



‘Markets in Policing’ Seminar Series

‘Public Policing and Private Security: Shifting Relations, Future Prospects and Ethical Implications’

31 October 2017

British Academy

10-11 Carlton House Terrace, London



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Aims of the series



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A structured investigation into the appetite for, and the organisational, cultural and moral limits of markets in policing.

To debate:

- the nature and implications of greater market involvement in public policing services both in the UK and internationally.
- the values and principles that might inform considerations to outsource areas of policing to the private sector.
- what aspects of policing might effectively be delivered by others than the public constabulary.
- public-private partnerships, income generation schemes and outsourcing in a number of specified areas of policing.
- the cross-cultural and cross-jurisdictional drivers, appetite, barriers and limitations.

E · S · R · C
ECONOMIC
& SOCIAL
RESEARCH
COUNCIL

'The Politics of Market Reforms in Policing' - 17 April 2015 | LSE, London

'Outsourcing Policing' - 9 June 2015 | York

'Innovations in Income Generation' - 30 November 2015 | Southampton

'Markets in Patrol' - 14 April 2016 | Leeds

'International & Comparative Experiences': 11/12 July 2016 | Leeds

'Regulating the Market for Policing': 4 July 2017 | Sheffield

To explore the changing nature of relations between public policing and private security and consider future prospects;

To debate some of the ethical questions to which these give rise.

Questions for consideration include:

- In the light of changing security threats and crime trends, how can the private provision of security be better harnessed for the public good?
- What are the 'gaps in the market' or the 'markets in the gaps' between public and private provision?
- What are the social or ethical limits to private sector involvement in public policing? Are there distinct ethical 'lines in the sand', if so what are these?
- What if anything are the implications for public service culture of greater private sector partnerships?
- What are the knowledge gaps and the role for research regarding the unfolding relation between public policing and private security?

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Public/Private Policing



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Following Hobbes' Leviathan, conceptions of 'security' erroneously have been tied to fortunes of the nation-state.

Exposure of the 'myth' of the sovereign state.

Informal and local private ordering has always played a vital role in constituting security, often more so than formal state agencies/actors (Churchill 2018).

Interconnected security risk and threats – global/local - beyond the competency of the nation state.

Contemporary plural auspices do not fit neatly into a public/private dichotomy.





Long-term developments/trends in **property relations, land use** and **urban governance**:

- Expansion of forms of ‘mass private property’ (Shearing & Stenning).
- Public/Private partnerships - Town Centre Management.
- Business improvement districts (BIDs) ‘malls without walls’.
- Privately owned and managed parts of city centres - land leased by councils to private landlord.
 - Canary Wharf & Broadgate Centre as model
 - More recently, Liverpool ONE Paradise Project, King’s Cross, Stratford City (Olympic Village), Hove (Brighton), Sheffield...
- Cyber-crime – internet service providers;
- New transnational threats and harms.
- New technologies and data

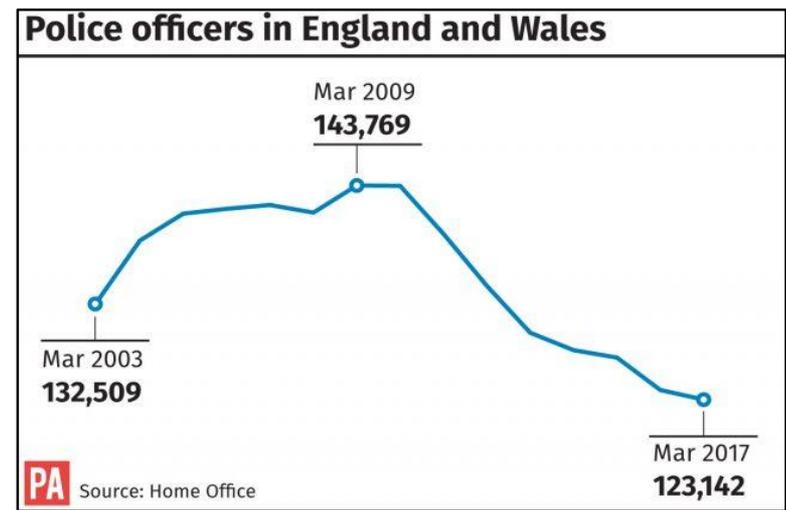
Drivers of Change:

Part II – Economic/Political stimulus



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- **Public sector budgetary pressures:** Unprecedented reductions in police budgets and police officer numbers – how to do more with less?
- **Political will:** Ideological commitment by the Government to the greater private sector involvement.
- **New Commissioning infrastructure:** Role of PCCs given their commissioning role, control of police budgets and accountability to the electorate – a volatile mix of politics and public sensibilities.
- **Mature private security industry:** In the light of regulation – Security Industry Act 2001 + SIA.



Public/Private Partnerships



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- Is there something fundamentally unacceptable about ‘policing for profit’?
- Is the notion of ‘private security’ an oxymoron? Safety as a public good!
- Policing as a normative enterprise (tied to coercion) embodies assumptions about legitimate authority.
- What are the implications of partnerships for **legitimacy** and **trust**?
- Legitimate forms of authority will generate commitments to cooperation, compliance and consent – essential to policing.



Public policing

- Normative/moral logic
- Symbolic and visible presence of 'sovereign' authority (*Leviathan*)
- Reactive reordering
- Punishment and prosecution
- Criminal law

Private security

- Instrumental logic
- Risk reduction and loss minimisation
- Orderly image (embedded)
- Proactive/preventative problem-solving
- Exclusion denial of access
- Contract and Property law

- Through public-private partnerships, we have seen a cross-fertilisation and blurring of modes of policing.
- There has been a marketisation of the public police and a publicisation of private security.
- As a result, public values coalesce around, and collide with, private and parochial interests.
- It is less easy to differentiate between styles of policing dependant upon, or reducible to, the characteristics of those who provide or even authorise policing agents.

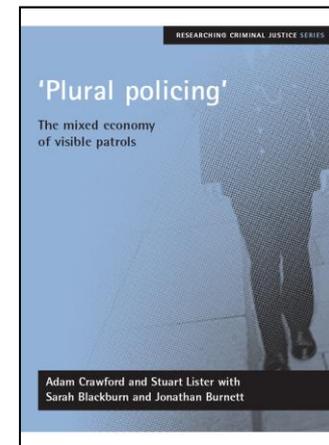
The growth of private policing has not simply resulted in a shift from a 'public good oriented system of policing to a market-oriented one as the ratio of private security to police actors has increased' (White and Gill 2013: 89)

Plural Policing Relations



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- A **monopolistic** model whereby forms of policing are integrated within the hierarchical state police
- A **steering** model whereby the police seek to 'govern at a distance' the policing activities of others: 'junior partner'.
- A **networked** or **nodal** model whereby plural policing providers link together in horizontal partnerships in the co-production of security.
- A **market** model whereby competition (and conflict) structures relations between divergent providers.
- A **private government** model where state policing is shut out or has relinquished authority - only to enter where invited or called upon to do so.



Plural Policing Relations



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Relations	Networks	Bureaucracies	Contracts
Form – Basis of Relationship	Negotiation	Employment Relation	Contract
Norms	Reciprocity and Resource Barter	Impersonal, Specialisation	Exchange
Medium of Exchange	Trust	Authority	Price
Culture	Cooperation	Subordination	Competition
Degree of (Inter)dependence	Interdependent	Dependent	Independent ('choice')
Responsibility	Shared	Hierarchical: Chain of Command	Transferred to the Supplier
Accountability	Blurred: Problem of 'many hands'	Hierarchical	Formal Reviewability
Conflict Processing	Deliberation and Diplomacy	Rules: Command/ Control	Legality: 'Shadow of the Courts'

- The Independent Police Commission warned:
‘the service, constrained by the lack of finances available to it, risks outsourcing key aspects of policing to the private sector in an ad-hoc and unprincipled manner.’ (Stevens 2013: 13)
- Need for an informed public debate about the rationales, ethical principles and implications.
 - How best to harness the contribution of diverse actors in the interests of public safety?
 - What are the conceptual parameters for thinking about the public goals and interests served by private providers of policing and the private/parochial nature of public policing?
 - What are the implications for the legitimacy of authority?
 - Will marketization herald further erosion to the idea of the police as ‘sacred symbols of national pride’, as a result of which they come to be seen as a more profane and politically contested organisation?

'Public Policing and Private Security: Shifting Relations, Future Prospects and Ethical Implications'



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9.30 am	'Welcome & Introduction' Adam Crawford, Director N8 Policing Research Partnership
9.45 am	'Partnerships to Reduce Crime' Georgina Barnard, <i>Metropolitan Police & National Business Crime Centre</i> 'PaS – Building effective Collaboration' Geoff Zeidler, <i>Police and Security Initiative (PaS)</i>
11.00 am	Coffee/Tea
11.15 am	'Public policing by private security: ethical considerations' Philip Stenning, <i>Griffith University</i> 'Why private policing is essential to good policing and the key barriers to working with the public sector' Martin Gill, <i>Perpetuity Research</i>
12.30 pm	Lunch
1.15 pm	'Public service values and private policing' Trevor Jones, <i>Cardiff University</i> & Alison Wakefield, <i>Portsmouth University</i> 'The role of effective regulation in achieving good outcomes' Dave Humphries, <i>SIA</i>
2.30 pm	Coffee/Tea Break
2.45 pm	Panel Discussion Chair: Adam Crawford, <i>University of Leeds</i> Rene Hiemstra, <i>G4S</i> ; Adam White, <i>Sheffield University</i> ; Stuart Lister, <i>University of Leeds</i>
4.15 pm	Concluding Remarks Adam Crawford, <i>University of Leeds</i>
4.30 pm	End

Contact Details



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'Markets in Policing' Seminar Series

Project website:

<http://www.law.leeds.ac.uk/research/projects/markets-in-policing-esrc-seminar-series>

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