those who choose to purchase it, there is a tendency for it to fragment rather than integrate surrounding neighbourhoods. Furthermore, it deflects crime into areas with inferior levels of surveillance. These negative aspects are not conducive to the requirements of quality and equity of justice, so crucial and intrinsic to the association policing should have with a democratic, equal and free society.



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PART 1

RESEARCH RATIONALE, THEORY, ENVIRONMENTS  
AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES: AN INTRODUCTION  
TO NEIGHBOURHOOD PRIVATE SECURITY PATROL AS  
AN AGENCY OF SOCIAL CONTROL.



## CHAPTER 1

### THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF TRADITIONAL POLICING.

#### RATIONALE.

This study is an enquiry into change. It is a personal response to the belief that an important new period in the history of policing is occurring - the apparent move from the public towards the private in security provision. As a public police officer, committed to providing 'public' security, I wanted to explore the reasoning behind the current demand by some communities for enhanced security provision through the private sector police. I wanted to pursue explanations to several questions arising within a particular aspect of private policing, namely the new and emerging phenomenon of private security patrol in neighbourhood areas - areas which, hitherto, had been sovereign to the public sector police.

#### Public Sovereignty Of Police.

When considering the sovereign nature of public policing since the inception of Peel's New Police in 1829 it is interesting to be reminded of the traditional duties of the resource central to that organization - the beat constable:

It is indispensably necessary that he should make himself perfectly acquainted with all the parts of his beat or section, with the streets, thoroughfares, courts and houses....He will be expected to possess such a knowledge of the inhabitants of each house, as will enable him to recognise their persons. He will thus prevent mistakes, and be enabled to render assistance to the inhabitants when called for.....He should see every part of his beat in the time allotted; and this he will be expected to do regularly so that any person requiring assistance, by remaining in the same spot for that length of time, may be able to meet a Constable. (METROPOLITAN POLICE, 1836:23).

And further:

The constable is responsible for the security of life and property within his beat, and the preservation of the peace and general good order during the time he is on duty. He should make himself perfectly acquainted with all parts of his beat, with the streets, thoroughfares, courts and houses. He should possess such a knowledge of the inhabitants of each house as to enable him to recognise them. He should visit, as far as possible, all the lanes, courts and alleys, and when going his rounds at night he should carefully examine all premises and see that the doors, windows, &c., are secure. (EAST SUSSEX POLICE, 1919:16).

This association between the constable and the public places he patrols still remains a crucial aspect of his occupational culture. The responsibility that he feels for life and property on his own 'patch' is a matter which he personally takes very seriously. He tends to consider the public police service as having a monopoly over the provision of public protection - especially in respect of policing the streets. Central to his belief is the notion that clear distinctions exist between the public and the private spheres of policing and that one of the public agency's primary responsibilities is to ensure that it retains sovereignty over the crime problem. (HENDERSON, 1987:51).

Prior to the introduction of Robert Peel's new public police system in 1829 the inhabitants of the British Isles more or less policed themselves. (TREVELYAN, 1942:230). The state gave little financial support to policing in those times - a system of common informers was relied upon and only a few constables were paid out of the fines of offenders. Policing provision then was primarily a private matter. After 1829, however, the method of policing was radically changed to a system of state provision financed by public taxes. Recently, however, one can discern a move back to those times of private justice - security provision today is increasingly being provided by private agencies. Indeed, many individuals now consider that the most efficient and cost-effective way of policing is

to expose security provision to competition through the market. (ADAM SMITH INSTITUTE, 1989, 1991).

Policing services can now be provided from a continuum which exists between the public and the private. This is especially obvious in the United States of America where state police contract-in private police for some state policing functions. (CHAIKEN and CHAIKEN, 1987). The provision of policing services, therefore, can no longer be assumed a rightful province of the state. This is because markets, enterprise and choice have once more become fashionable. Appropriately, HIRSCHMAN, (1970, 1983) has suggested that a feature of western society is a shifting involvement from the private to the public sphere and back again.

#### A Dearth Of Knowledge.

A further important and fundamental reason for undertaking this study was the very limited empirical and theoretical knowledge concerning private security patrol in neighbourhoods and its relationship to other institutions. When the literature in this field has been examined it is apparent that there has not been an adequate conceptualization of these relationships. (HENDERSON, 1987:56). As an academic subject the private security sector in general has attracted some interest and its existence is under review both in the United Kingdom (HOME OFFICE, 1979; SOUTH, 1985; 1988) and America (SHEARING and STENNING, 1983). Yet the authors of one of the main American studies on the industry recently reported:

In the traditional academic sense, security is not a body of knowledge guided with a strong research base, although the field of security itself constitutes a specialized area of knowledge....., most of the hundreds of publications on security listed by the National Criminal Justice Research Reference Service catalog useful information and technical knowledge, but yield little empirical data or theory on security, asset protection, loss prevention or economic crime. (CUNNINGHAM and TAYLOR, 1985:4).



Accordingly, there is a need to increase and develop academic knowledge on the general area of the private security sector and also to develop a conceptual perspective regarding the particular subject area of the present study.

Empirical research carried out specifically on private security patrol in neighbourhoods is hardly prolific - although there are political tracts on it which help in understanding the philosophy it is based upon. For instance, the fact that public policing is expensive in comparison to general government spending in other areas (BREWER et al, 1988:11-12) makes the ideology of active citizenship a matter for government to enthusiastically promote. (FIELDING, 1991:221-226). But in searching sociological and criminological abstracts up to 1991, I failed to identify any empirical research in the United Kingdom, and only one study in the United States (DONOVAN and WALSH, 1986) which had examined this area. That research, however, was wholly empirical and had not considered theoretical perspectives. When one considers the mass of empirical research carried out on neighbourhood 'public' police patrol the lack of research into 'private' security patrol is even more surprising. This paucity of knowledge must be seen against the fact that in some American cities the numbers of security personnel out-number public police officers (BAYLEY, 1986:216) and in the United Kingdom private security patrol is steadily increasing. (POLICE REVIEW, 1989b:118,740,1406; POLICING REVIEW, 1990).

#### **DEFINITIONS.**

It is now appropriate to describe the concepts of policing and private security in more detail and to identify interpretations which relate more clearly to the present study.

## Policing.

Policing is essentially concerned with social control. It is often executed against the will of individuals and groups and relates to both moral and physical assertion. The concept of policing has both a narrow and wide interpretation. We may use it in its narrow sense as merely the function of a civil force - e.g. the Police Service of England and Wales. This form of policing is associated with purely 'public' as opposed to 'private' policing. Public policing is most usually operated by employees of the state, is characteristically supported by taxation and organized on a bureaucratic basis. This is a definition too limited for the present study.

In contrast, a wider and less limited definition relates to the whole resources of civil administration - all government departments such as Health, Home Office, Social Security and Environment. Additionally we may add the entire population - for each of us has a duty at common law to uphold the peace and, although rarely used by ordinary citizens, arrest offenders against it. Furthermore, the mere action of an individual resident who peers out of the window at activity in the street is clearly policing activity within this wider definition. The combined policing efforts of private individuals, in contrast to purely state efforts, may be termed 'private policing' and often exists as part of a free market system - for example, where a private security company is contracted by a private individual or corporation to protect property. The services and functions of the private security industry can, thus, also be included within this wide umbrella of 'policing'. (SHEARING, FARNELL and STENNING, 1980:17).

Policing in its wider sense, thus, relates to a more sophisticated interpretation which can be extended even further for the essential purposes of the present study. It can be summed up as a 'whole cluster of practices and knowledge' which are embedded at many points in the social field (PASQUINO, 1978:52) and which constitute a set of policing structures encompassing the whole of society. This all-encompassing pattern of social control may be seen by some as innocuous and a positive contribution to deviance control. (SHERMAN, 1983; HENDERSON, 1987). In contrast, it may be seen negatively as a form of domination where the surveillance of individuals, through various means of information, e.g. private security personnel, reflects the interdependence of the relationship between power and knowledge (FOUCAULT, (1979a) and the partiality of justice in favour of the economically privileged. (HALL and SCRATON, 1981). These contrasting matters of definition are central to the present study and are developed further in the discussions on research aims on pages 9-15 and theoretical analysis and evaluation on pages 15-21.

#### **Private Security.**

Private security could be defined as 'the sum total of all those preventative and protective efforts provided by entities other than government'. (GALLATI, 1983). This wide interpretation does not just consider the efforts of the private security industry and its personnel (SOUTH, 1988) but all private actions taken to protect persons and property. Efforts provided by government agencies, such as those carried out by the Police Service, cannot be included within this definition. This restriction on public inputs assists the clarity of the definition while at the same time it draws our attention to the need for a more sophisticated interpretation of public and private relationships. This is because the public police are very often concerned in initiating and coordinating schemes, such as the Neighbourhood Watch Scheme, but which

are primarily run through private efforts. Furthermore, the public police regularly advise private individuals on general methods of protection, thereafter, those receiving advice, not the police, provide the means of protection. Neighbourhood watch schemes and other protective strategies cannot, thus, be associated purely with 'private' security, unless their provision is totally removed from the influence of the Police Service. They must, therefore, normally lie somewhere between public and private security.

Thus, inter-relationships between the public and the private serve to blur purely public or private definitions of security. Where public and private territorial limits do not appear to have been drawn clearly, opportunities will exist for working relationships between public and private agencies. The end product of these relationships may well turn out to be a form of security provision which cannot be defined strictly as either public or private. Therefore, a public/private security continuum is said to exist. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981:196).

As the present study concerns private security personnel operating in public and private places, a definition which focuses on those aspects is needed. This purpose is served by the interpretation provided by KAKALIK and WILDHORN, (1972) who describe private security as, 'private forces providing all types of security-related services including investigation, guard, patrol and armoured transportation'. An emphasis here is placed upon 'private forces' who provide a service. This is more specific and immediately brings to mind the private security industry as the provider. Private security so defined is of two types. Contract Security is hired or supplied to the end-user by a company on some form of contractual basis. In-House, or Proprietary Security is hired directly by the end-user

company as permanent full-time or part-time employees of that company.  
(SIATT, 1981:21).

#### RESEARCH AIMS.

My primary aim was to research the nature and function of private security patrol in neighbourhoods relative to the extent of its equity and freedom as a system of policing. Secondary aims were to ascertain the accuracy of the thesis that the ineffectiveness of public police leads to the demand for private security patrol in neighbourhoods and, finally, to provide a general analysis of the fieldwork both in policy terms and with reference to socio-legal and police studies.

The provision of policing services through the market inevitably leads to an increase in individual and corporate choice. Whereas public systems of justice provision tend to be organized on a bureaucratic basis and provide services in which the recipient may have little choice concerning what will be supplied, private justice systems are less bureaucratic and more flexible - indeed they have inherent within them a relationship with purely choice principles of justice. This relationship between private justice and purely choice principles tends to increase the prominence of private actions. In this respect conservative ideology currently stresses the need to cut back on government provision of various public services and gives individuals more opportunity to choose their own forms of security. This ideology draws upon value themes that run deep in British society - beliefs about freedom of choice, the greater efficiency of the market-place and the importance of self reliance and charity. Principles concerning choice are, thus, more closely associated with conservative ideology and private provision than public provision. A more detailed discussion of these matters is undertaken on pages 17-19.

The principle of choice in community policing has led to various forms of private provision where neighbours have voluntarily come together to solve crime problems. This may be seen as positive by conservatives but for others the unequal starting points of individuals could easily lead to inequality of provision - for the rich can afford to pay for services which the poor cannot. Does private security patrol in neighbourhoods, therefore, serve as a form of class injustice leaving the less well-off, who have fewer resources and often greater need, in a less secure and hostile environment than those who have the economic power to purchase their security through the market? And to the extent that richer neighbourhoods are more likely to be better organized against crime through private resources, will that mean displacement and increased crime in adjacent, less well-off neighbourhoods? Such questions of distinction between public and private provision obviously impact upon the debate surrounding the morality and ethics of policing provision.

Private systems of policing, thus, bring into question ethical and moral principles concerning provision of services. Some distinctions have to be made between services which can be wholly influenced directly by the market and other services, such as health, education and public security, which may be so essential to public welfare that they should predominantly be provided by the state rather than left to market forces and individual choice. The retention of the choice to buy or to depend on state provision is itself an important principle. If that choice is lost then personal freedom may also be diminished:

When there is no choice but to buy, the question becomes more acute, for we have entered a social order which is unjust and despicable, since the poor people are denied essential state protection. Then there is little to be gained by such people in belonging to an organized society. (ALDERSON, 1991:42).

These are matters that can only be addressed through posing questions about power: by whom is it exercised, over whom and by what means? The answers to these questions can be given by analysing power on a continuum which has as its polar opposites the concepts of freedom and oppression as they relate to policing. Thus, by identifying the sources of power in this study the contemporary position of policing in the United Kingdom, and its relationship with the private sector and the state, will be described in microcosm. In relation to the overall fairness of justice systems, this area of research generates important administrative and academic questions concerning the 'carriers' (BERGER, BERGER and KELLNER, 1974) and direction of social control in contemporary British society.

It is appropriate at this point to briefly touch upon some theoretical aspects concerning community policing and the thesis that private security in such locations tends towards inequality of provision - a thesis with few conclusive empirical illustrations to support it.

#### **Blurred And Sinister Boundaries?**

The move from private to public justice in the latter half of the eighteenth century (CRITCHLEY, 1978; SOUTH, 1987a) created the possibility of 'blurred boundaries' where state and citizen merged to provide policing services - a possibility supported by the notion that in a capitalist system public policing never fully replaces private policing. (BAYLEY, 1986:37). It has been argued that the apparent recent move towards private forms of justice is likely to allow injustice (SOUTH, 1987a:106) and that the private security industry in particular is a biased and selective form of policing. (SOUTH, 1988:155). Such an interpretation regards moves towards the private as having sinister consequences for equality and for freedom from an overbearing policing system. BOTTOMS (1983:192), however, has shown this claim of 'sinister blurring' to be highly questionable.

Some American research does tend to support the notion that a move away from public towards private sector justice may reduce the quality of provision. PASCAL and MENCHIK, (1979), for instance, found that a leaner and smaller public sector may also turn out to be meaner and harsher for the less privileged. That research was supported by the work of WALKER, CHAIKEN, JIGA and POLLIN, (1980) who found that public police departments concentrated their resources away from crimes which had a low probability of detection and, in relation to property crime, a low value financially. This trend in 'screening', which currently occurs in the United Kingdom, could be interpreted as either an improvement in efficiency of resources or a disturbing philosophical shift in the role of the public police, who hitherto applied their services equally over the broad spectrum of crime. Apart from the fact that these research findings cast doubt upon the ability of the public police to bring any substantial reduction in crime rates, it also helps us to understand how individual complainants, and indeed whole neighbourhoods, may look to the private sector police to resolve the problems which the public police screen out.

The increase in the demand for private police can be seen in a broader sense through the concern of some writers for the phenomenon of 'community penetration' - for example the notion that formal, state agencies of social control, pierce and absorb the informal networks of society. (COHEN, 1985). Others experience uneasiness that external control systems such as the private security sector are gradually expanding. (MATHIESEN, 1983). These concerns are represented in the 'dispersal of discipline' thesis - the idea that the state has created an extension of social control into social institutions, agencies and spheres of life, some of which, like the family (DONZELOT, 1979), are not formally identified with control at all.



There is an important need to discover how accurate this analysis of blurred and sinister policing boundaries is when applied to private security patrol. If there is empirical evidence to be found in support of the theory of these left-functionalists it could not be found any closer to the freedom and equality of individuals than within their own families (DONZELOT, op.cit.) and, in the case of the present study, their own neighbourhoods. Using the subject of private security patrol, I wanted to investigate an apparent imbalance towards left-functionalists' explanations of private police (SHEARING and STENNING, 1987a) which argue the existence of a predominantly disciplinary (FOUCAULT, 1979a) and sinister (COHEN, S. 1979) form of control which impacts upon equality of provision and freedom from repressive policing systems.

#### **Inadequacy of Public Police.**

A secondary aim of the study was to consider any association between the ineffectiveness of public police patrol and the introduction of private security patrol in neighbourhoods.

Crime has become a predominant social problem within most western societies. When citizens experience crime in their neighbourhoods the problem becomes more focused for them and they usually look first to the public police to resolve matters. But there are problems associated with public expectations of the police. Although it is recognized that massive increases have been made to police budgets in recent years, there is still a shortfall in what is being provided to effectively prevent and detect the majority of offences. The demand for police response has certainly overtaken the level of police resources available and police in many areas cannot now provide the level of service demanded. Analyses of why this has occurred have come to various conclusions, including purely budgetary constraints (O'CONNOR, 1973) and lack of technological resources to better

manage crime. (ALBANESE, 1986:86-87). The inability of the public police to effectively perform the tasks expected of them has been associated with the reasoning for the introduction of private security patrol in neighbourhoods. (SLYNN, 1983; ALBANESE, *ibid*:86). The present study, therefore, aims at measuring the accuracy or inaccuracy of the hypothesis that inadequate public police provision in neighbourhoods influences the introduction of private security patrol.

It could be argued that there are other reasons than police ineffectiveness which have led to an increase in neighbourhood security patrols. Foremost amongst alternative explanations may be the rapid increase in the number of private agencies now available (RANDALL and HAMILTON, 1972; SHEARING and STENNING, 1981; SOUTH, 1988:23-34) and easy public access to them through the media (MATHIESEN, 1987:74), or mere increased access to private agencies may simply prompt individuals in capitalist societies to react to an inherent human need for more security. (SPITZER, 1987:50).

#### **THEORETICAL ANALYSIS: RELATIONAL ARGUMENT AND EVALUATION.**

It is important to set the scene early for the ensuing theoretical discussion which will follow the empirical analysis. Contrasting and diametrically opposed views, policies and ideologies on community crime control and police and state relationships are critically explored throughout the thesis. Particular claims and assumptions made in the opposing arguments are focused upon so that accuracy can be measured against the subsequent findings and analysis of the fieldwork.

In order to achieve this objective it is first necessary to present a preliminary overview which will identify the dominant contemporary theoretical position in which the notion of private police is legitimized.

Thereafter, a theoretically dominant antithesis will be presented. Thus two contrasting theoretical perspectives on the state and crime control will be assembled - both primarily located within the sociology of social control and punishment. Critical assessments of these perspectives are made throughout the study to confirm, modify or reject particular claims. The conceptual background which is developed will assist in formulating important research questions and help to establish the choice of design for methods to be used in the fieldwork. In the final analysis it will also provide conclusions which are based upon reasoned, conditional commitment to a perspective which best describes the empirical findings.

The theoretical overview is derived from the work of several writers on social control and the state in capitalist societies. The use of a range of theories - 'theoretical triangulation' - is here applied to complement the study (DENZIN, 1970) for it is very unlikely that any study clearly supports one specific proposition. Triangulation, therefore, allows systematic and continuous interchange between theory and research. (JUPP, 1989:83). In this respect I use the Liberal Democratic social control theory of Neo-Classicism and contrast it with antithetical and critical theories of Capitalist Logic, Commodity Fetishism and Dispersal. The strength of the theorists used here lies in their integration of a number of different approaches and the way they make sense of the contemporary social scene - variations in strategies of surveillance dependent on the social status of the subject population; the state's use of new surveillance strategies to prevent deviance; the way that new professions seek to exploit this usage and the ways that the public themselves seek out control, guidance and security from experts. As ideal-type paradigms these antithetical approaches may be seen as Classicist and Marxist. (YOUNG, 1981:253-266, 294-305).

The purpose of setting up ideal types is to help develop concepts which may prove to have systematic import. But it must be remembered that conceptualization based upon broad bipolar distinctions derives from phenomena which are not directly observable. The device is, therefore, merely analytical and has no empirical basis.

The newly emerging strategy of private security patrol is consistent with two theoretical models in crime prevention, namely 'informal social control', (JACOBS, 1961; WILSON and KELLING, 1982) and 'opportunity reduction'. These are located within the Classicist approach to control. Informal social control came to popularity in the 1970's when research and policy shifted from offender based explanations of crime to preventing offences in the community. (HOPE and SHAW, 1988:8). This situational approach to crime prevention continued to have an important influence on criminal justice policy in the 1980's (CLARKE and MAYHEW, 1980; HEAL and LAYCOCK, 1986) and remains so in the 1990's. The situational approach, and its emphasis upon the intended or unintended consequences of purposeful human action, portrays a particular theoretical representation of the state which, in the 1990's, is clearly associated with The New Right in politics. (DUNLEAVY and O'LEARY, 1987:91). The approach can conjure up notions of dictatorship and oppression and by its intrusiveness may be seen as a threat to individual liberty. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1987a, 1987b; SHERMAN, 1983; KLEIN and LUXENBURG, 1987; KLEIN, LUXENBURG and KING, 1989).

These contrasting approaches are now further developed separately and analysed in relation to the State.

Liberal Democratic Theory And The Dominant Perspective:  
Neo-Classicism And The Enabling State.

Liberal-democratic theory is predicated upon the assumption that in modern capitalist societies the law and politics are divorced from the direct influence of economic interests - the legitimacy of the state and the law lies with the consent of the people. Justice is impartial and gives no advantage to those who own or manage the economic system. This notion of separation from direct political power - rich and poor alike are equal in the sight of the law - is seriously contested. (HALL and SCRATON, 1981:470-471). The present policy dominating crime control in Europe and America has its roots in this theory and can be traced from that which developed in the late eighteenth century out of the Philosophy of the Enlightenment and which is termed 'classicist'. (YOUNG, 1981:253; ROSHIER, 1989). In contemporary British and North American society an amalgam of classicist and positivist thought has emerged into the dominant criminological paradigm of neo-classicism. (RADZINOWICZ, 1956; COHEN, 1981; YOUNG, 1981). Thus, classicist and neo-classicist thought is closely associated with notions of societal consensus, freedom of choice, a free market and deterrence based on 'social contract theory'. (CLARKE, 1980; WILSON, 1983). These voluntaristic tendencies of classicism are inherent also in neo-conservative ideology (DUNLEAVY and O'LEARY, 1987) save that in the latter, tension in human action remains unresolved. (YOUNG, 1981:275).

The neo-conservative debate on freedom of choice and on effectiveness and efficiency has adherents in many parts of the criminal justice system. (SAVAS, 1983; WILSON, 1983; HENDERSON, 1987). Such writers all share common opinions - the idea of causes of crime as determined is antagonistic and they show a lack of interest in aetiology. Belief in choice in the human act is dominant, thus, deterrence is advocated. There

is little that public policy can do in the region of psychological causes of crime and the idea of reform is discarded with the notion that crime can be affected by improving social justice. (CLARKE, 1980:9-11). The goal of social policy, therefore, must be to build up effective deterrents. Non-state welfare organizations in the private sector are to be invoked - the public themselves and the private security sector.

For some of these commentators the Anti-Collectivist age has arrived (GEORGE and WILDING, 1985) as conservative governments in Britain, Canada (GUEST, 1984) and the U.S.A. (WEDDELL, 1986) roll back the boundaries of state provision. This 'enabling' state concept (POWER, 1987; RIDLEY, 1988; GILBERT and GILBERT, 1989) is seen as part of the 'Neo-Conservative Dream' to replace the Welfare State and create the 'Dawn of the New Enlightenment' wherein education, housing, local government finance, health and community care legislation is passed to 'embody the first real advance of new Libertarian ideas into social policy status'. (GLENNERSTER, POWER and TRAVERS, 1991). The nature of this move towards a more enabling state is distinctly ideological in that it represents the possibility of inequality of service to those who are unable, or merely choose not to pay for private services. It may not, however, be inevitable that privatization itself will lead to inequalities. Rather, it is the political and social values intensifying the move towards privatization which are likely to create an inequitable justice system. (O'HIGGINS, 1987).

For Anti-Collectivists their core value of 'freedom', as it applies to choice, has a close inter-relationship with a market economy. But as 'inequality' is also a core value of their beliefs, (GEORGE and WILDING, 1985) equality of justice is impossible. As well as holding the belief that the pursuit of egalitarian policies is incompatible with freedom

(HAYEK, 1949:22), there is also a view that this enabling, 'minimal' state concept is anything but what it appears. Rather than contracting there is a view that the state expands through delegation and devolution.

(COHEN,1985). For example, Neighbourhood Watch, as a private form of policing, would be interpreted as supplementing state police manpower and consequently state power.

#### **The Critical Perspective: The Oppressive State.**

The privatization debate has prompted some writers to argue that whereas policing used to occupy a legal enclave by enforcing the law and thereafter 'excluding' offenders (in prisons and other total institutions), the state currently tends to reach out and befriend - to become community based. A new epoch in the structure of social control has been entered by a contemporary shift from an individual to a collective form of social control. (MATHIESEN, 1983:139). Here the traditional boundary between police and community - the public and the private - is becoming increasingly blurred. (COHEN, 1985: Chapter 2). These writers tend to align to a left-functionalist position and seek to identify the repressive, coercive and sinister nature of the state and of conventional criminal justice strategies. The ultimate nightmare for these writers is an entirely pervasive state wherein the community becomes the primary means of repression, by either excluding strangers or by various forms of surveillance. (FOUCAULT, 1979a; GARLAND and YOUNG, 1983; COHEN and SCULL, 1983; COHEN, 1985; LOWMAN, MENZIES and PALYS, 1987; SHEARING and STENNING, 1987a, 1987b). Thus, the principles of 'equality' and 'liberty' are key factors of dispute within the critical debate on private policing and are seen by left functionalists as sources of contradiction in the capitalist system.

In contrast to the classicist perspective, these opposing views reflect a distrust and lack of confidence in the formal criminal justice system. Explanations and alternatives are sought in the control systems of pre-modern societies, (SPITZER and SCULL, 1977a, 1977b; SOUTH, 1987a) and there is a bias towards explaining social change purely in economic terms. (RUSCHE and KIRCHHEIMER, 1939; MELOSSI and PAVARANI, 1981). Capitalist, state-intervention is seen as destructive and constricting in its ability to develop community-based programmes of crime prevention as the state enjoys a monopoly over punitive regulation and behaviour in society. Social relations are thus described in the language of subordination. The autonomous natural creation of egalitarian and independent organizations is the political objective of these revisionist commentators. Such an ideological development is crucial to the control of crime through means that will promote class consciousness and working class organization (BRADY, 1981:185), for only the liberation of the dominated classes will lead to such a community wherein truly popular justice exists. (de SOUSA SANTOS, 1979:264).

These two contrasting positions identify an ideological clarity between 'situationalists' and 'non-situationalists' which I will be using to advantage in the evaluation of this study. 'Situationalists', as the noun relates to crime prevention, base prevention primarily upon the geographical dimensions of a community or neighbourhood. The immediate environment of the neighbourhood is designed, managed and manipulated by them in a systematic and permanent way in order to reduce the opportunities for crime. In contrast, however, 'non-situationalists' take a less manipulative stance on prevention, concentrating more upon informal, integrative control based upon moral, rather than alienative, involvement. These positions, however, are ideal types and are merely theoretically based. They, therefore, lack an empirical basis. In this



respect a crucial element of the present study is the need to reconcile the empirical findings with these theoretical aspects. Furthermore, it may also be important to recognize the possibility that the limited intellectual impact of each of these contrasting and narrow ideologies has prevented intellectual progression to the notion of a dialectic relationship between the subjective and objective - between agency and power. (GIDDENS, 1979:6).

#### OUTLINE OF CHAPTER STRUCTURE.

Data collected from selected research sites are presented throughout the thesis in the form of case studies. The evaluation proceeds through four, broad-based areas of investigation. Residents' demand for private patrol is examined; the functional nature of the form of control is identified; an empirical and theoretical analysis is presented; policy implications are discussed and a new model is assembled which takes account of the extent of equity and freedom in neighbourhood private security patrol.

The thesis is structured in three parts. Part 1 introduces the research rationale, theory, fieldwork and project environments and discusses inherent methodological research issues. Having set out the rationale for research in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 provides a literature review, focusing upon particular claims and assumptions of opposing arguments in order to assist the analysis of the fieldwork. These opposing arguments are set against six key areas of research each of which forms a link into the equality and freedom debate.

Chapter 3 describes the social, economic, environmental and geographical aspects of the research sites and the reasoning for their choice. A programme of interviews and ethnographical studies are outlined

which are designed to expose research questions and create comparative material for theoretical development. Some of the difficulties in the method are discussed and the steps taken to enhance the validity and generality of the findings are reviewed.

Part 2 contains the presentation, analysis and central findings of the empirical data generated from the case studies. Chapters 4 to 9 embody this data and its explanation in theoretical terms by using the six key concepts of private policing identified in the literature review.

In Part 3 the study's findings are summarized and conclusions are presented. Chapter 10 summarizes the final conclusions and discusses an appropriate theoretical framework on which to apply them. Finally, Chapter 11 identifies implications for policy and introduces a new policing model which, in a modern capitalist society, I argue can accommodate an increased level of equity of policing provision.

Private security patrols are occurring in many areas of Britain. This may indicate that the private security sector is moving closer to the traditional domain of the public police - a domain where police and public interaction should be at its greatest for efficient policing. (CUMMING, CUMMING and EDELL, 1965; PUNCH and NAVLOR, 1973; COMRIE and KINGS, 1975). And if the traditional roots of public police duties are being questioned, and private justice is beginning to blur traditional lines, then such phenomena are ripe for sociological enquiry. Such an enquiry requires more sophistication than just an empirical analysis of what private security patrol in neighbourhoods is and what it is doing. There is a need to explore its relationship to other social institutions like the Home Office, the public police and government - the state itself. This is necessary if any meaningful analysis is to be made about the

'privatisation of that security which all members of the commonweal quite naturally desire for themselves, their families, friends and communities'. (SOUTH, 1988:3).

Of crucial importance to the final analysis of the study is the consideration of whether the empirical data generated can support the left functionalist interpretation of social order. To assist in that process the next chapter moves the study on into a focused interpretation of the six key concepts central to the equity and freedom debate on private policing.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE STATE AND THE MARKET - CONTRASTING VIEWS OF PRIVATE SECURITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICING: AN OVERVIEW.

In reviewing the work of writers on private policing I have identified six key concepts, namely: motivation, community, function, surveillance, cooperation and crime control. These six areas of debate, individually presented in this chapter, should be seen as encompassing the possible existence of two important contradictions of a democratic society - inequity in provision of service and exclusion of freedom. These contradictions are at the centre of the moral and ethical debate on the privatization of neighbourhood policing. The ensuing discussion will, therefore, assist in understanding the extent to which these contradictions are present in the empirical findings of the study.

#### 1. KEY CONCEPT - THE PROBLEM OF MOTIVE: FREEDOM OF CHOICE VERSUS ECONOMIC CRISIS.

If there is a clear move towards an increasingly corporate rather than welfare style of criminal justice provision the rationale for such change is not so clear. Among many explanations it has been seen as an historical process of re-privatization (SPITZER and SCULL, 1977a), a non-historical process of change from specialized to generalized provision (ASCHER, 1987), a vehicle for the diminishing of public expenditure (MINFORD, 1987), and minimal statism (THATCHER, 1977), a vehicle for ostensible minimal statism (COHEN, 1985), a means to off-set the fiscal crisis of the capitalist state (O'CONNOR, 1973) and the result of ineffective public policing. (SLYNN, 1983; ALBANESE, 1986). Although

varied, these explanations have two common concepts which run throughout each and which have important political, economic and social consequences. These two factors are Self-Help and Public Choice.

For the adherents of a neo-classicist/voluntaristic approach to crime-control self-help and public choice are especially important.

Crime cannot be tackled by the police or central government alone. Your willingness to become involved with your community to make it a better place to live is crucial. (THATCHER, 1989).

### **Self-Help.**

For neo-conservatives the existing criminal justice system is basically just and practicable in its operation (WILSON, 1983) but a disparity is recognized between police responsibilities and resources. Citizens' efforts to control crime are seen as part of the public's growing understanding that formal control systems cannot effectively function without public support. This notion that the public must primarily look to themselves for protection as well as becoming 'the eyes and ears of the police' is not only argued by the far-right in politics (ADAM SMITH INSTITUTE, 1989), it has added impetus as a central tenet of state policy. (HOME OFFICE, 1984). An important addition to actual citizen participation in crime control is the private security sector. This sector is encouraged to provide policing services both by the far-right (ADAM SMITH INSTITUTE, 1991) and (perhaps more surprisingly) the state. (HOME OFFICE, 1979).

Although public policing is considered by many as sovereign it is hardly so supreme a function in reality. Indeed, it is not a difficult transition from public to private policing provision - much public police activity is easily transferred to the private sector. This transferable area of activity has traditionally included 'soft' proactive based and

non-crime related policing - similar to the style inherent in private agencies (REISS, 1983, 1987) and therefore easy for private agencies to adopt. And further, it has been estimated that between 80 and 90 percent of public-police-work is unrelated to crime control and law enforcement. (EPSTIEN, 1962; MISNER, 1967). During the 1960's research showed that this proactive style was being increased by public police. (CUMMING, CUMMING and EDELL, 1965; BAYLEY and MENDELSON, 1969). REISS, (1983, 1987) however, suggests that post 1960's research can be interpreted as indicating a decrease in the 'service' oriented approach by the public sector. If this is correct it would be difficult to reconcile with recent official enthusiasm for community policing - save that an integral element of that policy aims at involving the public themselves, rather than the police, in proactive policing.

Moves away from pro-activity by the public police could be associated partly with the current economic and political climate which has brought with it increased rationalisation of the public policing function (HOME OFFICE, 1983) and a policy which encourages not only personal participation in crime control (HOME OFFICE, 1984) but which accedes to the use of paid security agents - the private security sector. (HOME OFFICE, 1979). Thus the current Home Office strategy for crime control is dominated by self-help and inter-agency cooperation. This strategy emphasises that it is up to citizens to organize themselves in order to deal with local crime problems. So, although the 'service' or 'soft' end of policing provision was traditionally provided by public police, these aspects of policing are now part of what the Home Office regard as not fully the responsibility of the public sector:

A primary objective of the police has always been the prevention of crime. However, since some of the factors affecting crime lie outside the control or direct influence of the police, crime prevention cannot be left to them alone. Every individual citizen and all those agencies whose policies and practices can influence the extent of

crime should make their contribution. Preventing crime is a task for the whole community. (HOME OFFICE, 1984:1).

This principle of informal social control in crime control - the citizen, not the police as the primary agent of protection (JACOBS, 1961) - can be identified with a shift from offender based explanations of crime to strategies of community prevention. (ROSHIER, 1989). Thus the self-help ethic inherent in this policy extends also to the use of the private security industry itself. It clearly has the ability to influence the extent of crime. This de-structuring tendency may be seen by some as evidence that the modern state is loosening its grip on sovereign areas of the criminal justice system. (COHEN, 1985:128).

#### Public Choice.

Freedom of choice in crime control is a crucial principle of neo-conservative policy. Whereas private choice is made by individuals on their own preferences public choice concerns collective action. It has a particular concern with the economics of public finance (DUNLEAVY and O'LEARY, 1987:76) and looks more at bureaucratic structures than at the content of decisions made by those within them. (BUCHANAN and TULLOCK, 1981:82). In contrast to private goods, the provision of public goods differs in that the supplier may have an effective monopoly on provision and is therefore insulated from the consumer's dissatisfaction. BUCHANAN, (1978:17) encapsulates the essence of public choice theory:

In one sense, all of public choice or the economic theory of politics may be summarized as the 'discovery' or 're-discovery' that people should be treated as rational utility-maximisers in all of their behavioural capacities. This central insight, in all of its elaboration, does not lead to the conclusion that all collective action, all government action, is necessarily undesirable. It leads, instead, to the conclusion that, because people will tend to maximise their own utilities, institutions must be designed so that individual behaviour will further the interests of the group, small or large, local or national. The challenge to us is one of constructing, or re-constructing, a political order that will channel the self-serving behaviour of participants towards the common good in a manner that

comes as close as possible to that described for us by Adam Smith with respect to the economic order.

Thus HIRSCHMAN, (1970:313-314), argues that consumers can exert control in either of two ways; using 'exit', by quitting the form of provision or 'voice', by protesting grievances to the public supplier. However, neo-conservative Public Choice Theory asserts preference of the 'exit' option over the 'voice' option. (DUNLEAVY and O'LEARY, 1987:121). The growth of private security as a marketable commodity (SPITZER, 1987) has given these alternative protection strategies to the public. The increasing level of advertising space given to the private security industry, and the general availability of their services may well have increased the 'exit' option.

This public choice ethic applied to policing services encourages residents to privatize their streets to reduce crime. (ELLIOTT, 1989). It can be traced to neo-conservative ideology whose adherents favour a two-tiered police structure where:

...basic neighbourhood services are provided at a very local level while other services are integrated and provided regionally or locally.....It would be open to each council to decide whether it should provide the local community force itself or under contract from the national or regional force or, possibly, in some areas under contract from a reputable and suitably qualified private security company. (ADAM SMITH INSTITUTE, 1989:17).

The notion of individual freedom and self-help is, thus, important in respect of inter-agency cooperation - not just within Home Office policy but also within a conservative government's policy on crime control. Self-help in surveillance of the community is enthusiastically encouraged by this policy. And in respect of policing provision through the market, freedom is seen as the central tenet (FRIEDMAN, 1962:14) and the natural right of each individual by virtue of his common humanity. (GEORGE and WILDING, 1985).



From the more critical perspective, however, explanations for private agencies in crime control have a quite different motivation to the neo-classical approach.

**Capitalist Logic: Economic Vacuum - Policing As An Historical Moment.**

Whereas public choice theorists explain state activities, such as the production of public goods, as the result of intentional rationality the capital logic school deduces the functional necessity of the state from the analysis of the imputed needs of capital. (DUNLEAVY and O'LEARY, 1987:256).

In contrast to a voluntaristic concept of state relationships some critical commentators stress crises in social control which have their resolution in economic sources. The relationship between the law and the state is ideological - appearing to ensure legal equality but concealing its functions in reproducing a particular social order in which the form of the law has a hidden economic and coercive content. (CARLEN, 1976; HOLLOWAY and PICCIOTTO, 1977; MACBARNET, 1982). The extreme version of this model is a consensually based control where citizens are seduced into conformity by the pleasures of capitalism. (HUXLEY, 1932). In such a model of capitalist social formations state and law have objective factors and functions. These concern the type of social and economic relations which ensures the status quo of capitalist economic viability. (POULANTZAS, 1973). Thus we are required to understand legal structures as indirect expressions of middle-class interests. (TUSHNET, 1978:96; IGNATIEFF, 1983:77-78). Crucial to this explanation is the notion that no matter how much one may try to penetrate the ideological smokescreen there is no way through. (KAFKA, 1930).

This perspective requires an understanding that the fiscal crisis of the state occurs contemporaneously with increased corporate hegemony.

Private affluence thrives on public squalor as state provision of some services diminish. The public sector is at the sharp end of reduced or stagnant resource allocation. (GALBRAITH, 1969; TAYLOR, 1979). This explanation is posited upon the assumption that as capitalist society undergoes a number of crises the state seeks to obtain legitimation for its activities. It does this by enlisting the support of the private sector in the fight against crime - and in the surveillance of those who threaten the capitalist ideal of social conformity:

As it moves along its twisted course, capitalism requires an ever changing ensemble of strategies to meet new crises. In the current period the 'remedy' is clearly based upon the 'privatization of profit' and the 'socialization of costs'. (SPITZER, 1983:328).

Thus the form that policing takes is described as a creation of the type of capitalism prevailing at a given moment in history. (SPITZER and SCULL, 1977b). In this view the emergence of the 'new' police in 1829 was the result of the contradictions of poverty and wealth inherent at the time of the industrial revolution and the state's need for certainty of order. Policing, public or private, is therefore seen as an aspect of social, economic and political problems and occurs within a process of rationalization of social relations. The social organization of policing under capitalism will, accordingly, continue to be significantly shaped by state needs to contain the growing socialization of the costs of production:

Thus we see that the restructuring of the state apparatus which is part of the general crisis of capitalism creates pressures to break through limits of the existing forms; yet at the same time, since it is through the state that increasingly the restructuring must take place, state forms themselves become the focus of struggle. (PICCIOTTO, 1979:177).

Forms of policing which have emerged over the past two centuries are, therefore, seen as a reflection of, and a basis for, the progressive rationalization of social life in capitalist societies. (SPITZER, 1981).

Productivity in labour-intensive organizations, such as the public police, increases much slower than in its capital-intensive private counterpart. Thus, higher expenditure is required to keep the same levels of provision for public policing. And, consequently, unable to cope with increasing and complex demands on their services, the public police become unable to deliver the level of service demanded by some sections of society. Private policing in this view is logical for the perpetuation of capitalism as it more adequately answers the demands being made. The emergence and transformation of profit-orientated police services must, in this view, be understood as part of a larger movement toward the extension of capitalist control over the labour process and the rationalisation of productive activity.

Consensus and coercion have been seen as inevitable features of forms of policing and police-public relations. But such clarity of explanation rarely exists in reality - for various uncertainties exist at crucial transitional moments during these changes of form and relationship. Drawing strongly upon the theory that the domination of one class over others is achieved by a combination of political and ideological means, (GRAMSCI, 1971), COHEN, P. (1979) relocates the notion of consensus and coercion within specific historical relations and the situation of the working class of a particular area. For COHEN (ibid) both consent and conflict are contingent, not inevitable, features of policing. The thesis he arrives at is about how wider socioeconomic changes can fragment, unhinge and dislocate the intricate mechanisms and defences of working class urban society. An economic crisis exists in which a recomposition and relocation of the labour force is necessary. This has required a massive shake-out of labour and the resultant formation of 'the new lumpen' class. The political crisis is characterized by a tough law and

order response to these dissenting individuals who are evaluated negatively by the media and the criminal justice system.

Using a similar analysis concerning the contemporary increase in paramilitary style policing, JEFFERSON (1990) argues that the form policing takes has to be seen in association with a series of historical junctures each of which can be characterized by either a high or low degree of moral authority (hegemony). At times of breakdown of moral authority (he argues that the period of 'Thatcherism' in the United Kingdom existed alongside a breakdown in moral authority) the traditional response by government is to grant more discretion to the police and provide tougher law in the interests of better order. (JEFFERSON, *ibid*:136).

For critical commentators the arena for developing capitalism's productive forces has gradually become the sphere of human services such as health, education, welfare and crime control. And these are the very services which are most likely to be contracted away from the public sector as capitalism faces a fiscal crisis. Corporations, whether organizational or individual, are demanding highly rationalised, cost effective crime control. Police protection is insufficient for the needs of residents' interests and individuals will eventually look elsewhere for the expected services formerly rendered by the state. Therefore the private security industry receives a boost in personnel and earnings while the pressures on the public sector are relieved by private agencies' input into the criminal justice system. (O'CONNOR, 1973).

But in its myopic description of economic determinism this theoretical approach tends to underestimate the autonomy of individual self-interest. Professions and other privileged groups in state and

society may just as likely be responsible for the creation of policing systems. (BERGER, BERGER, and KELLNER, 1974; IGNATIEFF, 1983).

Furthermore, contrary to the notion that the criminal justice sector has been starved of resources, there has been massive state expenditure on policing and many other public services have remained economically stable. In view of this there is a need in this study to allow in a social as well as an economic explanation of the motivation for, and the creation of, private security patrols in neighbourhoods.

## 2. KEY CONCEPT - COMMUNITY: EXCLUSION VERSUS INCLUSION.

The longing for 'community' symbolizes a desire for security in our lives. (LEE and NEWBY, 1983:52). Its integration with the concept of 'crime prevention' must surely, therefore, be a powerful influence upon citizens and neighbourhoods. Accordingly, community as an ideal in crime prevention is in need of identification to ensure that comparisons can be made with the subsequent analysis of community found at research sites in this study.

### Defining 'Community'.

'Community crime prevention' may be seen as two strands which differ on many crucial issues. Importantly, these strands rest on different conceptions of what community is. Such differences concern, for example, what types of community should or should not receive most attention (KINSEY, LEA and YOUNG, 1986; PEASE and BARR, 1990), the types of crime to be given priority for prevention in particular communities or, in respect of 'minimal policing' of the community, whether reducing crime should be a priority at all. (KINSEY, LEA and YOUNG, *ibid*). Differences of concern for the offender regarding intervention also exist and these too affect the definitive aspect of community.

These varied approaches to defining community within the context of community crime prevention are strongly influenced in their analyses by individual and group ideology. In this respect, while discussing the informalism of contemporary community crime control, TURK, (1987) points to the rhetoric and reality of conventional thinking - whether it be from the political ideology of the left (liberation and communism) or the right (nostalgia and individualism):

Both kinds of rhetoric assume that people 'left alone' will naturally relate to each other in respectful and mutually beneficial ways. The considerable experiences and evidence to the contrary are discounted by alluding to the distorting effects of whatever presumptively alien, 'unnatural' forces (capitalism, socialism and so on) are blamed for 'dehumanizing' life. (TURK, 1987:139).

Included in this analysis is the highly political nature of 'popular justice' inherent in the neoclassical model of crime prevention. TURK, (1987:140) argues that those involved in popular justice may be over-estimating the receptiveness of the public to informalism and crime control. Like COHEN, (1985), the concept of community for TURK (1987) is rich in the power of ideological symbolism. As such its political identity may be clear yet its true identity is unclear. It may merely be nothing more than a 'warmly persuasive' word intended to benefit policy makers. (WILLIAMS, 1976).

Thus, although the notion of community brings with it a general perception of high levels of social interaction within neighbourhoods, most research supports TURK'S, (ibid) conclusion that there does not appear to be a common response to the spirit of community. If this is correct, an appropriate definition would need to take into account the likelihood of countless communities, each with its own micro-boundary. And there is much evidence to support this position. Those individuals who do participate in local groups, such as residents' associations, exhibit higher levels of informal social interaction than those who do

not participate. (KASARDA and JANOWITZ, 1974; HUNTER, 1974). The propensity to participation is a middle-class phenomenon (LAVRAKAS et al, 1980; SKOGAN and MAXFIELD, 1981; WANDERSMAN, JAKUBS and GIAMARTINO, 1981) and crime prevention strategies are more likely to develop in neighbourhoods with economic and moral homogeneity. (GREENBERG, ROHE and WILLIAMS, 1982). There is strong supportive research evidence to show that middle-class neighbourhoods feel more control over their environments and are more responsible for crime prevention by being less reliant on police than typical lower-class neighbourhoods. (BOGGS, 1971; GREENBERG et al, ibid; HACKLER, HO and URQHART-ROSS, 1974; TAYLOR, GOTTFREDSON and BROWER, 1981; TAUB, TAYLOR and DUNHAM, 1982). But these apparently successful efforts have their origins in self protection within parochial boundaries and, thus, may do little to compound any collective feelings towards community protection in the wider sense of the concept of community.

#### *Active Individualism And Inactive Collectivism.*

Feelings of 'community spirit', therefore, may well be reflected by the levels of community care in a neighbourhood for 'active individualism' and 'inactive collectivism' in modern communities is not an uncommon finding. LAVRAKAS and HERZ, (1982), investigated the reasons why citizens participate in community crime prevention strategies and noted the reactions of citizens to the threat of crime included: restricting their behaviour, creating physical and psychological barriers to potential offenders, and creating collective efforts with neighbours to prevent crime. However, these writers additionally found that most citizens who are aware of community involvement in crime prevention do not participate. 'Territorial attitude' and greater community involvement of active participants outweighed fear of crime and perceived risk of victimisation in motivating participation. Thus, research also supports

the notion that only a small number of residents actually become integrated in community action.

The knowledge that community participation may be minimal, together with the general vagueness of the term community, further confuses the issue of definition. It is possible that there may be several broad meanings and yet the meaning of the term is still not exhausted. (WILLMOTT, 1987). Such vagueness can also be seen as resulting from community's dual nature of evaluative and empirically descriptive meanings - meanings which refer to aspects of society that are valued when they exist and desired in their absence. (MINAR and GREER, 1969:81).

Thus the concept of community can be so formal and abstract that, as a single entity, it defies social explanation. (PLANT, 1978:81). Some writers involved in the contemporary debate on crime prevention have recognized this doubtful possibility of identifying 'community' in general terms and see its use as involving an awareness of locating specific groups in specific environments who should be approached on their own terms. (HOPE and SHAW, 1988:26). In this sense, the quality of community may be described in a framework of social forces which contains ecological, cultural and political types (BURGESS, 1925), or, degree of formal exchange amongst neighbours' 'vertical' ties to the larger community and extent of attachment to the local community. (WARREN, 1969, 1977, 1978).

### *Three Models Of Community Crime Prevention.*

When analysing the concept of community in context with prevention, WEISS, (1987:117), clearly and successfully develops a typology using three approaches illustrated in Figure 2.1.



Figure 2.1

CRIME PREVENTION AND COMMUNAL SENTIMENT: THREE APPROACHES.

Prevention Programmes:	Situational (1)	"Stake in Conformity" (2)	Informal Control (3)
- _____ +			
<sup>00</sup> Communal Sentiment <sup>00</sup>			
Community as:	Locale for "walling, watching, wariness"	Mediating Instrument in Social Service Delivery	Cultural Symbolic Unit of Collective Identity - Group Solidarity
Social Processes:	Threat	Exchange	Integrative
Type of Power:	Coercive	Remunerative	Normative
Type of Subordinate Ideological Involvement:	Alienative	Calculating	Moral

Rejecting the first two approaches as defective, WEISS, (op.cit.) argues that community prevention must be integrative and not exclusionary. Exclusionary definitions of community are in fact the very definitions which HOPE and SHAW, (1988), BURGESS, (1925) and WARREN, (1969, 1977, 1978) draw attention to. Situational crime prevention is therefore seen to be based on alienative ideology which creates a siege mentality - to the detriment of community and social solidarity. Prevention strategies which apply the stake in conformity approach are often associated with the neo-conservative ideology of private provision of social welfare. (WEISS,ibid:13). In terms of the community concept these strategies are segmental and non-integrative and cannot sustain 'community'. Community as an ideal should involve, thus, informal control through mutual dependence and collective responsibility.

Similarly, in defining the 'defended neighbourhood' in context with situational crime prevention, SUTTLES, (1972:57) alludes to small, corporate areas with identities known by those within and without. Here people look for a good neighbourhood where it is possible to anticipate neighbours' intentions. In the process, distinctions are made between areas and, thus, boundaries are inevitably drawn. It is these boundaries which are dysfunctional to community. (SUTTLES, ibid:234). The defended neighbourhood, therefore, segregates people to avoid danger, insult and impairment of status claims. The quest for community can reach absurd proportions and finally become self-defeating. We should recognize this dysfunctional process and work towards its antithesis of a more integrative (SUTTLES, ibid:268) and relational (GUSFIELD, 1975) definition of community.

For some critical analysts, however, all these attempts at locating the ideal community has an added dimension in terms of state repression.

#### **Exclusion And Fragmentation Of Groups And Categories.**

For critical writers order maintenance actually requires community 'exclusion' (COHEN, 1985:220-229) as a form of control:

The vomiting-out mode stands for the possibility of separation, segregation, isolation, banishment, confinement.....temporarily or permanently, deviants are driven beyond social boundaries or separated out into their own designated spaces. (COHEN, 1985:219).

Here inclusion has led to exclusion by rehabilitation within the community. This 'fear of freedom' (FROMM, 1941) creates a situation where individuals want to be certain that there is a line of defence drawn between themselves and the psychopath or increased numbers of criminals living in the community. Hence the demand for 'order maintenance' and the increased demand for police patrol. (POLICING REVIEW, 1990). In this

sense 'exclusion' operates on a macro level outside the bounded community. (WARREN, 1969, 1977, 1978).

According to this perspective not only persons in communities are involved in this process of exclusion, the state too has a role. Inclusion has led to exclusion through the development of government policy on privatization. Minimal statism has assisted in the introduction of private security patrol with its surveillance methods of exclusionary control. An inclusionary motive has therefore led to an exclusionary effect. The state, in this view, is seen as taking an active role in fragmenting society through inter-agency cooperation. (HOME OFFICE, 1979, 1983). Public order will not be enhanced because inclusion and exclusion are mechanisms to increase the efficiency of the capitalist system and, thus, do not offer any solution to crime on the streets. (COHEN, 1985:234). And the 'private community' - the 'purified city' - is created alongside 'zones of neglect'. (COHEN, *ibid*:226-227). The fetishism of space begins as the better-off worry about their poorer neighbours stealing from them:

With erosion of support for public institutions (school, welfare, police) and a decline of public services (whether garbage collection or health) the private sector not only offers replacement services (like private security) but 'commodifies' its own space. The pure market allows for increasing ecological separation based on life styles, age, special needs, degrees of deviance: buildings, blocks, neighbourhoods, even whole 'villages' (like Century City) which resemble medieval gated towns. (COHEN, 1985:231)

One of the problems with this analysis is that it fails to recognize that crime is an intra-class phenomenon and that the majority of criminal offences do not take place in upper-class locations. Furthermore, such an ideology of economic determinism ignores a large area of human relations unaffected by economic considerations and able to create change of its own volition:

.....the adoption of the penitentiary in particular and the institutional solution in general cannot be explained in terms of their supposed utility in manufacturing social division between the working class. This is because at bottom reformers, like most of their own class, understood deviance in irreducibly individual rather than collective terms; not ultimately as collective social disobedience, however much distress and collective alienation influenced individuals, but as a highly personal descent into sin and error. (IGNATIEFF, 1983:92).

In conclusion, although community may be impossible to identify, its association with crime prevention for the purposes of the present study should appropriately contain elements of socially 'collective' and 'inclusionary' aspects. (WARREN, 1969, 1977, 1978; SUTTLES, 1972; WEISS, 1987).

### 3. KEY CONCEPT - FUNCTION: SECURITY FOR, OR SECURITY OF SOCIETY?

In order to obtain a clear view of the functional nature of private security patrol it will be helpful to make some comparisons between it and the public agency. This will assist in drawing out the extent of egalitarianism which exists in the private agency.

#### Public And Private Police Distinctions.

Although private beat patrol predated public police patrols by centuries (RADZINOWICZ, 1956; SOUTH, 1987a) it is generally accepted that since 1829 the public police have had specific sovereignty on matters which require resolving by the legitimate use of force. (BITTNER, 1974). This reactive role of public police has been emphasised against the proactive role of the private police. Prior to the late nineteenth century, however, the public role of police was more inclined towards a proactive style. It has been suggested that the proactive means of inspection and observation adopted by private police may account for their growth in a market where the public police have failed to recognize the advantages of proactive means of control. (REISS, 1983:91).

The main distinction between public and private police for REISS, (1983) can be made in terms of 'deterrence' and 'compliance' models respectively. However, many law enforcement agencies exhibit both elements of deterrence and compliance. The primary forms of law enforcement in compliance systems are 'inspection' and 'surveillance' while 'audits' and 'investigations' are more common to deterrence systems. (REISS, *ibid*:94). The systematic use of the compliance style of law enforcement becomes possible when the goal of law enforcement in preventing consequences is too costly for the society to bear. It is also a dominant style when the public police function of detecting and sanctioning violators is so complex and protracted that they are regarded as inadequate. (REISS, *ibid*:94-95).

A condition which leads to compliance law enforcement is the need to control the likelihood of collective rather than individual harm where harm is substantial - even when the possibility of an occurrence is rare. Further conditions are the necessary protection of potential victims where preventable action can be taken and the need to intervene in systems to prevent harmful occurrences. An important aspect of compliance law enforcement is that it will exist where a distinct population of potential violators can be identified or events are predictable. Thus violations in compliance systems are often violations of standards that could lead to harms rather than actual harms themselves. (REISS, *ibid*:95). Although there may be distinctions evident between public and private law enforcement the concept of 'protection' of information, persons and property remains a common theme to both. (SHEARING, FARNELL and STENNING, 1980:16; SOUTH, 1988).

In general terms Figure 2.2 summarises basic differences between public and private security in the area of community corrections.

Figure 2.2

*TRADITIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRIVATE SECURITY  
AND PUBLIC LAW ENFORCEMENT*

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Private		Public
Client	INPUT	Citizen
Crime Prevention Response	ROLE/FUNCTION	Crime
Specific	TARGETS	General
Profit-Oriented Enterprise	DELIVERY SYSTEM	Government
Loss Reduction Assets Protection	OUTPUT	Enforcement/ Apprehension

(Source: NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE, 1976).

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**Loss Reduction And Assets Protection: A Dominant Function.**

The predominant function of private security is, therefore, crime prevention and the protection of assets. In this connection studies of formal social control have normally concentrated on state-run systems and describe the state as having a monopoly on social control. (MATHIESEN, 1974; COHEN, 1985). Recently, however, a new debate on control has opened up which attempts to transcend this monopoly. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981, 1982, 1983). Central to this new debate is the private security sector and the corporate ownership of property assets. There exists here the notion that environmental security is affected by socioeconomic trends which in turn have affected patterns of access to, and protection of, property. (SOUTH, 1987b:149). Reflecting upon this change in a broader perspective some argue that new residential complexes displace the public and allow in private policing agencies:

A single public street....patrolled by the public police, is developed into a mass of private 'streets' (the corridors in an apartment building, or the walkways in a townhouse project) which in

all probability will become the domain of private security. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981:229).

*The Victims And The Experts: Buying And Selling Solutions.*

In contemporary capitalism many citizens are involved in a culture of consumption where buying and selling 'emotional security' is the norm (PACKARD, 1967:66) for citizens are demanding more protection of their private space than their predecessors. (REISS, 1987:42). The culture of consumption has been traced to the rise of a social world which allows, for some, the resolving of crime problems and security by paying for policing services. (EWAN and EWAN, 1982:42; SPITZER, 1987:54). Such a society has developed by the,

..... maturation of the national market-place, including the establishment of national advertising; the emergence of a new stratum of professionals and managers, rooted in a web of complex new organizations (corporations, government, universities, professional associations, media, foundations, and others); and the rise of a new gospel of therapeutic release preached by a host of writers, publishers, ministers, social scientists, doctors, and the advertisers themselves. (FOX and LEARS, 1983:xi).

Consumers concerned about crime thus have relevant emotional experiences which are responsive to the stimuli associated with the solution. (SCHWARTZ, 1973). It is up to the provider of the solution - the expert - to tap into that part of the individual which is responsive to the need for security. (SPITZER, 1987). This part of the self becomes the,

.....haunted repository of sensitivity, vulnerability, and emotion, or need and desire....(EWAN and EWAN, 1982:262).

**Concern and Fear: The Psychological Function.**

Property is an important physical aspect of private protection but it is also important to identify the emotional effects of insecurity. Any evaluation of enhanced security should not, therefore, only consider

crime rates and other quantifiable data. Crime has several sides to its nature - victimization and protective behaviour are just two facets. A third and increasingly important aspect of crime is fear. Accordingly, the extent of 'feelings' of safety is a crucial ingredient of the policing function.

Studies in North America (MAXFIELD, 1984) and Britain (HOUGH and MAYHEW, 1983) show that fear of crime can be as damaging to society as the acts themselves. KELLING et al, (1974) and ALLATT, (1984b:181) note how some crime prevention measures can have the effect of reducing fear whether or not they reduce crime itself. In the United States, CLEMENTE and KLEINMAN (1977) and KATZMAN (1980) identified fear as an increasing and major threat to society and associated it with the decline of neighbourhoods. From a current European perspective, although LIEGE (1988:254) concurs with this view in France there is little known about its effects on society in Britain. (SMITH, 1986:110). It is known, however, that burglary and street crime provoke the most fear. (HOUGH and MAYHEW, 1983). In an age of advanced communications, where an apparent increase in all categories of crime is occurring, it is most likely that the fear of crime will increase. But what actually constitutes fear is debatable.

#### *Defining Fear.*

MAXFIELD (1984:3), describes the fear of crime as 'an emotional and physical response to a threat'. The primary defining factor has been similarly described as 'the emotional fear of physical harm'. (GAROFALO, 1981:840). GAROFALO, (ibid) differentiates between 'physical harm', and 'property loss', the latter of which he describes in terms of worry rather than fear. However, he argues that if such loss is of great value to the individual then theft of his property is similar to a physical



attack. In this respect offences of unlawful trespass to property to commit certain specified offences, by force or otherwise, may be considered as eliciting fear in anyone who anticipates victimization. Nevertheless, the precise character of fear has not been agreed upon, even though it has been investigated in detail. (BAUMER, 1978; FOWLER, McCALLA and MANGIONE, 1979; GAROFALO, 1981; KERNER, 1978). These writers would generally agree, however, that fear can be distinguished both from concern for crime as a local problem and from a general awareness of crime in the immediate environment.

#### *Allaying Fear By Patrol.*

In his research of 226 resident patrols in American urban areas YIN, (1977:30) found that building patrols were effective in increasing resident's sense of security. Some further evidence has been found in North America and Britain that community crime control strategies contribute to decreasing the fear of crime. (NEWTON, 1978; US. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, 1980; ALLATT, 1984b). In the only known published research on private security patrol's effects upon residents' sense of security 88.80% of residents found a positive effect. (DONOVAN and WALSH, 1986:56). Primary functions in that research were found to be a 'visible presence' and 'knowing that someone was watching out'. (DONOVAN and WALSH, *ibid*:58-59). The study concluded that private patrol was a major stabilizing influence upon the community. (DONOVAN and WALSH, *ibid*:80).

From a critical position, however, it is the very un-stabilizing effects of fear on the community alluded to earlier that protection agents will take advantage of.

#### **A Belief System: The Sinister Function Of Securing Society.**

Some critical writers argue that the public's dependence on the

apparent professional knowledge of protection agents is strengthened through a belief system created by those agents. Similarly, the Home Office's crime prevention policy of inter-agency cooperation is an important part of that system and necessary for the continuance of panoptical surveillance. Unless, therefore, the panoptical structure is inculcated in a belief system it will not succeed:

The view that there are good grounds for combating 'external and internal enemies of the state' is subtly inculcated. The belief that surveillance is not efficient and that we need more of it, is simultaneously disseminated and this definition of the situation also becomes real in its consequence. Both definitions of the situation are important for panopticism to thrive. (MATHIESEN, 1987:75).

Thus, state policy, (HOME OFFICE, 1979, 1983) and general rhetoric on crime prevention and security is able to,

.....provide the necessary belief context, the obedient, disciplined, subservient set of beliefs necessary for the surveillance systems to be functional. Concretely, surveillance in a broad sense, and certainly the policing of society, is given general legitimacy. (MATHIESEN, 1987:74-75).

Belief systems, in this analysis, perpetuate and complement surveillance and panopticism, thus, publicity on inadequate police resources is necessary rhetoric for increased surveillance. The constant bombardment of our lives by the notion that we are being attacked from all sides and that we must protect ourselves has significant consequences for surveillance systems. As Nick Ross, presenter of BBC'S television programme Crime Watch UK puts it:

Crimewatch has brought home to me that we can't just dismiss crime fighting as being the job of the police. We, the public, must form the front line. (READERS DIGEST, 1987:114).

### *The New Professionals.*

So, for critical commentators the progressive discourse of crime prevention and the need for enhanced protection only strengthens the state's social control on communities. The state's accession to the

development of the private security industry can be seen as part of this process. The neoclassical model of community management, within which the theory of freedom of choice lies, is being re-addressed by the Home Office. (HOPE and SHAW, 1988).

New control agencies are being created by the state and with them new professionals - private security personnel. (COHEN, 1985:Chapter 5). All this, for adherents of the dispersal of social control thesis, strengthens the state's control of the community.

#### 4. KEY CONCEPT - SURVEILLANCE: INTRUSION VERSUS EXTRUSION.

Surveillance, or 'Watching' as it applies to classical forms of crime control, has been defined as:

.....the various methods of observing people and places that criminals might attack, as well as apprehending the criminal in the act if an attack does occur. It includes police patrolling, the work of private security guards, and voluntary citizen efforts, as well as the informal natural watching that people do when looking out of their windows and observing their neighbours. (SHERMAN, 1983:146).

'Watching out' in this interpretation is perfectly legitimate and is indeed encouraged by state agencies. (HOME OFFICE, 1984). This aspect of the 'opportunity reduction' model and its application to private security patrols is derived from earlier theorising about how changes in physical design characteristics will reduce criminal opportunities. (JACOBS, 1961). The perspective, derived through 'defensible space theory' (NEWMAN, 1972), and 'crime prevention through environmental design' (JEFFREY, 1971), argues that there must be increased surveillance in the community to reduce criminal opportunity.

Alternative analyses, however, have a tendency to focus upon the sinister aspects of surveillance:

We are becoming a 'maximum security' 'fish bowl' or 'surveillance society' where our actions are increasingly visible to outsiders whether we will this or not or even know about it or not. This has

profound implications for crime control.....and of course, privacy, liberty and community. (MARX, 1989:517).

### Intrusion And The Penetration Of Society.

Even in its most pure form - the prison - situational crime prevention may fail because inmates infringe rules. But, ironically for some writers, not only may situational prevention fail, it may threaten the civil liberties of those having the freedom of a non-custodial environment:

Beyond a certain point, increases in such measures as 'target hardening' and natural surveillance will have marginal effects in further reducing crime, yet markedly increase the apprehension of innocent citizens and restrict their free social space.....With crime prevention strategies, the deterrence of the potential individual offender through the certainty of detection by the police, aided by the flow of public information, is replaced by the opportunity for anyone to act in certain ways or to escape from public surveillance: obviously this raises questions concerning the interests and needs of the wider community, and not just the groups whose vulnerability to crime is being reduced by the measures. (KINSEY, LEA and YOUNG, 1986:121-122).

Private security patrol here is seen as forming part of a contemporary shift from individual to collective social control:

But other conceivable measures may move fully away from individualism, and focus on control of whole groups and categories - through planned manipulation (with good intentions of establishing 'brakes on crime') of the everyday life conditions of these groups and categories. TV cameras on subway stations and in supermarkets, the development of advanced computer techniques in intelligence and surveillance, a general strengthening of the police, a general strengthening of the large privately-run security companies, as well as a whole range of other types of surveillance of whole categories of people - all of this is something we have begun to get, and begun to get used to. These forms do not represent a further development of the individualising prison form, but rather a certain break with it - just as the prison in its time broke with physical punishment. (MATHIESEN, 1983:139).

Thus, such commentators argue, we have entered a new epoch in the structure of social control. (COHEN, 1985:Chapter 2). There is a 'blurring' of the traditional boundaries of police and community. The community has been 'penetrated' by a carceral disciplinary form

accelerated by aspects of policing being privatized. Community participation has become the vogue. The police have not only infiltrated the family (DONZELOT, 1979) with subtle disciplinary forms of control they apply control at the crossroads of all institutions in society. (FOUCAULT, 1979a).

This 'penetration' hypothesis argues that private security patrols blur the boundary between formal and informal policing and increases policing 'of' the community instead of 'for' the community. Mutual cooperation between public and private police will lead to a net increase in surveillance (COHEN, 1979) as private patrols become the eyes and the ears of the public police. This leads to an enhanced flow of information and increases public police activity. The opportunity reduction model thus increases rather than decreases the total number of offenders who get into the system. The social control 'net' is being widened:

When matters such as boundary blurring, integration and community control take place, the result is that more people get involved in the 'control problem'. In order to weaken, by-pass or replace the formal apparatus, more rather than less attention has to be given to the deviance question. In order to include rather than exclude, a set of judgements have to be made which 'normalizes' intervention in a greater range of human life. The result is not just more controllers (whether professionals or ordinary citizens) but also an extension of those methods to wider and wider populations. The price paid by ordinary people is to become either active participants or passive receivers in the business of social control. (COHEN, 1985:231).

This myopic obsession with surveillance as a sinister form of control is at the heart of the present research study. It is premised upon discipline as the key concept of the contemporary move from institutions into the community. Thus, the argument goes, disciplinary, carceral forms of surveillance are the kind which produce intrusiveness and threat to individual liberties. If, therefore, the empirical analysis of surveillance does not correlate with that of the 'blurring theorists' then their general analysis of 'community penetration' cannot be sustained.

In view of the various analyses outlined above, the overall utility of surveillance in this study can only be evaluated accurately by examining the extent and nature of surveillance at research sites and the processes by which it obtains its objectives.

#### 5. KEY CONCEPT - COOPERATION VERSUS CONFRONTATION.

There are many private policing organizations - and hence private legal systems - existing within the community. (EVAN, 1962:179). These are, of course, additional to public policing agencies. If, however, the efforts of both public and private police are directed towards protective functions within the community it may be seen as illogical that they both appear quite separate in their organizational roles in protecting the public.

#### Models Of Public And Private.

For some writers the identification of separate agencies having many similar goals creates the possibility of an increase in inter-organizational relations resulting in either societal gain (SHERMAN, 1983:159; CHAIKEN and CHAIKEN, 1987) or loss. (KINSEY, LEA and YOUNG, 1986). Three of these models are now described.

##### (i) *The Orthodox Alliance.*

Some public police authorities in the United States have cooperated substantially with private security agencies to promote private patrol. (PANCAKE, 1983). Because of the growth of private security and community crime prevention there is, indeed, a perceived need for public police management to consider improved liaison with private crime control agencies. To these ends some commentators have presented a conceptual framework to facilitate policy and operational decisions within the public policing system:

For those involved in the administration of public law enforcement, it is necessary to develop policies that take into account the interaction of public police, private security, and community crime prevention. It is necessary for line officers to operate in a societal context that has fostered a set of values and attitudes towards these alternative crime control groups. (HENDERSON, 1987:48).

This 'Exchange Approach' to inter-organizational relationships developed considerably from the 1960's (LEVINE and WHITE, 1961; REID, 1964; AITKEN and HAGE, 1964; BAKER and O'BRIEN, 1971; COOK, 1977; HALL et al, 1977) and now dominates the literature from an orthodox perspective. Improved delivery of service to the public is frequently described as the main aim of these writers. A belief exists that inter-organizational relationships are significant for individuals, programmes and society as a whole. (CUMMING, 1968; JOHNSON, 1972, 1976; HALL et al, 1977; SAVAS, 1983).

These beliefs and aims correlate to those of neo-conservatives.

#### (ii) *Organizational Power.*

In contrast to the orthodox perspective, the inter-agency coordinating and educative process role of the public police is seen by other writers as disallowing citizens to act independently of the police. As the state encourage public police to become involved in inter-agency schemes (HOME OFFICE, 1979, 1984) there will be a drift towards the colonisation style of cooperation between public police and other agencies wherein the former maintain a dominant role. The surveillance 'net' (COHEN, 1979, 1985) is thereby widened to the detriment of civil liberties. (KINSEY, LEA and YOUNG, 1986:122). This 'Power Dependency' approach (SCHMIDT and KOCHAN, 1972; BENSON, 1975; ALDRICK, 1976) sees the motivation to interact as irregular and forming only when the motivated party is powerful enough to force or induce the other to do so. Bargaining and conflict are natural forms of interaction since each organization seeks to attain its own goals at the expense of others. (SCHMIDT and KOCHAN, 1977:220).

(iii) *Scanning For Power.*

The 'Coordination and Conflict' model of organizational change argues that the degree of interdependence is an important indicator of organizational cooperation. Low interdependence leads to no cooperation in activities, moderate interdependence leads to cooperation while high interdependence leads to merger. (LITWAK and HYLTON, 1962). From a left functionalist/structuralist position fiscal and logistic demands on police administrators will cause public agencies to 'scan' (LEIFER and DELBECQ, 1978) for alternatives to bolster lagging manpower during the state's crisis. (O'CONNOR, 1973). One of the areas that public agencies can look to during the crisis is the private security industry. (BOOSTROM and HENDERSON, 1983). Thus coercive state apparatus is strengthened through inter-agency cooperation. (MATHIESEN, 1983; COHEN, 1985).

Others express concern over the social control aspects of leaving crime control in the hands of private agencies. (SPITZER and SCULL 1977b; MARX, 1987; O'MALLEY, 1988). In the United States the intermingling of ties between private firms and public control agencies is seen by these writers as creating a vast information network supplementing the state's social control apparatus. There exists 'tiny theatres' of private control, (REICHMAN, 1987:261). These sites of punishment (FOUCAULT, 1979a) exist in an economic and political atmosphere where governmental agencies and capitalist interests are increasingly dependant upon private agencies for protection. The primary source of protection is through enhanced surveillance. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981, 1987a, 1987b).

**Role Conflict.**

Irrespective of ideological views, there are distinct practical differences between the two agencies which concern matters of structure, training and powers of arrest - differences which may create a barrier to



cooperation. These areas of organizational incompatibility originate in role conflicts. At the centre of these conflicts are differing expectations and interpretations of respective roles which create misperceptions, mutual negative stereotyping, distrust, status differentials, lack of cooperation, and competition. (U.S.PRIVATE SECURITY COUNCIL, 1977:4).

To identify the extent of any inter-agency incompatibility must be a prime objective of the present study. Only when it is possible to view the incompatibility or otherwise of the two agencies can any ideological perspective be confirmed or denied.

#### 6. KEY CONCEPT - CRIME CONTROL.

The notion of crime control descended from the nineteenth-century utilitarian philosophy of which Bentham and several others were proponents. (IGNATIEFF, 1978:57-79). The theory assumes that human beings are rational creatures who are able to assess the costs and benefits of behaviour and will modify it accordingly, thus:

.....the profit of the crime is the force which urges a man to delinquency: the pain of punishment is the force employed to restrain him from it. If the first of these is the greater, the crime will be committed: if the second, the crime will not be committed. (ZIMRING and HAWKINS, 1973:75).

Here public policy emphasises actions which increase the cost or pain of criminal behaviour in order to prevent the would-be offender. More recent debates, spawned by Bentham's philosophy, surround the massive growth of community crime prevention and its classical contemporaries - rational choice theory and situational crime prevention. (CLARKE, 1980; CORNISH and CLARKE, 1986, 1988).

Two directions for the crime control rationale exist, namely, 'deterrence' and 'target hardening'. Whereas deterrence focuses on the

potential criminal and the prevention of criminal activities by threatening punishment, target hardening focuses on the would-be victim and the prevention of criminal activities by controlling opportunities for crime. The rationale is therefore split between a general and a specific deterrence.

#### Crime Control And Inequity.

Although the neo-conservative approach to the management of crime declares that the inefficient provision of public services becomes a problem that the individual will resolve through economic freedom, (GAMBLE, 1981:150) the notion of equality of mankind is effectively dismissed - apart from equality concerning civil and political rights. For to pursue egalitarianism is to deny freedom by imposing on society a preconceived economic and social system. (HAYEK, 1976:87). Inequality generates innovation and subsequent efficiency which leads to equality. Thus, unlike classicism's problem of contradiction between formal and substantive equality, 'inequality' is admitted as a central tenet of neo-conservative ideology. It is because,

... we rarely know which of us knows best that we trust the independent and competitive efforts of many to induce the emergence of what we shall want when we see it. (HAYEK, 1976:29).

Thus the social can only be understood by individuals' actions as being the vital factor in social and economic well-being. (HAYEK, 1976:6; BUCHANAN, 1978). Furthermore, the economic superiority of the western world is a result of individuals' uniqueness, responsibility and capacity to choose. This will lead to 'The Healthy Society' wherein:

...the vast majority of men and women are encouraged and helped to accept responsibility for themselves and their families, and to live their lives with a maximum of independence and self reliance. (THATCHER, 1977:83).

The over-emphasis on individuality in this creed has obvious implications for those who are less able than others to help themselves or those who merely take the option of non-action. For neo-conservatives the implications are positive while for others not so positive.

*The Ethics Of Crime Displacement And The Failure Of Surveillance.*

The neo-conservative crime-control message alleges that positive effects will inevitably and ultimately ensue for those who do not initially chose to enhance their protection. Realising their increased vulnerability through being without it, they purchase it and perpetuate the chain. In so doing, the 'common good' benefits. This is the theory of public choice in neo-conservatism and epitomized, thus:

As a matter of fact, the very essence of security is that you will turn the criminal from the protected premises to the unprotected. (WHITE et al, 1975:40).

Another common criticism of situational crime prevention's techniques is that it 'papers-over' the problem and ignores its roots - treating symptoms and not causes. While the crime control strategy of enhanced surveillance may appear successful, when it is viewed from the purely local, individualistic position its apparent success is questioned. Research has shown how target hardening approaches temporarily reduce crime rates through displacing many incidents into unprotected neighbourhoods. (LATESSA and ALLEN, 1980; ALLATT, 1984a; LATESSA and TRAVIS, 1986). The possible effects of 'displacement' of crime is an ethical consideration which has political and social implications concerning the efficacy of the crime control strategy.

Although public choice theorists are apparently ethical in their outlook - any change which makes one person better off without damaging another is ethically neutral for them (PARETO, 1966) - their core value

of freedom from the coercion of others has been shown, paradoxically, as restrictive of freedom. (DUNLEAVY and O'LEARY, 1987:93). ARROW, (1951, 1973), for instance, has shown that adherence to the Pareto principle (PARETO, op.cit.) implies the dictatorship of at least one individual on many occasions. Thus an economically advantaged individual has the ability to influence other, less advantaged, individuals by his action or in-action. Correspondingly, the idea of displacement of crime into the areas of others as a consequence of neo-conservative public choice principles of crime control, i.e. increased surveillance techniques equal displacement of crime, (ALLATT, 1984a; CORNISH and CLARKE, 1988) is likely also to be a contradiction of public choice theorists' core value of freedom. (WHITE et al, 1975).

Thus it is essential for any evaluation of the effectiveness of enhanced patrol on the distribution of crime to consider not only how it is affecting the quality of life of the recipient but how it may be affecting a wider public. Displacement of crime can occur, for example, where a thief is foiled by security measures at one target and seeks out another which is less well protected. In this way the major object of preventing crime is defeated. If crime is only moved from place to place, success in crime prevention must depend heavily upon how high a proportion of the total pool of possible targets can be equally well protected. (MAYHEW et al, 1976; GLADSTONE, 1980).

But for offenders the total pool of possible targets is immense. Target owners have various levels of protective need and of economic power. The importance of this variation in economic ability is very often neglected by those who argue for target-hardening. These differences create a moral dilemma for society. It seems reasonable to presume - contrary to neo-conservative principles - that those who cannot, or do

not, choose to pay for extra protection should not be adversely affected by the efforts of those who choose to do so.

*Displacement Of Crime And Rational Choice Theory.*

Those who criticise situational crime prevention argue that reducing the opportunity for crime produces limited decreases and fails to lower crime overall. Prevention of crime is therefore not attained by measures taken - only 'displacement' to another time or place or some other type of crime is the result. In this view the main causes of crime are seen to be within the individual personality and therefore programmes to change criminal propensities will result in success. Target hardening is seen as pointless, for if the criminal wants to offend then whatever is put in his way will not stop him. (REPPELTO, 1974; GABOR, 1981). Such a position would tend to support the idea of 'displacement' for unless the offender's personality is changed, the level of crime he commits remains the same. If he is deterred at a particular point in time and space then he will only displace his intention to another target. (CORNISH and CLARKE, 1986, 1988).

The belief in 'displacement' continues to underpin much lay and professional thinking about crime prevention policies and practices. Other commentators criticise the assumptions about criminal behaviour and argue that this assumption encourages the use of the term 'displacement'. (CORNISH and CLARKE, 1986). These writers believe that the phenomenon of 'displacement' is better conceptualised in terms of a rational choice theory of criminal behaviour. Rational choice theory, although not synonymous with public choice theory - due to it being an elaborated theory of human action independent of any policy relevance - retains some comparability (DUNLEAVY and O'LEARY, 1987:75) as it views the bulk of

offending as the outcome of reasoned decisions about costs and benefits involved:

This 'rational choice' perspective on crime assumes that offenders seek to benefit themselves by their criminal behaviour: that this involves the making of decisions and choices, however rudimentary on occasions these choices might be; and that these processes, constrained as they are by time, the offender's cognitive abilities, and by the availability of relevant information, exhibit limited rather than normative rationality. Our own formulation of rational choice theory was founded on the additional premise that the decision processes and the actors taken into account are likely to vary greatly at the different stages of decision making and among different crimes. (CORNISH and CLARKE, 1988:933).

In this view, therefore, displacement is not inevitable and occurs only under particular conditions. The offender chooses specific crimes and commits them for specific reasons. His decision involves an appraisal process of different courses of action relative to its merit in achieving his purpose - a kind of cost benefit analysis. The attractiveness of targets to an offender by way of opportunity, rewards, and potential costs of detection is an example of 'choice structuring'. (CORNISH and CLARKE, 1988:935). These writers outline an impressive array of research supporting the concept of 'choice structuring properties' and suggest that certain properties may be listed, e.g. 'likely cash yield', 'risk of apprehension', which may be considered for the purposes of 'cost benefit'. 'Choice structuring' is thus designed as an analytical tool for understanding offenders' behaviour. (CORNISH and CLARKE, 1988:943).

Selections are made:

.....as being of most relevance to the task of comparing offenses and, hence, of establishing the likely limits of displacement within each offense grouping. Thus there is likely to be more displacement between particular theft offenses where they share similar profiles of choice structuring properties - for example, where the likely cash yield per crime is comparable, where similar skills and resources are required, and where the physical risks are the same. In contrast, where the profiles differ, this may clarify why displacement is unlikely to occur. (CORNISH and CLARKE, 1988:941).

Further support for this conclusion comes from previous research showing enhanced surveillance as a primary factor in the considerations of

offenders. When asked how they chose houses, burglars stressed 'absence of police', 'ease of access', 'inconspicuousness', 'isolated neighbourhood' and 'neighbours should not know each other'. (REPPETTO, 1974:16).

Although overall crime may appear to be reduced by target-hardening there may be considerable displacement which is largely confined in the local residential area. (ALLATT, 1984a:110). This supports the notion that offenders are more likely to live locally, would be much more likely to know that enhanced security exists and do not move far from their domicile to commit crime. (NORMANDEAU, 1968:263; ALLATT, *ibid*:111; MAGUIRE and BENNETT, 1982:82). Furthermore, actions, such as arrests or patrol strategies, constitutes 'detering' forms of communication to criminals. (KOHFELD and SPRAGUE, 1990).

#### CONCLUSION.

The market is being used increasingly to provide security provision. The motivation for this development appears to have at least two possible rationale - at least two explanations of social order. On the one hand there is the notion that increasing freedom of choice will inevitably lead to improved security - not just for some but for all. On the other hand the degree of freedom for individuals to create social reality is limited by their economic power. Here, state structures are at the source of this apparent repression of freedom.

Thus explanations are either dominated by a social order of coercion or consent. Communities are similarly explainable - consent within, coercion without, inclusion or exclusion. Here the state's reasoning may be understood as either providing protection on a basis of blanket cover or merely for those with something worth protecting and in fear of its

loss. Whatever the reasoning may be, the result either benefits security or invades its privacy.

And what is the degree to which the state participates in all this? How divorced is it from the mechanisms of private enterprise? Can the private be associated in any way whatsoever with state institutions like the Home Office and the public police? Answering such questions seems to depend upon whether the requisites of one or the other theory are met by the empirical evidence that will follow.

#### **Penetrating Ideology.**

As well as having identified some primary debates in contemporary policing - as they apply to questions of public and private provision - the foregoing review demonstrates another important factor. It is that the resolving of the research questions being posed here requires an ability to balance competing ideological beliefs. In this respect, only if a methodological competence exists to analyse degrees of power can accurate conclusions be made. Whether moving towards a private system of neighbourhood patrol means a harsher and meaner system of justice or otherwise will only be truly addressed through adopting exemplary methods of investigation. These methods will be outlined in the next chapter.



## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH ENVIRONMENTS, METHODOLOGY AND ISSUES.

In this chapter details of the research sites and the methods used have been included with a view to clarifying the objectives of a wider programme of research. The object is to outline the physical surroundings and circumstances of the case studies and describe the methods adopted for data collection and evaluation. First, profiles of the research sites are presented - less as explanatory and more as informational or impressionistic accounts. The overall picture which they convey is important to conclusions made later in the study. A more explanatory description of individual case study histories is given in Chapter 5 as part of the empirical presentation.

#### ENVIRONMENTS.

The research sites (case studies) were chosen on a purely personal basis. I was influenced in this by practicalities of distance and time - for I received no physical assistance in completing the fieldwork. I was also aware that the contrasting nature of variable environments could enhance the sociological value of the final analysis of the study. Accordingly, sites were consciously chosen to represent both privately owned housing and rented property in both urban and rural environments. None of the areas chosen had significant ethnic minority populations. Such populations would have complicated any straightforward class analysis undertaken because of, for example, social processes concerning 'scapegoating' - especially important in relation to residents' fear of

crime - and the existence of high social mobility amongst ethnic minorities.

In addition to the three primary research locations, which I describe below, I also visited the scenes of two other sites where the private security sector was carrying out patrol in residential areas. Through postal means, I additionally sought to obtain information and opinions from other sources located throughout the country and where I had been unable to visit personally.

Before proceeding with descriptions of the case study locations it will be useful to provide a brief discussion about case study method and its relevance to my research subject.

#### **Case Study As A Relevant Research Method.**

Case study research is a legitimate research design in its own right and can be used to study a phenomenon systematically. Its purpose may be seen as twofold: "...to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the groups under study" and "to develop general theoretical statements about regularities in social structure and process." (BECKER, 1968:233). Thus, insight into how and why things are the way they are can be expected to result from this method (STAKE, 1981: 47) and the knowledge which is obtained is likely to be more concrete, vivid and sensory than abstract. Resulting knowledge is also based more on reference populations. (STAKE, *ibid*:35-36). In this respect a case study looks at single instances with the objective of identifying their unique features. In contrast to purely statistical analysis, results are more likely to be immediately intelligible and have a three-dimensional reality which can be understood by a wider readership than the professional research circle.

A criticism of case study research is that the results, being so specific to an instance, are not easily generalised, except by intuitive judgement that the case is similar to another. The researcher's selectivity is not normally open to the checks which are made in large scale surveys. I intended my research design, therefore, to include several sources of evidence additional to my own observation which allowed in objectivity and validity through measurement. These included interviews and examining documents and records. It seemed, thus, an easy decision for me to choose case study as a method here because it could encompass the use of many research methods and would also allow me to base the research around instances which I had already identified were at the centre of my study. (ADELMAN, JENKINS and KEMIS, 1983:2).

It is important that the researcher is sensitive to the biases inherent in case study research. GOETZ and LeCOMPTE, (1984:95) observe that it is one of the few modes of scientific study which admits into the research frame the subjective perceptions and biases of both the participants and the researcher. In addition, therefore, to the need for sensitivity of such matters as the physical setting and those within it, there was a need for me to ask how it could direct me to the next piece of data and how well it reflected what was happening. The case study researcher also needs to be a good communicator and listener. A good communicator will empathize with respondents, establish rapport, ask good questions and listen intently. (GUBA and LINCOLN, 1981:140). A good notion for understanding the importance of this social talent in case study can be found in the anthropological concept of boundary spanning - which is defined as skill in communicating within and across cultural groups. (GOETZ and LeCOMPTE, *ibid*:99).

The case study locations are now described.

#### Moston.

Moston is a small residential street forming part of a large urban conurbation or 'new town' in the North East of England. It is a 'T' shaped cul-de-sac containing 31 high-standard housing units, predominantly bungalows. All are owner-occupied and they contrast with the area's more drab Corporation-owned housing. Lawns and hedges are well trimmed, gardens are tidy and the appearance of the street and surroundings is particularly pleasant. Not one residence lets the other down in appearance. Properties are valued approximately between £100,000 and £200,000.

The street has an air of privacy and isolation - a high wooden fence separates it from the Corporation housing at the rear - but there is access to and from the rented housing area by two public walkways. A public road gives access into and out of the street from a small open area of countryside. Within a radius of one mile there are several large industrial estates.

Fifty yards away, separated by grassed areas, is another cul-de-sac, similar in appearance to Moston and containing the same number of housing units. For the purposes of the research design its similarity to Moston is very relevant to comparative data analysis, especially the crime pattern analysis described in Chapter 9 relating to the notion of rational choice and crime displacement. (CORNISH and CLARKE, 1986, 1988; ALLATT, 1984a).

Moston Security Services operate from a local Corporation-owned house where the company's owner and his family reside. The company employs five

mobile dog patrol officers whose primary work-area is the surrounding industrial estates.

#### Bridton.

Bridton is a residential estate in a rural setting situated on the outskirts of a large town in the North East of England. To the north and east of the estate is open countryside and within a distance of five miles is the large urban conurbation of South Tyne-side. The estate consists of approximately 1,000 privately owned houses, bungalows and flats. The dwellings were built in two stages and finally completed in 1986. Property values are approximately between £50,000-£150,000. The patrolled and un-patrolled areas of the estate are naturally divided by a road. This factor, again, conveniently assisted the legitimacy of the comparative crime pattern analysis presented in Chapter 9 and its association with rational choice theory and crime displacement.

The properties within the patrolled area of the estate are slightly more visibly attractive than those on the un-patrolled side. The overall environmental appearance of the patrolled side is similarly more attractive. These apparent differences, however, are sociologically insignificant as no substantial social, environmental or economic contrasts exist.

The estate is bounded on two sides by council-owned housing and boundaries are well defined by large stretches of shrub-land. The estate's 'economic' separateness from the council-owned areas is immediately apparent.

Brian, the private patrolman, wears a uniform he bought in an army surplus store. He most often patrols the estate between 6pm and 6am

daily, either on foot with his Alsatian dog or in an estate-car. His reputation as a successful deterrent was well known on the estate while building was taking place. Employed by the builders to secure material on the site, Brian had become popular by his sociable personality and ability to catch and deter thieves intent on stealing material.

#### Becton.

Becton is a large London borough comprising an area of sixty square miles. The projected total population of Becton for 1990 was 29,300. (BECTON COUNCIL, 1991:6). The Council has a progressive policy which espouses government ideology of effectiveness and efficiency through contracting-out of public services to the private sector. (ASCHER, 1987). The average house price for the first quarter of 1990 was £91,000. (BECTON COUNCIL, *ibid*:2). As shown in Table 3.1, most housing is owner-occupied.

*Table 3.1*

**ALLOCATION OF HOUSING AT BECTON BY SECTOR**

	%
Owner Occupation	75.0
Private Rented	07.0
Local Authority Rented	10.4
Total Housing Units	124,000

(Source: Adapted from BECTON COUNCIL, *ibid*.)

The Rams Estate, in the south east of the borough, comprises of approximately 1050 housing units. Types of dwelling vary and include ten and three storey blocks of flats, semi-detached houses and bungalows. There is a strikingly visible contrast between the flats and other housing in the area. Whereas houses and bungalows give the appearance of

environmental normality the blocks of flats are typically untidy in appearance. Inside there is the smell of stale urine from the lift-wells and staircases. Graffiti covers both inside and outside walls. Most of the residents are young persons with families who are non-owner-occupiers.

The Becton patrol consists of contract security personnel using four double-crewed vans which patrol the whole borough area from 6pm. to 1am. daily.

#### METHOD AND RESEARCH ISSUES.

It is now appropriate to consider the methods used in gathering data and some of the problems concerning its analysis. First it is necessary to briefly outline an important theoretical aspect which may impact upon analyses and, therefore, should be considered in the research design.

#### The Analytic Problem Of Modernity.

Modernity, (modern society) as defined by GIDDENS (1991:15), has two dimensions; industrialism and capitalism, and it produces certain distinctive social forms, the most prominent of which is the nation-state. If one of the characteristics of the capitalist state in its most developed form is an increase in private security (SOUTH, 1988) then it is important in the present study to accurately analyse the processes which lead to this. This is not an easy matter for there are different ways of interpreting the nature of modern society. There remains an inherent danger in the process of this analysis, therefore, that an ideological imbalance may be created.

There are two popular approaches to analysing modern society. The first, which gives emphasis to the 'controllers', sees society as an

association of individuals who have conflicting ends and whose security and freedom will be ensured through the rule of law. This view is reflected strongly in neo-conservative social contract theory. The contrasting view of society is primarily a structuralist one and has a tendency towards Marxist or left-functionalist theory. It is specifically oriented towards the structure of dominant groups and classes whose true character is hidden rather than revealed. This view includes both elements of the 'controllers' and the 'controlled' - but whereas the first approach focuses somewhat upon consciousness the second disregards it. Both these approaches may be analysed as inherently ideological. Although I have used relational argument through the bipolar distinctions of the 'controllers' and the 'controlled' to assist in my analysis here, I am conscious of the purely analytical nature of this approach. As noted earlier (p16), this device can have no basis in empiricism and is being used here merely to develop concepts useful to the study.

As alluded to in the concluding remarks of Chapter 2, there is an important need to be aware of the possibility of theoretical analyses which provide an ideological overkill. If the ideological balance is to be redressed the 'complex world of cultural sensibilities and meanings', not just the myopic 'dual' analysis of the 'controlled and the controllers', needs to be part of the research design. (GARLAND, 1990:4). This requires an analytical interplay between belief and experience which will provide a conception of society based not just upon political and economic explanations but also upon social and cultural interpretations.

The public's perceptions of the object of study is, therefore, crucial to my conclusions. Obtaining public views was thus important to the validity of the thesis and a considerable part of the research effort was directed towards that goal. An interview schedule, designed to



reflect this aspect, is presented in Appendix A. Thus, I aim to show the social influence involved in the phenomenon of private security patrol. To successfully highlight this subjective factor may well illustrate that individuality is of prime importance to social and organizational change and that change, therefore, may be explainable not only in terms of it being the product of coercive state influences, as some left-functionalists claim in their arguments which are set out in Chapter 2.

There is, however, little value in subscribing to a particular view of social reality which focuses upon the actor's definitions of the situation and then leaping to another level of explanation which can be typified as structural or lying outside the actor's own frame of reference. In this regard ethnographical data and official records have been used as balancing factors where appropriate.

With interview data I have concentrated on a basic form of content analysis of the responses to specific questions with a view to understanding the quality as well as the distribution of types of response. Thus as well as a tabular representation of responses I have quoted widely from the interviews - for such merely numerical treatment of open ended data does not easily lend itself to sophisticated statistical analysis.

#### **The Sample.**

Because no personal assistance was available in completing interviews the sample size needed to reflect the time which I had available. Accordingly, I decided to interview the head of each household if he/she were present when I attended. I did not adhere strictly to this, however, as on several occasions I found the head of the household was unavailable. On these occasions I interviewed whoever was present at that

time. On some occasions more than one member of the household was interviewed.

I was able to visit each of the 31 housing units at Moston and only one householder refused to be interviewed. At Bridton and Becton, however, the total number of housing units were much larger so I needed to select a representative sample of the total which would be manageable for purposes of time. This was done by the use of a computer programme designed to select random numbers. 50 housing units, estimated to be a manageable figure, were selected from the total population at each site. Each of the 50 selected householders at Bridton agreed to be interviewed.

After visiting each of the 50 units at Becton, however, the sample was finally reduced to 31 units due to the fact that the residents in the remaining 19 were unaware of the patrol's existence. As most questions related to respondent's knowledge of the private patrol I was unable to fully complete the interviews at these 19 locations although some data were collected. Tables 3.2 and 3.3 outline sample characteristics concerning age, gender and occupation.

Table 3.2

*INTERVIEW SAMPLE BY AGE AND GENDER.*

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<i>MOSTON</i>				
Age	Male	Female	Total	(%)
10-20	1	0	1	3.3
20-30	1	1	2	6.7
30-40	1	1	2	6.7
40-60	12	8	20	66.7
60+	2	3	5	16.6
Total Respondents			30	100.0
 <i>BRIDTON</i>				
Age				
10-20	1	3	4	6.45
20-30	7	8	15	24.20
30-40	13	11	24	38.70
40-60	8	9	17	27.42
60+	1	1	2	3.23
Total Respondents			62	100.00
 <i>BECTON</i>				
Age				
10-20	3	0	3	7.32
20-30	8	6	14	34.14
30-40	2	3	5	12.20
40-60	7	9	16	39.02
60+	3	0	3	7.32
Total Respondents			41	100.00

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Table 3.3

*INTERVIEW SAMPLE BY OCCUPATION*

	<i>BOSTON</i>	<i>BRIDTON</i>	<i>BECTON</i>
	(%)	(%)	(%)
Self Employed	10.0	8.0	2.0
Professional	10.0	24.0	4.0
Housewife	6.7	00.0	20.0
White Collar	43.3	48.0	14.0
Manual	16.7	12.0	36.0
Unemployed	3.3	00.0	14.0
Retired	10.0	8.0	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Respondents	30	62	41

I have attempted to confirm the truth of empirical analysis through the accumulation of varied data. The objective was to avoid a bland surface analysis of the quantitative data obtained and to interpret aspects essential for a deeper insight into the subject of study. Thus, although a considerable amount of the research programme included quantitative methods, opportunities existed for both structured and unstructured interactions between myself and respondents. In this respect I was able to confront residents in a natural setting while patrolling with security personnel. This allowed for a more meaningful response which identified how social actors' explanations and non-explanations gain acceptability in certain social orders. (BECKER, 1978; EDELMAN, 1964).

In view of this potential for unanticipated interactions an approach to the study was necessary to interpret the many and varied statements which would be made during encounters. The data obtained from all interviews, whether structured or unanticipated, was quantified using the

method proposed by OPPENHEIM, (1979). After all the interviews were completed the responses to each question were noted individually and from these a coding frame was designed. This was studied at length and the highest frequency of responses were listed. These categorised responses were then numerically developed and they have been presented in tabular form throughout the thesis.

Researchers, however, must always bear the responsibility of their own involvement and ultimately accept that their interpretations of results derives from their own constructs. Accordingly, my interpretation of the data may well have set boundaries around proceedings. These boundaries were obviated to some degree by adopting a multi-method approach. The multi-method research design used to attain the research objectives thus collected data through the use of:

- (i) Content analysis of records of those providing the service and the police.
- (ii) Content analysis of documents and media reports.
- (iii) Interviews conducted with residents, private patrolmen and police officers.
- (iv) Participant observation of police, private security patrols and residents during their daily activities.
- (v) Introspection through my professional status.

#### **THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.**

The interview schedule for residents and security personnel were designed in conjunction with the six key concepts identified in the literature review outlined in the Chapter 2. It must be said again at this stage that a review of the literature identifies a theoretical overkill in respect of left-functional analyses of private policing. Nevertheless, the object was to design a schedule which would draw out responses concerning the six key concepts but which would contain

language to which respondents could easily relate. The wording of the residents' schedule was therefore aimed at inviting responses which would discover why they wanted enhanced security, how they perceived its main functions and effectiveness and the extent of community feeling.

In total, 135 interviews were conducted with residents and 27 security personnel provided additional responses. The schedule for security personnel sought to invite responses on the quantity and quality of inter-agency cooperation. As a secondary consideration of design, and in line with classical procedures, ten percent of the sample frame were selected and a pilot questionnaire was administered. The pilot questionnaire did not lead to any change in the final research instrument.

A problem with interviewing as a method of research is that the subjective data it produces can be highly situational. For instance, during all interviews and observations I made no secret of the fact that I was a police officer - a statement which, from personal experience, often invites antagonistic or favourable responses from those present, depending upon their attitude to the criminal justice system. In view of this I needed to be aware of any ulterior motives behind answers I was given, restrictions on spontaneous expression, desires to please me by responses favourable to my status as a police officer and other idiosyncratic and extraneous factors which may have influenced responses. (DEAN and WHYTE, 1978:181-182). I attempted to minimize these aspects by explaining to interviewees that my research would not necessarily influence the improvement of their security and that their replies would be treated in confidence.

On meeting individuals for the first time I introduced myself by: "I am Inspector McMANUS from Durham Police and I'm doing some research about the private security patrol in the area. Can I ask you some questions?" I then produced my police warrant card as confirmation of my identity. At the beginning of the study I was aware of the possibility that the formal nature of this introduction may produce uneasiness in the respondent. Findings have been presented concerning the effect of the interviewer's authority and deference on the interviewee. (LENSKI and LEGGETT, 1960). There is an obvious need to avoid this effect. However, some writers have suggested that the interviewer should play the role best suited to the situation and this will produce rapport and cooperation. (CANNELL and FOWLER, 1964; MACCOBY and MACCOBY, 1954). In contrast to it being a disadvantage, I found my declaration that I was a police officer created the opportunity for respondents to talk freely in a relaxed atmosphere about their general perceptions of security in the area.

The particular research questions involving the six key concepts alluded to earlier, and which underpin the interview schedules, will now be briefly described and discussed together with the primary methods used to obtain the data and the problems inherent in these methods.

#### **(i) Rationale For Private Patrol.**

At Moston and Bridton I reverted to the rather formal mechanism of visiting residents in their homes and interviewing them. However, at Becton, as the decision to hire the patrol was not a decision of individual residents but of council committees, individual residents were not interviewed regarding this question. It was therefore important that the research described as accurately as possible the decision-making process of these committees. These council meetings had taken place four years prior to my research and this presented a potential problem of

distortion in accounts. It was, thus, necessary to interview as many of the persons present in those meetings as possible so that their accounts could be compared for accuracy. In this way distortion could be identified and corrected. (DEAN and WHYTE, 1978:185).

The ineffectiveness of public police to provide the level of protection demanded by the public has been a factor identified by some commentators who claim that private patrols develop due to this impotency of the public agency. (MARX and ARCHER, 1971; SHERMAN, 1983; STEWART, 1985; ALBANESE, 1986). To test the hypothesis that inadequate public police provision influenced the inception of private patrol respondents' views on this particular issue were taken during interview.

(ii) Community.

The hypothesis that privatization is associated with community insularity and isolation, paranoia and prejudice (SUTTLES, 1972; WARREN, 1969, 1977, 1978; PITKIN, 1981:327) was investigated in this study - for the success of any policing strategy should be considered in light of the absence of these negative factors. But if community crime prevention is to be seen from such a macro perspective it is necessary to consider the patrol's existence within a wider concept of community - wider than the immediate locality of the neighbourhood receiving enhanced protection. The relationship between the patrol and the concept of community as an ideal was therefore measured to identify the extent of social solidarity - not only in the immediate neighbourhood but also from a regional perspective. Interview data were used to analyse residents' feelings towards those considered outside their community. Additionally, observational data concerning the level of community solidarity in the immediate neighbourhood was brought in support of interview material.



To create a perception of the extent of growth of private security patrol in communities in England and Wales, and to identify the types of community in which it existed, a telephone survey of police forces was carried out. The headquarters crime prevention department in each police area was asked if private schemes operated in their area and, if they did, the type of community in which it operated.

The size of the private security sector is difficult to estimate. (SOUTH, 1988:23-25). Accordingly, I did not find it an easy task obtaining accurate information on private patrol from police sources. On three occasions, having been told by the crime prevention department that no patrol operated, I later discovered information to the contrary from other sources. This was not due to any obstructive strategy by police - rather the crime prevention departments were merely unaware it existed even though officers on the ground were aware.

I was unable, through limits of time, to contact each of the one hundred and eleven local councils in England and Wales to obtain more accurate details of the extent of council-run schemes. I did, however, contact each of the six Metropolitan Councils and requested details of any council-run schemes in those areas.

The result of the data collected from the sources outlined is shown in Appendix B. Due to the difficulties described this list is by no means a definitive calculation and errs on the side of a conservative estimate.

### (iii) Function.

In addition to identifying the primary physical area of function I wanted to test the hypothesis that private security patrol allays the fear of crime. (DONOVAN and WALSH, 1986). This would require collection

and analysis of data from both physical and symbolic aspects. Thus, in addition to interviews, participant observation was used to obtain data over a period of one year during 1989 and 1990. I endeavoured to become part of the patrol's work routine and spent approximately sixty four hours patrolling alongside security personnel and, additionally, spent long periods in conversation with them during non-patrol time. This method was necessary to allow the opportunity for a closer contact with both security personnel and their clients. A certain bond was created and I became accepted as a friend to individuals. Thereafter an atmosphere for easy conversation prevailed. This relaxed atmosphere, together with long periods of close association, meant there was ample time for discussion and debate. This opened up other research possibilities and generally assisted the overall enquiry.

Participation in patrol also enabled me to identify any function carried out by the patrol which I considered to be, or to have been, a function of the public police. Interviews with residents also sought to establish matters which they reported to the private patrol and not to the police. Contractual documents outlining work descriptions were also examined. The data collected by these methods were consolidated into a measurable form which were used to identify any similarity between public and private functions and cooperation between both agencies.

#### (iv) Surveillance.

A fundamental question which required clarification concerned the primary control method used by the patrol. Evidence was thus sought to confirm the findings of much research indicating the use of preventative surveillance by the private security sector. (REISS, 1983, 1987; SHERMAN, 1983; SHEARING and STENNING, 1982).

Crime prevention strategies which use surveillance as a primary method may have marginal effects in preventing crime yet increase the apprehension of innocent individuals. (KLEIN and LUXENBURG, 1987; MARX, 1989). There are obvious implications here for the interests of the wider community not just those receiving enhanced protection. An objective of this part of the research was to ascertain the accuracy of the claims of these writers as they related to the cases studied. In terms of the pervasiveness of surveillance it was also important to identify claims from other research that security falls to all concerned, including clients, (SHEARING and STENNING, 1982, 1983:488) and that security personnel supervise the performance of these non-specialised personnel. (SHEARING, FARNELL and STENNING, 1980:499). My participation in the patrol assisted greatly in determining the answers to these questions.

**(v) Cooperation.**

The claim by some that cooperation between public and private agencies widens the surveillance net and is therefore detrimental to civil liberties (KINSEY, LEA and YOUNG, 1986:122) and conversely that society gains by cooperation (SHERMAN, 1983; CHAIKEN and CHAIKEN, 1987) was investigated. To ascertain the accuracy of these claims a separate schedule was prepared and administered to public and private police personnel in an effort to establish the quality of their relationships. (Appendix A). My presence during face to face encounters between the two agencies also assisted in drawing conclusions.

**(vi) Crime Control: Indicators For Assessing Effectiveness.**

A review of the literature reveals no consensus on either the definition or the measurement of effectiveness. (ABEL, 1982; LAVRAKAS and HERZ, 1982; LAVRAKAS and BENNETT, 1985; SKOGAN and MAXFIELD, 1981; TOMASIC and FEELEY, 1982). Whether effectiveness is seen as the unlikely

possibility of total elimination, or only deterrence, must be a relevant consideration.

There is a distinct possibility that police may be held responsible for objectives beyond their control as the real nature of police-work is a debatable issue. For public police effectiveness is too often judged by the wrong criteria which can be one dimensional and narrow. Thus effectiveness usually means effective in crime detection. The most fundamental purpose of policing - the maintenance of public tranquillity - is so vague as to defy satisfactory measurement. Quality of performance for an organization involved in social conflict is an equivocal notion, for one group's efficiency and effectiveness may be another group's oppression.

The reasons why individuals refrain from committing crime is in itself a complex matter and produces lively debate. (CORNISH and CLARKE, 1986). But if one assumes that the sources of crime are primarily environmental should effectiveness be measured in terms of decreases in environmental variables such as fear of crime, inadequate security consciousness, lack of a sense of community and poor relationships between private patrol personnel and the residents? Clearly, these factors should be considered in addition to simple crime pattern analysis. Accordingly, and as previously discussed, residents' perceptions of assurance and security as a measure of effectiveness was given particular emphasis in the research design. Residents' satisfaction with the patrol, perceptions of safety from crime and how effective the patrol allayed their fears, were measured primarily by their responses to certain questions in the schedule.

Three other matters were relevant to this part of the study and are now considered. They are Contamination, Comparative Analysis and Police Statistics.

#### *Contamination.*

How can the effects on community crime-rates be apportioned to one particular agency? An unsuspecting resident simply switching on the light in his home may affect the potential offender's rationality to further pursue his crime. Who, other than the offender, would ever know the effects of protective action taken by residents? Offender rationality is an important consideration in this respect and can affect research findings. For instance, ALLATT (1984a:103) found her research contaminated through an unanticipated community policing initiative which introduced enhanced public police patrol into the research area. I remained constantly aware of this possible damaging factor throughout the present study and was relieved to discover no evidence of its presence.

#### *Comparative Analysis.*

Through a crime pattern analysis, using police statistics of recorded crime, comparisons were made of two similar areas within the research sites; one patrolled and the other un-patrolled. By this method an attempt was made to measure the effect that private patrol was having upon the rate of crime control in space. For if a particular area were secure the most likely displacement would be territorial - the contiguous areas with the same structure of opportunity, rather than to remote areas or ones nearby with a different composition. (REPPELTO, 1976:175; ALLATT, 1984a; CORNISH and CLARKE, 1986). In order to show the similarity between the patrolled and un-patrolled areas a comparative numerical analysis of housing units and population at Moston and Bridton is shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

*COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NUMBER OF RESIDENCES  
AND POPULATION BY PATROLLED AND UN-PATROLLED AREAS.*

	Patrolled	Un-patrolled	Total
<i>BOSTON.</i>			
Number of Residences	31	31	62
Population	84	108	192
<i>BRIDTON.</i>			
Number of Residences	481	510	991
Population	1300	1377	2677

But what is the relevant social space for effectiveness? Does this relate only to a particular community or to the wider community? Is it effective to reduce crime in the patrolled neighbourhood but to increase it in an adjacent area through displacement? In this context displacement of crime is an important issue.

*Police Statistics.*

Additional to the damaging effects on research from contamination, there are inherent problems in accepting the legitimacy of crime figures recorded by the police. In view of the fact that a significant aspect of the research method included the use of official crime statistics held by the police, it is appropriate to provide some discussion of the various extraneous matters that can influence crime reporting practices by the public and crime recording by the police.

BOTTOMLEY and COLEMAN, (1980:74, 1981) argue there are at least four different elements to consider when interpreting official crime statistics. Firstly, it is the public who discover and report most crime.

Both BOTTOMLEY and COLEMAN, (op. cit.) and MAWBY, (1979) found, independently, that police discover only 14% of recorded crime. Other studies have found similarly. (SELLIN and WOLFGANG, 1964; BLACK, 1970, 1971). This means that the decision whether or not to report lies with the public. Secondly, victims and witnesses will report crime to the police in relation to their perceptions of police effectiveness and their accessibility. (TANNER, 1970; SCHNELLE, KIRCHNER, McNEES and LAWLER, 1975). There has been considerable research showing that the 'dark figure' of unreported crime is a high one. (WEST and FARRINGTON, 1973; BELSON, 1975; SPARKS, GLENN and DODD, 1977). In the present study an effort was made to identify unreported offences during interviews with respondents and the result was included in the final analysis. Thirdly, many crimes initially reported to the police will not end up recorded. SKOLNICK, (1966:164-181) found that about 20% of crimes reported to the police did not find their way into official figures due to the way that some police force policy regarded some crime complaints as 'unfounded' or merely 'suspicious circumstances'. Other studies have concurred with this research. (LAMBERT, 1970; CENTER and SMITH, 1973; SEIDMAN and COUZENS, 1964; CONKLIN, 1975). Research in Britain indicates SKOLNICK'S (ibid) estimation to be on the low side. (SPARKS, GLENN and DODD, ibid). Finally, the way police decide to classify recordable crimes affects the pattern shown in official statistics - two variations occurring are the retention of originally classified crimes after subsequently being found to have alternative definitions and prepayment meter thefts in dwellings over-categorized as burglary.

Measuring prevention by the use of police statistics is, therefore, unlikely to be particularly accurate due to the matters outlined above. Where circumstances dictate the use of official statistics as the only criterion for purposes of evaluation it is, therefore, vital to take

account of changes in reporting behaviour that might flow indirectly from the way that a community is policed and police criteria for recording crime.

Statistical data indicated clearly that there were three main categories of crime at Moston and Bridton: burglary in a dwelling, thefts concerning motor vehicles and thefts unconnected with motor vehicles. The data extracted concerned only sufficient to ascertain what effects the patrol may have on deterring potential offenders from the location. There was no requirement for complicated detail of such matters as weekly and monthly variations of reported crime, modus operandi, point of entry or other particulars. The objective was to present the data in as simple a form as possible to allow a straightforward analysis.

An annual evaluation was made which compared patrolled and un-patrolled areas over the period analysed. Rates for all crime in the police section area, wherein the patrolled and un-patrolled areas were located, were also consulted. These were used as a balancing factor for the comparative material.

Due to the relatively large geographical area of Becton and the number of patrol personnel who were expected to give protective cover, no useful conclusion could have been made concerning the effect which the patrol may have had on the crime rate. A comparative analysis of crime at Becton was not, therefore, undertaken.

In the following six chapters the study moves on to describe the data derived from the fieldwork.



PART 2

EMPIRICAL PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

## CHAPTER 4

### MOTIVES .

In this chapter the reasoning behind the demand for private patrol is addressed. In addition to the unstructured interview method for establishing this, the hypothesis that ineffective public policing was an influential motivator is specifically tested. Both an objective and subjective investigative approach was taken - data were produced from interviews with residents and others concerned with decisions and official records were consulted.

#### THE ANTECEDENTS OF PRIVATE PATROL

In contrast to subjective data a more objective study is made in this section in order to balance out the findings. Antecedent descriptions of the case studies, and some other locations where private security patrols were operating, are presented and social, economic and political factors which influenced residents' ideas are identified. Levels of pre-patrol crime and disorder and the effectiveness of police responses to them are briefly outlined.

#### **Private Bobbies, Public Beats: Private Security Patrol In Neighbourhoods.**

Evidence of the empirical existence of 'blurring' security provision in neighbourhoods was forthcoming in events purportedly occurring in the United Kingdom in the latter part of the 1980's. These events seemed to indicate that such a change in prerogative was happening. In 1989 some of the very streets and residential areas which Peel had filled with public officers were reported to have become the beats of private officers paid

by private clients. One newspaper talked of security firms 'taking over localised policing' on housing estates and investigated, in particular, four council estates in a south London borough where the council had contracted a private security firm to patrol the area. (THE GUARDIAN, 1989:27). I subsequently visited these estates and chose one - Becton - as a case study for my research. Becton is representative of the four housing estates mentioned in the newspaper article in question.

In another media report details were given of a suburban area of Birmingham where 97% of tenants on housing estates voluntarily began paying an additional charge on their rents for private security patrol - security additional to that given by public police. (POLICE REVIEW, 1989c:740-741). The feeling that public order was being threatened appeared to be an important contributing factor in the reasoning for this demand for enhanced patrol. I visited the area of Birmingham mentioned in the report and briefly investigated the patrol over a period of two days. I spoke to residents, police and the private patrolmen. There were no public housing estates being patrolled. The area and housing estates were exclusively private and middle class. Public disorder and the crime rate there were no higher than in other areas of the West Midlands. It is also important to note that the entire land area in this part of Birmingham has been privately owned by the aristocracy for centuries. Residents do not own the freehold of the land on which they live. The present landlords stringently control residents' freedom to change the environment on the estates. My enquiries ascertained it was the landlords who instigated the provision of the private security patrol and payment for its services was made by individual householders through an increase on their ground rent.

Private security's serious challenge to traditional public policing soon became recognized by the British Police. (POLICING REVIEW, 1990).

Research carried out in twenty of the forty nine police force areas of England and Wales had indicated there were more than 500 non-police patrols operating in public places. (POLICE REVIEW, 1989a:65). These private security patrols comprised an even distribution between those employed by local authorities on the one hand and those employed by business and resident groups on the other. (BAILEY and LYNN, 1989:12). The Chairman of the Police Federation of England and Wales made clear the concern felt by British police about the introduction of private security into roles traditionally carried out by the public police. In a letter to the Home Secretary, he argued:

It is clear to me that this development involves an overlapping of the roles of police and private security to an extent which raises serious questions about public policy and the role of the Home Office. (POLICE, 1989:3-12).

But attacks upon traditional services are not only specific to policing. The challenge to traditional policing is only part of a larger trend towards the privatization of public services in the United Kingdom (ASCHER, 1987) and America. (SAVAS, 1983).

Details of the three specific case study locations are now outlined.

#### **The Moston Patrol.**

Prior to 1988 the residents of Moston had experienced very little crime in their neighbourhood. During that year, however, there was a considerable increase. Although in numerical terms it may be seen as low, the rise was over 50 per cent on the 1987 figure. Interviews with residents identified three additional offences to those reported to police in 1988, making an annual total of ten offences. Table 4.1 shows an annual comparative analysis of burglary and theft.

Table 4.1

ANNUAL COMPARISON OF CRIME AT MOSTON (BURGLARY AND THEFT)

---

	Reported	Not Reported
1986	2	0
1987	3	0
1988	7	3

---

In addition to burglaries and thefts, minor street nuisances were occurring which were especially problematic to particular residents. Noisy youths from nearby estates, and others returning home from public houses, disturbed the residents in the street by using it as a short-cut home. There was a reluctance by some residents to venture outside in the late evening. (LAVRAKAS and HERZ, 1982). Youths playing on grassed areas and climbing trees in the street were another source of complaint. A group, who continually kicked a football against a nearby 'bus shelter until the early hours of the morning, was especially troublesome to some families at one end of the street. These problems had continued for a number of months prior to and during 1988. Some residents had complained to local police in the hope that these nuisances could be eliminated - but the problems continued. The residents' description of the disorder problems in their street portrayed an annoyance and exasperation in community members which was not being quelled by police action. In some instances a divergence was apparent between what residents and police perceived as priority policing. There were no indications that the police were using their discretion concerning whether or not they attended to minor complaints at Moston.

A Neighbourhood Watch scheme existed at Moston but residents told me that it was ineffective and that the scheme existed in name only. During my interactions with the residents and police at Moston I saw no evidence of the Neighbourhood Watch Scheme in action. One resident was still

identified as the liaison person between the police and other residents but there were no regular meetings or any other organizational events that could be associated with a working scheme. Worst of all for residents was the fact that they could not identify any police officer who had particular responsibility for their area. This had not always been the case. In the past there had been a close and effective liaison between a particular community policeman and residents. However, the regularity and effectiveness of this liaison had diminished after the officer had transferred to another area. Residents still spoke of this officer in an approving manner.

The regional police force was apparently experiencing a manpower crisis. The Chief Constable of the area told a local newspaper that although it had gained 203 officers in 1986 the force was still 615 officers under strength. On average, an officer in the force dealt with 44 reported crimes per year compared with a national average of 35. (NEWCASTLE JOURNAL, 1990).

Having seen that the Neighbourhood Watch scheme was ineffective there was a general feeling by residents at Moston that police were now powerless to resolve their crime and disorder problems. Residents' perception of police as an impotent agency of order and crime deterrence, together with the spate of crimes and nuisance occurring in 1988, led them to consider what other measures could be taken. (BOGGS, 1971; TAUB, TAYLOR and DUNHAM, 1982; GREENBERG, ROHE, and WILLIAMS, 1985).

Hiring the private patrol at Moston was a consensus decision on behalf of residents. (LAVRAKAS and HERZ, 1982). Three residents, who were particularly concerned about the rise in local crime, (KASARDA and JANOWITZ, 1974; HUNTER, 1974) first canvassed others on their feelings and

attitudes. Solid agreement to take action to obtain extra protection was found. The enthusiasm of the three 'prime-movers' in the scheme of action was vital. It is unlikely that Moston Security Services would have been approached at all had it not been for these three residents. Importantly, an 'exit' option was being taken (HIRSCHMAN, 1970) which gave a boost in personnel and earnings to the private security sector while simultaneously relieving a hard-pressed public policing system. (O'CONNOR, 1973).

It is illustrative of the growth of security as a marketable commodity, (SPITZER, 1987,) that one of the three 'prime mover' residents telephoned Moston Security Services after seeing an advertisement in a local newspaper offering patrol services. Moston Security Services did not normally patrol in residential areas and had not done so on any previous occasions. In view of this the owner of the security company was invited to a meeting with residents to discuss the viability of the scheme and after a detailed discussion he undertook to provide the service. He emphasised it was important that all residents supported the scheme - a patrol which would operate for services of only half the residents would inevitably be giving a 'free ride' to those who did not pay. This creates the assumption that unless a majority of residents in any neighbourhood become part of the collective action security services are unlikely to provide a service which will benefit 'free riders'. Indeed, the owner of the security company at Moston had been approached by residents from an area adjacent to Moston and asked if he would be willing to provide a similar service there. The owner refused, having first surveyed the residents and found that although a majority of them wanted the service this did not amount to one hundred per cent of the residents.

In a large group, where actors' dissent to collectivism may go un-sanctioned and they stand to gain equally from the group's success,

collective action can be hard to attain because each actor knows that whether or not collective benefits will be secured the outcome will not be influenced by his personal contribution. (OLSON, 1965). Thus, collective organizations exist because they can control 'selective incentives' - which relate to private rather than public goods. These incentives are denied to members outside the collectivity. This collective aspect of community - apparently consensual and idyllic - is rather conducive to the 'segregated', 'defended neighbourhood'. (SUTTLES, 1972).

#### The Bridton Patrol.

In 1986, when the Bridton Housing Estate was being extended, the builders sub-contracted a security company to protect assets on the site. The patrol consisted of one security guard - Brian. He was an extremely enthusiastic patrolman and his success in protecting materials on the site had created for him a reputation of efficiency and reliability. Brian was, thus, respected by employer, local residents and police alike. His dogged patrolling style had resulted in a number of arrests of offenders found stealing materials. He was also very popular due to his open and friendly personality. On completion of the building work Brian had consolidated his position of trust, respect and popularity in the community. When I spoke to the local police sergeant he confirmed Brian's reputation and the fact that the local community desired his services:

He had made a good job of taking care of their homes when under construction. They wanted him to continue when they were built.

At the time work on the Bridton estate was almost completed a spate of offences to property occurred over a continuous two month period. The most worrying of these for residents were day-time burglaries. Annual comparisons of crime, between patrolled and unpatrolled areas, recorded by police at Bridton in 1986 are difficult to illustrate in statistical data.



This is due to the fact that residences less than one year old, and which were scenes of crime up until the time that the patrol was installed, have no historically comparative annual factor. In order, therefore, to show the relative increase at Bridton the annual rate of crime in the 'potentially' patrolled area has been compared with the annual rates in the area unpatrolled. These are shown in Table 4.2. It is apparent that the crime rate on the potentially patrolled area of the estate is disproportionate to the rate on the area unpatrolled.

*Table 4.2*

*NUMERICAL COMPARISON OF CRIME AT BRIDTON BY POTENTIALLY PATROLLED AND UNPATROLLED AREA.*

	Unpatrolled	Potentially Patrolled
1984	40	
1985	22	
1986	22	44

From my examination of police records it became obvious that the dominant problem at Bridton consisted of property crime. Interviews with residents confirmed this finding. A search of police records and interviews with residents failed to trace any significant problem of nuisance or disorder.

Simultaneously with residents' concern about the rise in crime on the estate Brian's employment was terminated due to completion of the building work. Thereafter it appeared - from the informal discussions between some residents and Brian - that the idea emerged of a private patrol as a response to the emotional and physical threat which existed in the community. (MAXFIELD, 1984:3). Two particular individuals were especially active in promotion of the idea. (KASARDA and JANOWITZ, 1974; HUNTER,

1974). From interviews with these two persons it became apparent that they placed great importance on crime prevention. One of these 'prime movers' described to me the period before the patrol's inception:

There were several break-ins. Me and Brian were friendly and often had a chat as he patrolled about. He's very reliable. I told him I thought it was a good idea if he began doing the patrol. It was my idea. I'm very security conscious. He said he would try and I wrote a letter to introduce him to the neighbours. He went to their doors and the patrol eventually began.

The second resident explained:

Brian used to check the compound opposite our house. He kept an eye on our houses as well. I talked to Brian after the break-ins started and suggested that he take this job on. He said he was interested. He went around the neighbours asking if they were interested. Then he started the patrol.

These 'active' individuals, like those at Moston, exhibited qualities of leadership and authority which assisted in the installation of a new agency that would avoid the inefficient bureaucratic public form.

(SELIGMAN, 1973:354).

After canvassing residents in 1986 Brian had obtained approximately 200 clients. He made a charge of one pound per household per week for his service. In 1989, due to a reduction in client numbers, this charge had risen to one pound fifty pence. Having spent a considerable period of time accompanying the Bridton patrol I found that Brian constantly complained about the 'free ride' non-paying residents received from his service.

(OLSON, 1965).

#### **The Becton Patrol.**

Throughout the 1980's Becton Borough Council began to outline a new, future style of management to be practised by the council's officers. This style was predicated upon a 'generalized' rather than a 'specialized' form of provision. (ASCHER, 1987). Managers were reminded of the need for continuing change towards a management approach which would be better

equipped to deal with the current climate in local government. (BECTON COUNCIL, 1989). (Appendix C). A shift in management style had occurred in response to economic pressures over recent decades. This shift was specifically spelled out by the Council. (BECTON COUNCIL, *ibid*:6).

The change in style had emanated from a 1983 publication by the Audit Commission for Local Authorities in England and Wales on economy, efficiency and effectiveness. (AUDIT COMMISSION, 1983; MINFORD, 1987). The management policy of council housing is seen by the Audit Commission as particularly important - local authorities manage five million dwellings in England and Wales, one third of the country's housing stock, and worth about £100 billion. Housing is the most important activity of most district councils, and the local government service that provokes the greatest volume of public complaints. The efficiency of services provided by public housing departments, and the fiscal accountability with which it was to proceed, was emphasised in the Audit Commission documents. Cooperation of council managers in the implementation of the policy would be required for successful provision of services. (AUDIT COMMISSION, 1984:15). Thus for the Chief Officer of Becton Council, the message from the Commission was clear:

Collectively it adds up to a reform programme based on 'free market' principles which are a long way from the structures, policies and sentiments shared for so long by members and officers. The need to separate the operations of client and contractor; the commercialism that will follow in the wake of setting up of direct service organisations; and the importance of customer/end user satisfaction cannot fail to affect the future. (BECTON COUNCIL, 1989:7).

Thus, customer satisfaction via the free market (FRIEDMAN, 1962) was high on Becton Council's list of objectives - service users were to be given maximum attention. (BECTON COUNCIL, *ibid*:9).

In the four housing objectives listed by Becton in their strategy statement for 1991 their commitment to providing improved environmental quality for tenants was apparent. The first objective stated a need to,

..... ensure a reasonable supply, choice and condition of housing while retaining a good quality residential environment in accordance with the Local Plan. (BECTON COUNCIL, 1991:1 (i) ).

It was in this culture of effectiveness and efficiency towards an improved public service that the possible use of a private security patrol was to be suggested at a Housing Committee meeting in November, 1984. (BECTON COUNCIL, 1984). Central to the new strategy was competitive tendering - six security firms were invited to submit tenders. The ideological nature of competitive tendering is evident in other research where administrators took on the initiative of privatization as a 'crusade'. (ASCHER, 1987:264).

#### **SUBJECTIVE VIEWS.**

For this part of the study two questions were designed into the interview schedule - one on motives generally and the other on police effectiveness. At Moston and Bridton both these questions were put to individual residents.

Council tenants at Becton, however, were not individually questioned on the matter of motives as their views on private patrol had been represented by the Federation of Becton Council Tenants. The Federation had made the decision to hire the patrol with council executives in committee. Unfortunately, no detailed records of policy decisions on this matter were kept by the council. In order, therefore, to identify the reasoning behind the Becton decision it was necessary to seek the individual views of members of the representative body and the council.

However, the question on police effectiveness was included in the schedule for the Becton sample and was put individually to Becton residents.

Data from the questionnaire at all sites and, additionally, from Becton Council officials and the Federation of Becton Council Tenants, is now outlined.

**Moston and Bridton.**

Most respondents at Moston and Bridton expressed anxiety for continuing increases in local crime and disorder and the fear of personal victimization. This data is presented in Table 4.3. It is worth noting at this stage that a significant percentage of those surveyed at each site stated that inadequate police protection was their primary motivator. This partial response concerning police ineffectiveness is additional to the data obtained from the specific question designed for that purpose and shown in Table 4.4.

*Table 4.3*

*RESPONDENTS' MOTIVES FOR HIRING PRIVATE PATROL.*

	Moston	Bridton
	%	%
Belief in rise of local crime/disorder producing annoyance or concern/fear for victimisation	73.3	66.1
Belief in the inadequacies of police protection	26.7	33.9
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents	30	62

The quotes that follow are representative of residents' responses to this question. At a time when residents were experiencing more crime, and police were having more reported to them, residents were realistic about how much protection - preventative patrol and security and assurance - the police could give in the present climate of fiscal management. Although they understood that the police organization was currently unable to satisfy these necessities adequately, residents' still believed that responsibility for this provision rested with the public police. If there are signs in some of the quotes that residents see a division of labour, with public police being kept for serious crime and private security for deterrent patrol, this does not undermine the general feeling held by residents that police protection was inadequate and thus ineffective for their needs.

#### Moston.

We were sick and tired of the thefts and break-ins.

There was too much crime in the street.

A lot of crime and the police couldn't catch them.

Not enough police attention and the crime we were getting.

#### Bridton.

It was all the break-ins we were getting.

Brian asked if he could do it. We were bothered about the burglaries that were going on and the police could not provide cover.

I got to know Brian when he was working for that other security company. He canvassed and we said yes 'cause there's a need for it.

The police are overstretched. Seeing someone in a uniform puts them off.

Six houses in a row near us were broken into.

We were troubled with break-ins, someone knocked on the door and said we're starting security on the estate. Lets be realistic, the police can't provide that. I said yes lets give it a chance.

Becton.

The following responses were typical of those persons closely concerned with council policy on the implementation of patrol. The principal officer in charge of the research department saw the reasoning as relating mainly to the increasing problems of crime and disorder on estates and the inability of the police to affect any change in that situation:

It began after we received a committee report on unsafe housing estates. We asked why police and caretakers were not keeping the estates safe. There had been some victimization of caretakers after they had tried to sort out some problems. They were only there to clean really. There was a lot of vandalism by kids. Residents said 'Why not tackle the police about it?' We had a meeting with the police. The residents were concerned about some things that the police said they had no power to deal with - loitering and other things. The police said they were unable to help on those sorts of things. Someone came up with the bright idea of having a private security patrol to move kids on, stop violence and put tenant's minds at rest. The council had to show that something was being done. The patrol was brought about in this way. The Tenants' Association wanted it and the council wanted to provide something. We put together a pilot scheme.

The Federation of Becton Council Tenants, had an important effect on overall decisions to hire private security. The lack of police manpower to deal with minor nuisance was also seen by them as a contributing factor. A senior Federation representative told me:

The Federation started in the 1960's. At first the Council saw us all as anarchists and reds. It was only in 1970 that the Council took us seriously. In the 1980's, from the tenants side, we were on about the petty problems on estates, rather than any crime problems. We brought this up at the committee meetings over the years and eventually private security patrols came up. The Housing Committee discussed it every six weeks for about a six month period. Ideas were sent to the Tenants Liaison Committee. We thought it was a good idea. There were a number of councillors who were totally against the idea. The Police at Becton were having manpower difficulties. We asked the council if they would contact a private security firm. It was a good chance for the tenants.

*A Hyperbola: Ideological Motive.*

From my interviews with Becton Council employees, and other personnel involved with the instigation of the private patrol, the political and ideological nature of the council's policy-stance became apparent. In contrast to a description of the patrol's inception as a process of non-political and democratic decision making, a contrary perception tended to emerge. Interviews with senior council officials conveyed to me a picture of a council whose policy of competitive tendering would be implemented at all costs. Not only had this policy to work in practical terms, it had to be also 'seen' to be working. A council policy officer, who had worked on the introduction of the patrol pilot scheme, saw the decision as strongly political:

Becton sees itself as a paternalistic Tory borough providing the service it sees fit. The private security patrol was a public relations exercise which gave hype to its political decisions on privatizing services.

A council research officer confirmed the council's intransigence to disband the patrol and allocate the money saved to other methods of estate security - methods more fundamental to specifically vulnerable groups but not so committed to government policy:

I suggested that the money the Council were spending on security patrols could be better spent on certain groups such as the elderly or women living alone - improved lighting and other ideas to assist those groups who badly need security. I was laughed out of the office.

This person ceased employment with Becton Council during the period of my research. I was told by other employees that the officer's political ideas on the allocation of resources did not rest comfortably with the ideas of the council hierarchy.

A senior research officer, previously employed by the council at the inception of the patrol, and whose research had been instrumental in



council decisions to contract the private company, described personal reservations about the project:

You have to remember that Becton has to be seen as a forward looking council and be seen as caring. The residents had never heard of private security patrols. The idea came about through council officers' application to policy. It would not be fair to say that it was the residents clamouring for private patrols - they weren't even asked, and it was debatable whether the Tenants' Federation opinions were representative of their feelings. They were meant as a deterrent but they were really a 'sop' by Becton Council.

Concerning the data collected from these two ex-employees, it is appropriate to note that there are difficulties in interpreting informants' reports of data which they recollect from the past. Respondents have a tendency to modify past feelings so that they fit more comfortably into their current point of view. (DEAN and WHYTE, 1978:181). This may result in simple omission, addition or distortion. The reliability of this ex-employee data may, therefore, be questionable in the light of the possibility of 'biographical reconstruction'. (SCHUTZ, 1962). However, the comparison between the interpretations given by these two ex-employees and the others does not show much variation and, therefore, must be seen as corroborated. (DEAN and WHYTE, *ibid*:185).

Thus, although Becton Council's common objective was apparently visible it seemed that certain groups were not allowed full access to the power-base of the policy machinery. (KAFKA, 1930). A member of the Tenants' Federation also alluded to the Council's tendency to preclude the members of the Federation from decision making:

I'm suspicious of the Council. We appear suspicious to them too. They don't allow us to get involved in early negotiations. They say we will have no useful input, but tenants' views should be available at all stages. They say we may leak information. We asked to have the Council's 'One Per Desk'(OPD) computer in our premises for basic information such as telephone numbers etc., so we could contact people quickly. They said no, we may misuse information. Yet another group who have the computer recently leaked the council's policy of selling off council property to the private sector. It's a con. I have seen manipulation by the architects and housing officers at the Council. The architects develop an idea together with residents but



when the design stage arrives they have produced something quite different. When we tell them they say, "It's too late now".

A senior officer in the housing department supported the above views. The description given by this officer was one of impotent Federation members, not wholly representative of the tenants and who aligned themselves meekly with manipulative council decision-makers on committees:

The residents don't protest. You can tell them that they have to pay some increase or they are not going to get some improvement. They do not protest. They are so used to the cut-back policy. I feel like saying, 'Say something, for goodness sake!' The Residents' Association members are so dependent on the council that they do not protest either. I've seen council officers feed ideas to the Residents' Association and they have taken them up later and developed them into policy. The Residents' Association is manipulated by some officers.

The balance of power, apparently lying with the council and the better-off tenants (75% owner-occupation), reminded me that the sociological writing of some of those who criticise the conventional approach to crime control is of the type which tries to make the world look different. Here there is a gap between our private sense of what is going on around us and the professional discussions and writings of the social world. (GRAMSCI, 1971:210). The argument goes that the state may be more concerned with the finer points of political economy than with those persons caught up in the victimization process - an overbearing and coercive and divisive apparatus exists at the centre of which is an economic logic. But it must be argued that this theory of conspiracy was hardly tenable at Becton for tenants were strongly influencing their own future. Furthermore, it is an exaggeration which undermines individual intelligence to argue such human passivity. (THOMPSON, 1975:262-263).

A more appropriate analysis here is one which rejects the tendency to romanticise crime and see it as politically inspired. This left-realist

position retains theoretical ideas and political ideals of the left but at the same time it accepts that crime does real harm. A radical victimology is called for by those who take this position. At the centre of this approach is a realistic and empirically informed picture of the extent of crime (particularly crime within the working class) and the extent to which some sections of society fear crime. (YOUNG, 1986:17-21).

**IMPOTENT POLICE.**

To further test the hypothesis that inadequate police protection had been influential in respondents' decisions to hire private patrol they were asked if they believed police could adequately protect their interests. The response, shown in Table 4.4, makes clear their overwhelming belief that police were unable to provide adequate protection.

*Table 4.4*

**RESPONDENTS' VIEWS OF POLICE ABILITY TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE PROTECTION.**

	Moston	Bridton	Becton
	%	%	%
Unable	97.0	100.0	56.1
Able	3.0	0.0	41.5
Un-ascertained	0.0	0.0	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents	30	62	41

An important difference between the responses from Moston/Bridton and Becton is apparent. The Becton respondents do not appear to be as uncertain about police ability to provide protection as those at Moston and Bridton. This is a significant finding when it is considered that the

private initiative at Becton did not primarily originate from local people but from New Right ideologies in Becton Council.

The following are a representative selection of responses. I identified these quotes as representative by first noting all responses given and then designing a coding frame. The highest frequency of responses from the coding frame are presented here:

#### **Moston.**

Police cannot cope with levels of crime.

We haven't seen a policeman in here for seven years. They can't do much, there's not enough of them.

The police cannot give protection. Been here four to five years now and never recall seeing a foot patrol.

I've seen a policeman here three times since I've been here. How can they protect your car when they're not about.

I've never seen one yet.

I never see a policeman much. I saw one about Christmas. They're too busy elsewhere to have any effect here.

#### **Bridton.**

There were some rowdy youths outside one night and we called the police - they've never come yet.

We get very little protection from the police.

Poorly. They're not protecting us.

There's not enough police to provide the protection that people want.

There's not enough on the force. Years ago there were a few walking about, now there's none.

Brian's doing their job as far as I'm concerned.

#### **Becton.**

They're not too bad here. They're there when you want them, more than you can say for that private firm.

Yes, they can protect us.

They're not much good keeping the noise and damage down.

The Assistant Director of a Metropolitan Borough Council in the North of England, in his reply to my enquiry on why his council had adopted private security patrol, supported the findings at research sites. He told me:

It remains a central concern of my Council, however, that the Police are unable to protect public property to this extent and appear almost disinterested in incidents of theft and vandalism that are reported to them.

The perceived inability of the police to effectively perform their tasks was thus found to be a significant factor in the introduction of private security patrol. (SLYNN, 1983: ALBANESE, 1986:86).

#### A DEMAND FOR ORDER.

During interviews at all sites I found a considerable number of individuals who spoke of an apparent by-gone age of 'police administered order'. Many felt the police were more effective when they gave justice on the spot - as they had apparently been more inclined to do in the past. There was consistent nostalgic recall from respondents of the policeman who controlled community order. A typical example of this came from a middle-aged Bridton resident who recalled that the local policeman would:

.....clip your ear and send you on your way. When you got home you didn't dare tell your parents 'cause you'd get another clip.

The stories I was being told by respondents about their younger days often included some form of mild violence by the local policeman - usually a clip with a glove or a lash with a cane. The regularity of these descriptions given by interviewees portrayed a past era where the local policeman's distribution of discipline was embedded in society. (FOUCAULT, 1979a). Now, however, there was a substantial feeling of sorrow amongst

respondents for what can only be described as a loss of discipline in the community. They saw its immediate return as an important need which could be realized to some extent by the return of the policeman on the beat.

I had not designed the questionnaire for this regular response - it came naturally through the interview process and was not invalidated by any prompting on my behalf. Thus it became important to record and measure these feelings which are presented in Table 4.5. The figures were not tested for significance.

*Table 4.5*

**RESPONDENTS' FEELINGS ON COMMUNITY ORDER.**

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	Moston	Bridton	Becton
	%	%	%
Increased Order Needed	66.7	56.5	56.1
No Response	33.3.	43.5	46.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents	30	62	41

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This data has been compared with attitude data from other research samples to try and establish whether this view of a need for increased order is particularly pronounced in those areas that adopt private security, or whether it is a widespread refrain. HOUGH and MAYHEW, (1983:28), found that only half the respondents in the British Crime Survey thought that offenders should be brought to court and most favoured only fines as a penalty. Only 10% of all respondents thought that a custodial sentence was appropriate for offenders and only 2% favoured corporal punishment. The British Crime Survey showed that much crime goes

unreported. These writers concluded that this large incidence of unreported crime was not evidence of a contemporary break-down of order, on the contrary, it had existed for as long as criminal statistics have been collected. HOUGH and MAYHEW, (1983:32-33), in analysing their research, thus, dismiss the idea that people's tolerance of crime has decreased. These findings would tend to indicate that public attitudes did not show any noticeable increase concerning demands for more public order. However, as HOUGH, (1989:51) points out, the social stratification of police users as respondents has an important bearing upon the outcome of the data collected. This is relevant to the present study as the sample contained mostly middle-class respondents who may be expected to seek an increase in public order. In contrast, a number of polls offer support for the belief that people generally favour a tougher approach by the courts. (GALLUP, 1982: MARPLAN, 1983). It cannot be established with any certainty, therefore, that a need for order is more pronounced in areas where private security patrol is used, however, it may be accepted that this attitude has some influence upon the instigation of private security patrol.

#### **MOTIVATION: A DUAL PROCESS.**

The empirical findings in this part of the research point-up three dominant and interrelated factors concerning the motivation for private security patrol. The first relates to a particular concern by residents for increased levels of crime, and or, minor incidents of disorder. Secondly, due to crime increases, residents perceived a need for additional police protection but the method which they believed would be most effective - enhanced patrol - was not publicly available to them. Linked to these factors was the general feeling that community order was breaking down and needed reinforcing. There is, thus, a strong social element within the motive for private patrols. The impact which private

individuals had upon change cannot, therefore, be underestimated. Thirdly, in addition to the influence of human agency, there is a structural element present, for there is evidence of motivation being affected by state policy on crime control - self help and freedom of choice. It is appropriate to discuss these matters further and make distinctions about particular influences in each case study.

If police resources on the streets of the research sites had decreased then there appears to be a positive relationship between crime-rates and police resources. (CARR-HILL and STERN, 1979). In effect, an increase in crime occurred but there was an absence of effective policing to control it - the dominant state policy being self-help and freedom of choice. Protection by private security patrol thus became the rational alternative. There is, ironically however, just a chance that rising crime rates may have some connection with increased numbers of police - although there appears to be ample evidence that police discover only a small amount of recorded crime. (BOTTOMLEY and COLEMAN, 1981; MAWBY, 1979; BLACK, 1970, 1971). In contemporary times there does also appear to be a feeling amongst the public of intolerance to police ineffectiveness. An apparent lack of effort and impoliteness are some of the complaints made about police officer's performance today. Percentages of respondents who complained of such matters concerning police effectiveness have been high. (SKOGAN, 1990:16-18). Another consideration concerning the rise in crime reported to police must also be that the public today are obliged to make such reports for insurance purposes.

At Moston and Bridton there was evidence of a high level of economic power amongst individual residents. This also existed at Becton to a lesser extent - especially in the poorer area of the high-rise flats where the patrol spent most time. The more economically powerful were able to



create their own destiny by defining their community policing needs through the use of private security. This was less apparent at Becton where New Right policies on crime control emanated more from the council than from individuals - evidence 19% of the household sample being unaware that the patrol existed. Private security, at Moston and Bridton in particular, thus, strongly possessed a mandate defined by clients. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1983:498-502). Because private individuals are the main users of security-services a client defined mandate is un-surprising. (SHEARING, FARNELL and STENNING, 1980:163). In relation to the creation of policing, it is interesting to note that because 'communities' authorize the use of force in regulating internal affairs it is possible to create formal institutions of government and law without developing public police. Thus an essential element of police is 'authorization in the name of the community'. (BAYLEY, 1986:23).

It is, accordingly, the 'sustainers' who are influential in defining the police's 'key practice'. (CAIN, 1979:4; BITTNER, 1970: Chap. 6). Flexibility and width of investigation into the concept of 'police' is thus allowed as 'the' public police ceases to be the dominant factor. Included in this more sociologically energetic definition is the right for a variety of forces, including private security, to share functional aspects of policing. (CHAIKEN and CHAIKEN, 1987). This right emanates not only from the power of the state but from the public's courteous regard to it. (BERGER, BERGER and KELLNER, 1974; GIDDENS, 1981, 1984).

Another significant factor in this part of the research is the contrast between the data found at Moston/Bridton and Becton which tends to indicate that a lesser need existed at Becton for private patrol services. This is evident in the fact that Becton residents appeared relatively satisfied with the level of public policing they received. This

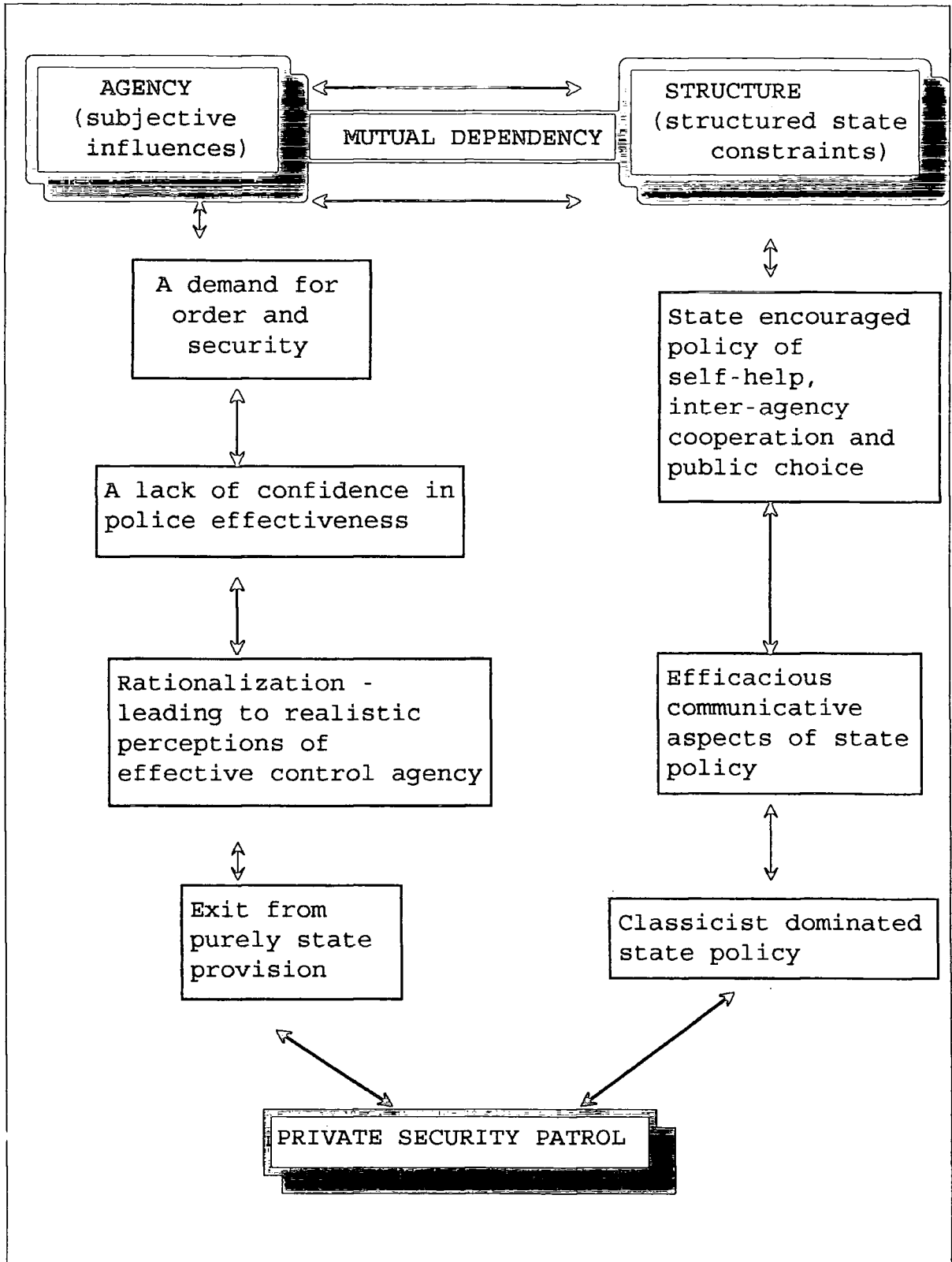
was clearly not the case at Moston and Bridton. It could be argued, therefore, that the installation of the private patrol at Becton was not at the instigation of the residents but the council. These distinguishing factors outlined between the research sites tend to support the subjective evidence of coercive elements in Becton Council.

State policy on crime-control would, therefore, appear to be an important influence on both individual and organizational motivation to provide personal protection. This alternative fitted well to the policy adopted by Becton Council, for there is some evidence that they used the demand for protection to perpetuate their ideology for free market forces and rational choice. This conclusion, however, needs further consideration. It must be seen against the fact that the state has been spending more and more on crime control and that numbers of police have increased significantly. If the state favours market solutions to police provision the question has to be asked why is it spending so much on public police? It must also be said that most councils have not followed Becton's policy of private provision of policing.

It has been shown in this chapter that the process of change is not simply state or subjectively motivated. It is apparent that both these factors are present. This obviously requires an understanding of change which allows for the duality of agency and structure. Figure 4.1 attempts to capture this duality which is perhaps best described in the concept of 'structuration'. (GIDDENS, 1979). As a concept structuration expresses the mutual dependency of human agency and social structure. Social structures are intimately involved in the production of action by individuals.

Figure 4.1

MOTIVE FOR NEIGHBOURHOOD PRIVATE SECURITY PATROL: A MODEL



COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS.

In this chapter the nature and characteristics of the communities in which private security patrols operate are identified. Analysis is made in context with the idea of 'community crime prevention' and conclusions are drawn concerning patrols' relation to 'community' as an integral part of the preventative ideal on a macro level.

THE SYMBOLIC COMMUNITY.

Although situational crime prevention strategies will be more successful in communities where people are worried about crime and where they feel positive towards their neighbour, (HOPE, 1988:159) there is a lack of success in neighbourhood schemes nationally (HOUGH and MAYHEW, 1983) and internationally (WHITAKER, 1986). Furthermore:

Crime prevention is also ethically wrong because it is the very antithesis of what living in a law abiding society should be all about. It is a law for the rich who can afford security and no law at all for the old and poor people who so often feature in the crime reports. When men first began to live together in communities one of the prime reasons was for mutual security. Crime prevention abandons that concept and says it is every man for himself - the law of the jungle. (WORSLEY, 1983:22).

And at each research site in the present study I similarly found ample evidence to indicate a general failure of care in the community and the dominance of individualism amongst residents.

It was shown in Chapter 4 that the neighbourhood watch scheme at Moston was ineffective - nothing more than a symbolic gesture at 'community'. (HUNTER, 1974). At Bridton no neighbourhood watch scheme existed. This absence of communal spirit may be seen as reflecting

residents' lack of interest in a self-caring community. When the subject of local neighbourhood watch schemes was brought up during interviews, residents constantly told me that communal disinterest was the reason for lack of success. There was no suggestion that respondents' antipathy to neighbourhood watch type schemes was due to the fact that they already had a private security scheme.

The same apathy existed at Becton. Tenants' interests were represented by a few residents who were members of the Tenants' Association. At a regularly held police and community consultative committee meeting, which I attended at Becton, I noticed that only one representative from the Rams Council Estate was present. This man was a neighbourhood watch coordinator for a small area on the Rams Estate. I considered him to be middle-class (LAVRAKAS et al, 1980; SKOGAN and MAXFIELD, 1981; WANDERSMAN, JAKUBS and GIAMARTINO, 1981) and unrepresentative of the many families who resided in the Rams Estate Flats. Like the few crime prevention enthusiasts - 'prime movers' - at Moston and Bridton, this man had a charismatic and participating personality and was seriously concerned about the state of local crime. (KASARDA and JANOWITZ, 1974; HUNTER, 1974).

At all sites the social characteristics of those who became involved in crime prevention correlated with the more participating individual. (HOPE, 1988:158). Thus most residents, although concerned about crime, did not become actively engaged in prevention. (TURK, 1987:141; HOPE, 1988:148). If a caring community correlates with successful collective, preventative schemes then the answer for the uncaring communities that I had found was to contract-in a protection agency.

At all sites I found that those who did participate seriously towards the inception of the private patrol exhibited higher levels of informal social interaction in the neighbourhood than those who did not participate. (KASARDA and JANOWITZ, 1974 ; HUNTER, 1974). Furthermore, this tendency to participate was occurring in a predominately middle-class environment. (LAVAKAS et al, 1980; SKOGAN and MAXFIELD, 1981; WANDERSMAN, JAKUBS and GIAMARTINO, 1981). Thus, it was evident that this crime prevention strategy was more likely to develop in neighbourhoods with economic and moral homogeneity. (GREENBERG, ROHE and WILLIAMS, 1982). Middle-class neighbourhoods feel more control over their environments and are more responsive to self-help strategies and less reliant on police than typical lower-class neighbourhoods. (BOGGS, 1971; GREENBERG, ROHE and WILLIAMS, 1982; HACKLER, HO and URQUHART-ROSS, 1974; TAUB, TAYLOR and DUNHAM, 1982; TAYLOR, GOTTFREDSON and BROWER, 1981). Regardless of any attitudinal class difference the fundamental fact remains that middle-class people can better afford private provision.

#### **ABSENCE AND BAD NEIGHBOURS: A SOCIETY OF STRANGERS.**

At Moston and Bridton I found that most residents were absent from home during the daytime due to their employment. Mothers with young children were the usual family members seen about during daytime. For the purposes of my interview schedule it was more productive to visit homes in the evening when most family members were available for interview. This 'absence' may not be uncommon in such areas of privately owned property where unemployment is low and most households have dual wage earners.

Thus the type of neighbourhood in which I found myself researching became clearly identifiable to me through my participation with residents as I met and spoke to them in the streets or in their homes. The

neighbourhood was predominantly characterized by the centrality of commodity production, distribution and exchange - residents' market relationships were preeminent. Residents clearly associated social status with the area in which they lived and their property. The protection of their property - and hence their status - through the installation of private security patrol seemed to be interrelated in some way. The patrol was a part of residents' guarantee of securing this status in the broader community and it set them apart from other communities who did not have this additional protection. Indeed, in a few cases I found that some residents had been influenced to move into the area because of the patrol's existence and talked about the patrol in the context of 'snob value'.

It has been argued that the primacy of market relations in this type of community tends to create class societies where the social status of the area is as important as the social status of the individual. (RUTTER and GILLER, 1983:206). Other writers have claimed that the change in style of neighbourhood policing from public to private is partly due to this phenomenon and is a characteristic of middle-class neighbourhoods. (SHERMAN, 1983:148). Such a community and policing style is unlikely to increase neighbour contact and promote communal feeling. There is an overwhelming analysis in social research that as community care declines other services will advance. (KELLER, 1968). Even if surveillance was likely on its own to curtail crime, community watch schemes cannot be easily implemented and maintained in all neighbourhoods. (ROSENBAUM, 1988:142).

Accordingly, the type of neighbourhood examined in this study is unlikely, by the very absence of their inhabitants during working hours, to provide successful self-administered watch schemes. My own impressions

of the existence of an apparent lack of social interaction, supported by some evidence of residents' non-communicability, (see pages 137-138) strengthens that claim. Indeed, successful community care is uncommon and improbable in contemporary society - for in advanced capitalism the combination of market moralities and official services act against it. Some argue that there exists the 'economics of bad neighbours' (KELLER, 1968; HIRSCH, 1977:71-83) and the 'society of strangers'. (MERRY, 1981; IGNATIEFF, 1983). Here a negative relationship is created which has an economic logic. This can best be seen in the fact that it would logically appear that public policing is costly but, alternatively, neighbourliness is very cheap. However, from the point of view of the individual capitalist this position is reversed - neighbourliness is costly (as it impinges upon his life-style and ability to maintain status levels) and public police costs, unavoidably paid through the tax precept, are low. (ABRAMS, 1977:80). This theoretical position supports the view that ideal preventative strategies should have more to do with large rather than small solutions to combat the reality of inequitable current public policy. (YIN, 1986:308). It would ask also for a greater recognition that, to some extent, society's crime problems can be described within the 'crisis of capitalism' framework. (PLATT and TAKAGI, 1981:30-58).

If the economics of bad neighbours argument is at all correct then such neighbourhoods as studied here depend strongly upon continuing publicly provided services. It seems sensible, therefore, that if these publicly provided services are seen as defective then private protection will be the only alternative. Better to pay for effective protection than attempt to provide it on a community basis by impracticable and ineffective neighbourhood watch schemes.



#### KEEPING 'THEM' OUT: COMMUNITY FRAGMENTATION.

Appendix B shows the locations of private security patrols in residential areas in England and Wales. Schemes are either private, in the sense that clients are private owners of property, or public, in that councils have developed schemes to protect publicly owned housing. This distinction between public and private property is, however, less relevant than appears at first sight. For instance, the council at Becton provide a security patrol for estates which, although once publicly owned, are now 75% owner-occupied. This can hardly be seen as representative of a poorer area. However, it must be noted that at Becton I collected more critical comments from respondents about the private patrol than I did at the other two sites. Although, in the main, Becton residents were economically advantaged, they were not as highly advantaged as residents at the other two sites. The areas of low owner occupation at Becton consist mainly of blocks of flats - the residents of which were identified by many respondents as a threat to their property. These flats were less physically attractive to purchase and had more crime problems than elsewhere on the Rams Estate. The economically disadvantaged tended to be lumped together in these areas where crime was high. (ROSHIER, 1989:94). Nevertheless, there was a general affluence amongst Becton residents. The distinction I draw between class identification at Becton and the other two sites may best be described as being upper working class and upper middle class respectively.

Although councils such as Becton are concerned for the quality of life of their tenants, of more serious concern was found to be the opportunity reduction of crimes against council property and the financial saving this would provide. (SKOGAN, 1988:39). This concern for financial loss through crime was evident in my enquiries and the explanations given by councils which operated private patrol. The

paramount concern of councils for loss reduction is significant in that it too correlates with government ideology on effectiveness and efficiency. In striving for economy councils increasingly utilise the protective services of the private security industry. The individual owner-occupier respondents too, like council executives, were primarily concerned for the opportunity reduction of crime against their property. Thus not only the characteristic of impersonality existed at research sites, the class nature of the social order was also evident. Modern capitalism may not only have the capacity to create a society of strangers but may also give rise to the birth of class. (PERKIN, 1969; GIDDENS, 1973:132-135; 1981:176-217).

In order to test the wider implications of integrative community attitudes from a subjective position, respondents were asked to identify their perceptions of the domicile of those who offended in their area. In each case there was a predominance towards naming areas within the local council estates. Table 5.1 shows these responses. At Moston, those interviewed identified a particular Council Estate, 'Blackbank', as the location from which offenders came. At Bridton a specific Council Estate called 'Kelton', was named as the problem area. For Becton residents offenders came from 'the flats'.

Table 5.1

*RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE CRIMINAL'S DOMICILE.*

	Moston %	Bridton %	Becton %
Local Council Estates	83.0	74.2	68.3
Non-Local Council Estates		9.7	
Local private estates		3.2	
Nowhere in particular		8.1	
Un-ascertained	7.0	4.8	31.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents	30	62	41

Protective behaviour through small efforts does not enhance the security of a wider community. Such behaviour acts to fragment rather than integrate society. Respondents' perceptions of the location of the threat to safety from those residing on local public housing estates, and other less fortunate residential areas than their own, reinforces the polarisation of communities. Some communities have defined boundaries because all the adjacent communities disclaim their residents. These residential enclaves acquire an identity and a set of boundaries simply because they are left out of others. (SUTTLES, 1972:240-241). Thus, a 'symbolic' community assumes a 'we versus they' attitude. The primary objective of this style of community is the protection of 'your' area to prevent 'them' getting in. 'They' are not part of 'your' community. (CURRIE, 1988:281).

**Fear And Community Polarization.**

When crime is associated with the less well-off, and this is reinforced by segregated housing patterns and an emphasis on different

value structures, the result can be an escalation of the fear of crime and an increase in segregation. (CONKLIN, 1975:33-34). Furthermore, the ever-increasing trend to seek out protection from outside agencies may only increase feelings of insecurity and create fragmented, self-perpetuating communities:

Paradoxically, the more we enter into relationships to obtain the security commodity, the more insecure we feel; the more we depend upon the commodity rather than each other to keep us safe and confident, the less safe and confident we feel; the more we divide the world into those who are able to enhance our security and those who threaten it, the less we are able to provide it for ourselves.....The 'quest for security' through the market thus not only sets us apart from each other and leads us to see those beyond the commodity relationship as threats rather than resources, it may also directly contribute to a sense of insecurity as well. (SPITZER, 1987:50).

Thus, 'respectable fears' affect policies towards those areas and communities which are deprived. (HALL et al, 1978; PEARSON, 1983).

Reacting to panic over increasing disorder is seen as a distraction away from the more serious problems in society. The fear of crime can serve as a way of legitimizing and rationalising increased control of subordinate populations. (MERRY, 1981:220). Concern about crime thus justifies and reinforces hostility that stems from class conflict.

As society becomes more complex it is harder to identify and isolate those who want to damage it. And, if my analysis is accurate, private provision, through non-participative schemes such as private security patrol, will tend to confuse this issue further by creating greater differences amongst already fragmented classes. Thus pockets of private security protection would seem only to strengthen the dysfunctional aspects of 'community' as an ideal:

The pursuit of justice by individuals as well as by groups leads to creation of larger systems of discipline that destroy the vitality of small-scale communities. By militating against community the quest for justice often generates the need for more extensive interference at a later stage, but then not in the interests of justice but of order. (BAYLEY, 1980:54).

It remains a natural instinct to protect whatever property we possess no matter what neighbourhood we live in. This instinct requires positive action and people will defend themselves given the right physical framework. (NEWMAN,1972). However, if shown to be effective, the crime prevention through residential design model not only controls the regulation of predatory behaviour it also places emphasis on the sanctity of private property. It concerns a further responsibility of those with an interest in maintaining private property to police those who have no such stake.

The strategy of private security patrol, thus, reinforces the power of those who own property and it reinforces the fear they feel towards the propertyless. (BOOSTROM and HENDERSON, 1983:28; SUTTLES,1972). Financially weak sections of the community tend to be identified on a 'cognitive map', as areas from where 'predatory', 'shiftless' and 'desperate' characters emanate. (SUTTLES, ibid:33). Social divisions between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' creates a class separate from that class labelled as deviant.

Similar communities to those found in this study have rallied around stereotyped fears of the poor, assuming their criminality and reacting to it by increased defensive actions. (STUART, 1970:2). An important determinant of defended boundaries is, therefore, the notion of financial loss reduction by keeping out those seen as a threat to the financial interests of the better-off in the community. This gives assurance of peaceableness and a durable community to those who want and can afford it. (SUTTLES, 1972:241). Thus here there is support for the notion that political power in society tends to be possessed by a small homogeneous elite who psychologically adapt well to social and economic change. (PARETO, 1966; MOSCA, 1939). Seen in this light, the communities where

private security patrol operate are the very antithesis of communities of organic solidarity. (DURKHEIM, 1897). Such elitist communities, where the classical ethic of self-help and public choice has a strong influence, are likely as a creation to have been influenced by the state (COHEN,1985:123) and the individual community member. (BERGER and LUCKMAN, 1967; BERGER, BERGER and KELLNER, 1974; GIDDENS, 1979, 1984).

## CHAPTER 6

### THE FUNCTIONAL NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD PRIVATE SECURITY PATROL.

The primary functions of the patrols are now examined. To obtain this objective I collected data from interviews, documents and participant observation. As alluded to in the previous chapter, asset protection was found to be a primary objective of the patrol.

#### PROPERTY PROTECTION: PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF PATROL.

The monotonous regularity with which I found patrol personnel carried out property checks indicated the functional dominance of the security of property. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1983; SOUTH, 1987a, 1987b). My observations, thus, identified the main concern of the Moston and Bridton patrol to be the safety of residents' private property and, in the case of the Becton patrol, the safety of council-owned property.

An array of valuables was constantly visible in the areas patrolled. On the Moston and Bridton sites, in addition to high value housing, there were a considerable number of two, three, and in some cases, four-car-families. At Bridton Brian regularly commented on the total value of all the un-garaged motor cars parked on the streets and reminded me that vehicles were the highest valued possessions left outside to tempt the thief.

The tower blocks of the Rams Estate at Becton bear witness to the contemporary reconstruction of the urban environment. They have structural characteristics which tend to lend themselves to the use of

private security patrols. I found that environmental security was being affected by socioeconomic trends which in turn had changed patterns of access to property (SOUTH, 1987b:149) by displacing public and allowing in private policing agencies. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981:229).

Possessions remained a constant topic of conversation throughout the time I accompanied patrols. These observations were confirmed by the subjective data collected from interviews. Table 6.1 shows residents' views of specific matters receiving enhanced protection. The negative response from the Becton sample underlines a general ineffectiveness concerning that patrol scheme. There may have been a number of reasons for such a negative response from Becton respondents. It is necessary to outline these in order that the often considerable differences between the responses from Becton residents and those at the other two sites can be analysed satisfactorily.

Firstly, Becton patrol's maintenance reports (Appendix D) related to the tower-block flats more than any other area of the estate. This may indicate that the non-owner-occupier area, which still remained the primary responsibility of the council, was the main target of the patrol. If the main job of the patrol was keeping an eye on this rougher council property it may not be surprising that residents who did not reside there, and presumably did not receive as much attention, saw the patrol as ineffective. At times when I worked with the patrol at Becton I was aware that the area of the flats was given more attention. But this was mainly because the flats area was where most problems existed. The responsibility of the patrol, nevertheless, was to the entire estate and they did not just patrol the flats. Secondly, the considerable support for the local public police found at Becton may have been associated with respondents' opposition to the privatisation of policing



and, thus, their objection to the patrol. Thirdly, it is worth remembering that, in contrast to the relatively smaller geographical areas of Moston and Bridton, where smaller local firms provided the patrol, the Becton patrol had a much larger area of responsibility and a comparatively small number of personnel who were employed by a nationally run company.

In contrast, data from Moston and Bridton shows the patrols' protective ability was valued. (REISS, 1983, 1987). This contrast is often duplicated throughout the study and it is helpful to the reader at this point to be referred forward to page 141 where a particular example of this is evident in the data presented there.

*Table 6.1*

*RESPONDENTS' VIEWS ON PRIMARY AREAS OF ENHANCED PROTECTION.*

	Moston	Bridton	Becton
	%	%	%
Property	70.0	77.4	07.3
Property and Public Order	26.7	14.5	00.0
Public Order	00.0	00.0	04.9
No Increase in Safety	03.3	08.1	80.5
Un-ascertained	00.0	00.0	07.3
Total (%):	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents:	30	62	41

Some typical responses from the interviews follow:

**Moston.**

Keeps yobbos' away, but mainly for property.

Property in general.

The house and the car.

The house.

Bridton.

People tend to look after their property on this estate and that's what's more protected here.

I'm paying Brian to keep the house safe not the streets.

The whole estate is made safer 'cause he's wandering around the streets.

I have two cars and one is left on the drive.

The car.

Becton.

Nothing.

Nothing. It's disgusting here. We need something done.

It stops vandalism in the flats area.

It's done nothing.

**CONCERN AND FEAR: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL UTILITY OF PATROL.**

In addition to identifying the physical aspect of the patrol's function I sought to identify any emotional effects the patrol was having on residents. In estimating the level of fear or concern felt by residents the effects upon them of the historical events they had experienced - outlined in Chapter 4 - were considered. The high levels of concern felt by residents - created by the incidents of trespass into their homes and to other property - has application in defining their overall feelings. When this factor is taken into consideration it can be seen that residents' emotions consisted of elements of both fear and serious concern for themselves and their property. This level of emotion is consistent with a definition of fear which can be created by the loss of property. (GAROFALO, 1981).

In order to test the hypothesis that private security patrol allays the fear of crime, (DONOVAN and WALSH, 1986;61) I designed part of the questionnaire to include residents' views of the patrols' most important

function. This is distinct from identifying the 'primary area of enhanced protection' which Table 6.1 identifies. Table 6.2, therefore, shows the response of residents to the question of identifying the main utility of the private patrol. Property protection could have been expected to dominate this response, however, the provision of a 'feeling of security' rated high at both Moston and Bridton. At Becton the response was very negative. This may be accountable, again, by the larger geographical area which the Becton patrol covered. Additionally, the Becton area was more urbanised than the other two sites. It would logically follow from this that providing a feeling of security in such an urbanised area would be much more difficult than in the less urbanised areas of Moston and Bridton. The value of 'deterrence' to residents at all sites is also evident in the data. (DONOVAN and WALSH, 1986:44).

*Table 6.2*

***RESPONDENTS' VIEWS OF PATROLS' PRIMARY FUNCTIONS.***

	Moston	Bridton	Becton
	%	%	%
Provides Feeling of Security	46.6	50.0	00.0
General Deterrence	30.0	31.0	75.6
Protection Of Property	06.7	10.0	00.0
Deters Burglary	10.0	06.0	00.0
None	06.7	03.0	22.0
Un-ascertained	00.0	00.0	02.4
Total (%)	100	100	100
Number of Respondents	30	62	41

The raw figures in the above table do not catch the point as well as the following responses given by interviewees. 'Feeling of security' in the

table can be semantically associated with property protection whereas, more powerfully, the responses that follow refer to and convey feeling:

**Moston.**

They're always seen to be there. Makes you feel more secure.

Discourages kids and teenagers. Stops people hanging about. After they'd been with the dogs they stopped hanging about.

A deterrent effect. They're diplomatic in vetting strangers who come into the street.

Peace of mind. You see them there on the job.

**Bridton.**

We go away quite a lot and know Brian will be there to look after it all.

Peace of mind.

It's a deterrent. The idea of someone wandering around when you're on holiday for instance. It's nice to know someone is keeping an eye on the place.

I feel safer. If anybody's trying to get into the house and I'm on my own, I know Brian's there. (female).

**Becton.**

Presumably to keep trouble down - smashing windows and things.

Nothing - they're useless.

To cut down on youngster's violence, prevent graffiti.

To keep an eye on the kids. There's some right little bastards. When I was a kid it was a clip around the ear. The Bobby on the beat's needed.

The fact that the deterrent ability of the patrol was highly rated by residents becomes increasingly apparent when the 'protection of property' and 'deters burglary' ratings in Table 6.2 are added to 'general deterrence'. When these are allied there is barely any difference between the frequencies of first and second ratings. The extent of demand for a deterrent, proactive policing style is important

for traditional policing. (REISS, 1983, 1987). Thus, a correlation was found between emphasis on foot patrol and decreasing fears of crime. (SKOGAN, 1987). This finding, which suggests the need for an increase in the symbolic role of public policing, is matched by the findings of other research:

The fourth and, probably most important role which the public demanded was the symbolic one of, by their very presence, proclaiming a state of order. This was the root of the wish, noted in many other studies, for more foot patrols. 'Panda Cars', or their latter-day equivalents, provided the public with little reassurance. (SHAPLAND and VAGG, 1988:149).

The level of street safety felt by residents is demonstrated in Table 6.3. In addition to the safety residents may have felt in a general sense, this question sought to test how safe residents felt when out alone at night in the streets of the patrolled area, as opposed to an unpatrolled area. Notwithstanding the fact that the primary target for protection is property, the finding from this question illustrates the feeling of enhanced personal safety felt by residents when in the streets at Moston and Bridton. It confirms residents' legitimation of the patrols' public disorder-deterrent function, if only in a symbolic sense. (DONOVAN and WALSH, 1986:56-60). The reassuring presence engendered by the patrols at Moston and Bridton is absent in the response I obtained to the Becton patrol. As noted in the previous data, this could be accounted for by the more urbanised area of Becton when compared to the other two sites. As none of the research sites suffered from special public disorder problems this response of 'reassurance' can be viewed merely as part of the symbolic effects of patrol.

Table 6.3

*RESPONDENTS' FEELINGS OF SAFETY IN STREETS OF PATROLLED AREA,  
AS OPPOSED TO UNPATROLLED AREA, AT NIGHT.*

	Moston %	Bridton %	Becton %
More Safe	90.0	72.3	36.6
No more safe than elsewhere	10.0	27.7	63.4
Total (%)	100	100	100
Number of Respondents	30	62	41

Some responses follow:

**Moston.**

It's safer in Moston.

Feels no different on this estate when you're out alone.

I'd feel worse if they weren't here.

I feel safer here. I've seen them chase people away.

**Bridton.**

It's much safer on this side of the estate.

I'd feel less safe somewhere else. You can't go out these days.

Safer here than elsewhere.

I feel better when Brian's about.

**Becton.**

It makes no difference you never see them.

If you knew they were there you'd feel a bit safer.

It's no different than anywhere else.

Doesn't matter, they're never there.

The patrol's value overall to residents is shown in Table 6.4. The response provides evidence of the indispensability of the service to

residents at Moston and Bridton. In contrast, at Becton, the patrol was not seen as having much impact upon the safety of the community. Indeed, thirty eight percent of households were unaware of the patrol's existence. However, nearly forty percent of the Becton sample who were aware of the patrol felt they would be worse off if they did not have it.

Table 6.4

*RESPONDENTS' VIEWS OF SAFETY WITHOUT PATROL.*

	Moston	Bridton	Becton
	%	%	%
Less safe	100	71.0	39.0
No less safe	00.0	29.0	61.0
Totals (%)	100	100	100
Number of Respondents	30	62	41

Typical responses follow:

**Moston.**

Less safe. Now that we've had the experience of it we'd miss it badly if it went.

I would get somebody else in if they weren't doing it.

We feel better with them than not.

We'd feel unsafe. I'd be upset if they stopped doing it now.

**Bridton.**

We'd jog along but we prefer what we have.

If we lost it it would be a problem.

There would be an increase in risk purely 'cause Brian wasn't about.

I'd be tempted to organize something myself.

**Becton.**

Wouldn't miss it at all.

I'm not bothered 'cause it makes no difference.

I'd feel bad about it. It must have some effect at least.

No difference. The Old Bill might have some effect but not them. The Old Bill used to keep it down once. They should still do.

#### Police Invisibility.

Residents' feelings of insecurity can be correlated with the absence of regular patrolling of officers, especially on foot. Residents were concerned at the 'invisibility' of police and many stated that regular and visible public police patrols would have considerably enhanced their feelings of security. (SHAPLAND and VAGG, 1988). Although a question had not been specifically designed to test this response the subject was regularly brought up by respondents during interviews. In view of this a note was made on each occasion that a respondent referred to this concern. The data collected from this response is shown in Table 6.5.

It is appropriate here to again recall the geographical differences between the research sites - for this factor must affect residents' perceptions of visible public police patrol. It may be quite possible that persons residing in a cul de sac, like Moston, would not see as many patrolling officers as those who resided on a main thoroughfare. Furthermore, it could be expected that in highly urbanised areas, such as Becton, the level of concern for crime and disorder may be higher than in more rural areas such as Moston and Bridton. It would follow, therefore, that the tendency for reassurance through visible patrol may be higher in the more urban areas. However, concerning this last point, the data collected here shows that respondents in the less urbanised areas were more concerned about the lack of public police visibility:



Table 6.5

*RESPONDENTS' CONCERN AT LOW LEVEL VISIBILITY OF POLICE PATROL.*

	Moston	Bridton	Becton
	%	%	%
Concerned	53.6	39.8	22.3
No Response	46.4	60.2	86.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents	30	62	41

A major finding from these responses further points to the importance of the psychological advantage that residents obtain from knowing that someone is watching out. The fundamental message here is that people need to 'feel' safe and secure. Foot patrol gives this assurance of security. High profile foot patrols, apart from any practical value which they perform, added to the quality of life of the residents. The actual presence of someone watching-out and challenging strangers diplomatically may have a stronger psychological effect than alarms and locks. The importance of the empirical finding that a sense of security was not being provided by the public police is further emphasised. This shows that the need for reassurance is behind both the public call for more police and the public acceptance of political cries for more money for police:

When the man in the street asks for more police he is really asking for the police to be on hand more frequently and more conspicuously when he is going about his daily business. (BAHN, 1974: 340-341).

There is growing support for the view that public police can play an important role in controlling the fear of crime. Research does show that the presence of police on the streets is associated with feelings of safety. (BALKIN and HOULDEN, 1983). Furthermore, residents with high

confidence in the public police are generally less fearful than those with low confidence (BAKER et al, 1983) and their confidence is increased by 'directed patrol'. (CORDNER, 1986; PATE and WYCOFF, 1986; TROJANOWICZ, 1986). Directed patrolling means that, in order to improve patrol effectiveness, officers work with clearly defined objectives at times when they are not responding to calls for assistance and other tasks. Emphasis is placed on officers' supervisors targeting relevant patrol areas and directing officers accordingly. (BURROWS and LEWIS, 1988). Thus, if supervisors are aware of elderly residents' fear due to some recent criminal event, they instruct patrolling officers to give more attention to that area. It is important that such residents see the police as able to provide protection through patrol, for research has shown a relationship exists between the perceived adequacy of police protection and the subjective likelihood of personal victimization. (BAUMER, 1978).

However, the reduction of fear is no substitute for the reduction of crime - but it may be very important to that type of culture where the sense of social structure and public responsibility for coping with social problems is underdeveloped. (CURRIE, 1988:282). Communities with weakened informal control systems - such as those in the present study - exacerbate conditions in which crime may flourish, (MOORE and BROWN, 1981:26; MAXFIELD, 1984) thereafter, levels of crime and disorder serve as signs of crime and may lead to fear regardless of actual levels of crime. (WILSON and KELLING, (1982). It should be noted, however, that it may be unrealistic to expect the total elimination of fear. Furthermore, its elimination is undesirable because of fear's functional ability to lead individuals to take precautions. (GAROFALO, 1981:856).

The research findings of others, outlined here, on the physical presence of police and allaying of fear may appear conclusive. However, there was evidence in the present study that the relationships involved in the process of allaying crime were more complex than they appeared. Criminal victimization is only one variable in the experience of fear. There were other, less direct experiences which were likely to affect the daily lives of residents. These indirect influences are now identified.

#### **PROTECTION, ENTREPRENEURS, COMMUNICATION AND PERPETUATION OF FEAR.**

They speak to me a lot. They tell me about the local crime and how we should watch out for this and that. I don't believe they have any effect. They're just making sure they keep the job here. If it wasn't for my wife I wouldn't have them. (Moston Resident)

During observations at Moston and Bridton I identified several instances where patrol personnel's conversations with clients may have heightened the fear of crime. It became apparent to me that residents' perceptions of the threat to their personal safety, and that of their property, was being influenced by these conversations. The effective liaison between the patrol and the police was an important factor here. I found that the police, having minute to minute information on reported crime and disorder, were apprising the private patrolmen on some of these incidents. Some of this information was subsequently used by the patrol to 'educate' their clients on specific themes of prevention. Of the many occasions in which I was present during conversations between patrolmen and their clients there were few when such educative warnings were not given. Two examples, one from each site, are presented:

(i) While accompanying a patrolman at Moston we stopped to talk to a lady who was in her garden. The conversation turned to local crime and

the patrolman pointed out that there was a local gang of thieves who were travelling around on motor cycles and breaking into premises. The message was that she should 'look out' for this gang. I wondered how this lady, or others in the community, may benefit from this information. There was just a chance that she may see a gang of youths using motor cycles and report it to the police - hopefully the police would then arrest the youths and prosecute them. Alternatively, and more realistically perhaps, she may never positively identify the suspicious group of motor cyclists and continually be concerned of their possible presence nearby.

(ii) One evening while patrolling with Brian on the Bridton Estate a female resident approached us. She told us that during the previous evening, an attempt had been made to steal from her motor car which had been parked on the drive of her home. Having noted the information Brian proceeded to describe incidents involving a spate of local thefts and burglaries in surrounding estates. If I had been a resident on the estate this warning would have increased my fear of crime occurring. While I was able to understand the need to warn this resident about potential threats to her property I found it ironic that there was a possibility fear could be generated by the protecting agent itself.

In relation to the educative warnings given by patrolmen a particular conversation between myself and Brian is of interest. Having completed an analysis of the crime pattern on the Bridton Estate I discussed the results with him. The analysis showed that crime in the patrolled area was low in contrast to the area not patrolled - a success which could reasonably be attributed to Brian. However, this posed an apparent problem for Brian which made me feel uneasy. He told me that if his clients believed the crime rate had decreased they may feel they did not

need his protection any longer. I became equally concerned that my research findings would jeopardize the access Brian had so kindly allowed me. Thus, I found myself attempting to persuade Brian that he need not worry as I would not be divulging my findings to his clients.

While interviewing residents at Moston and Bridton I attempted to further clarify the effects that conversations were having on residents' perceptions of local levels of crime. On each occasion that a response indicated perceptions of crime in the local area was high, I prompted the respondent by: 'How do you know that?'. Responses were quantified and are demonstrated in Table 6.6. It is clear that patrol personnel did have considerable influence upon residents' perceptions of the extent of local crime, and consequently fear.

*Table 6.6*

*ORIGINS OF RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF HIGH LEVELS OF LOCAL CRIME.*

	Moston	Bridton
	%	%
Patrolmen	50.0	57.1
Media Sources	21.4	19.1
Un-ascertained	28.6	23.8
Totals (%)	100	100
Number of Respondents	14	21

A further example of the effects of residents' concern about the crime problem at Moston related to the tendency to non-communication between neighbours mentioned earlier in Chapter 5. There were two adjoining households not participating in the scheme. One family had refused to join the scheme from the beginning, the other had initially

joined but later withdrew. The geographical position of these premises is relevant - they were end properties, situated at the entrance to the estate and at the opposite end of the street to where most of the problems had occurred. In a neighbourhood which was not high in community interactions both these families were seen by other neighbours as particularly unsociable. Indeed, when interviewed, they concurred on the opinion of their un-neighbourliness. One family had initially joined the scheme reluctantly after being approached by others living at the other end of the street. Only then did they discover there were problems of crime and disorder in the street. Thus their lack of sociability had created the effect which occurs when an ostrich puts its head in the sand. After a few months, however, they left the scheme believing it was unnecessary for their purposes. The female occupant told me:

We didn't know there was any problem. Mrs..... was getting it bad at the top end but we had never been bothered down here. We joined to start with but we didn't see the point in it so we dropped out. For fifty pounds a year we can get a good loss insurance instead.

This lady emphasised the point about the loss insurance not to show she had substituted the patrol's service for household contents insurance - for she had not done so. She told me this in order to identify how unnecessary she thought the patrol was. I was not aware of any resident who did not have the services of the patrol in addition to household contents insurance.

The findings of GAROFALO, (1981) and SKOGAN and MAXFIELD, (1981) are relevant to this part of the study. The effects of communicability between patrol-persons and residents, or indeed its non-existence between neighbours, were apparent in perceptions and attitudes to fear:

The less distant or abstract the message, the greater its consequences for fear.(SKOGAN and MAXFIELD, 1981:11).

Thus 'fear-exacerbation', (SKOGAN and MAXFIELD, 1981; GREENBERG, ROHE and WILLIAMS, 1985; ROSENBAUM, LEWIS and GRANT, 1985; ROSENBAUM,

1988:136) where fear increases due to exchanges of information on local crime, clearly existed at Moston and Bridton created through conversations between patrol-persons and residents. Position in social space, particularly applicable to neighbours at Moston, is another important factor concerning the amount and nature of information about crime to which the person is exposed:

The image of crime held by an individual consists of a number of elements: the extent of crime,.....the nature of crime,.....and the consequences of crime. These images also inform the individual about the appropriate cues from which the threat of crime can be inferred - such as the presence of strangers under certain circumstances and indications of 'incivility' in a neighbourhood. (GAROFALO, 1981:844).

SKOGAN and MAXFIELD, (1981:113), show how urban dwellers in Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco coped with the problems of fear and crime. They concluded that fear is indeed a consequence of crime but that most consequences of crime, including fear, are indirect. So, apart from direct victimization, there are other contacts that will influence public fear - such as conversation with other victims, the mass media and neighbourhood conditions. GAROFALO'S (ibid) findings, and those of the present study, also concur with the work of CONKLIN, (1971:374) who describes individuals in these situations as 'indirect victims' whose attitudes and behaviour change through knowledge without 'direct victimisation'.

Fear of crime is a complex psychological matter on which there is much debate. It is obviously unsatisfactory to investigate the problem from a purely criminal justice/criminology basis. There is a need, additionally, to let into the examination some basic psychological and social-psychological reasoning.

Paradoxically the 'client updating' process described earlier tended to have a dual and contradictory effect upon residents. For not only did it legitimize the patrol's 'fear reducing' function, it perpetuated fear and thus insecurity. Here, therefore, was evidence both of subjective, emotional influences concerning the patrol's function (BERGER, BERGER and KELLNER, 1974; GIDDENS, 1981, 1984, 1991) and professionals' exploitation of the opportunity of the state to use new techniques and knowledge to construct preventative strategies against deviance. (COHEN, 1985).

#### SPECIFIC FUNCTIONS OF PRIVATE PATROL.

The extent to which particular traditional public police functions were being carried out by the private patrol is addressed in this section. To attain this objective I obtained the views of residents, observed the patrol during their normal duties and examined documents relating to clients' functional requirements for the patrol. I aimed to identify specific functions as well as examining the extent to which force was used by the patrol - especially force concerning public disorder.

Table 6.7 shows interview data of those incidents reported to the private patrol but not to police - residents were simply asked to identify these incidents. Although the majority of respondents at all sites did not report matters only to the private patrol, the data shows that there was an overlap of some of the private agency's functions into some areas of traditional public provision. The level of 'no matters reported to the private patrol' is very high at all sites. The contrastingly higher response at Becton again confirms that residents there ignored the patrol.



Table 6.7

*MATTERS REPORTED TO THE PRIVATE PATROL BUT NOT TO POLICE.*

	Moston	Bridton	Becton
	%	%	%
Unoccupied Premises	26.7	46.8	00.0
Suspicious Incidents	26.7	11.3	00.0
Minor Theft	03.3	04.8	00.0
Nuisance	00.0	00.0	26.8
No Matters Reported To Private Patrol	43.3	37.1	73.2
Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents:	30	62	41

Before discussing these four areas in more detail it will be helpful to contextualise the data to some degree by showing the types of incident which residents routinely reported to the police but not to the private security guards. No fundamental variation in the classification of these incidents existed at the three sites; other than at Moston where I did not find reports of assaults or woundings. The more usual types of incident reported only to police were, therefore, burglary, assaults/woundings, theft of (or from) vehicles, thefts of all other items, criminal damage and nuisance.

**(i) Unoccupied Premises.**

In the interest of individual property-rights the public police have always felt particular responsibility for the security of unoccupied premises:

The police should invariably pay the greatest possible attention to uninhabited houses. It is a frequent practice for householders or their servants to leave houses empty when at church, or absent on a

holiday, without any notice to the police, and this thieves take advantage of. (METROPOLITAN POLICE, 1836:53).

Protecting unoccupied premises was by far the most common function which residents reported only to the private patrol. In addition to the interview data my observations at Moston and Bridton confirmed that patrol personnel did pay particular attention to unoccupied premises - especially when occupants were away on holidays. This is further illustrated at Moston by reference to the patrol's incident logs (Appendix E) which shows the regular recording of this function.

From observations at Becton I found there were some council owned premises which were 'void' for short periods of time and patrolmen were aware of these. I found no evidence, however, that special attention was given to them. At Becton no respondent informed private patrolmen when leaving premises unoccupied or going away on holiday. This is supported by the absence of such reports in the patrol incident logs. (Appendix D).

#### (ii) Suspicious Incidents.

From interview data and records I found that at Moston there were instances in which residents reported suspicious incidents to patrol personnel without informing the police. These often related to strange persons or vehicles in the streets. The incidents were often seen by respondents as not important enough to report to the police. To report such incidents to the private patrolmen assured residents that future recurrences would at least be given attention by the patrol, who were always nearby. During observations at Moston I witnessed occasions when residents reported particular incidents to the patrol. These consisted of strange vehicles seen in the street. I noted later that this

information had not been recorded in the incident logs. When I questioned these omissions a patrolman told me that a good deal of information was kept in his head to be subsequently passed on verbally to his colleagues. Thus numerical data obtained from security logs may be only conservative estimates. It is important to note that the information received by the security guards was largely lost to the police and any kind of official knowledge.

At Bridton I found that Brian's sociable personality often encouraged residents to report matters they had seen. During observations there were several occasions when I witnessed such conversations. The matters usually referred to cars and persons seen in the area and not identified as local by residents.

I found no evidence at Becton that residents were reporting such matters to the private patrol.

**(iii) Minor Theft.**

Residents at all sites were not regularly reporting incidents of theft only to the private patrol. However, one respondent at Moston and three at Bridton had reported some thefts. These four incidents related to the theft of low value items such as children's toys left unattended in gardens and conifers uprooted and removed from garden borders.

**(iv) Nuisance.**

Nuisance is a broad term. In the police service it is probably most associated with public complaints of a minor, non-violent nature - anything from noise in the street to indecent exposure. A large proportion of nuisance offences and incidents concern the 'soft' or 'service' function of policing.

Before the inception of the Moston patrol there were instances of nuisance - outlined in Chapter 4 - which caused concern for residents. Residents felt the presence of the patrol had resolved these problems and my observations confirmed this. Furthermore, I found no evidence of these nuisances recurring at Moston.

There were no reports of nuisance made to the Bridton patrol. Police records showed there were very few problems of nuisance reported at all. The estate just did not have a nuisance problem.

#### *Nuisance At Becton.*

At Becton there were many reports of nuisance made to me during my research on the Rams Estate. The nature of these are described in the patrol's incident logs. (Appendix D).

Some of Becton Council's Estate Managers had told me how they believed the community was often reluctant to complain to the police about matters which included the 'service' function of policing. These complaints, they said, were increasingly being made to the council and not to the police. Such complaints regularly concerned incidents involving public nuisance or damage to property. An example which was given to me concerned an elderly lady living alone on the Rams Estate. She had telephoned the council to report that youths were harassing her - she had been singled out as a 'gypsy' by them. Some of the problems she experienced from the youths included verbal abuse outside her house and dog excrement being placed through her letter-box. The council employee taking the complaint asked the lady if she had reported these matters to the police and was told she had not. The elderly lady explained that if she did report the matters to the police those responsible would make things worse for her. She was, therefore,

appealing to the council for help as one of their tenants in the hope they could resolve the problem.

To suggest that the reason which inhibited the old lady from reporting harassment to the police also applied to others who failed to report raises a general methodological issue. This concerns the need to produce area-based variations on the inclination to report to the police. Contextual data on levels of reporting to police at research sites was collected during conversations I had with respondents and other residents I spoke to when I attended sites. At all locations my clear impressions were that residents normally reported most criminal activity to the police. It can be seen in Table 6.7 that some criminal disorder type incidents which were not reported to police consisted of minor theft and nuisances. At Becton, however, I was more aware that residents were less likely to report incidents of nuisance to the police. This may not be surprising considering the geographical size of Becton in comparison to the other two sites and the volume of police-work that this was likely to create. Indeed, during conversations with police officers at Becton I discovered that Becton police had discontinued recording these types of routine beat complaints. This was not the case for Moston and Bridton police. This tendency demonstrated that Becton police had not placed this kind of police-work as a high priority. It may be reasonable to assume, therefore, that the comparably low priority to deal with the minor type of beat complaint influenced the volume of complaints to Becton police from the public because they felt that these reports would not be taken seriously. Other than the report of the elderly lady at Becton, however, I found no other evidence to indicate that residents did not complain to police because they were afraid that assailants would, thereafter, make the situation worse for the complainant.

Estate Managers explained to me the action which may be taken by the council to help resolve such problems. In some instances the private patrol was directed to the problem area and asked by the Estate Manager to give the area some extra attention. In the example given, it was said that after the private patrol attended the problem abated and the lady's problem had not recurred.

I decided to test the hypothesis that the private patrol were effectively influencing minor complaints on the Rams Estate. Research would discover the extent and quality of the patrols' effectiveness in these circumstances. After consulting Estate Managers and inspecting council records of the Rams Estate for a period of twelve months, I was able to identify several incidents in which the patrol may have been purposely diverted to deter some problem. These related to:

- (a) Incidents of vandalism caused to the public areas of three blocks of flats.
- (b) Youths playing football in the inner corridors of a block of flats.
- (c) Harassment by youths of a gypsy woman. (Described above).
- (d) Threats of violence to a female tenant by an estranged boyfriend.
- (e) Domestic violence caused to a single female tenant by the father of her child.
- (f) Criminal damage by fire to storage areas in the basements of two blocks of flats.
- (g) Newly planted flower beds in flats area - destroyed by young vandals.

I visited the scenes of each of these complaints and spoke to the complainants and those living nearby. No one was aware of any positive effect which the patrol may have had upon the problems concerned and these problems continued to recur in most instances.

## PATROLS' INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC DISORDER.

Table 6.8 identifies respondents' views of the public disorder deterrent capabilities of the three separate patrols. Difficulties of definition and method were found in collecting this data. Responses about how residents rated the patrol's ability to deter public disorder would not be influenced by their first hand experiences as there were no substantial public disorder problems at any of the research sites. Apart from Moston residents, who had prior to the start of the patrol experienced some minor street disorder, responses were based on imaginary impressions of how the patrol could control public disorder. I found that the free responses to this question were short and very vague and I attributed this to respondents' need to consider an imaginary situation. Typical responses were: 'Yes they would do a very good job', 'A good job', 'Quite good', 'No good' or 'Couldn't say'. I was unable to check if one individual's response was equivalent to another by asking for definitive examples to be given because of the inexperience of residents. Although I adhered to the method of quantification adopted for the other interview data, (OPPENHEIM, 1979) (see pages 72-73) due to the imaginary impressions of respondents, and the less meaningful content of their responses to this question, I found that the quantification of the data tended to be assigned more naturally to a five point coding frame which appears similar to a Likert scale. (LIKERT, 1932). Accordingly, the legitimacy of the conclusions reached through use of this data must be considered in the light of these difficulties of definition and method.

As a public disorder deterrent the Becton patrol is seen as ineffective while the Moston and Bridton patrols were seen as effective.

Table 6.8

*PUBLIC DISORDER DETERRENT.*

	Moston	Bridton	Becton
	%	%	%
Very Effective	10.0	8.0	
Effective	50.0	55.0	9.8
Quite Effective			19.5
Ineffective	37.0	37.0	70.7
Un-ascertained	3.0		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents	30	62	41

There was no public disorder problem apparent at Moston. Any disorder had diminished with the installation of the patrol. Over half of those interviewed believed the patrol had effectively resolved their disorder problems and that it would not recur. Bridton residents saw the patrol as having the capacity to be similarly effective if required, yet public disorder had never been a problem for them.

**Becton: Absence Of Legitimacy.**

The Becton patrol's absence of 'authority' and their sheer non-presence were factors which influenced their ineffectiveness. For instance, at the flats where fire damage had occurred I asked the caretaker about the private patrol and he responded cynically:

What patrol? I see the vans pass by, but very rarely. It is unusual to see them come into the blocks. They just drive by. I've seen them do nothing when children were jumping around on the low roofs. The children just follow them about and take the Mickey out of them. They never come and talk to me about problems.



Two typical responses from tenants of flats where damage was being caused further emphasised the ineffectiveness of the Becton patrol:

Never seen them. They flash by in their vans but never come into the blocks. A kid was playing on a roof and he fell off and broke his arm. The security van was there. They just stood watching him. The kids do as they bloody well please. The security are shit. We were broken into but I didn't call the police. I found out who they were and they were given a good hiding. The old people on the top floor have been threatened. Let's see a couple of coppers around here. That's the answer.

They drive in and drive off. There was once when one of their vans parked up outside my garage. It was still there twenty minutes later when I wanted my car out. I went to the van and the guard was asleep inside.

The contract schedule, drawn up between Becton Council and the private agency, contained specific requirements for patrol functions. These were abstracted and are presented in Appendix F. In the contract, 'calling the police' was one requirement. This implied positive action to be taken by patrol personnel. The fact that the council required such action would require the patrol to identify the offender for evidential purposes. This, in most cases, would require a confrontation between the offender and the patrolman. The instructions in the schedule, therefore, contain an additional, if only implied instruction, to do more than just call the police.

When it comes to the use of force private security personnel primarily derive what authority they have from those for whom they act as agents - private property owners. This authority exists in the contract between private security personnel and private persons, implied in which is the right of security operatives to remove, with reasonable force, trespassers from the 'private' property they are contracted to protect. When it comes to powers of arrest private security personnel have no additional power to that which we all have at Common Law - a citizen's power to arrest when it is reasonably believed that an

arrestable offence has been committed or a breach of the peace is taking place. In R. v PODGER, (1979) and R. v HOWELL, (1981) English law was clarified on arrest concerning a breach of the peace - which may be construed as not only public disorder but any criminal offence:

A private person or a constable may at common law arrest without warrant anyone who in his presence commits a breach of the peace where the offence is continuing, or if it is not continuing, where there is reasonable grounds for apprehending its renewal. A private person or a constable may also arrest without warrant anyone who there is reasonable ground to suppose is about to commit or about to renew a breach of the peace in his presence.

WILLIAMS, (1979:440) further clarifies the law on these matters concerning private persons.

A person may use such force as is reasonable in the circumstances in the prevention of crime, or in effecting or assisting in the lawful arrest of offenders or suspected offenders or of persons unlawfully at large.

These powers, which originally emanated in the Common Law, have now been incorporated into Section 24(2) of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, 1984 which states: 'Any person may arrest without warrant, (a) anyone who is in the act of committing an arrestable offence; (b) anyone whom he has reasonable grounds for suspecting to be committing such an offence.' As ordinary citizens, private security guards also have the right to self-defence and may use whatever reasonable force is required to protect themselves against attack.

The legitimate use of force for private security guards is, accordingly, available but restricted. In this respect they are quite unlike the public police who are empowered by statute and the state with much broader powers of search, arrest and detention. (LUSTGARTEN, 1986:Chapters 1 and 2). Although Becton Council required positive action and confrontation by security guards with offenders, I found no evidence that the legitimate use of force they had available had been used in any

incident they attended where arrest or other positive action could have been taken.

The function of reporting unlicensed vehicles on public roads is a traditional one for public police. One of the Becton patrol's functions was to report these breaches to the local police. Since its inception the Becton patrol had not rigorously carried out this duty, however, I found that a newly installed security company were attempting to improve this record.

The difficult problem of legitimacy of force for the Becton patrol became apparent on one occasion when I was accompanying patrolmen on the Rams Estate. The patrol van was parked in a cul-de-sac next to a block of flats while I and a patrolman visited other nearby premises to check security. Another patrolman who was with us went to a nearby block to carry out similar checks. On our return to the van minutes later, we found that one of the tyres had been deliberately deflated. On discussing the reasoning behind this incident I was informed by a patrolman that the action had been retributive. Some days earlier the patrolman had discovered several unlicensed vehicles parked on a road nearby and he had reported the matter. While he had been recording details in the street the owner of the unlicensed vehicles appeared and an altercation occurred between him and the patrolman. Thus, the deflated tyre was attributed to the owner of the unlicensed vehicles. The patrolman told me he felt uncomfortable carrying out his duties on the estate:

My sister's afraid about me working here. I don't trust any of these people. If they shake your hand you are likely to walk away without some fingers.

Although the patrol's deterrent effect for public disorder shows it to be ineffective at Becton, I found that some patrolmen talked positively about their effectiveness to deal with disorder. During my time spent patrolling with them, however, I found no support for these claims and no other evidence was forthcoming to confirm their views.

**FUNCTION: PREVENTION AND ASSURANCE.**

The data presented in this chapter confirms the proactive, preventative, loss reductionist function of private security patrol. (REISS, 1983, 1987). This may be seen as further evidence of the traditional preventative nature of public policing being eroded by the private sector as they move into some areas of public police-work and blur the boundaries between the public and the private. One area, it is argued, is preventative patrol.

The recent history of preventative foot patrol in the British Police Service has more than an element of non-consistency concerning Home Office policy. This policy has moved from the idea of it being outmoded and uneconomic in the 1970's to its current fashionable position. (WEATHERITT, 1986:23). An increase in recruiting over this time could be equated with the number of officers on foot, however, this is a simplistic assumption as research indicates otherwise. BROWN and ILES, (1985:52-53) show how beat officers are assigned to other duties away from their beats. They list ten separate reasons for this but identified 'paperwork' as the activity most likely to keep officers from foot patrol. This finding replicates the conclusions of earlier research that a large proportion of patrol officers' time is spent on administrative work (COMRIE and KINGS, 1975), in particular, report writing. (TARLING and BURROWS, 1983; SMITH, 1983). This administrative burden has obviously increased tremendously with the introduction of legislation

such as The Police and Criminal Evidence Act and tape recording of interviews. It may not be surprising, therefore, to find that officers' time spent on the beat may have decreased. Such a situation will facilitate easier access by the private sector to traditional public policing.

Substantive evidence was found in the present research to demonstrate that private patrol allays the fear of crime. (DONOVAN and WALSH, 1986). This finding, however, must be set against the 'updating process' which the private patrol used to educate residents about local problems. This process had the effect of perpetuating fear and insecurity.

When it comes to the legitimate use of force, however, no substantive evidence was found to support its use by private patrol. This tends to confirm the notion that matters which require resolving by legitimate force, such as arrest, usually remain the specific sovereignty of public police. (BITNER, 1974).

The research in this part of the study has, again, clearly demonstrated the absence of a single perspective which can adequately explain the influences of change present at research sites. Rather, there is evidence both of emotional (BERGER, BERGER and KELLNER, 1974; GIDDENS, 1981, 1984, 1991) and structural (COHEN, 1985) influences.

## CHAPTER 7

### THE MODUS OPERANDI OF PROTECTION.

In this chapter I examine the means used by the patrol in providing protection. Data were collected by use of participant observation and official records.

#### SURVEILLANCE AND INTRUSION.

My research in this part of the study showed surveillance to be the primary method of protection. (SHEARING, FARNELL and STENNING, 1980, SHEARING and STENNING, 1981). I found that the surveillance used by the private patrol was directed at two separate targets - potential offenders and clients of the security agencies.

#### Friend Or Foe?: Offender Surveillance.

The ability to identify particular individuals or vehicles as 'friend' or 'foe' is crucial in differentiating between suspicious and non-suspicious incidents. Thus, local knowledge is an obvious asset in offender surveillance. Several abstracts from the daily security logs of the Moston patrol (Appendix E), show the patrol's ability to identify suspicious incidents and recognize potential offenders. The local knowledge of the patrol personnel, at both Moston and Bridton, was apparent by their regular use of surnames associated with local criminal families. As I accompanied them on patrol they often identified persons seen, or merely brought into the conversation, as 'car thieves' or 'burglars' or generally 'troublemakers'.

Patrol personnel were not only able to identify those who were a threat to the community, they had a special knowledge of the local residents. There were a number of occasions whilst accompanying patrol at Moston and Bridton that I became suspicious of certain persons and situations. Having pointed out the incident to the patrolman I was informed immediately of its innocent nature. Local knowledge is an obvious asset and comes naturally through regular street patrol. This local knowledge is the essence of community policing and has always been seen by the public police as the main attribute of the constable. As I observed the patrol personnel at Moston and Bridton I became aware of this part of their role as being analogous to that of the traditional constable'.

During the period that I spent interviewing residents at Moston and Bridton I discovered it was impossible for me to be in these areas without being identified by duty patrol personnel. At subsequent meetings with them they always pointed out they had seen my car parked in the area, or a neighbour had told them I had visited. On each of the several evenings spent interviewing residents at Moston and Bridton I invariably came into contact with the patrol without prior arrangement. In contrast, during one week spent interviewing tenants on the Rams Estate at Becton I did not once make contact with the patrol.

#### **Supervising Carelessness: Client Surveillance.**

A considerable amount of patrol personnel spent time highlighting clients' negligent behaviour. Instances where patrolmen discover property left vulnerable and insecure required immediate action. If the client was available and the matter was serious enough the insecurity would normally be pointed out at the time. If the matter was discovered at an

inconvenient time, for instance during sleeping hours, it became a matter of policy for the particular patrol what action they would take.

From abstracts of daily security logs at Moston the supervision of client-carelessness is apparent. (Appendix E). On discovering carelessness during late evening periods, however, the patrolmen at Moston were less likely to call people from their beds but instead gave extra attention to the vulnerable area throughout the night. Moston Security Services used their own letter-headed notepaper to inform clients of their carelessness. Matters of insecurity would be recorded on the notepaper and a copy delivered through the offending household's letter-box for later attention by the occupants. This communicative security procedure has been termed the 'snowflake' process. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981:215).

During my first meeting with Brian he listed some of the security problems he encountered on the Bridton patrol. They included: insecure windows and doors in houses, garages and cars; keys left in the locks of houses, garages and cars; handbags and purses left in cars; houses left unattended during darkness with all lights extinguished and curtains open; packages and parcels left on doorsteps; papers left in letter boxes and non-cancelled milk on the doorsteps of residents away on holiday. These forms of neglect of security were regularly monitored during patrol. Brian constantly spoke of his concern for clients' carelessness:

The job's about deterring, and you have to keep reminding them as well. Someone will come home with the shopping and have their hands full as they come in the door and forget to take the key out. That's the kind of thing I find. The other night a lady left her downstairs window open. I knocked her up and pointed it out. She got up and closed it.



My first-hand experiences patrolling alongside Brian confirmed his supervisory role. The monitoring entailed repetitive and monotonous checks as one house after another was examined for breaches of security. Three typical examples, taken from many similar experiences while accompanying Brian will illustrate this:

- (i) On entering the rear of premises through the garden Brian examines the security of the rear door and finds it unlocked. He closes the door noisily telling me that these people often leave the door insecure but, having reminded them with the 'slam', he knows they will now lock it on our leaving.
- (ii) Brian finds a car insecure, calls on the owners and points out their carelessness. They thank Brian and assure him they will lock it.
- (iii) On checking house security at 1am. Brian discovers a garage door insecure. The occupants are all in bed. Brian arouses them and points out the omission. An occupant of the house attends and locks the garage.

Insecurities at Becton were evident in the patrol's maintenance reports. (Appendix D). However, the direct contact which was maintained at Moston and Bridton with residents did not exist at Becton. I found no instances of residents' personal property being a particular concern to the Becton patrol. Insecurities, and other matters reported, related primarily to the council's responsibilities for their own property - not that of individual householders. Patrol reports mainly concerned the tower-block flats - where occupants were more economically deprived and owner-occupation was rare. These reports were forwarded directly to the council.

The essential nature of the private security patrol at all sites had a non-specialised character - responsibility for security falls to all concerned, not only the patrol personnel who are likely to take on merely a supervisory role:

Our survey of contract security guards indicated that, while they frequently engaged in such specialised security functions as controlling access to commercial facilities (26 per cent) they were employed mainly to supervise the performance of security functions by non-specialised personnel. (SHEARING, FARNELL and STENNING, 1980:499).

Thus an important element of the security function was to check on clients to see they maintained a good level of security. Furthermore, this form of surveillance tends to be self induced and has a 'client defined mandate'. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981:209, SHEARING and STENNING, 1983:498).

#### An Invasion Of Privacy?

'Client' based surveillance at Moston and Bridton invaded occupants' privacy quite considerably. Surveillance at Moston was a relatively easy matter due to the lay-out of the area. Although the rear area of premises was surrounded by a high fence it was possible to see through it - giving an easy view of the state of security behind it. The patrol personnel at Moston had legitimate access to the outer areas of clients' property. Although close physical security of each residence was not carried out on a regular basis, clients' privacy was invaded by patrolmen who, from time to time, made close physical checks. This entailed making detailed examinations of windows and doors. In so doing, the opportunity was allowed for erosion of privacy through the various insight patrolmen gained into the private worlds of residents:

We, in Britain, are only just beginning to appreciate the profound significance of the massive intrusion of private security into areas that were formerly the exclusive preserve of the police, as well as into areas of our lives which previously did not involve formal policing at all. (SLATER, 1982b:64).

Invasion of clients' privacy at Bridton was invariably more pronounced and on a more regular basis. A physical check of each client's property was carried out several times each day. All windows and doors were physically examined to ensure security. During the early occasions that I accompanied Brian I felt uncomfortable when penetrating residents' private space. Having gone into the rear garden of houses I was often confronted by the occupants, who were watching television or carrying out some domestic chore. Being accustomed to the patrol procedures they were not unnerved by our presence. Some form of our recognition was usually given by residents on these occasions. As I accompanied the patrol more regularly my discomfort from these intrusions diminished somewhat but not entirely.

It was apparent, however, that residents did not find these intrusions objectionable. Several occasions were similarly presented which persuaded me that clients had forgone a considerable amount of privacy by contracting the patrol's services. However, they did not seem unduly concerned at this loss of privacy, indeed, in many instances its loss was being encouraged by them. During subsequent interviews I discovered that seeing the patrol about the neighbourhood was positively reassuring to residents. One client at Moston always left the curtains open no matter what the time of day. A patrolman told me:

They always leave them open. I sometimes think they're looking out for us so I make a point of walking past and letting them see me. It keeps them happy. It's what they like to see.

I did not find intrusion with the Becton patrol - its unobtrusive presence in terms of effectiveness has already been commented upon. Becton Council were sensitive to the possibility of intrusion. A survey of tenants conducted by the council in 1986 found that residents' privacy was not affected by the patrol's presence:

The response to the question on whether the patrols had interfered with the lives of the tenants was almost identical to the response in the last survey: 96.00% said "No" while 2.34% said "Yes". However, the reasons given for intrusion were most positive in that they felt safer with the knowledge that the security patrol existed. (BECTON COUNCIL, 1987:2.6.12.).

This finding tends to support the notion that Becton tenants, like those at Moston and Bridton, preferred, or at least did not object to, obtrusive surveillance.

#### Innocuous Surveillance.

Thus, the empirical evidence here clearly shows the nature of the surveillance used by the patrols had the capacity to be both pervasive and intrusive. (MARX, 1987, 1989; KINSEY, LEA and YOUNG, 1986). It was not, however, pervasive in the same terms argued by these writers. With each target of surveillance - criminal and client - I found no evidence to show intrusion upon individual liberties in a coercive and sinister way. Indeed, to the contrary, there was evidence that 'client' surveillance was being encouraged by its subjects.

## CHAPTER 8

### COOPERATION OR CONFRONTATION?

In this chapter the study is focused upon the inter-relationships which exist between the public and private police agencies. The main aim is to identify the proximity of their working relationships so that conclusions may be drawn regarding their extent and quality. Factors of apparent organizational incompatibility, identified in the research of the U.S. PRIVATE SECURITY COUNCIL (1977), were used in the interview schedule. Frequency and quality of liaison between the two agencies at each research site is measured and the level of threat to the professional status of the public police is identified. These three objectives were achieved partly through the use of observations and the examination of the work records of the private patrol (Appendices E and F), and partly through interviews with police personnel. A semi-structured interview schedule was used with the police officers. In addition to unstructured conversation during the interview they were asked to respond to three structured value questions relating to some public/private relationships. (Appendix A). It must be remembered that a given item may mean quite different things to different respondents and their responses, accordingly, may differ in meaning. These structured questions were not tested for such semantic differential. It is not methodically known, therefore, what level of uniformity existed among the respondents to the meaning of each item, or to the different response categories for each item. However, from my close working relationship and the long conversations I had with all the police officers my impressions were that, especially at Bridton, very little semantic differential existed. The structured responses were simply counted and are included in tabular form.

1. FREQUENCY.

In order to ascertain the level of cooperative contact between the public and private agencies, public police officers were asked to state the number of times they had spoken to a private patrolman in the previous twelve months. Police officers are obliged to keep a minute by minute daily record of their duties and the incidents in which they become involved and for this purpose they keep an official note book. The recall data in this instance may be accepted as reliable because it was verifiable with the record kept in each officer's personal note book. My aim here was to record only those times when private and public officers came together operationally on patrol, 'in the field', rather than the less social, clinical setting of telephone contact. It was felt the best opportunity to identify occasions of cooperation existed at these times, when individuals met for a common purpose. My own experiences, as a patrolling police officer, and the experiences I had during this study supported the use of this method.

Table 8.1 shows the data generated. A high frequency of contact between public and private police existed at Bridton with less frequent contact at Moston. Very little contact occurred at Becton.

Table 8.1

*NUMBER OF OCCASIONS WHEN POLICE OFFICERS  
AND PRIVATE PATROL PERSONNEL HAD COOPERATIVE  
CONTACT OVER A TWELVE MONTH PERIOD.*

Numerical Frequency of Contact	Frequency of Daily Contact	Moston %	Bridton %	Becton %
0	0	23.5		50.0
0-5	Between 72-360 days	23.5		50.0
5-10	" 36-72 "	11.8		
10-15	" 24-36 "	5.9		
15-20	" 18-24 "	5.9		
20-25	" 14-18 "			
25-30	" 12-14 "			
30-40	" 9-12 "	5.9		
40-50	" 7-09 "	5.9	75.0	
50+	" 1-07 "	17.6	25.0	
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents		17	8	2

Further description and development of the frequency of cooperation within individual case studies is now presented.

**Moston.**

At Moston I ascertained that 23.5% of police officers had not come into contact with the patrol whatsoever and an equivalent number had only made contact up to five times in the previous twelve months. Significantly, only 17.6% (N=3) contacted the patrol in excess of 50 times per year. Even if those occasions between 30-50 are added (11.8% N=2) it cannot be claimed that the majority of the officers conferred with the

patrol on a regular basis. This data may be seen as contrary to the evidence shown in Appendix E which tends to identify regular meetings between the two agencies. However, this apparent contradiction is accounted for by the fact that a proportion of the calls to the police by the private patrol were purely telephone calls made by the patrolman to the police station switchboard. On these occasions the patrolman and responding police officer would not confer face to face. Telephone contact is likely to be more formal and, therefore, less likely to provide a favourable atmosphere for exchange of information and cooperation. In view of this I decided to 'count' only face to face contact between police and security guards.

#### Bridton.

The data obtained from questioning officers at Bridton showed that a high level of contact between the two agencies did exist. My observational study confirmed this finding. A police officer would visit Brian on at least one occasion during his daily period of duty and information was exchanged between them.

#### Becton.

From subjective data there was no evidence of frequent conferences between the agencies at Becton. This finding was supported during my observations over the one month period that I carried out research on the Rams Estate. Indeed, I did not witness any meetings whatsoever.

## 2. QUALITY.

The quality of contact and cooperation was examined through the subjective views of police officers and through observations during patrol time. Findings at each site are shown in Table 8.2.



Table 8.2

*POLICE OFFICERS' VIEWS ON QUALITY OF  
COOPERATION BETWEEN POLICE AND PRIVATE PATROL.*

	Moston %	Bridton %	Becton %
Very Good	11.8	100.0	
Good	17.6		
Average	70.6		
Bad			100.0
Very Bad			
Totals	100.0		100.0
Number of Respondents	17	8	2

Moston.

At Moston the majority of police officers interviewed believed the quality of cooperation to be 'average'. However, just under thirty percent estimated cooperation to be either 'very good' or 'good' and none believed that 'bad' cooperation existed. During times that I accompanied the patrol I was present on a number of occasions when chance meetings between the two agencies occurred. These were used by both agencies to 'swop' information on local crime intelligence.

During chance meetings between the police and the private patrol the police often asked private patrolmen to keep a look-out for stolen vehicles, or vehicles suspected to be used in crime. An example of the effectiveness of these meetings concerned such details being given to the patrol about a white Ford Sierra car being used locally for crime during early morning hours. Subsequently the Sierra was seen early one morning by the patrol and the information was immediately passed on to the police by

use of a mobile telephone. The police responded promptly but unfortunately were unable to apprehend the occupants of the car.

There were several other similar incidents which showed that good quality cooperation existed between the two agencies. This effectiveness was enhanced through radio and telephone communication between the police and the patrol. Important to the quality of this cooperation was the fact that patrol personnel were in possession of person to person radios and mobile telephones.

#### Bridton.

All officers at Bridton believed cooperation to be very good. The area Sergeant explained the usual level of contact between the police and Brian:

We do operate an unofficial liaison scheme and contact Brian every shift. He is well known by all local officers and is visited by us every night shift to keep in touch with what is going off. He resides in the area and is able to pass on to us good information about local criminals. He is likeable and trustworthy and hence the good liaison with the police. He is very conscientious and walks about in all weathers. He has been a God-send to the Bridton area as his presence has certainly cut the crime rate. He has disturbed many people, some criminals, some not, and it is well known that he walks the area. For any security service like this to work there must be a good liaison between them and the police.

I found that during the visits to Brian police officers would update Brian on local crime incidents and he would inform them of any suspicious individuals or vehicles he had seen on his patrol. The feeling amongst most local police officers was that while Brian was deterring crime on the estate it allowed them to get on with other business elsewhere. The following comments made by local police officers clearly show this:

When Brian's there you don't have to visit the estate as much 'cause you know if there's anything he will probably see it.

On a night-shift you don't have to worry about the property up there, but you still go in and see him.

You know Brian's there so you can spend more time somewhere else.

Becton.

There was no evidence of effective cooperation at Becton. The responses of the two police officers working on the Rams Estate sum up the relationship that existed between the police and the patrol:

I have patrolled the Rams Estate in particular for six months but have had no contact with any private security on the estate at all.

The other day I met a bloke from the patrol and we had a chat. I never met one of the patrolmen from the other company all the time they were here.

### 3. THREAT.

The level of threat to the professional status of the public police being posed by the private security patrol was measured. This was achieved by interviewing police officers and ascertaining their concern. Table 8.3. outlines the findings. In general terms the response to this question shows how police see the private patrol as 'non-threatening' to their professional status.

Table 8.3

**POLICE OFFICERS' VIEWS OF PRIVATE SECURITY PATROL  
AS A THREAT TO THEIR PROFESSION.**

---

	Moston %	Bridton %	Becton %
Non-Threatening	76.4	100.0	100.0
Quite Threatening	11.8		
Threatening	11.8		
Very Threatening			
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents	17	8	2

---

Moston.

If police accept the usefulness of better domestic locks and alarms, the role of private security transporting money and the notion of better cooperation between neighbours to make crime more difficult for the criminal, then why should police object if private citizens pay a security firm to keep an eye on their homes and cars? Some would see this reaction by the police as concerning a threat to state power. (BOOSTROM and HENDERSON, 1983:28). In this view, citizens can expect to experience resistance from public police who see their legitimacy as being challenged.

Police throughout the North-East have joined forces in voicing concern at the role of private security firms in the fight against crime.....Their concern surrounds the use of firms being paid to protect private homes and property - a traditional role of the police. (NORTHERN ECHO, 1988:3.).

If rank and file police officers at Moston felt no threat from the private patrol some senior officers had a different view. In particular, the Chief Constable strongly objected to the implementation of private patrols:

It continues to be my policy to discourage private security firms from patrolling public housing estates for I am sure most members of the public would prefer the police to perform this function. (NEWCASTLE EVENING CHRONICLE, 1988:6).

The views of the Chief Inspector at Moston reflected this policy. In contrast to my findings, he assured me that the liaison between the two agencies was not good:

There is very little contact at ground level or management level. We do not encourage the patrolling of private residential areas or public housing estates for that matter.

The feeling of disharmony which the Chief Constable and the Police Committee had towards the scheme is further shown in local newspaper reports concerning the introduction of private security patrol in the

area. (Appendix G). No official liaison existed between the police and private security at Moston. Indeed the Police Committee had made it clear there was to be none. The Committee also called upon the Chief Constable to investigate the operations of Moston Security Services for they strongly opposed 'vigilante' patrols and they would not tolerate them in the region. (NEWCASTLE JOURNAL, 1988:4).

The views of the Chief Constable and his Police Committee had affected Moston residents' attitude to the public police. This became immediately clear to me on the first occasion that I visited the estate. In company with one of the private patrolmen I introduced myself as a police officer to one of the residents. After being invited into the house the lady told me:

You would not have got in here if you had not been with Dougy. There's been no support from the police. We've had all the publicity we can stand about this and we just want to be left alone now.

This theme was repeated later by other residents who I interviewed. The reasoning for this attitude, they told me, was because as the private scheme was introduced there was a flurry of media interest which was precipitated by the Chief Constable's open approach to media coverage. This, coupled with his aversion to private security patrol helped focus attention upon the Moston residents. Thereafter their privacy was penetrated by the arrival of the press. This had made them very sensitive towards the press and the police. The owner of Moston Security Services had briefed me on residents' sensitivity to these matters. He too had been harassed by the press. Reporters from BBC television had suggested that he and the Chief Constable should take part in a debate to be broadcast on national television. Due to residents' sensitivity to this matter I began to doubt whether I would be allowed access to the data which they could provide through interviews.

In order to legitimize my access into this sensitive situation I found it necessary to ask the owner of Moston Security Services to meet residents and attempt to persuade them that I had their best interests at heart. Fortunately he was able to do this successfully and I was able to continue interviews unhindered.

#### **Bridton.**

I found no evidence that police saw the Bridton patrol as a threat to their profession.

#### **Becton.**

In respect of their professional status the officers at Becton did not feel threatened by the patrol. Although no liaison existed at Becton I nevertheless found no unwillingness by the police to accept the role of the private agency.

#### **COOPERATION NOT CONFRONTATION.**

The data collected at Moston and Bridton provides evidence that regular and high quality cooperation existed between the private patrol and the police. Thus, cooperation between the private patrol and the police was clearly providing a net increase on the quantity and quality of surveillance in the area. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981:213-214). This was so even though within the public police organization at Moston a contradiction existed between policy-makers and those operational officers putting it into practice. Contrary to the apparent confrontation between public and private agencies - seen in policy statements by the police committee and senior management - good working relationships did exist. At Bridton no such complicated process existed and relationships were clearly very close and cooperative. In contrast to Moston and Bridton there was little contact evident between the agencies at Becton. But what little

evidence did exist at Becton indicated a willingness by the public police to legitimize the operations of private security.

Some Chief Constables have indicated their approval of the private security industry in crime prevention. (ANDERTON, 1982; NEWMAN, 1985). The notion that better relations with the public, including private security, will increase the flow of criminal intelligence (ALDERSON, 1982) is now a central part of Home Office and police strategy. Community policing and neighbourhood watch schemes embrace this concept. The flow of information from public to police is crucial in detection, for it is the public who influence this the most. (GREENWOOD, CHAIKEN and PETERSILIA, 1977; BURROWS and TARLING, 1987; BOTTOMLEY and COLEMAN, 1981). Improved liaison between the police and private security, coupled with the positive reaction of Chief Officers, would appear to be an important factor in the effective flow of information to the police. (SKOLNICK and BAYLEY, 1986).

If surveillance by private security patrol in residential areas can be seen as successful then the implementation of innovative public policies providing a fairer distribution of protection may be welcome. The most successful ingredients for institutional innovation in inter-agency cooperation need, therefore, to be identified. What is most important in this respect is Chief Officers' genuine commitment to the values of a crime prevention-orientated police force (SKOLNICK and BAYLEY, 1986) and the enhancement of inter-organizational relationships by 'Boundary Spanning'. (LEIFER and DELBECQ, 1978:40-41). 'Boundary Spanners' are persons who operate at the periphery of an organization and carry out functions relating to its environment. The degree to which the organization's boundaries are open and receptive to inputs is crucial to its survival and effectiveness. (LEIFER and DELBECQ, 1978; JOHNSON, 1972, 1976; KELLER, 1978).

The fact that empirical findings in this part of the study show there to be a high degree of cooperation between public and private agencies (SLATER, 1982b) creates a persuasive tendency to describe a Janus-faced state, standing central and scanning on the apparent boundary between the public and the private. (COHEN, 1979, 1985). But the interpretation here is not one as sinister as COHEN (ibid) would have us believe, for it would be remiss not to recognize the positive effects that increased surveillance may have on the prevention and detection of crime. Yet, there is still a negative aspect to this strategy. Although there appears to be no clear institutional boundary between the public and the private this is not of great concern here - other than to note the fact that the state is neither wholly public nor private, corporate or welfare. (UNGER, 1976). What is of concern is the way that the strategy functions. It is important to understand that it functions in selected areas of economic stability and, thus, it has a tendency to function for the economically liberated and keeps in mind the economically subdued as a target for its function. There is just the possibility that such strategies may be seen as ideological devices of the state:

The distinction between the public and the private is a distinction internal to bourgeois law, and valid in the (subordinate) domains in which bourgeois law exercises its 'authority'. The domain of the State escapes it because the latter is 'above the law': the State, which is the State of the ruling class, is neither public nor private; on the contrary, it is the precondition for any distinction between public and private.....It is unimportant whether the institutions in which they are realized are 'public' or 'private'. What matters is how they function. Private institutions can perfectly well 'function' as Ideological State Apparatuses. (ALTHUSSER, 1971:137-138).



## CHAPTER 9

### CRIME CONTROL.

In this chapter the levels of crime that exist within the research sites are examined. An attempt is made thereafter to identify any effect the patrol may have upon incidence and distribution of crime. Using a crime pattern analysis of data collected from police registers, a conclusion is presented which considers not only the benefits of enhanced protection but also disadvantages of the strategy. A temporal analysis of crime on the patrolled and un-patrolled areas at Moston and Bridton was undertaken with a view to showing whether or not there was a correlation between the daily operating times of the patrol and the times that crime occurred at the sites.

#### A CRIME PATTERN ANALYSIS.

##### Moston.

Moston residents were convinced that the patrol had reduced local crime. Having interviewed residents about the scheme a local newspaper reporter summed up their claims:

Since they called in a private security firm to patrol their streets at night Moston residents claim that regular car and home break-ins have become a thing of the past. (The private security patrol).....has worked extremely well and everyone thinks it is marvellous because the youths who were hanging about causing trouble have been scared off and the number of incidents have gone down notably. (NEWCASTLE JOURNAL, 1988).

To further examine the accuracy of these subjective claims I abstracted recorded crime for the period between 1986 and 1989 from the records of the Moston Police. Using this data, a bivariate, longitudinal analysis was made between the patrolled area and an un-patrolled area nearby. The un-patrolled area, situated approximately fifty yards from the patrolled area, consists of thirty one high quality, owner-occupied houses and bungalows. On average the market price of housing on the un-patrolled area is £5,000 cheaper than on the patrolled site. Although both sites are of a high standard of appearance the un-patrolled site is slightly less tidy than the other. Residents in the un-patrolled area are mainly professional and white collar workers. It is reasonable, therefore, to describe both areas as similar in geographical, structural and socioeconomic terms.

The result of the analysis is shown in Table 9.1. Although Moston Security Services did not commence their patrol until 5th. September, 1988, statistics are shown from 1986 in order to illustrate pre-patrol crime levels.

Table 9.1

COMPARATIVE ANNUAL CRIME RATE RECORDED BY POLICE  
AT MOSTON. ( PATROLLED AREA = P; UNPATROLLED AREA = U)

	Burglary		Theft (of or from vehicle)		Theft (other)		Total Crime		
	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	
<i>PRE-PATROL</i>									
1986	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	3	
1987	1	4	0	2	0	1	1	7	
1.1.88 to 4.9.88	3	0	4	0	0	0	7	0	
<i>POST-PATROL</i>									
5.9.88 to 31.12.88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1989	1	5	4	4	0	1	5	10	
Totals	6	9	9	9	0	2	15	20	

Some conclusions can be drawn on the 'before' and 'after' effects of the patrol. These should, however, be seen in the light of the small number of offences recorded which make it imprudent to comment with certainty. Nevertheless, there does appear to be an overall fall in crimes reported in 1989 on the patrolled area and no similar decrease on the unpatrolled area. It would not be unreasonable to interpret this contrast as 'deflecting' crime into the neighbouring unpatrolled area.

The temporal analysis of crime at Moston is shown in Table 9.2. In analysing this data it should be noted that a considerable number of crimes could not be identified as occurring at any specific time of the

day. This is usually the consequence of complainants discovering the crime on some occasion long after it occurred - for instance on returning home after several days away and discovering a burglary. In these instances it is often impossible to know the time or day when the offence took place. The data presented here, therefore, does not represent the complete picture of times when offences took place and its value must be considered accordingly.

It can be seen that most crime occurred between 6pm and 6am - when the patrol was on duty. This has to be seen in relation to the fact that the Moston patrol visited periodically - security guards' visits were made in between visits to the nearby industrial estates. Although there was no evidence to show that those carrying out the crimes waited for the departure of the patrol before doing so this is a possible consideration. Because of the small size of the Moston estate, however, it was very apparent if the patrol was present or not. It would seem unlikely, therefore, that criminals needed to watch for the patrol's departure as they could immediately see at a glance what the position was.

Table 9.2

TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME AT MOSTON

Occurring Between	% (Crimes)	
	PATROLLED	UN-PATROLLED
6am-6pm	20.0 (3)	15.0 (3)
6pm-6am	53.3 (8)	55.0 (11)
Un-ascertained	26.7 (4)	30.0 (6)
Total	100.0 (15)	100.0 (20)

**Bridton.**

Using police records a similar comparison to that made from the Moston data was made at Bridton. In this case sufficient data was available to safely legitimize conclusions. Patrol did not begin until August, 1986. therefore first meaningful comparisons cannot be made until 1987. However, by way of description, the total crime reported to the police was measured from 1984 to 1989. Before considering this data it is important to show whether or not it was consistent with the general crime trend in a wider geographical area. For this purpose Table 9.3 shows five categories of crime and is presented as the total crime recorded within the police section wherein the Bridton Estate is located.

Table 9.3

*DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME AT BRIDTON: FIVE CATEGORIES BY GEOGRAPHICAL POLICE-AREA.*

	1988	1989
Burglary	217	168 (-)
Theft (of or from vehicle)	203	214 (+)
Theft (other)	27	24 (-)
Assault/Wounding	24	24
Criminal Damage	58	40 (-)

Figure 9.3 shows a decrease in the general crime rate in the Bridton area between 1988 and 1989. Apart from the category of vehicle crime this is fairly consistent with the data presented in Table 9.4 which shows recorded crime on the specific areas of patrol and non-patrol.

Table 9.4

*COMPARATIVE ANNUAL CRIME RATE RECORDED BY POLICE AT BRIDTON. (PATROLLED AREA = P; UNPATROLLED AREA = U).*

	Burglary		Theft (of or from vehicle)		Theft (other)		Assault		Criminal Damage		Total Crime	
	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U
1986	25	16	12	10	6	4	1	2	0	0	44	22
1987	11	8	1	3	0	2	0	3	0	3	12	20
1988	2	13	3	13	1	9	0	0	1	1	7	36
1989	2	6	3	17	3	5	0	2	0	0	8	30

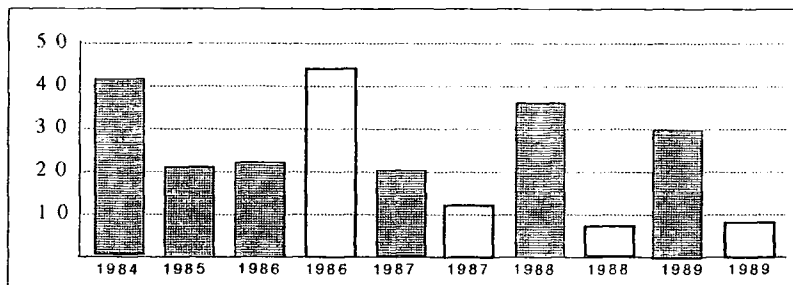
The same data has been incorporated into a bar-chart, Table 9.5 which presents a more striking view of the contrasting crime rates in the patrolled and un-patrolled areas. A general decline in overall reported crime can be seen on the patrolled area. In contrast, crime on the un-patrolled area increased in 1988 and 1989 after maintaining relative constancy in previous years. This general finding is evident in the two dominant reported crime categories of burglary and theft. All burglaries reported were from dwelling houses. The category 'theft' is divided into 'theft of and from vehicles' and 'all other theft'. It can be seen that the former category is by far the most commonly reported crime. This is important to note, given the extent of vehicle possession on the estate and the easy opportunity for offenders to participate in this type of crime.

Table 9.5

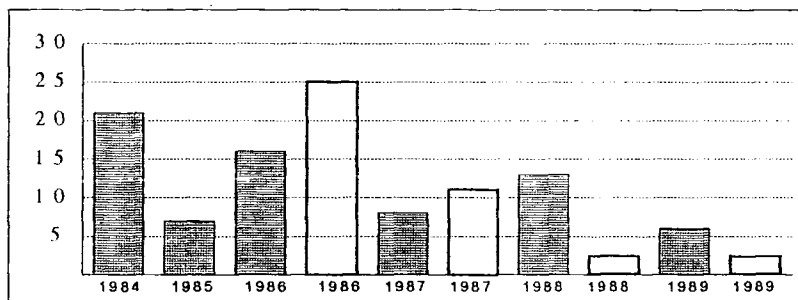
**COMPARATIVE ANNUAL CRIME RATE AT BRIDTON**

*Patrolled*  *Unpatrolled* 

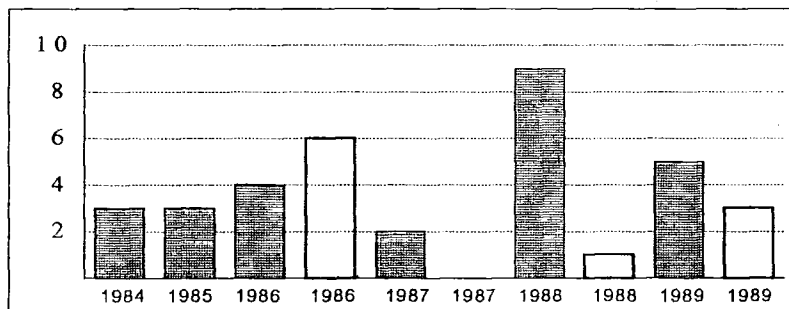
**Total Crime Recorded**



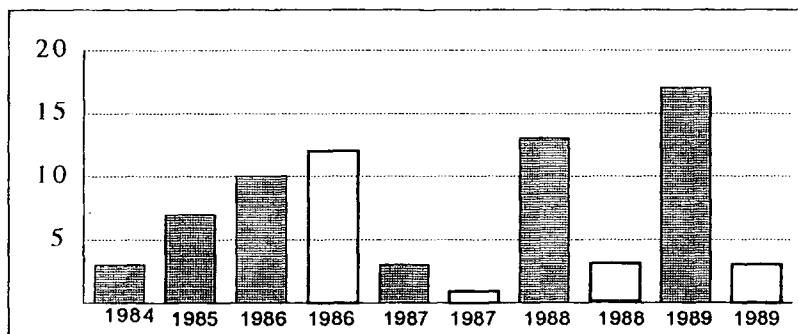
**Burglary**



**Theft (other)**



**Theft (of/from vehicles)**





*Burglary.*

Burglaries reported in 1986 reflected the upward trend in overall crime on the estate that year, especially in the patrolled area which shows a comparative increase with the un-patrolled area of the estate. (25:16). This illustration represents the period of concern which residents experienced prior to hiring the patrol. By the end of 1987, however, the gap between the comparative areas was closing, although burglary in the un-patrolled area was still less than the patrolled section but only slightly less. (11:8). By 1988 the trend had reversed. (2:13) and continued in 1989. (2:6). This is a significant finding in respect of the patrol's deterrent ability. Furthermore, burglary in dwellings recorded on the whole of the police section showed a sharp decrease from 1988 to 1989 and this corresponds with a decrease of nearly 50% in the un-patrolled area. In contrast, recorded burglary in the patrolled area remained constant.

*Theft. (other).*

In this category the un-patrolled area maintained a constant rate in 1984 and 1985 increasing only slightly in 1986. However, in common with other crime variables during that year, (burglary and theft of and from vehicles), the patrolled area showed a comparative increase of about 50%. Once again, by 1987 the patrolled area was beginning to show decreases in comparison with the un-patrolled area of the estate. This remained constant for the next three years. When compared with the overall figures for the police section during 1988 and 1989 (which show an increase) this may also be a significant finding.

*Theft. (of and from motor vehicles).*

Other than in 1987, the un-patrolled area saw an increase in this category of offence for each year. From 1986 the patrolled area recorded a

significant decrease until 1989. 1986 had again been a year when the patrolled area's crime had exceeded that of the un-patrolled area. There are particularly wide ratios between the two areas in 1988 and 1989. (3:13; 3:17). Furthermore, whereas the un-patrolled area showed an increase in offences from 1988 to 1989, the patrolled area remained low and constant. The increase in the overall police section crime between 1988 and 1989 shown in Table 9.3 corresponds with an increase in the un-patrolled area.

There is an important significance in the above comparisons between the overall police section crime and the two controlled areas. This relates to theft of and from motor vehicles which, in contrast to the two other categories of offence, increased both at section level and in the un-patrolled area yet decreased in the patrolled area.

The distribution by time of offences at Bridton, shown in Table 9.6, is a similar pattern to Moston. Most crime occurred during the 6pm-6am period on both the patrolled and un-patrolled areas. The un-ascertainable time aspect, which was found at Moston, is also present in this data. The fact that offences still occurred during the presence of the patrol reminded me that total security is likely to be un-achievable - no matter what is put in the way of the committed criminal he can evade it if he is determined enough.

Table 9.6

*TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME AT BRIDTON*

Occurring Between	% (Crimes)	
	PATROLLED	UNPATROLLED
6am-6pm	22.5 (16)	13.0 (14)
6pm-6am	53.5 (38)	57.4 (62)
Un-ascertained	24.0 (17)	29.6 (32)
Total	100.0 (71)	100.0 (108)

The distribution of the three main categories of offence prevailing at Bridton between 1986 and 1989 are now considered:

**Becton.**

It would be unrealistic to believe that the deterrent ability of eight men in four vans patrolling an area the size of Becton (sixty square miles) could be quantified with any legitimacy using data from police records. Such small fish in a large sea are not likely to have noticeable effects upon the distribution of crime. In view of this, no crime pattern analysis was attempted at Becton. Instead, some general references are made to data collected during the research. Confirming its impotency, a council policy officer who had worked on the introduction of the patrol pilot scheme at Becton told me:

It was obviously going to have little effect in the large area it had to cover. The follow-up research on its effectiveness was inconclusive but the patrol was retained nevertheless.

The leader of the Federation of Becton Council Tenants described the effectiveness of the patrol as symbolic rather than practical:

It worked. It acted as a deterrent at first but once the youngsters found out how far they could go with the security men it began to deteriorate. But it still did have a function. It did more for the local tenants in having another presence around their property. It was well worth the costing. I have no doubt that the patrol was set up from the basis of the tenants' arguments.

A senior research officer, previously employed by the council at the inception of the patrol, and whose research had been instrumental in council decisions to begin the patrol, described reservations about the project:

I found that when they got started they needed constant supervision to be effective and it was impossible. The large area that such a small number had to cover, and the number of jobs they were expected to carry out, meant that their effectiveness was doubtful. It was really a sop.

A more orthodox version of the policy implementation process was described by the principal officer in charge of the research department at the time:

The conclusion reached was that it was a good idea but there were several things which were not happening. The security guards were not using their common-law power of arrest. Once the locals knew this they took advantage of the guards. We found it hard to assess whether we were getting value for money or not. This kind of patrol is about symbolism and its difficult to quantify.

There is an important factor to note from this and previous data concerning effectiveness of the Becton patrol. Although the patrol was clearly functionally impotent the council still maintained that it should continue to operate. This tends to confirm the finding described earlier that the patrol was literally 'symbolic' in terms of the council's need to appear to be enhancing the 'public good'.

#### **THE ETHICS OF CRIME DISPLACEMENT.**

The result of the crime pattern analysis at Moston and Bridton, illustrates clearly a contrast in levels of burglary and theft between the patrolled and un-patrolled areas, especially marked at Bridton. The significantly lower rate in the patrolled area - which cannot be accounted for by mere environmental or economic differences alone - may reasonably be seen in relation to the enhanced surveillance prevailing. The temporal analysis, which indicated that crime continued to occur during the operational times of the patrol, was evidence of the determination of some

offenders. It is argued, however, that this fact hardly affects the analysis of displacement of crime because the 'determined' factor in some offenders will always exist. The temporal findings are likely, therefore, to be common to most research of this type and, although an extraneous factor, does not weaken the argument for displacement. This argument is particularly supported by the strong difference in the rate of theft of, and from vehicles - crimes which require the offender to place himself in clearly observable positions. Protective cover for the offender during this offence is less possible than during burglary. Theft of, and from vehicles, therefore, apparently lends itself well to detection by patrolling personnel. Indeed, 'visibility to those nearby' is an important consideration to those committing crime in residential areas. (REPPETTO, 1974).

The theory of rational choice is therefore of importance to the crime patterns identified at Moston and Bridton. Both areas of the estates, whether patrolled or un-patrolled, share similar profiles in respect of availability, 'likely cash yield', 'cover', and so on. An important and crucial difference, however, was the risk of identification or apprehension by the enhanced surveillance in the patrolled areas. According to rational choice theory this difference, together with the social and economic uniformity of both areas, is likely to create displacement. (CORNISH and CLARKE, 1988).

This part of the research has shown that, at Moston and Bridton, offenders' conscious decisions about the location of likely success correlates with crime levels. In view of this, the successful manipulation of the environment by enhanced patrol may well account for most of the variation in levels and distribution of crime. Thus there is support for the notion that the unethical effects of 'displacement' correlate with

private security patrol in neighbourhoods and the crime policy of neo-conservatives and the Home Office.

PART THREE

CONCLUSIONS, THEORETICAL FORMULATION  
AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS.

CONCLUSIONS AND THEORETICAL FORMULATION:  
BLURRED BUT LESS SINISTER BOUNDARIES.

The contribution the research has made to the area of study is demonstrated in this chapter by drawing attention to why, and in what ways, neighbourhood private security patrol differs or concurs with the notion of sinister, disciplinary and oppressive policing. The empirical findings are also analysed in respect of the notion that ineffective public policing leads to the demand for private security patrol. A general analysis of the fieldwork is also made with reference to socio-legal and police studies. As the primary findings are scattered throughout the preceding text it will be helpful to restate and analyse them through the use of the six key concepts which have been referred to throughout the thesis.

1. **MOTIVATION: AN AGENT AND STRUCTURE PARTNERSHIP.**

At Moston and Bridton the motive for hiring private security patrol contained a strong element of human agency which was supported by state policy of market enterprise in security provision - self-help and choice. The existence of agency was demonstrated by the comparative freedom and autonomy with which residents could act to hire private patrol. However, although it was evident that self-help and choice were important principles of state policy to Moston and Bridton residents, their concern at increased crime and disorder was emotionally influenced to a greater degree than the residents at Becton.

At Becton it was apparent that an important aspect of the council's management style was to promote entrepreneurship and to seriously espouse



government principles of self-help and choice. Although the Federation of Becton Council Tenants had a degree of influence upon the decision to contract-in private security, Becton Council saw it as part of a crusade to promote private enterprise at any cost.

Thus, in this part of the study, it can be seen that motivation to hire private security patrol consisted of both structural (state policy on policing provision) and agency influences. The thesis propounded by some left-functionalists, that involuntary human/state relationships exist, cannot therefore, be supported by the empirical findings. They do support the claim, however, that left-functionalism underestimates the autonomy of individual self-interest. (BERGER, BERGER and KELLNER, 1974; IGNATIEFF, 1983; GIDDENS, 1984). There is specific empirical illustration in this part of the study to support a theory of structuration. (GIDDENS, *ibid*). In such a theory the mutual dependency, rather than opposition, of human agency and social structure is emphasised. Social structures are intimately involved in the production of action and are not seen as restricting and repressive of individual action. It is the structural properties of social systems which provide the means by which people can act.

**The Scientific Management Of Policing:  
The Police Service As A Business.**

The particular notion that the instigation of private security patrol can be associated with ineffective public policing is now considered in relation to the empirical findings.

Freedom of choice and self-help have become institutions of policing. As the state becomes increasingly unable to provide sufficient services for individual and corporate protection so individuals begin depending

upon private forms of policing. The management of danger through prevention in everyday life is now primarily a matter for informal crime prevention strategies such as private security patrol. When demand drives the available services into scarcity the market begins to look for substitution or alternative, less expensive services. This search leads to new options for both individuals and state institutions.

Private security patrol, therefore, bridges the gap between public expectations of safety services and the existing reality of police protection. It develops, as identified in this study, because of a feeling that the police are ineffective in performing services essential to a stable community. (MARX and ARCHER, 1971:57; SLATER, 1982a:19; SLYNN, 1983; ALBANESE, 1986:86; WILDEMAN, 1988). Respondents' views of police ability to provide adequate protection at Moston and Bridton clearly showed that they saw policing inadequacies. Although the feeling at Becton was not quite so pronounced, the majority of respondents, nevertheless, felt a similar inadequacy existed. This slight variance of feeling between Moston/Bridton and Becton residents may be seen as reflecting Becton Council's influence in promoting the use of the private patrol upon an area whose inhabitants, although dissatisfied with public police provision, were *relatively* content with the service they were receiving.

An extensive and influential report on efficiency in the police service notes that Home Office policies of value for money and cost effectiveness have dramatically influenced traditional expectations of public policing, affecting the wide discretionary powers officers on the beat previously enjoyed:

This study has shown that the erosion of traditional police practices reflects the business-like approach to policing today. Further still, it highlights how the police service is torn between competing and contradicting demands and the ability to provide quality service across such a broad area, on limited budgets and finite resources. This evidenced by the fact that certain police tasks have been withdrawn or streamlined, or are now being undertaken by other public or private agencies which is becoming an increasingly attractive alternative to recipients of police services. One need only to take stock and reflect upon these developments to appreciate the diversity of areas this is already encroaching upon, to realise that in some instances it strikes at the very core of traditional policing. (POLICING REVIEW, 1990:82).

Thus, the quality of work in organizations, and the amount of discretion given to participants, will depend in part upon strategies of capital and national governments and will be controlled within the framework of bureaucratic systems. (ROWE, 1986:67-68). Professionalism has been subordinated to bureaucratic control where both the client can assert control and the state can mediate between client and profession and determine the conditions of their relations. (JOHNSON, 1972; 1976). This idea of making better use of labour power through scientific management has penetrated traditional policing and is a contributing factor to the introduction of private forms of police. (SPITZER and SCULL, 1977b:25).

The policy document most associated with this contemporary change in police management (HOME OFFICE, 1983) marked a further move away from a managerial style which emphasised actions rather than results. The document pointed out that a massive increase in investment of resources and expenditure on policing between 1971 and 1983 had created little impact on rising crime. If the police service was to retain the confidence of the public it would need to make the most effective use of the substantial resources available to it. The pressure of cost, together with rising crime, was thus being used to demand effective action from the police. Chief Officers and Police Authorities would need to have

clear ideas on objectives and priorities. (HOME OFFICE, 1983:1-3). The primary strategy they would encourage and implement was self-help policing in the community. Senior police officers have argued that these Home Office demands for effectiveness and efficiency have resulted in what has been empirically illustrated in this part of the study - a reduction in the presence of uniform officers on the streets, a decline in the perceived services to the public and consequently an increase in the growth of private security patrol in housing estates. (HILLIARD, 1989:2028).

Furthermore, the advice on effectiveness and efficiency given to the police by state institutions is similar to that given to the Civil Service and other public sector departments. (AUDIT COMMISSION 1984). Thus, as a provider of services, the police service is compared with other public sector organizations. However, the notion that police-work is measurable in commercial terms and analogous to the type of function provided by other public departments, such as the Civil Service and local housing authorities, misses policing's symbolic importance (WADDINGTON,1986) and the impact of agency influences on its demand and operation - a demand to satisfy feelings of ontological security.

#### **State Policy And Human Agency: An Association.**

When it comes to neighbourhood policing individuals are motivated by a need for a level of security which enables them to exist with the least possible anxiety. Perhaps the same motive for wanting to protect political freedom, such as freedom of choice, should also lead us towards protecting this ontological security of persons, i.e. the sense of continuity and order in events (GIDDENS, 1991: Chapter 7) - for the need of a sense of security emerges early in life and is more important than impulses of thirst and hunger. (SULLIVAN, 1953:14). Ontological security

is, thus, an associate motivator with state policy on public choice and self-help - the private vigorously emerges through a dual process of state policy and human emotion.

It must be noted, however, that not all individuals can achieve the level of security which enables them to exist without anxiety. With the exception of the area of the high rise flats at Becton, the present study has clearly shown this to be correct, for it is only the better off in society who are able to fully satisfy the ontological aspects of security. Self-help and choice are more likely to allude those individuals who are economically under-privileged.

## 2. EXCLUSIVE COMMUNITIES.

My findings support research which identifies privatization as being associated with community insularity and isolation, paranoia and prejudice. (SUTTLES, 1972; PITKIN, 1981:327). Deviance boundaries are re-drawn as communities take measures to protect themselves. As the problem of who to blame for the crime problem is localised in an alien culture the exclusive community feels safer as a result. Thus a disruption in community solidarity increases repressive justice (ERIKSON, 1966) as individuals, independent of their actions, become increasingly repressed following an external threat to the entire social system. (COHEN, 1985). The empirical findings here correlate clearly with WEISS' (1987) description of a 'situational' type of preventative programme where a biased and alienative ideology creates a siege mentality.

Here there is further clear empirical support that private security patrol is developing in communities which are economically privileged. This correlates with other research, (LAVRAKAS et al, 1980; SKOGAN and

MAXFIELD, 1981; WANDERSMAN, JAKUBS and GIAMARTINO, 1981; GREENBERG, ROHE and WILLIAMS, 1982). The inhabitants of such neighbourhoods are less likely to depend upon state provision. (TAYLOR, GOTTFREDSON and BROWER, 1981). It can be argued, therefore, that the empirical findings in this part of the study are not suggestive of a general trend in social control moving from secondary towards primary relations, as some left-functionalists argue (MELOSSI, 1979; MATHIESEN, 1983) but that there exists a trend away from community spirit towards 'active individualism' and 'inactive collectivism'. (LAVRAKAS and HERZ, 1982). Indeed, the research findings indicate there is a disengagement of individuals from collectives, that these communities tend to shun and are suspicious of the state and that far from practising self-help most people do not participate in activities outside the immediate family. (TURK, 1987:141, HOPE, 1988:148). There does not appear to be a common response, therefore, to the spirit of community.

Private provision will inevitably tend to create greater differences amongst already fragmented classes. And those who work within the criminal justice system know well the problems created by cultural and class differences. The public police are particularly at the forefront of these problems which are very hard to resolve. Furthermore, it is paradoxical that the Home Office and the public police, through their policy of supporting inter-agency cooperation with the private security sector, may be encouraging this process of association with community dysfunction.

Instead of planning for order and control the left-functionalist approach argues that the plan should be for human happiness and fulfilment. (COHEN, 1985:264-267). It is difficult, however, to see how the left-functionalist argument - that resources should be directed away

from the social control system towards various other welfare locations - is a helpful one. For, if moving towards a socialist transformation would reduce sinister surveillance in society, one wonders what becomes of the inevitable need for *individual* security which may be inherent in human nature. Such arguments make the assumption that in a socialist society individuals are less likely to demand security through surveillance. But the paradox of the argument is that social control should be located in 'community' institutions - the very 'master move' seen as the epitome of crisis capitalism. Thus, a decrease in social control may be illusory. If this is correct then any transition from capitalism to socialism would not transcend the tendency towards increased surveillance in society. However, the assertion that communities keep 'classifying' (COHEN, 1985) requires more elaboration to be convincing because those propounding the socialist position could argue that social control by the community would be wider in adherence and participation than at present. Furthermore, they would argue that under socialism crime would be likely to decrease through a more equitable distribution of goods and this would more broadly satisfy any ontological need for security.

### 3. FUNCTION.

There is support in these empirical findings for the notion of a socioeconomic (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981; 1982; 1983. SOUTH, 1987a) and political rationale in the motivation for private patrols. Whereas, however, writers propounding this argument place property assets as central to the issue, my research has shown another central and associated factor is present - private security patrol does allay the

fear of crime. (DONOVAN and WALSH, 1986). This psychological function must be seen as part of a duality with loss reduction and assets protection.

But although the fear of crime may be allayed by this strategy its usefulness is limited due to the small and almost exclusively middle-class areas it services. Furthermore, private security patrol tends to be bound up with a self-fulfilling prophecy, for as patrol personnel carry out their daily interactions with those around them they may perpetuate fear by deflecting it back to their clients. In this respect the empirical findings support research which has shown evidence of 'fear-exacerbation' - fear increases through exchanges of information on local crime. (SKOGAN and MAXFIELD, 1981; GAROFALO, 1981; GREENBERG, ROHE and WILLIAMS, 1985; ROSENBAUM, LEWIS and GRANT, 1985; ROSENBAUM, 1988). So, it may be said that private security patrol has the capacity to strengthen the state's control of the whole community. (COHEN, 1985).

#### **Security As Intangible And Symbolic.**

Individuals' basic need for security is often a non-quantifiable element of policing provision. The problem with security is that it is difficult to define as a commodity - primarily defined in negative terms it exists when something does not occur rather than when it does. Described as 'sound' and 'calculated' its function is based on faith in the predictable in an unpredictable world. (SPITZER, 1987:47). A constant agitation and uncertainty exists (BERMAN, 1982) which is substantially resolved by opting for the choice of the symbolic, un-quantifiable nature of security provision.

These are important factors for they are the essence of the symbolic nature of policing - evident in the present study as being so crucial to



perceptions of neighbourhood security. Respondents at Moston, Bridton and Becton conveyed anxious expressions of crime and disorder and became frustrated at the absence of a resolving agent. Their nostalgia for a past era of 'security' merely demonstrated their 'insecurity'. At Moston and Bridton the discourses, which individuals experienced before the patrol existed, were compounded by the residents' 'crime updating' process being practised by patrol personnel in association with police.

Arguments of pure structural/functional rationality concerning security (SHEARING and STENNING, 1981, 1983, 1984; SPITZER and SCULL, 1977a) tend to divert attention from this crucial analysis of security as 'social' and 'intangible'. To counteract this defect SPITZER, (1987) attempts to fuse subjective aspects of consciousness with purely structural-functionalist analyses. Accordingly, the empirical findings concerning the form of policing in the present study would be interpreted as the rationalization of social life through 'choice' (SPITZER and SCULL, 1977b; SPITZER, 1981; SPITZER, 1987) - a strategy to meet the social, political and economic problems inherent in contemporary public policing. For these writers an historical moment of crisis now exists and a particular form of policing is created to coincide with the particular capitalist strategy designed to meet the crisis. This crisis management strategy - self-help surveillance and choice - functions in reality through the market, wherein subjective fears and desires can be directed through that social institution:

....indulgence has replaced denial, and patterns of inclusion/exclusion are far more oriented toward 'consumption communities' and 'lifestyles' than races and nation states. While security and power may certainly be provided by identification with the state, it is the micro-environment of everyday consumption that most strongly addresses the anxieties of the masses. In this context security becomes a personal and immediate concern, a problem which is much more likely to be solved by purchasing the right product or service than by either persecuting an objectionable minority or conquering the world. (SPITZER, 1987:58).

However, although SPITZER'S analysis of consciousness is commendable it is still based upon consciousness as 'ideology' or 'superstructure'. As such, consciousness is interpreted as a dependent variable of infrastructures of domination. The empirical findings of the present study, however, cannot be interpreted in this way as there exists a mutual dependency of human agency and state structures. Therefore SPITZER'S perspective applied to the present study would be faulted. Not only is it economically determined but social relations, not individuals, remain the dominant factor of the analysis. So, the left-functionalist perspective tends to be concerned only with social structures and how these determine the actions of individuals - thereafter, matters of consciousness become unimportant. A left-functionalist interpretation would not allow consciousness to be dealt with on its own terms. But the situation of contemporary life and thought is shaped not only by external forces of modernity but by the forces of modern consciousness which bring attention to the importance of ontological security. And it is precisely at this point of theoretical departure that the perception of individual action may be assessed as social as well as economic.

Thus, although the left-functionalist perspective on community corrections is capable of describing many of the study's empirical findings, its analysis of consciousness only as ideology or superstructure is restrictive. Private security patrol is seen as a purely structural phenomenon where infrastructures of domination are imposed upon the social. But strategies of professionalization are not only created by capitalist relations of production - they are also influenced by generic features of industrial societies which include consciousness. (SAKS, 1983:1-21). So, although such strategies depend upon the mobilization of purely structural aspects of state approval (HOME OFFICE, 1979, 1983) they also depend upon the willingness of

populations to look for expert help, especially in times of 'security crisis'.

#### 4. SURVEILLANCE AND CONTROL.

Although detection and subsequent disciplinary forms of punishment are not totally dismissed in opportunity-reduction, this form of policing is concerned primarily to prevent crime than to apprehend offenders. Social control therefore appears to lie elsewhere than in the disciplinary area of the punishment system. Such a non-disciplinary system, concerned as it is with consequences as opposed to fault, seeks primarily to regulate activity. (KAMENKA and TAY, 1975). In that type of regulatory system it is possible for individuals to be 'active participants' and 'passive receivers' of social control at their own behest, as demonstrated by the empirical findings in this study. Thus it cannot always be argued that subordination exists and that control is merely obtained through coercive state surveillance.

This analysis relies crucially upon the distinction between juridical penalty and disciplinary (carceral) penalty (BOTTOMS, 1983:196). It is important therefore to carefully analyse particular features of surveillance before differentiation can be made. A model which will help here has been developed by BOTTOMS (ibid:177) and is reproduced in Figure 10.1. Adapting FOUCAULT's (1979a:130-131) analysis, upon which COHEN and MATHIESEN base their thesis, the characteristics of three forms of punishment are described:

Figure 10.1

GENERAL FEATURES OF THREE MECHANISMS OF PUNISHMENT.

	<i>Corporal</i>	<i>Juridical</i>	<i>Carceral</i>
(a) Locus of the power of punishment.	Sovereign and his force.	Social Body.	Administrative Apparatus.
(b) Intended Residual object of the power to punish.	Ritual marks of Vengeance.	Signs (coded sets of representations).	Traces (behavioural habits of obedience).
(c) Mode of Penalty.	Ceremony of Power.	Representation.	Exercise.
(d) Status of Offender.	Vanquished Enemy.	Juridical subject in process of re-qualification.	Individual subject to immediate coercion.
(e) Body/Soul.	Tortured body.	Soul with manipulated representations.	Body subjected to training (to produce compliance of the soul).

Using this model it is possible to analyse the two forms of surveillance mentioned earlier. It can be seen that, for FOUCAULT, (1979a), disciplinary punishment's effect is obtained directly through 'training' mechanisms which require knowledge of the offender's whole person. Thus disciplinary forms of surveillance are more likely to be a threat to individual liberties by their detailed intrusion in, and control of, personal lives through 'training'. In the empirical analysis of the present study, however, there is no need for this sinister disciplinary form of punishment - a more juridical form of punishment predominates.

The strategy of surveillance in private security patrol is concerned more with prevention than apprehension. Control tends primarily to exist

outside the disciplinary area of the punishment system (BOTTOMS, 1983) and focuses on consequences not fault. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1983:500). There exists, nevertheless, the possibility for individuals to be both active and passive actors in this system. Control, therefore, cannot just be seen as a coercive state mechanism - it must also be interpreted as a reflexive response by individuals. (BERGER, BERGER, and KELLNER, 1974; GIDDENS, 1979, 1984, 1991).

#### 5. COOPERATION.

In terms of the traditional preventative aspect of policing the study has demonstrated support for the notion that clear distinctions do not exist between public and private agencies. This is because public police administrators, whether at the Home Office or more parochially located, are seeking to achieve inter-agency cooperation in many ways. In this respect police administrators 'scan' (LEIFER and DELBECQ, 1978) to bolster depleted public police manpower. (O'CONNOR, 1973). In terms of power - at Bridton especially - there was some evidence of the public police seeking to attain its goals at the expense of the private agency. (SCHMIDT and KOCHAN, 1977:220). Nevertheless, the degree of genuine cooperation between the two agencies was found to be high. This requires a re-appraisal of the idea of 'police'.

#### **Police: A Less Limited Notion.**

Police are so much in our every-day lives and most of us believe we know what 'the police' as an institution is. So often, however, our perceptions are influenced by the media who compound rigid images. Likewise, the Oxford Dictionary restricts the idea of 'police' to: 'Civil administration, public order, department of government concerned with this.....'. Similarly, the term has been used to describe persons with a special legal status who are employed by governments to keep the peace.

(PARKS,1970). These descriptions carry with them connotations of merely government control and authority. (SHEARING, FARNELL and STENNING, 1980:17).

Since the implementation of the 'New Police' in 1829 policing services have indeed been dominated by state provision. Yet the origins of contemporary public policing have been examined against the notion of a public peace which is said to have its origins in a multiplicity of private peaces going back to antiquity. (KEETON, 1975). The single public peace, emanating from the time of the New Police, is the Sovereign's peace and has been described as devouring competing private peaces. (MAITLAND,1913:108). This historical epoch saw the birth of the nation-state; a public authority which dominated all other authorities but which allows private liberties. But although in modern times there appears to be a dominant public peace there is still no satisfactorily clear distinction between the public and the private. (BECKER, 1973:443).

The dominant, and inaccurate, perception of clear distinctions may be sinister in itself for it has been argued that within public police organizations limited notions of definition can be used as political forces to ensure their survival. Thus 'the' Police have been seen as:

.....political entities who aspire to stand apart from time by adopting their own protective mandate and myth, but who are nevertheless political entities responding to, altering, and manipulating public expectations. (MANNING, 1977:38).

From this standpoint Britain's police, and policing, exists in a limited universe which consists of the membership of the Police Federation of England and Wales and other police representative bodies within the public sector. This creates a problem for equity - for there is a tendency to become trapped at an institutional level of analysis upon which there is no room for an ever-growing private sector police and

their policing function. In support of this notion, while reviewing articles on private security in the Police Federation's magazine, 'Police', I have been unable to find any positive mention of the private agency's function. Thus, it would appear that the public police would wish the existence of inter-agency cooperation, but only on their terms.

Limited definitions of 'unscientific myopia' (CAIN, 1979:1) have prompted critical commentators to move towards a more sociological definition of police. If a greater range of sociological alternatives are required it is therefore necessary to search for wider definitions and to place the idea of 'police' and 'the state' into a universe which will allow a clearer understanding. The present study may go some way in placing these in a context which views 'police' not only from an orthodox position as a fixed and immutable concept, but from a critical position where it is dynamically related to changing social, economic and political considerations.

#### **Public And Private: One Entity.**

In ancient societies public and private states were not so fixed as they appear today. Extended family systems were deeply integrated so that behaviour was constantly under surveillance. To conceive of oneself as having a separate identity from the neighbourhood would have been difficult in those times. The private emerged as a social conception when individuals separated themselves from the locality and created social distance. Hence, from this perspective, the state, government or regime is flawed by the fact that officials who are the guarantors of public morality are, among other things, private individuals. From this view the state contains both public and private elements:

It is necessary to avoid reifying or personifying the public and the private as separate entities and see them as battling over the individual or seeing the private as individuals battling the state. The state - that is, governments and regimes - is made up of

individuals who have a separate private existence, while on the other hand no individual can be abstracted from the social and public networks that are subject to social and political definition. (BENSMAN and LILLIENFELD, 1979:173).

There is no problem in that analysis of associating private forms of policing with the state. The present study supports this notion. The distinction between the public and the private is a distinction internal to law in capitalist societies. Private institutions, therefore, can perfectly well function as ideological state apparatuses. (ALTHUSSER, 1971:137-138). Private security policing, thus, logically occurs within the state and within its legal framework. (SOUTH, 1984:189).

Thus the boundaries of the state are constantly shifting and cannot be categorized as either welfare or corporate - a 'welfare-corporate' state is said to exist. (UNGER, 1976). State power is therefore very much a question of the extent to which the aspect of centralised juridico-political ordering dominates over others that might be in play at any given time. (NOWELL-SMITH, 1980:9). And this has an important bearing on policy implications for this study. For as a concept this 'fluid' state has potential to allow change in justice systems. Private security patrol in neighbourhoods may be seen as a pervasive, encroachment on the public police organization. (MEADOWS, 1984:51). Co-incidentally, the development of such change is most likely to occur where state power is unchallenged, where criminality directed at private persons is perceived to be a serious and increasing threat and where ideology does not preclude private security. (BAYLEY, 1986:216). Furthermore, we can expect no erosion of private forms of policing:

.....although modern policing is dominated by personnel who are paid and directed by the governments of states, it is not clear that this situation will remain unchanged. Public agency in policing is by no means an exclusively modern phenomena, and there is evidence that even now the trend may be reversing.....public disenchantment can turn against any set of security arrangements, whether public or private. It is simply an historical accident that in our recent past private ones were found inadequate. If the public's dis-aggregate



security needs are not met by states, then private police arrangements may be resuscitated. (BAYLEY,1986:215-216)

Public policing in this view fits well with the findings of this study. It will never permanently replace private policing and allows for the notion that private security policing has a political relationship with the state and may become dominant in some areas of police-work. This exclusion of a strict definitive division of function between public and private agencies allows in the notion that the Home Office is at one and the same time the master of public and private policing. In such an environment of cooperation, delegation and diversion, the shedding of the soft-end of policing is assisted. Thus the state can get on with the more serious aspects of crime. (COHEN, 1985:138).

The crisis in crime control, which concerns an increasing demand on public police resources and a concomitant inability to provide the level of protection demanded by sections of the public, has led state authorities to look elsewhere for community protection. In doing so an overall growth in policing may occur, especially at the 'service' or 'soft-end' of policing provision. (COHEN, 1985). Thereafter the public peace may tend not to be kept primarily by the public police - rather, it is kept by the intricate and almost unconscious network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves and enforced by the people themselves. (JACOBS, 1961:31-32). The self-help ethic inherent in this policy extends to the use of the private security industry itself, legitimized by the state in the form of Home Office policy. But although this de-structuring idea appears to indicate that the state is loosening its grip the findings in the present study can be read otherwise. What appears at first sight to be 'minimal statism' is in fact increased statism as the Home Office maintain the power to influence criminal

justice policy towards an increasingly corporate level (COHEN, 1985:128) and, consequently, influence patterns of crime.

#### 6. CRIME CONTROL.

Neighbourhood private security patrol has the capacity to be effective in preventing crime, however, there is evidence to argue a mistaken belief in the word 'prevention'. There is empirical evidence here to show that the patrol strategy did not prevent crime but merely 'deflected' it. Accordingly, 'crime deflection' is a more practical term to use, even though it may not be politically acceptable to some. Thus, 'choices' of policy (Home Office) and practice (Subjects) create crime patterns. Crime deflection has been identified here as part of a larger framework where the distribution of crimes and their victims is the result of a series of choices taken by certain sections of society. It is a valuable part of the study because it identifies how choices, when taken, can reflect present patterns of crime.

The state is probably right to advise that visible burglar alarms make burglars think twice. (HOME OFFICE, 1989). And for the sake of individualism it may be worth encouraging those who can afford an alarm to buy one. But it is not a majority public who can or will respond to this message, for it is not everyone who has the economic power or the will to purchase enhanced security - the power of choice. Private patrols are, therefore, a very good thing for the exclusive communities who have them. Those who do not should not be surprised if they experience more of the crime problems that their better-patrolled neighbourhoods formerly experienced but now deflect elsewhere. Thus, inequity leads to oppression.

#### CONCLUSION: AN OPPRESSIVE JURIDICAL MECHANISM.

The theoretical analysis of the empirical findings in this study does not proceed from FOUCAULT'S (1979a) notion of repressive state discipline, for disciplinary punishment's effect is obtained directly through 'training' mechanisms which require knowledge of the offender's whole person - and these mechanisms do not exist in the research findings. More appropriately the analysis must begin from a position which considers juridical punishment as a primary factor. (See Figure 10.1). Private security patrol in neighbourhoods relies upon a bureaucratic-administrative type of regulation backed-up by a *Gesellschaft* type penalty. This form of control is achieved through the attainment of goals and norms (KAMENKA and TAY, 1975:138), directed at whole groups and categories of people (MATHIESEN, 1983), and operated often by the people themselves. (SHEARING and STENNING, 1983:488, 1987b). Indeed, as SMART, (1983) points out, FOUCAULT (1979b:139) himself propounds the notion that discipline is decreasing as a control technique and that a more normative, regulatory and juridical style of control is developing within the community. But this developing style of control may be seen in the present study to be relatively formalized, for it has been shown here that the informal control characteristic normally associated with these small homogeneous primary communities is giving way to increasing formal control in the urbanized and heterogeneous societies in which they are located.

At the beginning of this study I posed the question on the exercise of power - by whom, over whom and by what means? The explanation which must follow from the empirical analysis is that power is exercised by neither state (the public) nor individual (the private) but an association of the two. This is so even though the state retains the sovereign right to promote its policies of freedom of choice - through

violence if it so wishes. Private security patrol, thus, is a strategy dependant not only upon the creation of state policy but upon certain fractions of the public themselves searching for substitution after experiencing a loss of security in their lives. There are, therefore, no wholly passive receivers of state control. This does not mean, however, that neighbourhood private security patrol is a non-oppressive and equitable strategy, on the contrary, a degree of oppression and inequity is clear from the research findings - but this is created by a number of factors each having its source within the association of agent and structure in modern capitalism. Individuals, accordingly, have the capacity to participate in the creation of their own oppression.

The theoretical challenge is therefore clear. It is to construct a framework which does not limit the model of order to a merely structural or social explanation but incorporates both these factors. A central element of this framework must recognize that human agents' practices of reasoning may constitute the control forms on which policing is founded. People (security guards) are merely watching people (clients and potential offenders) - there is no repressive and overbearing surveillance which has state structure as its base. And although there are negative qualities which have 'surveillance' at their centre, it is 'simple' surveillance which is dominant and not the complex and structure-bound explanation given by some left-functionalists. This 'dual' approach allows a more active role for individual action because,

..... institutions do not just work 'behind the backs' of the social actors who produce and reproduce them. Every competent member of every society knows a great deal about the institutions of that society; such knowledge is not *incidental* to the operation of society, but is necessarily involved in it. (GIDDENS, 1979:71).

Thus, I advocate theoretical pluralism as appropriately representing these research findings. I believe this approach is more successful in

explaining some of the developments occurring in the criminal justice system today. But although disciplinary and sinister boundaries may not have been shown to exist here, a degree of state oppression is still apparent in the inequity of security provision. Individual communities, through their ability to purchase security, exercise considerable power over those they see as threatening. Furthermore, within the secured neighbourhood itself, this power influences control over other groups and categories who are non-threatening - those less protected and, through 'client surveillance', even the better protected themselves.

Both subjectively and objectively the concepts of 'self help' and 'choice' have been identified as central aspects of the study. The research has shown that institutions of the state - the Audit Commission, the Home Office, the Police, Private Security and its personnel - are strong influences in the process of change. Personal gratification, however, is also a powerful element in the analysis. The market, presented by the state as an arena of free choice, is an institution through which the gratification of fears and desires can be channelled. Choice, rather than constraint, is the dominating factor of control and the catalyst in an inter-relationship between agency and structure where neither dominates the other.

#### **An Embarrassment Of Choice.**

The primary functional characteristics of private security patrol can be seen as providing several aspects of choice, both for clients and potential offenders. For clients, in addition to their choice in providing inter-agency cooperation, there exists the choice to exclude those who threaten order, the choice to secure property, and the choice to secure emotions by overt surveillance. Even for offenders, there is the choice to rationalize the effectiveness, or otherwise, of a potential

attack by them upon the property of others. But while it has been argued by BERGER, (1979:3) that modern consciousness entails a vast movement from fate to choice in human affairs: "...a near-inconceivable expansion of the area of human life open to choices...", the benefits of freedom of choice and self-help are outside the reach of many individuals. Indeed, the empirical findings of this study clearly illustrate that the choice of private security patrol in neighbourhoods is merely the province of the better-off. And in a more general sense, if, as BERGER suggests, choice is so much a characteristic of modern society why is the routine life of so many people so similar and why do institutions impose structures which reduce choice, for instance the 9-5 day and economic constraints on the type of schooling and health care available?

The mode of control inherent in the nature of the private strategy, therefore, is not entirely conducive to the moral and ethical necessities of democratic policing. Due mainly to its individualistic, client-based style, this form of control concentrates entirely upon small communities and acts to the detriment of wider areas by creating community fragmentation and crime displacement. While promising a rationally operated, impartial and universal system of justice, this form of control has an inherently competitive classicist style which excludes freedom from those who are non-competitive through either their choice or their disadvantaged position. There is in this strategy, therefore, an embarrassing contradiction between formal and substantive equality - classicism promises too much freedom of choice. In the next chapter I shall address how the trend towards this inequity may be corrected.

## CHAPTER 11 .

### POLICY IMPLICATIONS: CORRECTING A DIVERGENT TREND .

#### FUNCTIONAL DIVERGENCY: REACTION AND DETECTION VERSUS PROACTION AND PREVENTION.

The analysis in this study has identified a mismatch between the primary (reactive) function of the public police (REISS, 1980, 1983, 1987) and the way that social control currently tends to be moving - towards a more administrative, regulatory and proactive form. (KAMENKA and TAY, 1975; FOUCAULT, 1979b; MELOSSI, 1979; MATHIESEN, 1983; JAYEWARDENE, 1985). The criminal justice system has become increasingly interested in policies of preventative justice. These policies, which impose only preventative measures, concentrate on the individual primarily as a potential offender, not as a whole human being. It is clear that the private security industry is aligned more to this trend in prevention than are the public police, whose resources are directed mainly to reaction and detection.

A great deal of ill-judged criticism has recently been levelled at the police as they strive to meet the extraordinary demands on their time. But irrespective of the causation, the evidence suggests that the responsibility for protecting property is shifting inexorably towards other organizations and individuals as the main weight of police pressure concentrates on serious crime, racial tensions and concerted hooliganism. (WRIGHT, 1981:108).

And further:

As societies modernize - that is, become more industrialized, less agricultural, and more urban - requests for police action involve more servicing and less and less enforcement. (BAYLEY, 1980:47).

### The Threat To Consensus Policing.

Accordingly, traditional aspects of public policing are under challenge partly because the philosophy of economy, effectiveness and efficiency is forcing public police, whether managers or otherwise, to look for the quantifiable elements of policing such as measuring the crime detection rate. The interpenetration of public and private policing agencies identified in this study is influenced profoundly by state policy, which emphasises the use of quantifiable rather than symbolic forms of policing. These quantifiable elements relate almost exclusively to recordable crime statistics and not preventative measures taken to reduce crime. It is primarily upon these quantifiable elements of policework being conducive with effectiveness and efficiency that police forces obtain their funding from central government. It is not surprising, therefore, that public police policy concentrates on this aspect of social control, for to provide evidence of the effectiveness of symbolic, preventative forms of policing is a much more difficult problem for them than revealing simple statistics on those crimes they have detected or which remain undetected. In contrast, the strategy of neighbourhood private security patrol delivers not only evidence of actual prevention for those it serves, it also provides the symbolic element of policing provision which is so important to the ontological aspect of security inherent in us all. And the public police, in missing this point, may have their legitimacy threatened, for unless they can correct this divergent trend, by moving closer to the public through answering their demands for ontological security, there will be a greater threat to the traditional testimony that public police have the consent of the commonality.

Located within the descriptive umbrella of 'community policing' the 'service' function of prevention is, unfortunately, often described by



police as the 'soft end' of policework. Neglecting and underestimating the importance of preventative patrol in their community role appears to affect police legitimacy with the public. The consequences of this under-emphasis upon the un-quantifiable aspects of policework may, thus, increase ineffectiveness. The overall loss in interaction between the police and the public created by the move away from a 'service' role has obvious implications for 'consensus policing'. (SHERMAN, 1983; BENNETT, 1987).

The notion that better relations with the public will increase the flow of criminal intelligence (ALDERSON, 1982) is now a central part of Home Office and public police strategy. The flow of information between the police and the public is crucial because when it comes to detection it is the public who influence this the most. (GREENWOOD, CHAIKEN and PETERSILLIA, 1977; BOTTOMLEY and COLEMAN, 1981). But the notion of increased intelligence through better relations together with these research findings must be taken more seriously - for it is indeed the public who detect the most crime through the information they possess and pass onto the police. This finding should not surprise because the public are the victims of and witnesses to crime. They therefore possess the information to assist the police to detect, arrest and successfully prosecute offenders. Thus, moving away from the community by failing to deal with the more mundane forms of policework will not assist the main objective of public police - public tranquillity. All this must result in a decrease in order as contact with the public diminishes - working at the 'hard end' will become increasingly more difficult for the police if the 'soft end' is neglected or forgotten altogether:

In an age when the emphasis in policing is on bringing police and community closer, there is a human contradiction inherent in privatization also. If the nature of the police organization is changed too radically towards a coercion-centred model, then the organization is no longer a suitable one to participate in the

consensual type of police/public relationship that is the cornerstone of the British Policing style. (DANCE, 1989:296).

Beat policing could become the province of private security unless the Home Office and police managers have more effective objectives regarding the security of local people. It is not only the communities who have enlisted the services of private security that are demanding action from the public agency. Many other communities are sending clear messages that they need increased security. This demand will only be met if the public police provide a greater uniformed presence on the streets directed at specific neighbourhood problems. This demand is currently not being seriously addressed by the state institutions responsible for security. They must not lose sight of the fact that it is they who have the responsibility for providing an effective level of security for the whole of society - not just a fortunate few. One of the paramount aims of a system of police should be the reduction of tension in communities. But if communities are merely afraid of victimization then they are indeed the victims of crime. Police have a responsibility to avoid degrading people and help them to retain their dignity. Thus the moral and ethical principles of police must put persons before property - public police have this moral responsibility. (ALDERSON, 1979).

#### **Equal Provision Promoted.**

While it is hardly an objective of private police, public police policy should promote the equal provision of security as a professional ethic. There is here, however, an unfortunate paradox involving double standards. For this ethical notion of equality clashes with the state's present policy of promoting individual protection. Nevertheless, it would increase the credibility of public police if they took more seriously the phenomenon of crime deflection and its identification in practical terms.

Indeed, professionalism would be enhanced by local police research to try and identify the targets of deflected crime and thereafter take action to resolve the problem by re-allocating resources.

Regulating private police will also help to reverse the trend in the fragmentation of society identified in this study. It seems a simple matter to use some form of licensing which would make the private sector more answerable. However, this may well legitimize further the use of private patrols in residential areas and accelerate community dysfunction by creating a proliferation of separate, privately protected areas. And as the professionalization of the private patrols increases there will be corresponding wage increases which will have to be offset by higher charges to clients. The inequity of social control in that model would be a further and perpetuating cause in polarisation - effective protection would become increasingly more available to those who could afford to pay.

#### **A Destructive Laissez-Faire Approach.**

In a system where paying for protection and assurance is the only certain way of solving your problems - like paying for good health - there will be more casualties amongst those who cannot pay, or do not on principle want to pay. The communities most affected by this deterioration in control will inevitably be the most deprived. The very notion that the police are becoming more reactive than proactive will be exacerbated by the fragmented society which private provision creates.

The laissez-faire approach to public/private cooperation represents the status-quo in the United Kingdom at the present time. Private security continues to develop in isolation from public organizational regulation. Cooperation is generally limited as each sector pursues its

own objectives - the private sector working for a larger share of the market while the public police attempt to allocate scarce resources to meet the growing demand created by serious crime. For the public police long range planning is not possible as they respond to public demands which they cannot meet. In the meantime the market fills the gaps which the public sector cannot fill. Thus market forces, rather than fair policy, govern the quality of service and consequently the quality of justice.

The impact on police authority that this laissez-faire approach brings with it is ultimately damaging. For as the public turns more and more to private sources to provide the protection they feel they need, public police may find their authority gradually eroding. The consequences of loss of authority could well further undermine public confidence in police and raise the risk of the kind of aggressive citizen reaction that we have seen from time to time both in the USA and the United Kingdom. Unless we really want the polarisation of the public and the police and increased polarisation of classes, I believe that equal prevention is an alternative that the public police are seriously obliged to consider as the traditional providers of public security. They must therefore look away from the laissez-faire approach to a more radical alternative.

#### **A RADICAL ALTERNATIVE: TOWARDS SECURITY AS A PUBLIC CORPORATION.**

Some public services, e.g. health, housing, are too socially important for market forces to dominate their provision. Public security must be included in this category. Private security, biased as it is in favour of wealth and power and selective in its provision in these areas, should not be allowed to dominate the provision of security. Only addressing society's inequalities will go anywhere near reaching a

solution to unequal protection - superficial systems of cooperation between public and private will not change anything much.

In this age of advanced capitalism there are, however, obvious limitations about the possibilities of equality and I do not underestimate these inherent problems. But limits and possibilities should inform each other and it is sometimes more realistic to consider only the desirability of what can be done in terms of future policy. In this respect there exists a need for policy in security provision to be universally accessible. Such an ambitious position would, however, require a degree of radical social and institutional change. But before introducing the model of my radical alternative, in order to further legitimize its implementation a short return to the theoretical, and perhaps idealistic, will be necessary.

#### **Insurance And Security For Society.**

The combination of agency and structure, or 'structuration' as it has been called (GIDDENS, 1984), has been shown in the present study not to provide equal and fair security provision. Thus, the inequitable culture of self-help and choice necessitates a more cohesive solidarity wherein effective policing provision is within the choice-range of all in society. In this respect, and in accordance with the findings of this study, I have taken my cue from FOUCAULT, (1979b) in foretelling the future of neighbourhood security.

The forecast is that as well as creating discipline upon the anatomopolitics of the human body there will be a regulatory, welfare, life-preserving effect upon the bio-politics of the population as insurance and security, become increasingly important to individuals and states. (FOUCAULT, *ibid*:139). Thereafter society will be imbued with a cohesion

which forms a specific solidarity. (SMART, 1983:80). From this arrangement emerges the 'social' or the 'policing' of society, which has 'public happiness' as one of its main objects. (PASQUINO, 1978). This form of policing fits well with the form identified in this study, for it has an 'administrative' rather than disciplinary nature and is to be understood,

.....not as the set of material and moral conditions that characterize a form of consolidation. It would appear to be the set of means which allow social life to escape material pressures and politico-moral uncertainties; the entire range of methods which make the members of society relatively safe from the effects of economic fluctuations by providing a certain security. (DONZELOT, 1979:xxvi).

This conclusion is also congruent with the notion of 'life politics', (GIDDENS, 1991:Chapter 7) for life politics issues, such as those demonstrated in the present study, call for:

....a remoralising of social life and they demand a renewed sensitivity to questions that the institutions of modernity systematically dissolve. (GIDDENS. 1991:224).

In so doing they return to prominence the same moral and existential questions repressed by the dominant institutions of modernity. (GIDDENS, *ibid*:223).

If the law itself can act as a barrier against the exercise of arbitrary state power it can also be used in the process of change towards a less arbitrary system. In my conception of a future neighbourhood security system, accordingly, the legislative process will need to be invoked to introduce the public happiness through security alluded to by FOUCAULT, PASQUINO, (op cit) DONZELOT and GIDDENS. (*ibid*). A compulsory national system of property insurance and security would provide the patrol personnel and other devices needed to enhanced security 'for' society. Preventative architectural hardware - alarms, various other security devices and contents insurance would also be available through this method. I envisage that this objective would be

achieved through a state-directed enterprise, having its base in a partially nationalised insurance and security system. This would ensure universally applicable security provision running parallel to the open market. In this process individuals would be required to forgo a small degree of their freedom to choose in the market. But this is hardly a restriction on their freedom - given the gains to be made overall. Access to the market would of course be available still to those who wished to further enhance their individual security.

The theory behind such a model is that it combines the commercial freedom of private enterprise with the restriction of that freedom by a degree of government control. Partial share purchase by the government of the insurance and security sectors would be a simple and yet subtle form of public control. This would allow into the policing system a 'reflexive form of life politics'. (GIDDENS, 1991:Chapters 6-7). Government profits, accrued through share purchase, would be compulsorily ploughed back into the public system. This would allow those without incomes to be supplemented. However, there is always a price to pay. Local councils would be required to raise a fixed proportion of the assets of individual households, relative to a total of the average income and value of property. The largest proportion of the precept would purchase patrol personnel and preventative hardware for the home. A proportion of the levy would be used by the local authority to purchase the most competitive contents insurance available.

#### **Regulation Through A Cooperative Alliance.**

.....private security services and public safety forces must combine their efforts if quality crime control strategies are to be achieved. The public would benefit. (MEADOWS, 1984:51).

An important part of my model would be a more controlled coordination between the public and private security sectors and between the private sector and local authorities. My vision coincides to some extent with those who would have a two-tier force:

If a government were to embark on a programme of contracting out police services to competitive tender, it would have to be carefully thought out and orchestrated. It might begin by looking at all those services which do not require a fully trained, highly qualified and costly police officer. Here we begin to discern two levels of policing service. First the para-police, and second the police, as in the health service, where para-medics take much strain from the doctor resources. It is to the para-police services that the privatisation by contract might apply. (ALDERSON, 1991).

But I do not see a hiving-off of the non-crime role of police entirely to the private sector. Such an apparent wrench away from public service should not occur. There is ample evidence to show that the formation of a second-tier force, such as those in Canada and the USA (SLATER, 1982a, 1982c), can be more aligned to public police and avoid reducing professional standards too much.

Security companies would tender for council contracts to provide services and successful tenderers would forward lists of their staff to the police for vetting purposes. After successful vetting individuals would be sworn-in as special constables. They would have the same powers and wear the same uniform as regular officers but be identifiable as preventative police. The comparative reduction of the professional ability of these private personnel would be reflected in lower remuneration to that of their more highly trained colleagues. This improves the prospects of increasing the numbers of patrol personnel rather than pricing themselves into scarcity. There would exist a danger, however, that a lower rate of pay may attract a low standard of applicant and those of dubious character. This would need to be monitored carefully by recruiters.



With the assistance of the public police, private security firms who successfully tender for local patrol services would be required to train their staff in good policing practices and law. Such training would be provided by the police training department at the partial expense of the private firm. Such an arrangement would have the added benefit of personal contact between police and private security at an early working level. Shared training and a certain amount of controlled professional involvement could replace any negative stereotyping between agencies. In this model public-private relationships would be restructured by government control of training standards, supervision and quality of service.

Insurance and contract requirements could provide the stimulus for agreed-upon standards of performance. Insurance firms would indemnify private security organizations against civil action. A minimum level of training and certification would be required before employees were insured. There would be a financial incentive for firms to keep premiums low through their good practice and this would help quality-control and reduce a firm's vulnerability to law. In this more cooperative system, policy makers, police managers and the police on the ground, could enter into cooperative agreements for the benefit of all. Police would be more willing to delegate authority to the private sector knowing that delegation could be withdrawn if a firm's certification were lost.

Police policy makers must fully accept that the primary resources for crime control are not with the public police. There is, thus, a need for more cooperation between public and private security. If the Home Office fail to accept the challenge of making informed judgements amongst alternative strategies, such as the model suggested here, they will not be providing the quality of service they really want to achieve. And if

the analysis of this study is correct, they will also have missed an important moral opportunity to control the way that preventative policing will undoubtedly dominate the future of crime control.

But in relation to having any serious impact upon crime levels there is a sense in which these conclusions are too simplistic and unrealistic. It would be naive to imagine that if the model suggested here was in fact solely put into practice it would have any great impact upon crime levels. It must not be forgotten that such a model could only be substantially effective in association with other strategies. In view of this, not only must policy makers accept that the main resources for controlling crime do not lie with the public police, they must also accept that crime is the product not only of inadequate protection but that its causes too are pluralistic. They do include the situational and environmental causes discussed in this study, but they also include those more problematic and harder to resolve matters based in economic, social and political opportunity - matters to be influenced not by police, but by politicians. And these matters can only be affected through the state's serious commitment to providing a remoralization of social life by addressing the needs of ontological security for everyone.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A  
QUESTIONNAIRES

RESIDENTS

ADDRESS:

---

DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWEE(S):

Number:

Male	Age: 0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-60	60+
Female	Age: 0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-60	60+

---

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD:

Self Employed  
Professional  
White Collar  
Manual  
Unemployed

---

GENERAL COMMENTS

- 
1. WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO HIRE THE PRIVATE SECURITY PATROL?
  2. CAN THE POLICE PROVIDE THE LEVEL OF PROTECTION YOU REQUIRE FOR SAFETY ON YOUR ESTATE?
  3. FROM WHICH LOCATION DO YOU BELIEVE THE CRIMINAL COMES MOST TO ATTACK YOUR PROPERTY?
  4. WHAT HAS BEEN MADE SAFER BY THE USE OF THE PATROL?
  5. WHAT IS THE PATROL'S MOST IMPORTANT FUNCTION?
  6. HOW DO YOU RATE YOUR SAFETY FROM CRIME ON THE STREETS IF OUT WALKING ALONE AT NIGHT IN THE PATROLLED AREA AS OPPOSED TO AN UNPATROLLED AREA?

7. HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR SAFETY FROM CRIME IF THERE WAS NO PRIVATE PATROLS IN YOUR AREA?
  
8. ARE THERE ANY MATTERS WHICH YOU WOULD ONLY REPORT TO THE PRIVATE PATROL AND NOT TO THE POLICE?
  
9. HOW DO YOU RATE THE PATROL'S ABILITY TO DETER PUBLIC DISORDER?

POLICE OFFICERS

DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWEE:

Male Age: 18-30 30-40 40-55

Female Age: 18-30 30-40 40-55

1. HOW MANY TIMES IN THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS HAVE YOU SPOKEN TO THE PRIVATE SECURITY PERSONNEL WHO PATROL THE HOUSING ESTATE(S)?

0 0-5 5-10 10-15 15-20 20-25 25-30 30-40  
40-50 50+

---

2. HOW DO YOU RATE THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PRIVATE SECURITY PATROLS AND THE POLICE?

Very Bad Bad Average Good Very Good

---

3. HOW DO YOU RATE THE PRIVATE SECURITY PATROLS AS A THREAT TO YOUR PROFESSION?

Very Threatening Threatening Quite Threatening Non-Threatening

---

APPENDIX B

PRIVATE SECURITY PATROLS IN RESIDENTIAL  
AREAS OF ENGLAND AND WALES.



Location	Contract/In-House	Description
Wooton, Bedfordshire:	Contract	Neighbourhood amenity block (sports complex and children's play area). Periodically patrolled during evening hours.
Lanbaugh on Tees, Cleveland.	Contract	Two council estates with high incidents of crime patrolled on a permanent basis during evening hours.
Stockton-on-Tees, Cleveland.	In-House	18 mobile Estate Wardens employed on a 24 hour basis to protect council property and tenants property against crime.
Hartlepool, Cleveland.	In-House	155 personnel - supervisors, patrollers and administrative staff - protecting council property, residences and tenants against crime.
Chester-le Street, Durham.	Contract	1 foot patrolman, flexible work-times but usually between 6pm and 6am. daily.
Bromley, Kent.	Contract	8 mobile patrollers and 1 supervisor patrolling council estates between 6pm and 1am. daily.
Lewisham, London.	In-House	16 officers comprise an estate patrol which patrols all council owned estates.

Location	Contract/In-House	Description
Hightown, Merseyside.	Contract	Patrol personnel patrol private houses in village.
Washington, Northumbria.	Contract	Periodic patrol of private houses by 3 mobile units between 7pm and 6am. daily.
Gateshead, Northumbria.	In-House	Several mobile patrols of council estates to reduce crime.
Egebaston, West Midlands.	Contract	2 double manned mobile patrol vehicles and one supervisor patrolling the Calthorpe Estates between 8pm and 6am.
Rotherham, South Yorkshire.	Contract	Private patrol of Council owned housing, particularly unoccupied premises, during evening periods.
Wentworth, Surrey.	Contract	1 patrolman. Private housing.
St. George's Hill, Surrey.	Contract	1 patrolman. Private housing.
Dudley, Warwickshire.	Contract	1 patrolman between 10pm and 6am daily.
Wigan, West Yorkshire	Contract	On several occasions private patrols have been engaged at intervals during the night to deal with high levels of crime.
Calderdale, West Yorkshire.	In-House	Patrol by council Caretakers of block accommodation and surrounding area.

Location	Contract/In-House	Description
Calderdale, West Yorkshire.	In-House	Patrol by 2 guards during evening hours on council estate to reduce crime, particularly in unoccupied houses.
Leeds, West Yorkshire.	Contract	Security patrol of the interior and surrounding areas of two 25 storey blocks of flats during evening hours.

APPENDIX C

BECTON'S MANAGEMENT STYLE

Bromley's  
management  
style

**MANAGEMENT**

*style*

Existing managers are already familiar with our "house style" of management. It has been debated at many levels and inculcated into our development and training programmes. A variety of initiatives are moving us in the right direction. However, the pressures under which we work have changed and are continuing to change. Our style must reflect those changes as well as draw on the lessons learned from its use over recent years.

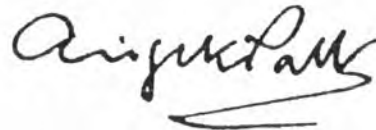


Hopefully, this new edition of the style document will continue to help us as we try to respond effectively to new legislation and, even more crucially, to changes in the public's expectations. It is my firm belief that staff can rise to the challenge through continuing to pursue a change in behaviour; by being liberated from some of the unnecessary restrictions they have faced and by being given

**Bromley**  
THE LONDON BOROUGH

a clear sense of direction.

To each manager in the council's service, I express my thanks for past efforts and my hope that you will continue to support the drive towards our preferred style.



NIGEL PALK  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE  
JUNE 1989

## *Background*

In 1985 I put before members, chief officers and senior managers a paper concerned with the future style of management in our authority. Much of the theory was borrowed from published material but what was new was the purpose; to help every manager do his or her job better. How has the paper fared? Is it still relevant? What practical issues have been raised?

The need to define a suitable style of management developed with resource constraints. Those constraints remain and, in addition, service managers are required to cope with a vast volume of change: the growth of the vulnerable elderly; a curriculum for a changing society; the problems of the homeless, to name only a few. The government's



legislative programme places emphasis upon choice by parents and tenants; efficiency through competition; alternative forms of service delivery; and new forms of accountability. On top of all this, local difficulties of recruiting and retaining quality

professionals and managers have added to the resource constraints.

In such an environment, a greater premium is being placed on innovation and new ways of thinking to break out of the constraints. Many of the changes which need to take place demand management action, but for this to occur more has to happen than the introduc-

**Bromley**





tion of new structures and procedures. Increasingly, it is being recognised that the very culture of local government has to be modified. Emphasis needs to be placed on closeness to the customer, entrepreneurial approaches, rewarding staff initiative and on greater effectiveness.

Thus, time has not invalidated our preferred style of management; rather it has increased the need to pursue it. All the same, much has happened since the paper first appeared. I have spoken with many groups of managers, head teachers and other professionals. A number of departments have been "audited" by management consultants to see how they match up to the new style and a lot has been learned in the process.

I now recognise that some of the original phrases like "bias for action", "back of envelope planning" and being "in tray driven" undervalued the processes of planning and communication that are essential to any organisation.

Time has also demonstrated the need to qualify carefully the statement that risks may be taken when resources are scarce. How often has this been used to explain away failure which had more to do with bad management and ignorance of financial regulations than it did with taking risks based on sound judgment and reported up the line through managers? The value of communication between levels of management cannot be over emphasised. The new version of the management style which follows takes these points into account.

### *Management approaches past and future*

The present climate in local government presents enormous challenges and opportunities to us all. How will we take advantage of them and what should we be doing that is different from the past?

The answers can be drawn out by examining the shift which has occurred in response to the pressures over recent decades (see Figure 1). Although this shift has never been spelled out specifi-

## **Fig. 1**      *Management approaches- past and present*

	<i>THE PAST (1945-1975)</i>	<i>THE FUTURE (1990's)</i>
<i>Era</i>	<i>Rising expectations</i>	<i>Limited resources</i>
<i>Strategies</i>	<i>Stable legislative framework</i>	<i>Established ways open to challenge</i>
	<i>Allowable growth</i>	<i>Real cuts and redeployment</i>
	<i>Economies of scale</i>	<i>Economy through managers with recognised responsibilities for activities, budgets etc</i>
<i>Structures</i>	<i>Council is the main service provider</i>	<i>Council is the enabler of service provision</i>
	<i>Fragmented</i>	<i>Individual welded within a corporate whole</i>
	<i>Service/Committee based</i>	<i>Delegated management, performance centre based</i>
<i>Key Systems</i>	<i>Client/Contractor roles combined</i>	<i>Separate roles and accountabilities for client and contractor</i>
	<i>Allocation of additional resources</i>	<i>Strategic planning to adapt and take advantage of demographic and political shifts</i>
	<i>Detailed bureaucratic and universal controls, particularly of inputs</i>	<i>Concentration on control of outputs and effectiveness</i>
<i>Staff</i>	<i>Financial control in "real terms" (i.e. inflation costs accepted)</i>	<i>Cash planning (i.e. If inflation exceeds expectations, activities are cut)</i>
	<i>Central administration costs allocated to users</i>	<i>Service level agreements negotiated</i>
	<i>Heavy at the centre</i>	<i>Lean at the centre</i>
<i>Key skills</i>	<i>Limited use of Technology</i>	<i>Intensive use of technology</i>
	<i>Low productivity</i>	<i>Competitive productivity</i>
	<i>Average but secure pay and conditions</i>	<i>Pay led by price and performance</i>
<i>Style</i>	<i>Professional and administrative</i>	<i>Managerial, marketing and political sensitivity</i>
	<i>Bureaucratic</i>	<i>Experimental</i>
	<i>Safe (i.e. documentary cover for action. "Yes Minister" levels of protection)</i>	<i>Innovative, participative (i.e. selective in the use of resources and therefore involving risk taking)</i>
	<i>Limited freedom to managers to manage</i>	<i>Maximum freedom to managers to manage</i>

cally in any reports to Council, most members and officers will recognise that the characteristics of the two eras fit with the organisational changes of recent times.



Not least will our future style of management be influenced by the impact of legislation enacted in the late 1980's concerning competition, education, housing and finance. Collectively it adds up to a reform programme based on "free market" principles which are a long way from the structures, policies and sentiments shared for so long by members and officers. The need to separate the operations of client and contractor; the commercialism that will follow in the wake of setting up of

direct service organisations; and the importance of customer/end user satisfaction cannot fail to affect the future.

Thus, the future approach described in the right hand column of Figure 1 is a far cry from the one most of our longer serving employees grew up with. However, the legislation which has brought

*Bromley*

it about will not go away. It is only by providing an environment which encourages the development of these features that managers will be able to motivate and be motivated. Commitment and motivation will be most enhanced by changes which facilitate the last listed item : "maximum freedom to managers to manage".

### *Keynotes of our style*

In future, the formula for success must be built around the people in our



organisation : how to support them ; how to motivate them, and how to recognise their achievements. One of the first requirements to this end is to indicate to all concerned the "key notes" of our style and these are shown in Figure 2

This amounts to an approach which places great trust in the hands of managers and their training and experience must equip them for the task. It is em-



## Keynotes of the Council's management style

*Maintain bias for action.*

*If you have a problem – fix it fast. If the problem is wide ranging, get together just as many as are necessary to tackle it. Go for robust solutions not perfect ones. DO something!*

*Stick to what we are best at; experiment selectively and in small steps.*

*A reputation for good quality springs from what we do well. Concentrate on delivering what we are good at – better. Move into new areas only when we have the expertise to do them. Build a reputation as a sound functional authority.*

*Respect the individual and seek productivity through people.*

*Delegate, trust, and develop others. Let individuals be "winners" all down the line. Let their names be known. Wisdom does not reside solely in members and chief officers. Nominate and recognise the managers of performance centres. Look to them for achievement. Praise and reward good performance.*

*Promote authority and entrepreneurship; and recognise the risks.*

*Progress depends upon small steps forward. Those steps depend upon each person being free to contribute. Initiative is not related to rank. Let each contribute, knowing that it is acceptable to fail (but not too often!). No-one will be enterprising if only safety is rewarded.*

*Promulgate clear values and seek active leadership.*

*Each department should be aware of its image, what it stands for and in what it takes pride. There must be clear values throughout the Council's organisation. Morale is maintained by direct and frequent communication of such values. Excitement and exuberance in subscribing to the values should be encouraged. Involvement should go as far down the line as possible.*

*Keep close to our customers.*

*Pay the maximum attention possible to the main users of the Council's services – the public. Aim to achieve a service parallel to the best in private commerce and industry. Communicate freely, not defensively; listen; follow up swiftly, care.*

*As we have a lean staff – keep it simple.*

*Working chief officers. No deputies. Take time to plan – but produce analysis without paralysis. Ad hoc units. Shallow hierarchy. Direct access (i.e. "jumping" line management within "departmental confidence"). Visible performance centres.*

*Keep to the centre only that which is necessary: trust.*

*Last but not least the key balancing act. The target: to simultaneously achieve a loose grip at the centre so that managers may manage while keeping a tight grip on those sensitive issues which must be controlled centrally – and completely. "Centralism" is debilitating and harmful irrespective of whether it is in the form of committees seeking to control other committees, central departments controlling service departments, or senior officers controlling line managers.*

phased that, in so far as the exercise of choice in the use of scarce resources exposes the council to some risk, that



risk should be reported up through managers, and when appropriate to members themselves. The objective, however, is to maximise motivation and personal satisfaction by encouraging delegated responsibility within well communicated guidelines.

The style this paper promotes is a mixture of the comfortable and reassuring (i.e. maintaining stability by continuing to do what we already do well) and the uncomfortable but energising (i.e. innovation in areas of necessary change). It is concerned with maintaining good motivation, communication and commitment in the provision of ongoing services whilst keeping a capacity for the reorganisation and regeneration which changing circumstances and new legislation demand. It must provide room for opti-

mism, enthusiasm and not least some enjoyment within the constant pressures. The model best suited to take account of these needs is shown in figure 3 and is based on the keynotes of the style.

### *Initiatives for change*

Vision is important but needs to be translated into practical initiatives if it is to have an impact on the authority. Thus, it has been the aim since the inception of the style to develop important aspects of it. Within the limits of this paper it is impossible to give more than a few examples (see figure 4) but it is important to communicate that there is a pattern to these initiatives (see Figure 5). The justification for and persuasiveness of the changes they bring will be enhanced if staff can see that they fit together and contribute to a clear, logical direction

Dealing with internal issues, it has been a priority to increase delegation and make this possible by the confidence that follows from having clear



## **Fig 4** *Developing the management style*

### *Examples*

1. Better communication with customers by publishing a quarterly magazine
2. Customer service days to draw on the skills and knowledge of front line staff
3. Staff encouraged to write letters in their own names, not the names of their chief officers
4. Official reports carry the names of the preparing officers.
5. Corporate identity to promote the image of the Council and its services. Upgrading of reception areas.
6. Consultancy reviews to ensure that departments reflect the management style in their structure and operations.
7. Performance centres with recognised responsibilities and budgets. (Councillors encouraged to contact the manager directly rather than always going via the chief officer).
8. Reducing to no more than two levels of management above performance centre managers, wherever possible.
9. Key accountabilities defined for all senior posts.
10. Objectives and targets set and reviewed by periodic appraisal.
11. Performance payments to reward the achievement of objectives and targets.
12. Training programmes to enhance management skills.

## **Fig 5** *The pattern of key initiatives*



individual objectives and the process of updating and clarifying these by staff appraisal. This brings in its wake the opportunity to develop payment by performance methods. As much of the style is about good management, it has also been essential to increase the investment in management and development. A feature of recent years has been the creation of new and innovative training programmes which are relevant to the council's needs.

Looking out from the authority, the establishment of a corporate identity has helped to focus the public's attention on the best features of our services and to engender in staff some sense of pride in being associated with well regarded services. In addition, a range of initiatives has been developed to promote customer service because our management style would be meaningless if it did not lead to an improvement in service delivery.

Inevitably, some staff will feel oppressed by such a wide range of initiatives. To them I offer the reassurance that this is not change for its own sake.



As for those who are impatient for more things to happen, I urge them to recognise that changing a large and complex organisation takes time and that their continued support is essential. Every change for the better is a step in the right direction, no matter how small it may seem at the time.

### *Conclusion*

In the years since the launch of the management style, a new sense of purpose has begun to dawn in many quarters. I owe this to those who have not just acknowledged the theories but have



used their ingenuity to turn the ideas into practice. But we cannot stand still. The concept of good quality service has to be taken down to the very base of the hierarchical pyramid. Our front line is where the public will perceive the difference and, as managers, it is our job to organise and deploy resources to that end. It is to the front line services that the prime attention should be directed in the foreseeable future.

APPENDIX D

REPORT FORMAT AND ABSTRACTS FROM BECTON  
SECURITY SERVICE REPORTS.

ENVIRONMENTAL INCIDENTS.

REPORT FORMAT:

DATE.....

ESTATE.....

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NATURE OF REPORT	TIME	PLACE	ACTION TAKEN
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Vehicles Abandoned  
or Under Repair

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Fire Damage

---

Rubbish Dumped

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Human Urine or  
Excreta.

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Insecurities  
Entry-phones  
Doors  
Windows  
Garages  
Cupboards

---

Lights Out

---

Vandalism  
Graffiti  
Broken Doors and  
Windows

---

ABSTRACTS.

DATE.	EVENT.
18.1.90.	Abandoned Austin Maxi car - no road tax. Fire damage (previously reported). Rubbish dumped in lifts and staircase. Human urine and excreta - smell groundfloor staircase. Lights out and street lights flickering. Graffiti in lifts and staircase of flats.
19.1.90.	Fiat car dumped. Ford Escort dumped. Fire damage in basement staircase. Rubbish dumped. Human Urine on stairs. Security doors not closing. Meter-cupboard-door broken. Street lights not working. Nine incidents of graffiti.
20.1.90.	Fire damage - tower block. Rubbish dumped on most floors of tower blocks. Meter-cupboard open. Community Centre - car park lights out. Vandalism - broken cupboard doors; graffiti on walls.
21.1.90.	Abandoned vehicles: Ford VKL 560H - no road tax. Flat tyre. Red Jaguar WMD 56G - under repair. Excess rubbish on most floors of tower blocks. Human urine in lifts. Street lights out in six streets on estate. Vandalism - graffiti.
23.1.90.	Vauxhall and Fiat cars abandoned. Fire damage in flats - basement and staircase. Rubbish on five tower block floors. Human urine in lifts.

DATE.	EVENT.
23.1.90.	4 windows found broken. lights not working inside tower block. 9 reports of graffiti.
24.1.90.	2 vehicles under repair on roads. 1 vehicle abandoned; 1 without number-plates. Six reports of excess rubbish. Two reports of urine in staircases. Nine reports of graffiti.
25.1.90.	1 vehicle - no road tax. 2 vehicles abandoned. Excess rubbish in stairwells.
26.1.90.	1 car abandoned. Urine in stairwells. Excess rubbish in basements.
28.1.90.	Vehicle - no road-tax. Vehicle abandoned. Abandoned old furniture in basement. Excess rubbish in basement. Five security doors in-operative. Lights out in tower blocks. 5 incidents of graffiti.
29.1.90.	4 vehicles without road-tax. Street lights out. No glass in stairway door of tower-block.
30.1.90.	5 vehicles abandoned. Excess rubbish. 4 incidents of urine in staircases and lifts. 3 service cupboards found insecure. 4 reports of lights out. Paint daubed on service-cupboard doors Graffiti in lifts.

DATE.	EVENT.
31.1.90.	2 vehicles abandoned. 5 reports of excess rubbish in basements. 9 reports of graffiti.
1.2.90.	Roof leaking in tower block. Old washing machine abandoned outside tower block.
2.2.90.	4 vehicles abandoned. 6 reports of lights out. Graffiti on staircase. Tower-block lift out of order.
3.2.90.	4 vehicles abandoned or under repair. Bad smells in stairway of flats.
4.2.90.	4 vehicles abandoned. Excess rubbish abandoned. 6 reports of lights out.
5.2.90.	3 vehicles abandoned. Bad smells and rubbish abandoned in tower-block.
6.2.90.	4 vehicles abandoned. Excess rubbish abandoned. Meter-cupboards insecure. Street lights out. Graffiti in lift-wells.
7.2.90.	2 vehicles abandoned. Fire damage in tower-block basement. 6 incidents of excessive rubbish abandoned. 3 windows broken. 1 cupboard door damaged. 8 incidents of graffiti.
16.2.90.	Stairway lights out in tower-block stairway - creating 'muggers paradise'



MANAGEMENT INCIDENTS.

REPORT FORMAT:

DATE.....

ESTATE.....

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Type of Incident	Time	Place	Action Taken
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Domestic Dispute.

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Disturbances  
(Fights/Noisy  
Parties)

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Undesirable  
Congregations

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Health and  
Safety  
Hazards

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Break-in  
or  
Squatters

---

Other

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ABSTRACTS.

DATE.	EVENT.
20.1.90.	Crowd of youths appear drunk outside tower-block. 2 Alsatian dogs loose late at night.
30.1.90.	Squatters. Was approached by a crowd of people asking if they could be let into flat which was empty.
1.2.90.	Group of youths under shelter by shops and clinic.
12.2.90.	Group of youths inside tower-block. They looked guilty when approached and ran off.
5.3.90.	Kids moved on. Verbal abuse received but they got the message and moved on.
19.3.90.	On arrival at tower-block two youths ran off from car park - very suspicious. All cars checked - no sign of any entrance.
8.4.90.	Residents report to us that kids are playing football near the shops.
16.4.90.	Dogs around flats. Three dogs very aggressive. These dogs are a danger. Only a matter of time before someone is bitten. The school holidays are coming up. The dogs could bite children.
7.5.90.	Kids playing football outside flats - very noisy - plenty of verbal.
18.5.90.	Crowd of youths waiting around near shops.
26.5.90.	Children playing on scaffolding - climbing out of windows. Told to go away.
9.6.90.	Kids playing football
10.6.90.	Lady at number 33..... complains about youths congregating outside her home until early hours and arguing and causing damage.

APPENDIX E

ABSTRACTS FROM MOSTON AND OTHER SECURITY  
COMPANIES' WORK SHEETS ILLUSTRATING  
FUNCTION AND INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION.

FUNCTIONS.

TIME.	DATE.	EVENT.
10pm	22.6.89.	Back door left open. Key on inside. Secured back door. Left key with neighbour. Lady later thanked us for looking after her house.
8.15pm	27.6.89.	All in order. Spoke to resident who said he was over the moon with Nighthawk.
10.15pm	28.6.89.	All in order. Occupier (with caravan, maroon Fiesta) said he was going away on holiday this Friday, 30th June, and will not be back until 22nd July. I told him I would pass this information on to patrolmen.
10.30pm	24.6.89	Kitchen and patio windows insecure, house in darkness. Rang bell, resident on premises. All in order.
2.30am	25.6.89.	Heard door open. Checked up. Just owner putting cat out.
6.45pm	29.6.89.	Occupant asked me to inform patrolmen that family are going away on Saturday for just over two weeks to Scotland. In an emergency neighbour has a key.
1.30am	25.7.89.	Ford Escort, blue C647 TEF came into the estate, turned around and left.
3am	25.7.89.	Two youths in trees at the back of No. 4. Went off in the direction of Crowther Underpass.
1.36am	26.7.89.	Close observations on vehicle driving around this estate. Reg. No. C647 TEF. Two young occupants in this car.
7pm	31.7.89.	Occupants going away for three days from tonight.
8pm	31.7.89.	Owner's sister in premises for delivery of furniture tomorrow.
10.45pm	18.8.89.	Remaining in this area. Drunken youths passing through. Ensuring that they don't attempt to activate alarms.
7pm	19.8.89.	Informed of family going away for a week next Saturday. Caravan missing from outside adjoining house. Assume away.
3am	24.8.89.	Chased a man from trees at rear of house. Shoulder length hair, 5'8" tall, black tee-shirt, black trousers, white trainers.
9pm	25.8.89.	Someone using drill on driveway of house.

TIME.	DATE.	EVENT.
3am	16.10.89.	Found two garages open. Closed doors. Unable to lock. Notes left.
8pm	11.11.89.	New people moved in. Went and introduced myself to them. They are in the system.
8pm	12.12.89.	Two youths hanging about. Said they were waiting for a friend. Waited until they cleared away.
9pm	12.12.89.	Was informed car, Reg. No. XSF 198W, blue Astra, had been pinched about 7.30pm.
3am	15.2.90.	Two lads pushing car. Stopped van in front of them but they drove off across the grass. Informed police and gave them Reg. No. STN 213Y, Blue Escort.
9pm	27.2.90.	Occupant lost door key. Request we check her front door.
8pm	28.2.90.	Occupant who had lost key requests extra checks again. Lock still not repaired.
7pm	1.3.90.	Occupant still not had lock repaired. Same again.
11pm	15.3.90.	House alarm activated by mistake. Lady unable to re-set. I re-set alarm for her.
10pm	16.3.90.	Alarm set off in house. Lady asked for help to re-set alarm. Assistance given to re-set.
9.30pm	14.6.89.	Passed a bit of time talking with occupants of street. Everything in order.
8pm	7.4.90.	Occupant going away. Informed other patrols.
2.20pm	8.4.90.	Checked unoccupied premises - away on holiday.

FUNCTION AND INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION.

TIME.	DATE.	EVENT.
8pm	6.4.89.	Break-in discovered in factory. Police informed.
10.30pm	28.4.89.	Fire door found insecure at factory. Police informed and conferred with them at site.
11pm	5.6.89.	Two youths found in factory compound, chased away by dog.
3am	5.6.89.	Gave assistance to police at health centre after a break-in discovered.
4am	5.6.89.	Saw two men going through underpass carrying something. Reported to police and awaited their arrival.
10.40pm	22.6.89.	Conferred with police after discovering activated alarm in factory.
9.50pm	24.6.89.	Break-in discovered at factory. Police informed and attending.
7.45pm	25.6.89.	Break-in discovered at factory. Police contacted.
8.10pm	26.6.89.	Gang of youths chased from rear of factory. Fire door found open. Police contacted.
11.55pm	27.6.89.	Car parked at Phoenix Road. VJR 941Y (Vauxhall). Drove off when I approached.
1.20am	29.6.89.	Factory Alarm cable interfered with. Found alarm wires cut. Police and owners informed.
12.45am	30.6.89.	Spoke to 2 police officers in panda. They told me they were keeping an eye on motorway backing onto the industrial estate.
4.30am	21.7.89.	Contacted police on behalf of boss who reports following a black sports car containing three masked occupants. This vehicle has forced another vehicle off the road.
4.40am	24.7.89.	Found golf course broken into. Police informed.
11.59pm	31.7.89.	Checked Toyota car KBR 381 N parked at rear of factory. Contacted police who attended and poachers detained.

TIME.	DATE.	EVENT.
3.15am	3.8.89.	Dog got two men behind factory. One was seen climbing over fence with dog holding onto his trousers. They had a Ford Escort parked on the grass verge on the other side of the road. I assume from screams that the dog bit one of them. They escaped in the car.
1.20am	9.8.89.	Break-in at factory. Police say person armed with two-foot iron bar in area. Police searching the area. Assisted in search.
11pm	15.8.89.	Someone chased from factory compound. No description.
3am	20.8.89.	Discovered abandoned vehicle on industrial estate. Police contacted. Vehicle reported as stolen.
7.15pm	23.8.89.	Two men found loading scrap metal onto pick-up truck, Reg. No. ADC 479K, at rear of factory. Made them unload it and warned them.
2am	24.8.89.	Factory alarm sounding. With police inspector checked whole building. Nothing unusual. keyholder attended.
9pm	12.9.89.	Five suspicious youths seen alongside factory. Police contacted. While waiting for police to arrive alarm activated in nearby factory- later discovered to have been broken into. Conferred with police. Youths had disappeared.
2am	23.9.89.	Break-in discovered in factory.
12.15am	30.9.89.	Parsons Industrial Estate. Blue Escort 1.3. Reg. No. HRG 799W parked at rear with sleeping occupants.
1am	1.10.89.	When checking Jacques Vert, CID car arrived and had a chat - E292GBB. Informed CID officer about the sleeping beauties at the rear of Morgans'. He said that he would check this out.
10.30pm	4.10.89.	Suspicious vehicle. Yamaha Motorcycle FBH 138W, black tank, red wheels, white mudguard 'energy' written on jacket, grey sleeves, black helmet. Fits description of motor-bike gang stealing in the area.
12.15am	5.10.89.	White Golf GTI reversed into factory shutter door to burgle. Police chased car to Felling but lost it.
11pm	7.10.89.	Break-in discovered at factory. Police informed and attended.

TIME.	DATE.	EVENT.
10pm	9.10.89.	Break-in discovered at factory. Police informed and attending.
8.45pm	20.10.89.	Police had made contact to request that we keep an extra eye on factory after a 'tip off' that it would be broken into tonight.
9.35pm	20.10.89.	Volvo estate car, F 53 EEW drove past the factory being observed and drove off at speed when saw patrol van. Police informed.
1am	22.10.89.	Ford Granada, Reg. No. NIN 215R found abandoned behind factory. Informed police. Car had been stolen.
3.45am	13.11.89.	Found double-doors open on premises. Police contacted, key-holder informed and attended. Nothing stolen.
2am	15.11.89.	Saw one youth in path-way between institute and factory. Ran off when saw me. Another four appeared and walked off. Police contacted.
1am	16.11.89.	Conferred with police at burglary after discovering it.
1am	6.12.89.	Nightwatch informed me that a black Cosworth, Reg. No. D5555 LSD, occupants wearing ski-masks, had screwed a shop in town centre. Keep a look-out for this vehicle.
4am	17.12.89	Factory door found open. Informed police who contacted key-holder. No break-in.
2am	4.1.90.	Vehicle Reg. No. VGV 76S parked at rear of factory. Two men claimed they had broken down, but engine was running. They drove off and I followed but lost them. Police contacted. When police arrived, description given. Checked premises where men had been. Found rear fire-door tampered with.
3.40am	7.1.90.	2 men found in factory compound. Contacted police who attended. Men detained. They were attempting to steal £800.00. of steel.
3am	13.1.90.	Saw two lads pushing a motor bike Reg. No. YTY 16V. When they saw me they ran off. Contacted police. Bike had been stolen.
10.25pm	2.2.90.	3 youths seen at the rear of factory. Left when approached and stood nearby. Police informed.
4.30am	4.3.90.	Disturbed two youths breaking into factory. Ran off when saw lights of van. Police informed.
10pm	11.3.90.	Three suspicious men in Ford Orion car drove off on my approach to factory.



TIME.	DATE.	EVENT.
1am	14.3.90.	Factory premises found insecure. Contacted the police who requested that we keep an eye on the premises during the night.
1.50pm	17.3.90.	Container found broken open at rear of factory and contents removed. Police informed. Gave chase after blue van acting suspiciously nearby. Detained van and three men with contents of container. Police informed for assistance.
7.50pm	17.3.90.	Factory doors and windows found insecure. Contacted keyholder. Arrived. No break-in. Left insecure by staff.
11.15pm	18.3.90.	Conferred with police at scene of abandoned vehicle on industrial estate. Information given re my observations in the area this evening.
12.59am	18.3.90.	Compressor-house door found broken open inside factory compound.
5am	19.3.90.	Container found broken open at rear of factory. Police informed.
10.30pm	21.3.90.	After men reported around the back of factory saw van parked by sub-way. Disturbed men at back of factory who drove off at speed from area. Police informed.
7pm	22.3.90.	Two youths seen climbing over the fence of factory compound. Youths ran off when approached. Premises secure.
8pm	24.3.90.	Break-in discovered to factory premises. Police informed.
9.15pm	24.3.90.	Fire discovered in factory compound. Alerted local resident who phoned police.
1am	25.3.90.	Two men ran from factory on my approach. Gave chase but lost them in woods.
1.30am	28.3.90.	Three suspicious youths seen. Descriptions passed on to police.
6.30pm	29.3.90	Two youths on motorcycles seen breaking into caravan in factory compound. Drove off on approach. Police informed.
2am	30.3.90.	Disturbed two men trying to enter rear door of factory. Both ran of when approached. Police informed and given description.
5.10am	30.3.90.	Alarm sounding in factory premises. Two men of same description as above seen to run off. Informed police.

TIME.	DATE.	EVENT.
1am	3.4.90.	One man disturbed attempting to break-into a factory. Police contacted. Three young lads also seen nearby. All ran off. Unable to apprehend.
8.30pm	4.4.90.	Youth caught breaking into factory. Patrolman punched in face when he tried to apprehend the burglar. Taken to hospital. Police contacted.
10pm	4.4.90.	Disturbed man attempting to break into rear of factory. Punched in eye by man when tried to detain him. Police informed. Attended hospital.
10pm	6.4.90.	Disturbed two youths attempting to break into factory. Ran off when approached. Police informed.
2.15am	7.4.90.	Police informed of possible stolen car. Red Montego - found behind Nighfreight - doors open.
3.50am	8.4.90.	Came upon road traffic accident. Telephoned police for assistance.
7pm	13.4.90.	Door of factory found open. Reported to police.
8pm	14.4.90.	Disturbed intruders attempting to enter factory through door. Police contacted. Chased to Blackfell.
1am	15.4.90.	Conferred with plain-clothes policemen on observations at industrial estate.
8.30pm	15.4.90	Pick-up van found abandoned in street, youths ran off when patrolman approached. Informed police.
10pm	15.4.90.	Two youths seen at rear of factory. Ran off when patrol appeared. Two youths recognized and named by patrolman. Passed-on to police.
11pm	15.4.90.	Assisted police at their request to pursue two men seen committing crime in the area. Two men chased but lost. Other patrolman in police vehicle.
11pm	16.4.90.	Disturbed one man in Cortina car acting suspiciously at rear of factory. Informed police and gave them registered number.
7.50pm	22.4.90.	Discovered break-in to factory premises Police informed.
8.10pm	22.4.90.	Youths on motorcycles suspected of local crime seen at the rear of factories. Drove off when approached. Police informed.




# STOCKTON-ON-TEES

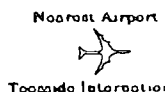
## Borough Council

16 Church Road, Stockton-on-Tees, Cleveland TS18 1TX  
 ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT

Environmental Services Officer: J. Ridley, B.A., I.P.F.A.

 (0642) 670067 Ext.  
 Direct Line (0642) 62....  
 Fax Number (0642) 616316  
 DX Number 60611

My Ref: KR/SJG  
 Your Ref:  
 Please ask for: K Richardson



sjg.45

4th July 1990

Dear Mr McManus

As you state in your letter time is very precious and is very rarely on our side, however I have been able with the assistance of my two supervisors to extract a number of incidents that hopefully are what you are after.

1. 28th June 1989. Midnight

On patrol in Waterford Road when I saw Gary the Punk at the junction with Pembroke Road. As he saw me he began shouting "PETER" then ran off. I ran into Pembroke Road to check the void No 6. On my approach I saw Marco Richie about to jump from the bathroom window. I commenced dialling 999 when Richie threw a hammer at me. I retreated whilst still calling the Police.

12.10am

Police arrived and we checked property. Found that the rear door had been forced and the board from the bathroom window on the first floor removed. When we checked the bathroom we found that the copper cylinder had been pulled from the cupboard ready for removal.

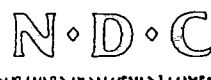
12.15am

With police went to 5 Ormonde Road where I identified Richie to the officers and told them I had seen Richie jump from the premises. The police arrested him and took him away.

The youth, Richardson, being his correct name, had another 6 offences of a similar nature taken into consideration.

Cont'd.....

Inspector M McManus  
 208 Canterbury road  
 Newton Hall  
 Durham DH1 5NG



2. 7th July 1989. 3.18pm Port Clarence

As we approached Cambridge Terrace we saw two men putting a copper cylinder into the rear of a red truck. I know the men to be Timothy Hobarth and Anthony Smithson. When they saw us approaching they drove off at speed. Contacted the Police.

3.29pm

PC476 Cox arrived and we informed him of what had seen. The officer took statements from us and will contact you for a statement re cost of damage. He assured us that the two men will be arrested.

3. 8th October 1989. 3.05am Greta Road, Norton

Saw a woman stood on the corner of Norton Avenue, she was only wearing a thin dress. We stopped and asked if she was alright. She appeared to be distressed and said she was waiting to be taken to Stillington. We were unable to ascertain her name or address so we called the Police. Whilst waiting for the arrival of the Police the woman changed from being placid to being violent, fortunately an officer arrived and took the lady to North Tees General Hospital.

4. 29th September 1989. 1.40am Milford Road

I was stopped by the Police who had a youth in the back of the van. They asked if I could identify the youth who had been found wandering the estate. Unfortunately I did not recognise him but I informed the officers that the tenant of 46 Waterford Road had complained to me earlier of being pestered by a youth. The officers thanked me and left.

5. 29th November 1989 12.30am

In the office writing report when a young lad came to call emergency doctor. He did not get a reply and became quite distressed saying that his friends baby was having difficulty in breathing. I went with him to 9 Milford Road where I saw a young baby who appeared to be struggling to breathe and was blue around the lips. I took the baby from its mother and placed it over my knee, face down and patted its back. All of a sudden a huge amount of catarrh shot from the babies mouth, it gasped then began to cry. At this time an ambulance, called by Shaun, (a colleague) arrived so I left it in their capable hands.

The Warden in this incident received a commendation from the Mayor as well as acclaim from the local media.

6. The following incident occurred after a break-in at the Local Housing Centre.

15th February 1990. 1.10pm

Miss Hamilton of Milford Road called me over to her house where she showed me a calculator stolen yesterday. She informed me that Richie and Tingle were going back to her home at 6.00pm with some more gear. I informed my supervisor.

This information was passed to the Police who arrested two youths for burglary. During investigation there was found property stolen from a local bank which had also ben burgled. One of the youths admitted this and other burglaries and was sentenced to a prison term.

7. 27th April 1990. 11.10am Alverston Road

Saw Weatherall pushing handcart along Norbury Road with sink top inside cart. I could not see if there was any other items in the cart and I was unable to get to him to check.

2.00pm Hertford Road

Called to 59 where the joiner had found water pouring into downstairs flat, there was also a strong smell of gas. Checked all round the premises but could find no sign of forced entry. Contacted supervisor who suggested that we break-in to check property. On entry found that the copper cylinder had been stolen along with a length of copper piping and the sink top. Water was escaping from pipes in the kitchen and bedroom where items had been removed. the gas fire had also been pulled from the wall and gas was escaping. I turned the gas and water off at the mains then called the Police. The tenant of the flat is Weatherall.

As a result of the Warden previously noting Weatherall with a sink top in his hand cart the Police were able to arrest and charge him with theft and criminal damage.

I hope that these few reports will be of assistance to you. The reports do show how the Wardens can be of assistance to the Police and to tenants in the area and I have only selected a few of the more noteworthy incidents. As with the Police, the Wardens deal with a wide variety of tasks in which the Police are not involved, such as reassuring a young girl who believe her home to be haunted, detaining a loose horse on a main thoroughfare and after investigation returning it to its grateful owner, and assisting a young couple who had parked their car in an "out of the way" place only to find it later bogged down.

May I again wish you every success in your project.

Yours sincerely,



Keith Richardson  
Senior Supervisor Estate Patrol Wardens

# LEEDS CITY COUNCIL



D. J. Peverell, F.I.H.  
Director of Housing and Environmental Health  
Leeds City Council  
Selectapost 12, Dudley House  
133 Albion Street, Leeds LS2 8PP  
West Riding of Yorkshire  
Direct Line (0532) 463662 or 463000  
Telex 556237

Mr M McManus  
208 Canterbury Road  
Newton Hall  
Durham City  
DH1 5NG

Your ref:

Our ref: IHR/DFG

When telephoning please ring:  
and ask for:

12th June 1990

Dear Mr McManus

## SECURITY INITIATIVES

Thank you for your letter of the 24th May 1990.

In Leeds we have no staff "patrolling the streets" in the strict interpretation of that phrase. Some years ago the Department of Leisure Services introduced a security patrol for the city's many parks and we have used that service to provide a system of security inspections at empty properties in vulnerable locations, this naturally requires very close liaison with the staff concerned in exchanging addresses of properties empty/relet. This service does, obviously, involve staff travelling through estates and in that connection I attach a list of incidents involving the police, which may be of interest.

I note that your enquiry does not include concierge schemes, but I might just mention that we have 2 25 storey blocks of flats in Leeds where we have a security initiative. Whilst we have a resident Caretaker in each block we use the service of a security patrol on site out of office hours, including weekends. This covers the patrol of the block and the immediate surroundings, but does not extend to any other properties. The patrol is in radio contact with the Department of Leisure Services control.

I trust these few comments will be of some use to you in your project and if you require any further elaboration please contact me.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'I W Riley', written over a printed name and title.

I W Riley  
Management Co-ordinator

SECURITY STAFF - INCIDENTS INVOLVING POLICE AND ARRESTS.

- 04.04.89. Cottingley Towers - youth caught slashing tiles with knife. 19.42 Police called. 19.45 Police arrive and arrested youth - taken to Holbeck Police Station.
- 14.05.89. 01.33 H11 in attendance with Police at No. 72 Foundry Mill Drive. Police arrested person and are going to search house for drugs.
- 26.06.89. 09.30 Portable alarm activated at Lady Park House. 09.35 Head Warden called to say he had arrived and had blocked in a white transit van MAL.417W. 09.40 Police arrive and arrested three people.
- 29.07.89. H4 caught three men, Harewood School, stripping tiles off low roof. Men ran off but left their vehicle, Transit van WUG.614X and Maxi car MYY.68D. Police attended. Men were arrested at a later date by C.I.D. in York, stealing Yorkshire stone paving slabs. They admitted to Harewood School incident.
- 20.08.89. H3 caught two lads inside 216 South Parkway. Gipton Police informed. 11.10 a.m. told H3 to hold onto them as an Officer will attend. 11.40 a.m. rang Police again to check where Officer was. Officer arrived 11.50 a.m. and arrested youths.
- 22.08.89. 02.38 H7/M6 reported two men on roof of Harewood School. Police informed. 03.15 Head Warden called to say, after a search of nearby fields, three men had been arrested. Vehicle registration was VED.15S.
- 10.09.89. Cookridge Hall - mobile alarm activated. H2 met Police and searched building. Two men found in loft and were arrested and taken to Weetwood Police Station.
- 12.09.89. 01.55 Radio message received. 04.30 Head Warden called to say three men had been arrested trying to steal safe out of the Bradford & Bingley Building Society at Drighlington.
- 17.09.89. M10 caught two men on the roof at Moorfield House. Police called and arrested two men - taken to Weetwood Police Station.
- 07.10.89. Cottingley Towers - Cott 1 reported that a tenant had come down to the security office saying two men had tried to kill him, also he had managed to lock them in his flat. Police were called and the two men were arrested.
- 08.10.89. Oulton Hall - Mike called to say there was a blue Transit, HBF.753N, with persons inside. Police called and three men arrested.
- 09.10.89. Kirkstall Yard - reported youths firing air pistols at Brewery windows. 18.30 Police informed. 19.15 Police arrived, youths had returned and started firing pistols again. Police chased youths up the canal bank and caught four youths. Youths will be charged with discharging air weapon in public place.
- 10.10.89. Bramley Park - youths broke into works yard and smashed dumper through gates into Park. Approximately fifteen youths, eighteen to twenty year olds, drinking. Police called and three were caught and arrested.
- 18.10.89. H3 reported youths breaking into Seacroft Centre. 04.13 informed Gipton Police Station. 04.04 H3 and H18 reported House and Home broken into. 04.42 Police arrived and have arrested three youths.

- 21.10.89. Bramham House - mobile alarm activated. Wetherby Police contacted. M8 and Kilo attended. Two men arrested.
- 22.10.89. Cookridge Hall. 19.20 Weetwood Police called to say their alarm had activated. Kilo and H2 attended. Kilo took Police into loft where two people were found trying to hide. Police arrested men and took them to Weetwood Police Station.
- 25.10.89. Frankland Day Nursery - Thorn Alarms rang to say alarm had been activated. Mike attended with Police. Two persons were arrested. They gained entry through a broken window. Sweet Street called - building secured 00.20.
- 29.10.89. Cookridge Hall - 14.58 H15 and M8 reported three youths trespassing in the rear gardens. Youths were throwing bricks through windows. Police called and M15 and M8 detained youths until Police arrived. Youths taken to Weetwood Police Station.
- 30.10.89. Cottingley Heights - 02.10 two youths covered in blood, causing a disturbance and using threatening behaviour. Police called, also Lima, Housing 8 and Housing 11 called to assist. It took our four staff and four Police Officers to remove youths and put into Police van. Youths taken to Holbeck Police Station.
- 07.11.89. Grove Villas - Kilo disturbed a man loading kitchen equipment into a car, registration Number SPD.798R. The man drove off and Weetwood Police attended. Back door of building was open with a key and not forced. Man was later caught and charged with burglary.
- 25.11.89. No. 5 Southcroft Gardens - two men caught removing copper boiler and copper piping. Holbeck Police informed and the two men were arrested. Public Works Department called to secure building.
- 08.12.89. Bramham House - mobile alarm activated. Wetherby Police informed and Oscar attended. Two men found inside and were arrested. Building secured by our staff.
- 14.01.90. 12 Southcroft Way - H12 observed two youths pulling off metal sheet off back windows. Police informed. House searched and youths found stripping wire out of loft area. They were arrested and taken to Holbeck Police Station.
- 28.01.90. Cottingley Towers - 00.59 Man threatening Security with a knife. Cottingley Heights Security assisting. 01.05 Man has been disarmed by Cottingley 2. Police are questioning tenant.
- 07.03.90. 19.55 H15 reported Salford Van Hire Truck leaving Kirkstall Abbey with Yorkshire Stone Slates on the back, believed to have been removed from toilets. H15 followed Van and Horsforth Police informed. 20.05 Three men have got out of vehicle and gone into the Rising Sun Pub in Kirkstall Road. 20.18 Police arrived - one arrest made - man taken to Horsforth Police Station for questioning.
- 08.03.90. 19.45 M12 Caught two youths leaving Easy Road Changing Rooms with wallets. Members of team asked to check their belongings and found watches and more wallets missing. Police called. Two youths taken away by Police.
- 22.03.90. Head Warden and G. Ramsden called to say they are in attendance with Pudsey Police - two men caught and arrested stripping lead and stone from Bramley Baths, one other person got away.



PARKS PATROL STAFF - INCIDENTS INVOLVING POLICE AND ARRESTS.

- 12.06.89. M8 caught two youths riding motorcycle in Middleton Park play area. The bike was stolen and Police arrested two youths and took them to Holbeck Police Station.
- 02.07.89. M7 caught three youths riding motorcycle in Bramley Falls Woods. Reported to Horsforth Police. Police attended and arrested the three youths. Motorcycle had been stolen earlier that day from Horsforth area.
- 14.07.89. Oscar caught motorcyclist on Killingbeck Hospital fields. Police called. Bike and rider taken away by Police.
- 02.08.89. M7 caught motorcyclist in Middleton Park. Police called 18.55. 19.44 Police arrived and took bike and rider away.
- 08.08.89. M8 caught youth riding motorcycle on Primrose Valley. Gipton Police informed. Police attended and arrested youth who was on a curfew. Bike also taken away.
- 21.08.89. M7 caught youth digging up bowling green to Potternewton Park. Police called and arrested youth - took him to Chapeltown Police Station.
- 24.08.89. M5 caught two youths shooting and damaging windows of Brewery. Police called and youths were arrested and taken to Pudsey Police Station.
- 20.09.89. M8 caught youth on a motorcycle on Queens Park. Youth tried to run away but was caught by M8. Police informed and youth and bike taken away.
- 20.01.90. Oscar caught biker on East End Park. Police informed 18.45. Police have attended and arrested youth - motorcycle was stolen.
- 02.02.90. Hawkshead Crescent 00.05 Housing 2 caught two youths on motorcycles. Police called and arrested the youths.
- 21.02.90. Two youths caught in Halton Woods with loaded air rifles. Police called and youths were arrested.
- 04.03.90. 14.30 M8 caught two bikers in Middleton Park. Called engine numbers through to Holbeck Police - one bike was reported as stolen. Police attended and arrested two youths.
- 05.03.90. Two youths caught on a stolen motorcycle at Halton Moor - Police attended and arrested two youths and took motorcycle away.
- 11.03.90. M8 16.30 stopped a youth on a motorcycle in Middleton Park. Police called to attend. Motorcycle was stolen and Police have arrested youth and taken motorcycle to Holbeck Police Station.

- 27.03.90. 18.37 M12 caught two youths inside Hawthorns Building. Mike assisting. Pudsey Police called to attend. 18.47 Police arrived and two youths arrested.
- 27.03.90. 19.30 K. Yard called to say he had caught two youths smashing windows in Brewery - Police called. 19.52 Police have arrived and arrested two youths.

APPENDIX F

ABSTRACTS FROM CONTRACT CONCERNING  
FUNCTIONS OF BECTON SECURITY SERVICE.

ABSTRACTS FROM CONTRACT.

Item 5.

INSTRUCTIONS.

(a)

Security officers must pay particular attention to:

Common staircases, landings and balconies;  
Stairwells and basement areas;  
Footpaths, amenity greens, car parks and garage areas.

(b)

Security Officers are to take appropriate action, including calling the Police whenever possible and reporting every such incident arising from:

Hooliganism, drunkenness and rowdyism;  
Vandalism and criminal damage;  
Mugging and molestation - especially to elderly people and children;  
Housebreaking;  
Drug taking and sniffing of solvents;  
Graffiti;  
Suspicious Loitering;  
Defective public lighting - including within buildings;  
Potentially dangerous environmental repair needs;  
Squatting;  
Abandoned vehicles and unauthorised car repairs/  
car breaking;  
Unauthorised use of cycles and motor cycles;  
Fly tipping and rubbish dumping (including by residents).

(c)

- (i) Security officers are to report immediately any incidents arising from the matters listed in (b) above, via radio contact with the said Control Centre and the said Control Centre shall then contact the Emergency Duty Officer and must in respect of items 1 to 7 listed in (b) above contact the Police and
- (ii) if the incident is severe the company shall telephone the Council's Housing Department the following day and
- (iii) all reported incidents are to be notified to the Council in writing at weekly intervals, and shall be available for inspection by the Police.

APPENDIX G

ABSTRACTS FROM MEDIA REPORTS ON POLICE  
ATTITUDE TO PRIVATE SECURITY  
IN THE MOSTON REGION.

MEDIA ABSTRACTS - MOSTON.

(a) The Chief Constable believes that the streets are the sole responsibility of the public police. The police and the Special Constabulary have a much wider remit to operate in. (Journal, 23.9.87.).

(b) The regional Police Federation Secretary said that turning estates into fortresses with untrained security patrols would set dangerous precedents in society. Sooner or later someone will be hurt if residents took matters into their own hands. However, this is being said against the fact that these patrols are being effective in preventing crime. (Journal, 1.6.89.).

(c) At the annual regional Police Federation meeting, Chairman of the Police Federation of England and Wales, Alan Eastwood, criticised the practice of employing private security patrol to go where the police are unable to go due to manpower shortages. It was "deplorable" that any group of citizens should find it necessary to pay for protection which police could not provide because they were short of manpower. An Assistant Chief Constable said that crime prevention initiatives should be encouraged but self-help security patrols should not. (Journal, 17.3.89.).

(d) Some security guards were likened to Nazi leaders and Rambo by the Police Authority who backed the Chief Constable's call for security firms to be registered. A councillor said that nearly everyone on the authority knew of people who "ended up strutting around shops like Goering and Goebbels as security guards. There are people employed by security firms who are nothing short of animals. They are thugs or former bouncers or that sort of thing". (Journal, 15.11.89.).

(e) The Chief Constable is reported as saying, "Ask yourself the question - if you had to pay for protection and a security guard is paid £2.00 per hour and the special services rate for a police constable is almost £20.00 per hour, which would you choose?". (Journal, 15.11.89.).

(f) The Chief Constable's call for private security to be regulated by law was confirmed by the British Security Industry Association who said that "cowboy operators should be regulated by law". The Chief Constable called for tough new laws because the security industry has grown four fold over the past twenty years and there are virtually no legal restrictions on setting up security firms. The Police Authority backed the Chief Constable up on this point. Authority members likened some security guards to "self styled Rambos'" and said there were cases of known criminals being employed by security firms to patrol shops and other public places in the North East of England. (Journal, 16.11.89.).

(g) Fed-up business men on an industrial estate in Gateshead hire their own private security patrols after a spate of break-ins reported to have cost up to £500,000. "It just got so bad this year that we thought enough was enough. The local police don't seem to have the resources to cope." (Sunday Sun, 12.11.89.).

(h) The Leechmere Industrial Estate at Sunderland operates its own security patrol through the Employment Training Scheme backed by a government grant of £50,000 from the City Action Team. The permanent security team is using surveillance and other crime prevention aids and collaborating with routine police patrols. Operating for two months, already there have been several arrests and 60 incidents have been prevented. (Journal, 16.8.89.).

(i) The organizer of a citizens patrol in a Gosforth housing estate claims to have brought the house burglary rate down to nil since the patrol began. The local police chief agrees with the drop but puts it down to 'police initiatives'. (Journal, 28.8.89.).

(j) Residents of a Gosforth housing estate have begun their own patrolling scheme. "The police may worry we were going to make citizens arrests, but we are never going to interfere with their jobs" said a citizen on patrol. "We are making our streets more secure and an added bonus is that an insurance firm has offered a 35% discount on premiums because of the patrols and they have promised further reductions next year" said a citizens' patrol representative. (Evening Chronicle, 2.11.89.).

(k) A security team has begun walking the streets of North Tyneside in a midnight patrol scheme costing £180,00. Vandalism, on schools in particular and other public buildings is costing the ratepayer hundreds of thousands of pounds. The 22 man team will check on other council properties in a bid to crack down on break-ins. "We will have 16 men out a night on the streets and someone at the control centre taking and giving messages" said a security coordinator. (Evening Chronicle, 19.9.89.).

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