The "Tipping Point"?

The Changing Roles of Public Policing and Private Security
Among Small Business Owners

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

Abstract

The rationalization of public policing has left a large part of the population reliant upon their own measurements of risk management which, in turn, has contributed to the augmentation of collective and individual use of policing alternatives, specifically, private security (Murphy, 2001). Increasingly, people are relying on their own security initiatives to protect themselves and their employees. Theories on the rise of private security related to wider concepts of postmodern 'risk society" have contributed to the proliferation of policing alternatives and reliance on self-policing. Although there has been much theoretical research conducted on the growth of private security, very little empirically based information has been collected on the security needs, concerns and choices of small business owners within current Canadian social science literature.

Attempting to address this 'gap', this paper will examine the "tipping point" or in other words, the circumstances under which business owners begin to rely on their own measures of security and how this is related to wider theories of postmodern risk society and social change.

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CHAPTER ONE
Policing and Private Security: An Introduction

In the past, disciplines such as sociology, criminology, psychology and law have been preoccupied with the activities of police personnel and the structure of their organizations. These disciplines have continuously perceived policing agencies as monopolies governed strictly by the state (Shearing & Stenning 1987, Johnson 1992, Jones & Newburn 1998 et al.). The very term 'policing" has conventionally conjured images of 'boys in blue' as the sole agents acting on behalf of the state. The maintenance of social order by enforcing rules and laws and ensuring public safety using legitimate force, was previously regarded as the primary responsibility of the institution known as the 'police'.

More recently however, systems of justice, crime control, crime prevention and law enforcement have become re-conceptualized, redefined and restructured (Murphy 1998). Researchers such as Bayley and Shearing 1997; Johnston, 1992; Ericson and Haggarty, 1997; and Reiner, 1992; regard this transformation as an indication of a broader process of fundamental changes occurring within the social, economic and cultural dynamics of society. For example, the changing nature of society from previous 'modern' traditional values which emphasized family, community and religion, has gradually shifted toward a postmodern 'risk management' society concerned with the quest for safety and security (Hughes, 1998). Specific social changes such as an aging population, globalization, new technology, urbanization and capitalism have led to a shift in fundamental ideologies which have altered the very nature of maintaining order.

Concurrently, these factors have changed the way in which public and private have become identified in democratic societies (Bayley, 1996).

As postmodern policing theorists state, this shift in social control has obvious implications for policing and public life. In an increasingly pluralistic and fragmented culture, governmental powers are being dispersed and differentiated beyond the state to include a wide array of institutions that provide both public and private measures of policing and security. Policing strategies in today's society have become transformed as public services are being asked to do more with less. Essential policing services are being reduced through fiscal constraints and are being affected by increasing costs of providing public services. As a result, public police are being encouraged by government entities to prioritize and rationalize non-core policing services even though the public continues to demand an increase in protection and security. Consequently, the departure from a traditional monopolistic state based philosophy, to a more cost effective, corporate oriented policing (Murphy, 2000), has left a larger portion of the population reliant upon their own means of security and risk management, as they begin to question the capacity and authority of the public police to meet their security needs (Ericson & Haggarty, 1997). Citizens, as well as corporations and small businesses are relying on their own security initiatives to protect themselves, their property and their employees.

Theories on the rise of private policing in relation to wider concepts of postmodern 'risk society", have illustrated the proliferation of policing alternatives and reliance on self-policing. The growth of private policing measures implemented by citizens and corporations has been well documented, although little empirically based information has been collected on the security concerns and choices of small business

owners within current Canadian social science literature. As clarified within the literature review, small businesses are typically overlooked when discussing risk management, yet they are typically the businesses that suffer the most severe financial indirect and direct consequences of crime and disorder.

Attempting to address this 'gap' in literature, the following project will examine the security measures and motivations undertaken by small business owners to protect their assets and employees either through public and/ or private means. It will examine, the "tipping point" which has conventionally been considered as a defined moment in which a reaction occurs. In fact, individual factors that lead to a "boiling over" are regularly mistaken for the tipping point itself. While this moment is discernible, it may not be identifiable in the cause, but instead, a result of a series of processes and events of varying degrees that lead to a "tipping point". Therefore, the tipping point will examine the sum of elements, not simply the explosive element or proverbial "straw that broke the camel's back".

This project will examine whether or not there is a continuum of policing and security concerns that lead up to the "tipping point" that influence the decisions of business owners to manage their own risks. Is the tipping point, or the point at which small business owners abandon reliance on public police for their safety and security needs and seek non-state or government solutions, private policing? In other words, is the "tipping point" a shift in public attitude from the public sector to the private sector? Is this transition symbolic of a broader theoretical shift in public and private policing? This leads us to the core research question of this thesis; Why are citizens and businesses

increasingly relying on 'private' measures as solutions to their policing and security requirements and is the shift from public to private indicative of larger global trends?

CHAPTER TWO
Reflections of Social Change -Modern and Postmodern Policing

Theorists such as Marx, Habermas, Foucault and Baudrillard, to name but a few, have described 'modernism' in terms of control, order, centralization of social power and the emergence of the nation state as a public authority (Bauman 1992). 'Modern' societies have been characterized by principal ideologies surrounding " progress and order and the solution of problems through science and rationality" (Hughes, 1998). An example of 'modern' is the institution of public policing which emphasizes crime control and represents the state's monopoly of legitimate force and capitalist notions of order (Reiner, 1992). The modern police were regarded as regulators and enforcers of the rule of law dealing with punishment and crime on a reactive basis. Due to various social, political, economic and ideological changes, the role of the modern police has altered. Traditional models of a centralized monopolistic state are antiquated and no longer adequate when describing the current pluralistic and fragmented structure of society.

Postmodernism and concepts of postmodern policing, on the other hand, are regarded as a gradual shift away from modern ideologies and characterized by the decentralization of state power or a weakening and restructuring of the liberal welfare state. As quoted in Jones and Newburn (1998), theorists on postmodernism such as Giddens (1990), Bell (1973) and Beck (1992) argue that the nation state has increasingly become weakened by the globalization of markets that reflect the changing nature of capital and business. In addition, informal mechanisms of social control identified with the modern era, such as family, tradition, community and religion have become destabilized in postmodern society. The movement from an industrial capitalist society where an understanding of social life was inherent in scientific knowledge and authority,

5

to a new information risk society, based on probabilities of harm, has denounced formal institutions of control and thus, the influence of the state.

Theorists such as Bottom & Wiles (1996) expand on this notion by distinguishing various features of social changes that illustrate the emergence of new forms of cultural and social order. They describe that changes in technology, economy and production, globalization, growth of consumption and stratification of income, have all contributed to the erosion of class and changes in trust relationships. Subsequently, this has lead to a culture of uncertainty, individualism, insecurity and of risk management (in Hughes, 1998, pg 136). As a result, there has been an increased demand for personal protection over and above that previously provided by the state as well as a proliferation in reducing fears and insecurity through multi agency partnerships in crime prevention (Bottom & Wiles 1998 in Hughes, 1998). It is this gradual shift that assists us in describing the pluralism of policing and rise of policing alternatives such as private security.

Definitions of Policing: The Public / Private Dichotomy

Most of the literature on the sociology of policing has in the past, referred to the broad modern use of the term "policing", identified by a fundamental group of people who enforced the law through state control. Sociological studies tended to concentrate on what the police do, and researchers soon discovered that the bulk of policing activities had little to do with fighting crime. As Ericson & Haggarty in Policing the Risk Society (1997) claim, the principal activity of the public police is to act as "knowledge brokers" and "risk managers". The police are increasingly devoting their time and resources to

gathering and distributing knowledge of risk to other institutions concerned with security rather than concentrating on traditional modes of crime control.

The work of Les Johnston in his book The Rebirth of Private Policing (1992) has illustrated the complexities involved in defining "policing" as well as increased academic research in the private security industry. He argues that the term policing is not exclusive of public personnel, but is an activity undertaken by a combination of public, private and semi-public agents. He states that to make a distinction between public and private is impractical due to the existence of 'hybrid' areas of policing. It is, however, useful to make a distinction between the two as "as a conceptual tool …used to compare social phenomena in a way which furthers our understanding of the social world" (Johnston in Jones and Newburn 1998).

Johnston further states that policing is a complex mix of powers and activities, and when attempting to define it, one must include examinations of the sectoral and spatial dimensions of policing. For example, researchers need to examine who is providing policing services (state vs. market, individual vs. collective), where the policing is taking place (public or private property), who owns this space (open or restricted space) and who has access to it. These factors must be examined when trying to provide the framework for defining public and private policing.

Private Security and Public Policing (1998), by Jones & Newburn, also examine definitions of public and private and emphasize the importance of utilizing Johnston's example of a public/private continuum when attempting to define the two. At one end of the continuum, formal social control is exercised by the state, provided by employees of the state and organized without the intrusion of market forces (public). At the other end

of the continuum, lies the free market - competing corporations offering individuals the service of policing for a fee (private). In between, we find an overlap of state and market provisions and a transformation in the function of social control and order maintenance. It is this middle ground that requires further examination and clarification for those who are interested in defining the term police and policing.

In general, as is prominent in the literature on public and private policing, 'policing' cannot be defined solely by its functions, but a series of activities that consists of multifaceted links between formal and informal powers of both public and private agencies. According to Jones and Newburn (1998), policing is best understood when activities such as law enforcement, order maintenance, peacekeeping and investigation and prevention of crime, are central in defining parts of an organization or an individuals work. It can include various kinds of social control rather than just being coercive and formal, and does include private security. It is this definition that will be utilized for the purpose of this thesis.

Theories on the Rise of Private Security

From the literature review it becomes evident that sociological and criminological theories on the restructuring of policing and subsequent rise of private security can be grouped into three major categories. The first is associated with government fiscal restraint theories that describe the restructuring of the 'modern' police and increase in the plurality of policing based on the rationalization of public resources. The second category is an examination into the structural theories of Shearing and Stenning (1992), which describe changes in the nature of urban space or development of "mass private property".

This explanation of the rise in private security then leads us into the third theory associated with an economic / market based philosophy regarding the commodification of policing and security through capitalist means (Spitzer & Skull, 1978, 1987, Johnston 1992, Jones and Newburn 1999, Ericson & Haggarty 1997). Although I have delineated these major categories, an "ideal type" (Weber, 1949) explanation for the growth of private policing should not be utilized. Instead, a heuristic approach should be employed due to the wide array of factors that outline fundamental changes within the economic, political and cultural dynamics of society.

Structural Theories

A universal concept throughout the literature on the rise of private policing is Canadian researchers, Shearing and Stenning's 1981 hypothesis on 'mass private property'. In their thesis, the emergence of private policing is due to the transformation of property relations and the urban growth of 'mass private property'. In other words, the changing economic and social order of society has involved an increase in the amount of public life occurring in 'spaces' that are privately owned and thus controlled by corporate businesses. For example, these authors suggest that people tend to live in urban communities and increasingly are frequenting institutions that are privately owned such as shopping malls, grocery stores and entertainment venues. Johnston (1992) suggests that the examples of mass private property relations like shopping malls is somewhat contradictory given that malls are available for public access. The function of private security therefore, is to maximize public access to increase commercial consumption while at the same time restricting public access to those who undermine the market forces such as loiterers, shoplifters, vagrants etc.

According to Shearing and Stenning, when there is a shift in property relationships toward a "large geographically connected holdings of mass property", there is also a shift toward corporate entities with economic incentives to do their own policing thus reshaping the traditional means of social control. Corporations are increasingly becoming legally responsible for the safety and security of citizens on their property, which encourages businesses to utilize private security as a means of protecting their space. This fundamental shift in responsibility for policing from state to corporate hands has encouraged private policing initiatives thus transforming 'policing' into a commodity and altering the function of maintaining order (Shearing and Stenning 1993).

Trevor Jones and Tim Newburn in Private Security and the Public Police (1998), examine the extent at which the mass private property theory can be applied to a district in Britain, and how this may or may not assist in explaining the pluralization of police in that country. They examine how the fragmentation of space and changes in the urban environment contribute to the progressive commodification of space (pg 264) by providing empirical examples of mass private property occurring in the retail sector, the residential property sector and entertainment sector of Wandsworth England. Subsequently, they corroborate Shearing and Stenning's theory, which states that to develop a clear understanding of policing and private security, one must consider the sectoral, spatial, legal, functional and geographical boundaries of policing relating to increased property relations.

Fiscal Restraint & Police Rationalization Theories

The majority of the literature on the rise of private policing concludes that the traditional 'modern' concept of governance is experiencing great structural reforms. The increase in public service costs, decline in resource availability and influence of the private sector on governments have contributed to the rationalization of the modern police organization (Johnston 1992, Bayley and Shearing, 1996, Jones and Newburn 1998, Murphy 2001). Many government agencies have adopted policies and procedures that denounce spending and have resorted to operating measures that reflect "managerial principles and practices of the private sector" (Murphy 2001). Police departments are being managed through business plans, proposals and yearly budgets that account for every dollar spent.

Although there has been significant decrease in budget allotments for public police, increasing salaries and expenses associated with training and sophisticated equipment upgrades have resulted in the escalating costs of employing police officers. Figures from Statistics Canada state that in 2000 the cost of employing a police officer had risen to $ 76,550 from $30, 873 in 1980 (Murphy 2001). Police departments are being asked to be more productive with fewer resources, which has resulted in the reduction in the number of officers and increases in the use of civilians for police work. The rationalization of resources and staff has lead to an obvious decline in police presence within the community despite public demands for increased safety and security. This has called into question the state's ability to provide the sole means of security and public protection.

In response to limitations and rationalization of police services, a wide variety of informal policing techniques have emerged in the postmodern governance of safety and security, namely community self policing and private security. Community policing emphasizes and encourages the community and individual to be an active participant in the gathering and dissemination of "crime and risk related information" (Ericson & Haggarty 1997). According to Garland (1996), community policing changes communities from being passive consumers of police protection to active co-producers of public safety. The community is informally asked by the state to take responsibility in crime prevention and willingly accepts this responsibility due to the "underlying sense of failure of criminal justice agencies". As Hermer, Shearing and Stenning (2001) state, this encouragement of community involvement negates the modern professional model of policing and emphasizes the concept that public police are not capable of reducing crime on their own.

Community policing became the solution to the public's expectations for safety and security, and a way to rationalize the structural changes resulting from the increase in public service costs and reduction in police budgets. However, community policing has also placed additional service and resource demands for an "active responsive and resource consuming service style"(Murphy, 2001). Consequently, the government began to adopt new corporate management models of policing based upon privatization and market values by downloading and forming partnerships with other institutions for the responsibility of crime and social order. As a result, the public police began to sell services that they use to deliver without charge, commenced outsourcing of non-core police activities and began civilianizing certain aspects of police work. (Murphy 2001).

The commodification of these police services has contributed to the blurring of government and non-government policing (Bayley & Shearing 1996, 2001), as both public and private bodies have become responsible for the distribution of policing activities. Thus, various limitations and the rationalization of the public police services has in part, created a continuum for alternate policing measures such as private security.

Economic Theories & Private Security as Commodity

Policing and security have increasingly become a service to be bought and sold due to expansion of free enterprise and changes in the development of capitalist society (Johnston, 1999, Loader, 1999, Bayley and Shearing 2001, Spitzer & Skull 1977). Two early theorists in this area are Spitzer and Skull (1977), who examine the development of private policing in relation to fundamental changes in the organization of society on a market basis. In their article "Privatization and Capitalist Development: The Case of the Private Police" (1977), they provide historical examples of the privatization of social control and illustrate how the task of order maintenance through public and private means, has become defined through "the nature of the relationship between those seeking and those supplying services" (in Jones and Newburn 1999). They hypothesize that the emergence of the policing division of labour has occurred in relation to the rise of capitalism, which has eroded traditional forms of private control. In addition, the expanding fiscal crisis of the state, arising from corporate capitalism, has produced a 'recrudescence of policing for profit' (1977, p.27).

Following Spitzer and Skull's views on the rise and commodification of private security, Shearing and Stenning's theory on mass private property, as noted above, also

provides an explanation into the development of security as a commodity. With the growth of market capitalism transforming public and private spaces and affecting urban development, new criminal opportunities in respect to property crimes and crime in general, have emerged. As a result, public demands for police protection have increased and expectations for security have risen. As theories on the 'fiscal crisis' of the state assert, the public police are unable to meet the needs and concerns of individuals to safeguard their property and individual safety. This provides further legitimacy to the notion of individuals purchasing 'policing' in the marketplace.

Other theorists such as Ericson and Haggarty, in <u>Policing the Risk Society</u> (1997), examine not only the commodification of security, but also the commodification of knowledge and risk. They assert that the public police, through data collection and surveillance of deviant behaviour, have become "information brokers" to various institutions. These institutions depend on a "knowledge of risk" that is utilized to process information on disorder in an orderly manner (Manning 1988 in Ericson 1994). Institutions such as insurance companies, the car industry, corporations and private security, to name a few, organize themselves through the distribution of the knowledge of risk. This "risk society" focuses upon fear and the threat of fear, which perpetuates the notion of an unsafe and insecure environment. It emphasizes self-governance, where the onus of safety and security is placed upon the institutions or individuals to look after their own risk management requirements (pg 449). This in turn, increases the demand for more knowledge of risk through such means as surveillance, which subsequently has lead to the increase in security.

Suppliers of security services and the media have also contributed to the commodification of security by creating an image of threat, which purposely increases the public's perception of fear and risk of crime. They "sell" fear by exploiting and exaggerating crime stories, while informing the public that crime and risk of crime can only be managed if policing is done appropriately by private means. Subsequently, the consumption of security as a commodity that is suppose to heighten feelings of safety and improve quality of life, actually imposes greater insecurities as it encourages people to believe that the only way they can achieve genuine safety is through the accumulation of security. As Ian Loader (1997) suggests, supplying protection actually increases the demand for it. A quote that accurately depicts this ideology is provided in Ericson's 1994 paper:

> 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 (Spitzer, 1987 in Ericson 1994).

While perceptions of fear play an integral part in the commodification of security through increased demand for products, so too do the public police. As knowledge brokers, they offer information and advice about "risk" and security options available to the public in order to reduce the fear of danger and increase perceptions of personal safety. For example, community policing officers act as advisors and promoters of security provisions such as locks, security systems and public safety programs. In doing so, they become endorsers of security products to those who can afford it, reinforcing the notion that security is a commodity to be bought and sold.

The pluralization of policing through market forces also negatively affects the distribution of security and encourages an unequal multi-tiered policing environment (Bayley & Shearing 1996, Murphy 2000). The expansion of private policing has encouraged the structural division of class and ethnicity where the poor are protected by the public police whose main purpose is to maintain social order through crime control, and the rich, who have the ability to pay for increased safety, are protected thorough private means whose main function is profit driven. It is the inequality between the rich and poor that poses concerns for researchers on private security and policing. There is a risk that those who can afford to pay for safety and security will become less willing to support the public police on the argument that they are paying twice for the same service. This, as Bayely & Shearing 1996, claim, may lead to a "cannibalization of public policing" (pg.601) where corporations who pay the majority of taxes, withdraw resources from the public sector thus reducing the significance of formal public policing. However, as evidenced by the increase in the private security and market-based economy, individuals and corporations appear to be willing to support and accept the "commodification of policing and security as a necessary free market choice" (Murphy, 2001). Despite this acceptance, private security will not likely replace public policing, but each will complement one another despite the differences in the nature and content of their security approaches.

Small Business: Security and Insecurity

We live in a society that is increasingly organized in terms of risk management, surveillance and security which is governed through institutions that organize themselves

through the distribution and production of the knowledge of risk (Ericson and Haggarty 1997). As described by Beck (1992), "contemporary consciousness has become future oriented" where society is concerned with preventing the worst and managing hazards and probabilities of risks. The focus upon fear and the threat of fear has conveyed notions of an unsafe and insecure environment in which new modes of social control have become preventative in nature.

With declining public confidence in the capacity of the state to solve, prevent or fight the problem of crime, businesses, like citizens, have begun to take responsibility for their own risk management. Non-criminalized populations have become subjected to increasing surveillance and regulation as corporations and individuals employ self-preservation techniques to protect their territory against the real and perceived risks to their business. For example, in a postmodern era, the installation of new technologies to monitor and manage activities such as internal theft, shoplifting, fraud and burglary have become commonplace. Businesses have become accustomed to buying and implementing internal and external 'safety' measures to protect themselves against crime and its consequences. Revenue spent on security and risk management is generally regarded as being a necessary part of conducting business. However, for small businesses with limited revenue, having to compete with the larger corporations, absorbing the cost of crime is difficult. Therefore, the costs of security are eventually passed on to the customer, which may compromise the business's ability to remain competitive in a market - based economy.

Recent crime prevention initiatives such as the proliferation of Business Improvement Associations (BIA) and "Safer City" programs are examples of postmodern

policing initiatives in which business owners have taken responsibility for their own risk management. These multi-agency organizations are yet another example in the shift in social control as they attempt to enforce formal and informal rules of appropriate behaviour through private order. According to Ericson, Haggarty & Huey in their Canadian example of *Policing a Fantasy City,* 2001, BIA's are not actually a response to crime, but are regarded as informal mechanisms of social control concerned with image management. Their mandates tend to involve gentrification techniques to project perceptions of safety and security to attract customers and new businesses to commercial areas. Part of image management includes the hiring of security guards to patrol public territories to clear out the perceived marginal aspects of society.

Crime and its effects are a major issue for small business owners as crime can jeopardize their economic viability. According to the Retail Security Survey (1999) on chain and department store retailers, Canadian Retailers lost $4.5 million every day to external customer theft and internal employee theft (Canadian Retail Survey Report, 2000). Many small business failures have resulted from the costs of internal employee theft, and according to the U.S. Department of Commerce, small businesses, classified as those with under $ 5 million dollars in revenue per year, are 35 times more likely to suffer from business crime than larger firms (1995).

Despite these statistics, collected by the business organizations, there still remains a lack of systematic empirical information on the victimization of small businesses. Victim surveys have largely been concerned with crimes against individuals and property and little attention has been paid to crime against business. This relative lack of information is surprising given that the risks of some crimes are likely to be higher for

businesses than for households (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2002). In Canada for example, the Statistics Canada Uniform Crime Report, a reporting database on incidents of crime, does not classify offences according to size of business or whether specific crimes were committed against a large/small business or individual. Take for example, the 33,652 incidents of property crime and 18,730 incidents of theft that occurred in Nova Scotia in 2000 (www.gov.ns.ca). These statistics do not indicate the type of crimes that were committed against small businesses.

From a review of the literature, it is apparent that Australia has conducted the most significant research on crimes against small businesses. In 1999, a National 'Small Business Crime Survey' was conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology and the Council of Small Business Organizations of Australia. This survey sampled received 4,200 business responses from the retail sector examining the character, magnitude and impact of offences perpetrated against the small business community. The results from this survey indicated that smaller enterprises are particularly vulnerable to crime since they lack competitive market edge and thus experience greater difficulty in absorbing the direct and indirect costs of victimization. Small to medium size businesses make up 99.6 per cent of the private sector in Australia and contribute to national prosperity, yet suffer the most from crimes. "Therefore any attack on small businesses is an attack on economic stability and social prosperity".

Another study conducted in Australia by Taylor & Mayhew entitled *Patterns of Victimization Among Small Retail Businesses* in 2002, examined the most common types of crimes that were committed and the variation of crimes according to various retail sectors. These researchers discovered that a minority of businesses accounted for a large

proportion of all crimes that were measured and those businesses targeted depended on the goods that were sold. In their conclusion, they hypothesize that crime prevention strategies would be more effective if they were targeted toward the small business owners that are repeatedly victimized.

A leader in research on this topic is the United Kingdom. A study conducted in England by Tilley in 1988 on the *Prevention of Crime Against Small Business: The Safer Cities Experience,* addresses the problems of small businesses and their vulnerability to crime and has indicated that crimes against small shop owners is increasing. The Safer Cities projects that have been implemented in 20 urban areas, has identified that burglary is the most common offence experienced by small business owners. The directive of the program is to reduce crime and the fear of crime, to establish a safe and secure area where economic and community life can flourish.

Research conducted in the United States has indicated that the development of community multi-agency crime prevention programs involving public and private policing, such as Business Improvement Associations and Safer Cities Programs do have a significant impact on crime and perceptions of safety. Despite their professed successes, they have been regarded by some, as crime control strategies that attempt to manage the underclass and reflect the "disempowerment of the weak and marginal" (Hughes, 1998). To other researchers, these community programs are regarded as a governmental attempt for re-legitimation of law and order for its previous failures to live up to public demands of safety and security. Once again, this can be regarded as an indication of the shift in social control and an example of alternate means of policing strategies in a postmodern society.

Restating the Question

The growing use of private security as a representation of policing and security needs, is a product of complex global social and ideological changes, identified for this thesis as postmodernism. Theories on the growth of private security assert, dissatisfaction with government performance, fear of crime, increase in mass private property, shifting political attitudes to the role of government, increased globalization and a "market" based economy have made it necessary for individuals and businesses to take responsibility for their own safety and security concern. What are the micro–level risk and security factors or events that influence the decision of business owners' to move from public police protection and take responsibility for their own security needs through the implementation of personal and private security measures? Are the security measures employed by small businesses indicators of a larger global shift in the role and capacity of the modern welfare state in the provision of public security and safety? What event precipitates this transition or what is the "tipping point" between public and private policing?

The dramatic growth in private security in the past several years has restructured the organization and function of 'modern' policing. As mentioned in the literature review, the pluralization of policing and successive increase of private security has been associated with; shifts in the nature of property relations resulting in the division of public and private spaces and fiscal restraints placed upon government institutions through the rationalization of resources and economic changes related to capitalist development. These changes have encouraged the development of a preventative mode of

policing and suggest that we are moving in the direction of a new postmodern society characterized by privatization and commodification of various government services once controlled by the state. The commodification of security and policing which accompanies privatization, uncovers questions concerning choices and decision-making (Johnston, 1992). For example, why do people and organizations make the security choices that they do and what prompts businesses to take policing into their owns hands? What factors lead up to the "tipping point" in which security measures are undertaken? Does their decisions on security reflect the larger notions of postmodernism that are evident throughout the literature on private security? The following chapters will attempt to answer these questions.

CHAPTER THREE
Methodology
Research Design

The pluralization of policing in a postmodern society, coupled with ideological, cultural, economic and structural reorganization of individual perceptions of security and risk management, is the core of my approach to conducting research. Changing public attitudes corresponding to the decentralization of social control has led to the development of private formal and informal modes of crime control.

Declining public confidence in the state's ability to address crime and safety, the fiscal rationalization of police resources (Murphy, 2002) coupled with increases in mass private property (Shearing and Stenning 1987), globalization and new modes of consumerism (Hughes 1998), are some of the structural changes that have forced individuals and businesses to take more responsibility for their own security and risk management. The declining ability of the state to protect its citizens (Garland,1996) and the perception of increasing crime and disorder has created public demands for increased security and order. This, coupled with growing insecurity and fears, has led to an increase in the use of policing alternatives such as private security and various methods of self-policing.

For "small" business owners, concerns of safety and security have shifted from being marginal to a critical element in conducting business successfully. The declining ability of the state to regulate public order and control crime has created a more insecure environment among storeowners. Installation of physical security devices such as CCTV cameras, loss prevention techniques and the hiring of security guards are now regarded as being a necessary and routine part of conducting business in the postmodern risk society.

Crime, insecurity and its effects have become a major issue for small business owners who typically suffer severe financial consequences when there is crime and disorder.

Small business owners also have to compete with larger corporations in managing risks and absorbing the cost of security. The costs associated with risk management, security and protection, are consequently passed on to the customer, which compromise the viability of the business to remain competitive in a market - based economy (Ericson & Haggarty, 1997).

In order to explore the nature and impact of security and changes in policing on small business owners, Spring Garden Road in Halifax, N.S. was selected as a research site. Spring Garden Road was chosen as an appropriate research site due to the diversity of both public and private urban spaces and for its varied business profiles. As a busy metropolitan street, it encompasses bars, shopping malls, parkades, apartment buildings, condominiums, banks, restaurants, office buildings, small stores and businesses, large franchises and government institutions. Spring Garden Road has become a contested space where competing and complementary agents of public and private policing methods have had an effect on order and safety. Once a thriving urban shopping district, it has now become a source of security concern for local business owners, residents and consumers. Perceptions of criminal activity have increased while public safety has decreased, due in part to a perceived lack of public police presence. Aggressive loitering, panhandling, shoplifting, the prevalence of drugs and public intoxication have become a common sight. Young unkept teenagers wrapped in sleeping bags accompanied by big dogs can be seen sitting in vacant doorways, while others play instruments on street corners. As a result, storeowners and potential customers no longer feel safe and have

become intimidated about shopping on the street. Many consumers have fled to more secure and ordered suburban areas where large "big box stores" are able to cater to their shopping requirements while delivering a sense of security. Others have fled to protected downtown malls.

As a response to urban disorder, and dissatisfaction with limited local police response, small business merchants have recently taken responsibility for their own risk management by forming The Spring Garden Area Business Association (SGABA). This Business Improvement Association's mandate is to improve the overall image of the street through urban re-development, protection of business assets. The Association seeks to promote perceptions of safety and security with the hopes of attracting customers and new businesses to the area. In order to assist in the image management and protection of businesses, the Spring Garden Area Business Association has initiated their own security programs through the collection of fees from merchants, to pay for a private security guard to patrol the area. In doing so, a private, non-profit organization has essentially taken steps to solve a public problem by engaging in self-governance to ensure that their priorities are addressed appropriately. As such, Spring Garden Road is representative of a postmodern shift in policing and governance, where individual needs are changing and the concepts of public and private are being reconstituted. It is a prime example supporting postmodern ideologies relating to the multi-functionality of policing and increase in the "private provision of order" (Hughes 1998).

Research Sample

In order to explore questions regarding security perceptions and strategies of business owners, a list of addresses and names of businesses and managers located

between South Park Street and Brunswick Street, not including the Provincial Court house, was obtained from the SGBA. The aforementioned streets were utilized as markers for this research, based upon the demographic area defined by The Spring Garden Area Business Association. Upon obtaining the list of names and addresses, a copy of the consent form was delivered to 25 randomly selected store owners. The consent form outlined the purpose of the study and stated that anything discussed would be kept highly confidential and business name and/or personal name would not be used. All identifiable information was omitted and under no circumstances were the subject's names revealed.

Of the 25 who received consent forms, 17 small business were interviewed regarding topics such as security and policing concerns, current attitudes toward security and policing and future expectations of private and public policing.

The majority of the interviewees are located at street level, with two shops being located in the Park Lane Shopping Mall, whose entrance is on Spring Garden Road. One business is situated above the street level and one below street level. The majority of the respondents deal in retail businesses such as shoes, clothing, sporting goods and music stores while the remaining businesses are involved in the service industry such as restaurants and coffee shops. Most of these businesses have 16 employees or less and have a yearly revenue over $1 million per year.

Research Tools

The aim of this research is to document and analyze the circumstances and events that lead up to the decisions business owners make as they begin to rely on their own

measures of security rather than the public police. By what means do business owners evaluate the need for security? What are the catalysts that lead to the "tipping point"?

In order to document and analyze the "tipping point", I employed open-ended, semi-structured interviews as my main research tool. I chose a semi-structured interview with yes/no answers and scales, to invoke clear straightforward answers and open-ended interviews primarily to allow for elaboration and flexibility to discuss security concerns, attitudes and perceptions.

CHAPTER FOUR
Findings and Themes- Security and Policing

General Ratings of Security

To gain a better understanding of the policing and security issues on Spring

Garden Road, respondents were asked to evaluate the general level of private and public

security on the street as either "excellent", "good", "fair", "poor" or "very poor".

Table 1- Rating of Security
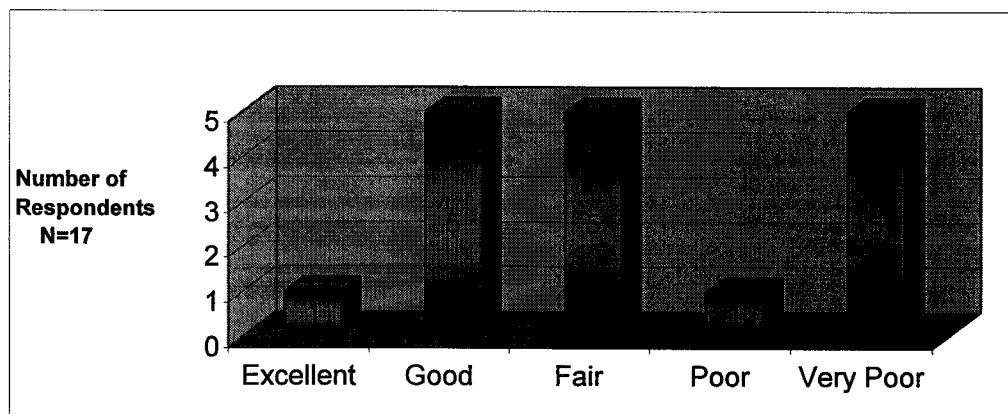
The results illustrated in the graph above indicated that the majority of

respondents (11 of 17) reported that the level of general security on Spring Garden Road

was "Fair" to "Very Poor". Some qualified their statements by indicating that they were

basing their answers on the situation prior to the implementation of external security

officers. As one respondent indicated " when the private guard is around, security is very

good, without him, it is very poor".

The physical location of the business and street location appear to have a direct

correlation with the answers provided regarding perceptions of general security. For

example, businesses located on the north side of the road between Birmingham Street and

Dresden Row rated the general security as fair, poor or very poor. Those businesses also

appear to be the most vocal for the implementation of private security and are all active members of the Business Improvement Association. The 6 interviewees who reported that the general level of security on the street was "Good" to "Excellent" were located on the south side of Spring Garden Road between Queen Street and South Park Street. All were located above street level shopping, or were located in the mall. Those located within the mall are sheltered from the activities on Spring Garden Road and are protected by private security guards. This observation may be a reflection of pedestrian traffic patterns and physical location of small businesses along the street. For example, it has been observed that in the peak of summer, the ebb and flow of pedestrian traffic seems to be higher on the north side of the street. Service industry businesses such as coffee shops, pool halls, pubs, libraries located on the north side attract more pedestrian traffic than the court house, bank, and parking lots on the south side. Therefore, it is not surprising that the perception of general security is lower on the north side where there is a higher concentration of pedestrians.

Length of time in business also appears to have an influence on perceptions of security along Spring Garden Road. Those who indicated that their feelings of security on the street were "fair" to "very poor" tended to be the owners who have been in business for the longest time. One can deduce that these businesses, over time have witnessed the growing social disorder and insecurity, the reduction in police patrol, and have watched the decline and rationalization of various public services. Consequently, many of them may have taken measures to address and adapt to the growing security concerns. As one respondent in business for 25 years indicated, "Before amalgamation, the police force was committed to Spring Garden Road. There was a dedicated police officer proactively

walking the beat and bike patrol. When the new chief was put on, we lost all of those things". Is this when the private sector began to shift their beliefs from public policing to private and self-regulation?

While no studies could be found that directly link length of business to general feelings of security, Walker (1995) and the Australian Institute of Criminology in their analysis of *Crimes Against Small Business 2000*, did indicate that businesses in operation between two and four years experienced higher levels of crime than those in business for more than 25 years. This is consistent with the findings in this survey where length in business and physical location appear to have contributed to the general level of security for small businesses.

Security Concerns

A variety of issues contribute to a small business owner's security concerns. A study conducted in Australia in 1999 discovered that the most common crimes against small businesses were Burglary, Theft, Credit Card Fraud and Theft by Employees. All of these characteristics have severe financial implications and are a main source of concern for small business owners. Another study (Fisher and Looye, 2000) surveyed 400 small businesses in six mid-western U.S. states, revealed that crime directly affected 1 in 8 small businesses in a one year period and that burglary and vandalism were the most common and concerning crimes.

When respondents in this research project were asked open-ended questions regarding their biggest security concerns, it became evident that all of the respondents

generally had the same issues. Seven recurring answers were given in response to this question and are listed from greatest concern to least concern;

Table 2 - Business Security Concerns

Shoplifting and Theft	12
Panhandling	6
Personal Safety	5
Loitering	4
Lack of Police Presence	3
Vandalism (Mischief)	2
Robbery/Break and Enter	1

Most business owners indicated that they had multiple security concerns for their stores. For example, one respondent indicated that panhandling, loitering and personal safety were all big security concerns for their business.

As indicated in Table 2, 12 of the respondents reported that shoplifting and external theft were a major concern for their business, while robbery and break and enter were of least concern. The findings that shoplifting and external theft were of concern for small businesses, is consistent with research conducted by the Canadian Retail Security Report in 2001. This report concluded, that while chain department stores reported that internal theft was their biggest concern, "independent store respondents placed external theft at the top of their list". For small business owners, shoplifting and external theft are of great concern but are also the least likely to be reported to police (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2003). The Australian Institute of Criminology found that small retail businesses are very unlikely to report shoplifting and employee theft to police and that shoplifting accounted for 70 per cent of all incidents of crime experienced but accounted for only 42 per cent of all incidents reported to police. Business owners claimed that the main reasons for not reporting shoplifting included a

pessimistic belief that reporting the crime was pointless and achieved nothing. It was perceived that the police were unable to do anything, the incident was not serious enough to report, and the chance of success in obtaining justice and/or retrieving the merchandise was slim to none.

Another important observation from the findings in Table 2 is that the majority of security concerns involve public dis/order and security issues and not crime. For example, loitering, lack of police presence, personal safety and panhandling are associated with *feelings* of insecurity and are perceived of as public nuisance activities. Shoplifting and Theft, Vandalism (Mischief), Robbery and Break and Enter were the only three concerns that were actual crimes against the business. The remaining concerns were forms of disorder and insecurities, which are based on a risk assessment of disorder and probabilities of harm rather than actual criminal behavior against the business. These responses are consistent with the current risk society thesis (Ericson & Haggarty, 1997), which emphasizes a heightened fear or risk and the management of risk rather than the actual crime rates or prevention of crime (Hughes 1998).

Managing Security Concerns

When the small business owners were asked "what, if anything, are you doing to deal with your biggest security concerns ?", the majority of respondents indicated that they had implemented their own security measures in order to increase feelings of safety and security for their consumers and employees, as well to reduce crime against the business. All of the small business owners indicated that they engaged in various forms of risk management by utilizing a combination of security techniques. This differs from

the responses collected in the *Crime and Small Business* study conducted by Fisher and Looye, where just under half of their respondents implemented only one crime prevention measure (2000).

Consistent with the ideologies of postmodern policing where the responsibility of social order has been shifted from the state to individuals, all respondents undertook their own initiatives to protect their businesses rather than relying on the public police. The most common response to how merchants were dealing with their security concerns were twofold. Most implemented security strategies such as employee awareness training, visual layout of the store and increasing the number of employees on staff, in conjunction with utilizing physical devices such as CCTV, bars on windows or alarm systems.

The majority of small businesses reported that they decided to take action only after a breach of security had taken place. For example, one small business that had been continuously victimized and unable to receive a quick response from the public police in the past, has purchased panic buttons for personal safety that all employees are required to wear. Another business owner decided, after numerous shoplifting incidents, to affix expensive ink tags to high-end clothing. As described by the store manager, "I actually thanked the guy for shoplifting as it has saved me money in the long run". Two larger franchised businesses now employ floorwalkers 15 hours a week, while other small business stated that they utilized and support the private security guards that have been made available by the Spring Garden Business Association.

None of the business owners indicated that they utilized the public police when dealing with their "security" problems, while five respondents mentioned the use of

private security. These types of self preservation /prevention policing techniques, where

business owners take responsibility for their own safety and security, is consistent with

Garland's (1996) thesis of "responsibilization". Garland's theory emphasizes the notion

that individuals under current structural conditions are becoming increasingly responsible

for managing their own risks. On a broader scope, the way that small businesses choose

to handle their security concerns is indicative of the fact "crime control is beyond the

state" (Garland in Hughes, 1998).

Relative Importance of Security

Implementing security strategies, physical devices and managing various risks is

vital for small businesses in maintaining their viability and protecting their assets.

However, this is only one aspect of practicing good business. In order to examine the

relative importance attached to the level of security in business, respondents were asked

to indicate whether a set of variables were *extremely important, important, somewhat*

important, not important to their business.

Table 3 - Level of Security- Importance to Business

	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Advertising	8	2	4	2
Marketing	7	5	3	2
Customer Service	16	0	1	0
Safety and Security	9	8	0	0
Information Technology	3	10	0	1
Sales	14	3	0	0
Loss Prevention	6	10	0	1

(N=17)

The results indicated that customer service (N=16) and sales (N=14) were

'extremely important' to business while Safety and Security ranked third.

Understandably, respondents reported that sales and customer service are extremely

important to a business and its functions, while safety and security are also in the

forefront of concerns and influence the strategic operations of various businesses. In

postmodern society, safety and perceptions of safety and security have become a

preoccupation of the public and businesses and are pronounced in day-to-day security

oriented operations and in various prevention measures and precautions.

Type and Level of Security Concerns

The shift away from order as "morality, procedure, hierarchy and territorial

protection" (Ericson and Haggarty, 1997) and movement toward a society that focuses on

disorder, fear and probabilities, is a fundamental theme in contemporary risk based

society. In order to determine whether this theory is applicable to the private sector,

business owners were asked to indicate the degree of concern regarding the affects

various crimes and public disorder have on their business.

Table 4 – Level of Security Concern

	Very Concerned	Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Not Concerned
Employee Theft	4	2	6	5
Shoplifting	7	8	0	2
Cheque/Credit Card Fraud	5	2	7	2
Pan Handling	5	8	3	1
Loitering	7	6	3	1
Public Intoxication	6	5	4	2
Break and Enter	6	3	6	2
Property Damage / Vandalism	7	6	3	1
Robbery	9	5	2	0
Other "Personal Safety"	2	0	0	0

From Table 4, one can observe that there is a noticeable correlation of concern by

business owners in regards to public disorder. For example, the majority of the

respondents indicated that they were either "very concerned" or "concerned" about shoplifting, panhandling, loitering and intoxication all of which are public nuisances that hinder the day to day operation of businesses.

The most common response to security matters that were "very concerning" to business owners were robbery and vandalism – all rare criminal activities. Despite the fact that very few respondents have actually experienced robbery or vandalism in the past 12 months, as seen in Table 5, these may be a source of real concern for small business owners because they are actual crimes and are perceived as direct threats to personal safety and generally associated with significant financial loss. Surprisingly, this does not correlate with earlier discoveries where business owners indicated that the majority of their concerns were issues surrounding public disorder rather than criminal activities. In the Australian Small Business survey in 1999, Robbery was actually the most rare form of crime against small business. The probability of harm during a robbery is perceived as great and is therefore defined by business owners as an area of great concern. The discourse of fear in contemporary risk society is based on probabilities of harm and in this specific question we can clearly see how business owners perceptions of crime are not "in tune" with the realities of crime.

When respondents were asked if there were any "other" concerns that were not listed in the questionnaire, two businesses indicated that they were very concerned about personal safety. These owners stated that they had been threatened and verbally abused by either panhandlers or loitering kids and were worried about retribution. No other respondents indicated that they were concerned about their personal safety or had any "other" concerns that were not already listed regarding their business.

It is interesting to note that five business owners indicated that employee theft was not a main concern. One business manager actually indicated that they do not even worry about employee theft as they "hand picked all of the staff and trust them implicitly". Research conducted in Australia indicated that employee theft was an issue for small business owners but was insignificant when compared to theft by customers (Crimes Against Business in Australia, No.45, 1995). Retail stores that employ a smaller staff often find it more acceptable that someone from outside the store would shoplift rather than believe that their own handpicked employees would steal. The results of this questionnaire support this statement based on the number of respondents who stated they were concerned about shoplifting but not concerned about employee theft.

In summary, from Table 4 one can observe that for the majority of crimes and public disorders listed, the responses were heavily weighted toward "very concerned" and "concerned". Very few respondents indicated that they were "somewhat concerned" or "not concerned".

Crime and Disorder Against Business

In order to examine how often small business were effected by disorder and actual crimes against the businesses, owners were asked to indicate from a list, the number of times in a 12 month period certain activities had taken place.

Table 5 - Crime & Disorder Against Business – Sept 2001 to Sept 2002

	Never	Once	2-5 times in 12 mths	6-8times in 12 mths	10+ times in 12 mths	Total
Employee Theft	10	1	4	0	3	7
Shoplifting	3	1	2	6	5	13
Cheque/Credit Card Fraud	8	2	5	1	1	7
Pan Handling	2	0	2	1	10	13
Loitering	1	0	4	3	7	14
Public Intoxication	1	1	5	0	7	12
Break and Enter	15	2	0	0	0	0
Property Damage / Vandalism	4	6	1	3	2	6
Robbery	12	3	2	0	0	2
Other (Please describe)	0	0	0	0	0	0

All of the respondents experienced some form of disorder, though in varying amounts. For example, 10 of 17 respondents stated that they had experienced panhandling 10 or more times in the past 12 months. Numerous owners indicated that panhandling happens "all the time" in the summer months and to a lesser degree in the winter months. As one business owner replied "we deal with panhandling on a daily basis... 365 days a year" and another replied "we are constantly dealing with the folk that panhandle outside our door and move them along". The main concern from business owners in regards to panhandling is the negative public image that is associated with those who panhandle and loiter. "Our customers complain that they cannot get in the door. The kids are always hanging around outside". In total, 13 business owners have dealt with panhandling two or more times within a 12 month period, with only two respondents stating they have never had to deal with it. Interestingly, those two respondents are located at the top of Spring Garden Road where the pedestrian traffic is somewhat less congested.

In addition, the majority of business owners also dealt with intoxication more than 10 times in the past 12months. One business owner believed that the occurrence of public intoxication fluctuates with the weather but is always prevalent at the end of the month when social assistance cheques are cashed. "When the cheques arrive you are usually guaranteed a drunk outside". The public image of having an intoxicated person loitering outside of a business influences the public's perception of safety and security and thus has a negative effect on the business itself. Following the risk society theory, intoxicated and 'marginal' people on the street are perceived as *potential* offenders and viewed as a risk to be managed in order to prevent any future *possibilities* of harm and to project an image of safety and security to their customers. Public spaces therefore, have become places that are subjected to private forms of social control.

When commenting on public perception and perceptions of small business owners, it is important to note in Table 5, that 15 of the 17 respondents stated that they had "Never" experienced break and enter. However, we have seen in Table 4, break and enter was an issue that was very much a concern to the majority of business owners. This disparity supports the notion that perceptions of disorder and actual experiences of disorder are not in synch in a postmodern risk based society and in fact encourages the notion of an "unsafe society" (Ericson and Haggarty, 1997).

More importantly however, Table 5 suggests that the categories which initiated a response of 10 or more times (panhandling, loitering and intoxication) are all associated with the blurring of the public / private paradigm. These activities occur on *public* sidewalks but are being informally controlled by *private* entities- be it security guards or the businesses themselves, under the auspices of providing a *public* good, namely safety

and security. It is in these responses that we can see how public space is becoming

reconstituted as public spatial sectors of society are becoming subjected to private formal

and informal rules. Through the development of "mass private property" where members

of the public have routine access, privately owned spaces have taken on a public

character (Shearing and Stenning 1981).

Responses to Security Concerns and Requirement

In the previous section, it was apparent that business owner's on Spring Garden

Road were overwhelmingly concerned about the safety and security of their clients,

employees, and businesses. This concern is reflected in the manner in which they

operated their businesses, always taking into consideration potential security risks and

protecting against them. We have seen that these concerns stem from and support various

hypotheses regarding a postmodern risk based society, but how are business owners

responding to specific concerns regarding safety and security? The following section

considers this question by examining the various measures implemented and their

effectiveness. Toward this end, business owners were asked to indicate whether they had

used any of the security measures itemized in Table 6 and, if so, how effective they had

been.

Table 6 – Security Measures Taken and Effectiveness

Security Measure	Yes	No	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Effective
Employee Programs	14	3	7	6	1
Loss Prevention Program	15	1	8	7	0
Background Checks	15	1	5	9	1
Store Layout	16	1	9	5	1
Locks/Bars	8	7	3	4	0
Alarm System	11	6	11	0	0
Electronic Tags	7	8	4	2	1
CCTV	10	7	5	5	0
Lighting	14	2	8	5	0
Merchandise Chains	1	16	1	0	0
Contracted Security Guard (In House)	6	11	3	2	0
Floorwalker (Secret Shoppers)	5	12	0	2	0
Uniformed Guard in Store	1	16	0	1	0
Uniformed Guard Outside (SGRBA)	10	7	9	1	0

The responses provided in Table 6 follow Draper's (1995) analysis of crime against businesses in Australia. In his study, Draper categorized security measures in three broad categories:

A) Hardware i.e. locks, alarm systems, lighting and CCTV's,

B) Software - security strategies, policies and procedures, awareness programs

C) People- security personnel both internal and external.

In this survey, those businesses which implemented certain security measurements were separated into the above three categories. For example, from the data analysis there appears to be a primary level of response to security that consists of proactive software approaches.

Private Security - Software Approach

The most common responses to security utilizing software approaches in descending order were "store layout" (N=16), "loss prevention programs" (N=15), "background checks on employees" (N=15), "employee awareness programs" (N=14), all of which are inexpensive to implement and are perceived by the majority of business owners to be effective in reducing security risks. One respondent did indicate that background checks were not viewed as being effective because the business owner must completely rely on the accuracy of the information that is being provided to him/her. In this owner's words, "I don't feel comfortable relying on other people to tell you the truth".

Private Security - Hardware Approach

According to the number of responses, the second level of risk management is for the most part, a "hardware approach". For example, "alarms" (N=11), "Closed Circuit T.V." (N=10), "lighting" (N=14), "guards outside of store" (N=10), "locks and bars" (N=8) and "electronic tags" (N=7) are all reactive security measures that were utilized by the majority of small business owners. It is interesting to note, that only one of these hardware approaches was perceived as "not effective", namely electronic ink tags. For those seven businesses that utilized them as a means of securing their merchandise, one respondent stated that a professional thief is able to remove the ink tags, which renders

them ineffective. One would assume that the tags would be effective to a certain extent or the business would cease to use them. Upon further questioning, the respondent indicated that they are "somewhat effective" in deterring non-professional thieves.

Closed Circuit T.V. cameras were seen as "somewhat" to "very effective" depending upon the varying degrees of technology. One respondent reported that CCTV was not the best means of security but is useful in laying charges. The difficulty lies in obtaining a good image of the offender's face in order to prove that the accused is actually the offender. Because of quality issues, many tapes are inadmissible in court as most are not suitable for identification purposes. However, they are more effective in providing small businesses with a visible deterrent mechanism that projects a sense of safety and security to their customers.

From a small sample size of 17, it is significant to note that 10 owners indicated they used CCTV surveillance. The rapid growth of CCTV's, surveillance technologies and increase in security measures in general, are indicative of the broader structural transformation from an industrial society which focused on order, toward a risk base society. Theorists such as Garland (1996), Murphy (2001), Ericson and Haggarty (1997), have argued that this shift is indicative of wider political changes in liberal democracies as well as the limited capabilities of the criminal justice system. Interestingly, of the 10 interviewees who adopted CCTV and stated that it was effective and had utilized the tapes for prosecution, the response of the criminal justice system was seen as unsatisfactory. Business owners were disheartened by the results of the conviction and a popular comment heard was that the offender would receive a "slap on the wrist, and come back to do it again."

The largest and fastest growing sector of the physical security market is in alarms (Johnston 1992). In this study, alarms were employed by 11 of 17 small business owners and were the only hardware security measure to produce a response of "very effective" from all of the interviewees. It is interesting to note in Table 5, Crime and Disorder Against Business only two small businesses had experienced break and enter in a 12-month period. That 11 businesses are utilizing alarms but only 2 businesses had experienced crimes that would warrant alarms, is significant. It may be that a sense of fear encouraged others to install alarms and that the use of alarms provides the business owners with a sense of security when the store is unsupervised thus minimizing their exposure to risk.

The installation of alarms by those who had not experienced crimes against their business may also indicate a lack of faith in the ability of the public police to address crime and safety. This has seemingly encouraged businesses to employ self-policing strategies. Those business owners who stated that they do not use alarms, are either located within Park Lane Mall where there is a security guard on duty, or sell merchandise that would not be attractive to potential thieves, for example restaurants and coffee shops.

Private Security - Personnel Approach

The third level of response in line with Draper's analysis of security measures can be categorized as a "personnel" approach to risk management. As described throughout the literature on private security and other areas of this thesis, this category has experienced a dramatic growth within the past 20 years. Statistics Canada reports that between 1971 and 1991 those employed in the security guard industry increased by 126

percent and in 1997, 2,700 private security firms generated over $2 billion dollars in revenue. These figures are merely estimates as they only include private security officers and investigators and exclude people such as forensic accountants, insurance investigators and in-house security (Law Commission of Canada, 2002).

For the purpose of this survey, the personnel approach to security was divided into four groups. The first group is the "uniformed guard outside of store" where 10 business owners contribute to have a guard patrol the street outside of their stores. The second group, "contracted security guards" are in-house security guards employed by Universal Properties, City Centre Atlantic and Park Lane Mall. The third is "floorwalkers" or secret shoppers who are employed directly by the small businesses and the final group consists of the uniformed guards within the stores who are also employed directly by the business owner.

Ten of the seventeen businesses stated that they utilized the uniformed security guard hired by the Spring Garden Road Business Association at a fee of $175.00 per month in addition to their own in store security measures. Many of the respondents reported that they felt it necessary to have the security guard patrol the street due to the lack of police presence and perceived increases in crimes and acts of public disorder. A few indicated that they resented paying the fee, considering there was a time when Spring Garden Road had two police officers walking the beat. It is here that we can see how theories concerning the fiscal crisis of the state and rationalization of police resources can be applied to the restructuring of policing activities specifically along Spring Garden Road.

When questioned about their views regarding businesses that do not pay the monthly fee yet benefit from the guard's presence, surprisingly, none of the business owner's interviewed had hard feelings. They believed the guard met their personal security requirements and were unconcerned about the other businesses.

All of the 10 respondents believed that the private guard is generally effective, although some indicated that effectiveness was dependent on the individual abilities of each guard. Despite this, all professed that they benefited from the uniformed guard. One respondent reported that the "private security guard is a great help in reducing crime". Does the guard actually reduce crime or merely project an image of order and safety that deters opportunistic criminals? This question will be examined in greater detail further on.

Six of the respondents indicated that they made use of in-house security and that this service was included as part of their rent. Two business owners reported that the guards were "somewhat effective" but due to lack of training and a severely reduced response time, they only used the services because they knew that they were paying for it indirectly. It is interesting to note, that although there are three in-house security guards along Spring Garden Road, three of the six businesses also pay $175.00 for the Contracted Security Guard. Therefore, three of the businesses are paying for in-house security in their rent and are paying $175.00 per month for the uniformed presence of security patrols along Spring Garden Road in addition to the risk technologies that they employ. Considering that very few of the 17 respondents had experienced actual crimes against their businesses, it is surprising that these businesses utilize such an array of security measures.

Only 5 people indicated that they used floorwalkers and a majority of those reported that they use them on a seasonal basis (Christmas and special events). One small business owner used secret shoppers to ensure that the employees follow prescribed policies and procedures. Here we can see how the function of security is being utilized over and above its intended use of providing safety and security. In this instance, the floorwalkers are providing checks and balances for the operation of the business.

Although Draper's delineation of security measures appear to be ideal types, he does suggest that a comprehensive risk analysis should be employed in order to determine the appropriate mix of "countermeasures for the individual situation" (1995). Within this sample size, several types of proactive security measures were utilized to reduce risks and protect businesses, employees and customers. For example, 16 of 17 interviewees stated that they utilized "store layout" as a way of monitoring safety and security but also implemented a Loss Prevention Program, Employee Awareness programs and even combined alarms and CCTV. Nine of the sixteen respondents indicated that store layout was "very effective" in maximizing visual contact to deter potential thieves. As the sole means of ensuring the safety and security of employees as well as the store and its clients, it is not very effective. In addition, many store owners will tend to use varying security approaches as many have different social risk positions (Beck, 1992 in Hughes, 1998). For example, those business owners located in Park Lane Mall do not have the same security concerns or implement the same security devices as those located on Spring Garden Road. As stated above, there is no requirement for the stores located in the mall to have alarms or be concerned about lighting since there is a contracted security guard on premise 24 hours per day, 7 days a week.

When questioned as to other security measures that were not included in the list, a few stores relied upon what they described as "the buddy system". For instance, if store "A" had caught a shoplifter, they would inform store "B" of the circumstances as well as provide a description of the offender. This informal communication system appears to have been implemented due to the lack of support from the public police in implementing proactive crime prevention strategies. This software approach to risk management was regarded as very effective and supports Garland's theory of "responsibilization". However, this sense of solidarity in risk management amongst business owners does stray from postmodern views of individuality and anonymity. Rather, "the buddy system" appears to emphasize a more traditional "modern" perspective that involves "sharing among people who hold things in common and have a sense of common identities and traditions" (Ericson & Haggarty, 1997). Working cooperatively to minimize threats to their common economic interests is another example of how the functions of policing are becoming restructured.

Of the security measures used by small business owners in this survey, it is interesting to note that a majority of them revealed that the measures were effective, be it "very effective" or somewhat effective". As postmodern society is characterized by possibilities of harm and grounded in probabilistic thinking and predictions, how then does one measure the effectiveness of something unknown? As described by Ericson and Haggarty (1997), security measures are regarded as "risk technologies" that reinforce order and ensure compliance and control. They are designed to minimize fears and threats of danger and increase feelings of safety and security. Following this line of thought, if

the business owner feels that the security measures he/she has implemented has reduced

fears and disorder, then the measure was perceived as effective.

Security Expenditures

To obtain a general idea of how much money business invested on security,

owners were asked to indicate the percentage of revenue they invested on security

measures within a 12 month period.

Table 7- Businesses Percent of Revenue Spent on Security
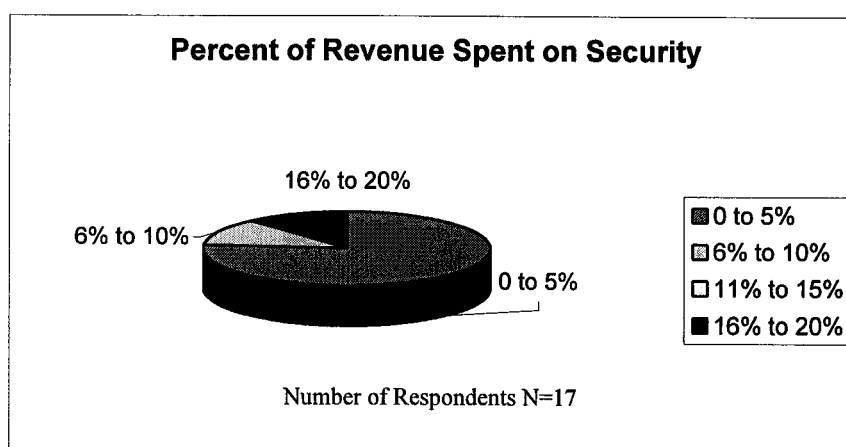
All of the respondents surveyed stated that they allocated revenue on security

measures, albeit in varying amounts. From the responses, a multitude of factors can be

extracted that reflect security expenditures, i.e., the number of times a store has

experienced crime, perceived risk of losses, increased revenue may influence the amount

of money spent on security and the type of merchandise sold. For example, one business

owner who was robbed four months prior to this interview stated that s/he spent 6 to 10%

of his/her revenue on security measures as he/she had implemented many more security

devices and strategies subsequent to the robbery. Another business owner who recently

spent $14,000.00 on CCTV and security upgrades, indicated that he/she spent 16 to 20% of their revenue on security for that specific year.

Why are the majority of small business owners spending so little (0 to 5%) of their revenue on security measures? From a review of the literature, money spent by businesses on security measures is justified on a cost- benefit ratio (Draper, 1995). A prime example is the small business owner in this survey who spent $4,000 dollars for a new security system. Even though this respondent stated that he/she could not really afford the system, he/she stated "we couldn't really <u>NOT</u> afford it either". The benefits and costs of implementing security measures are weighed against the potential saving that the security measure may possibly bring. To further this, Walker (1993) proposes that there is a "multiplier effect" amongst businesses where the prevailing attitude is one of prevention. For example, preventing a one dollar loss may result in a three dollar saving. However, the reality of losses, be they indirect or direct loses are somewhat of an unknown factor so therefore the effectiveness of security measures is unknown as well. As one interviewee stated, " better to be safe than sorry". This statement, and Walker's "multiplier effect" exemplify the risk management thesis in a postmodern society where risk discourse has become "future oriented" (Beck, 1992). Society has become active today in order to prevent, alleviate or take precautions against the potentially unknown crisis and problems of tomorrow (Hughes, 1998).

The responses provided in Table 7, where security expenditures were factored into the day-to-day operations of all small business owners, supports the literature surrounding the rise of private policing and security in a postmodern risk management society. As such, security and responsibility for security has become an important

consideration for small business owners and has become an accepted part of managing

risks and conducting business.

Time Spent on Security Issues

In the final question of this section respondents were asked to indicate how much

time is spent on security related issues within a work week.

Table 8 - Time Spent on Security in One week

Under 1 Hour	1 to 3 Hours	4 to 7 Hours	8 to 10 Hours	10 Hours +
3	8	3	3	0

From Table 8 we can observe that 8 respondents indicated that they spent 1 to 3

hours on security issues within a work week, although a few respondents indicated that

the amount of time was dependent upon the various activities they were working on. For

instance, if a business owner was examining CCTV surveillance tapes or there was a

specific shoplifting case before the courts, then their time spent on security issues

increased.

In response to this question, one business owner stated unexpectedly, "way too

much" emphasizing that he spends too much of his/her time on security and not enough

on operating the business. He would rather not be concerned with security issues and

would prefer to have the private security guard deal with any issues in order "not to

disturb my business". In addition, another business owner stated that although he may

not be dealing with security issues all the time, "its always on my mind". Similarly,

another stated that he/she is always thinking about security issues when there are people

in the store, " as soon as someone walks through the door I am thinking about security issues". This store owner has experienced numerous acts of crime and disorder against the business and has received little or no support from the public police. As a result, her/his response to this question may stem from heightened feeling of insecurity and past experiences, which has forced her/him to think about security issues on a continuous basis.

In summary, it is apparent that among the 17 respondents, there is a general acceptance regarding the needs and legitimacy for various private and self initiated security measures. All of the 17 respondents reported that security is extremely important to their businesses and as such, they have implemented at least one or more security measurements as a means of risk management. Significant time and effort is spent of ensuring that appropriate security measures are taken to protect customers, employees and the business itself. As mentioned in the literature review and supported by the above responses, various segments of society are increasingly purchasing security and safety in the form of a commodity and as such, new "networks of policing" are becoming prevalent within a postmodern risk society (Law Commission of Canada, 2002). Heightened feelings of fear, demands for security and lack of faith in the government and police abilities to cope with public concerns about crime, are a few of the factors that have encouraged business owners to purchase security in the form of a commodity. In a postmodern society, risk technologies are "self legitimating". The greater the availability of security measures, the greater the perception that they will aid in the management of fear and anxiety (Ericson & Haggarty, 1997). In other words, the consumption of security may lead to greater *insecurities* through marketization (Lister and Crawford,

2003). Businesses are encouraged to believe that purchasing security measures, be it software, hardware or personnel measures, is the most effective way to achieve safety and security of persons and properties. Whether they have this actual effect is unclear but it is preferred as a response, rather than simply relying on unresponsive or overburdened public safety and security systems.

Owners' Attitudes and Expectations Regarding Public and Private Policing

The postmodern shift in the structure of policing coupled with changing perceptions and increases in public demands for safety and security, has lead to changes in attitudes and expectations regarding risk management and delivery of policing services. How business owners respond to issues regarding crime and disorder depends on how they deal with various situations. In order to examine how store owners dealt with security threats to their businesses and how they chose from the variety of public and private options available to them, my survey asked them to respond to a range of security scenarios. It was felt that their responses to these scenarios would illustrate how and why they chose specific solutions and the priority and importance they assigned to public, private and self policing.

Response to Security Scenarios

Respondents were asked the following questions. How would you deal with the following incidents? What would your FIRST response be?

Table 9 (A) - Employee Theft

	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
Employee steals $10 of merchandise	0	16	0	1
Employee steals $100+ of merchandise	0	11	1	3

Sixteen of seventeen business owners stated that they would handle employee theft under $10 dollars themselves, while only one indicated he/she would call the public police immediately as per the zero tolerance policy of the franchise. The majority of interviewees indicated that the situation was not serious enough to warrant the involvement of either the public police or private security. The perceived seriousness of the offence seems to be a deterrent when deciding security choices. None of the business owners indicated that their first response to employee theft would be to call private security. Those who did indicate that they would utilize private security or public police as their first response to employee theft of $100 or more said they would only do so only after they had tried to handle the situation themselves. As one business owner mentioned, "if the situation escalated, I would call private security, as they are better suited to handle it".

The majority of business owners indicated that they would handle any type of internal theft themselves and wanted to understand the reasons behind the theft. All respondents stated that the employee would be dismissed immediately regardless of the amount stolen. A recurring comment was that they believe that the public police could not do anything regarding theft of such a small amount. As one owner described " the police don't do anything … they do diddly squat". Others stated that the amount stolen would impact how they handled the situation. For example, if a large sum of money was stolen, they would call the public police only in order to make the theft "official" to recoup their losses through insurance. Business owners would not call the public police as a first response to employee theft due to perceived lack of capabilities, "Thieves are back on the street the next day. They know that there is a good chance that charges will

be dropped". This statement is indicative that the owners perceive the criminal justice system as being flawed rather than the police themselves.

Table 9 (B) -Shoplifting

	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
Repeat customer shoplifts a $10 dollar item	0	8	1	6
Repeat customer shoplifts items Worth $100 dollars +	0	2	2	11

* two businesses did not respond, N=15

All of the respondents (N=15) to this question indicated that they would take some form of action against shoplifters. The majority of store owners specified that for minor shoplifting ($10 dollars), they would initially deal with it themselves however, this would be dependent on the situation and the offender. For example, if the shoplifter was a repeat offender and perceived as potentially violent, then their first response would be to call the public police. A few stated the reason why they would not involve the public police were because it's "not worth the hassle" "they never charge anyone" or "it's not worth the red tape" for such a small amount of money.

One respondent stated that private security would not be their first response to theft over $100 dollars because "the security guards are young and don't seem like they could handle the situation". A general perception of private security is that there is a high turn over due to low wages, a minimal amount of training, lack of regulation and a sense that they are "not as dedicated as the police". It was indicated that private security would be called only if the store owner could not handle the situation themselves.

Eleven of the respondents indicated that they would call the public police as their first response to shoplifting anything over $100 dollars as it is considered a more serious offence. They would contact the public police for their authority and legal capabilities even though some perceived that the public police could not "do anything" and that "they are a complete joke". Of the eleven business owners who responded that they would utilize the public police as their first response, four recurring points were mentioned:

1) Business owners wanted to send a message to other potential thieves that they will be subjected to the rule of law if they targeted certain businesses.
2) Business owners wanted to have the theft statistically recorded with Halifax Regional Police in order to demonstrate that Spring Garden Road area is a high crime area that requires more support from the public police.
3) Business owners call the public police as they are more familiar with repeat offenders, have more experience and expertise in shoplifting cases, as well as have an increased perception of authority.
4) Business owners believe that there is more probability that the public police are able to retrieve stolen merchandise.

Table 9(C)- Credit Card Fraud

	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
Credit card used to purchase a large ticket item does not belong to the customer	0	4	0	9

4 businesses did not respond, N=13

Nine of the respondents indicated that their first response to credit card fraud would be to call the public police. The most common reason cited was that credit card fraud was a serious issue of which the public police have the expertise to handle (i.e., fraud section, knowledge of organized crime rings in the city). If the transaction was processed and the discovery that card was stolen was not until the offender had left, business owners require an incident report in order to claim their losses through their insurance policies. In order to obtain the incident report they must contact the public police. Many business owners stated that they called the police in order to recoup their

losses through insurance. One respondent indicated that they would call the public police immediately for safety reasons, indicating that it was a serious issue and that he/she "did not want to get in over my head".

Private security was not mentioned by anyone as being a first response to this scenario. This may be due to the fact that private security guards are generally perceived as not having the capabilities that are legally required to handle serious and technically complex situations involving credit card fraud.

Respondents specified that they would call the police immediately for safety reasons, for the degree of legal seriousness and to satisfy insurance requests, while others stated they would handle situation themselves. For example, one business owner would deal with the situation by giving the credit card back for safety reasons and believes it is " the credit card company's responsibility" to handle the situation. Of the four respondents who indicated that they handled the situation themselves, all involved incidents in which no actual losses had occurred as the business owner managed to stop the transaction before it occurred.

Table 9(D)- Loitering / Panhandling

	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
Teens repeatedly loitering	1	9	5	1
Pan-handler sits outside Store	0	4	10	2
Intoxicated individual loitering	0	5	8	3

* one business did not respond N=16

In response to teens loitering directly in front of stores, only one person indicated that they would do nothing. This interviewee explained that the location of the business

was not conducive to loiterers and as such, they do not deal with this scenario often. In addition, nine respondents indicated that they would deal with the situation themselves stating that if they were unsuccessful in getting the teenagers to move, they would then call the private guard as the next response . Significantly, only one person indicated they would call the public police as their first response to loitering, because experience had taught him/her that this measure has the potential to escalate and place the business owner and their clients in a potentially hostile environment.

The majority of respondents indicated that they would utilize the private security guard along Spring Garden Road as their first response for all scenarios that involved loitering. From the various responses to this question, it became obvious that there were a multitude of reasons as to why they chose to use private security. A few of the responses cited were as follows; the issues are not serious enough to warrant calling the public police; the police will not do anything (ie arrest), they will only move the loiterers to a different location; private security are able to respond to loitering issues much faster than the public police due to proximity; private security is taken more seriously than the business owner. (There appears to be more authority with private security); and, the business owners would rather have private security deal with the situation then waste his/her time as "that's what they are paid to do".

A further explanation for the use of private security in this circumstance may have to do with the differences in legal powers between private security and the public police. For example, the public police are subject to legislative policy, regulation and code of conduct whereas private security has no such boundaries. Private security may feel that

they "can" overstep certain legal boundaries, as there is no government oversight body to

ensure accountability.

Table 9(E)- Break and Enter

	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
Break & Enter where cash and merchandise is missing	0	0	1	15
Employee steals a large sum of money from the safe	0	2	1	14

In break and enter cases, fifteen business owners indicated that they would call

the public police immediately. The reasons for utilizing the public police were related to

the degree of legal severity of the crime and the expertise that the public police possess in

these matters. As one respondent indicated this is "definitely a police matter".

Other responses cited were; insurance purposes; police have the knowledge and

ability to fingerprint; record purposes; company policy to call public police immediately;

and, private security unable to handle break and enter as it is "too serious a crime".

Only one person indicated they would call private security as the first response to both

scenarios involving break and enter. The rationale provided was that the private security

response time was much faster than the public police and that security would eventually

call the public police in order to press charges.

From the above responses, it appears that the manner in which business owners

manage various scenarios depends upon the degree of "legal" seriousness and/or

complexity of the disorder or crime against the business. In general, it seems that the use

of private security is regarded as a complement to public policing based on the number of

business owners who indicated that they would only call the public police for serious

issues such as break and enter, credit card fraud as well as shoplifting over $100 dollars.

However, the overwhelming desirability to utilize the public police in situations related to financial crimes against the business may be attributed to the importance of reporting for insurance purposes.

Attitudes toward Public Police

When small business owners were asked open-ended questions regarding various scenarios in which they would <u>only</u> involve the public police, many provided more than one response. For example, four business owners stated that they only dealt with public police in circumstances which required legal authority or when they felt personally threatened. Others indicated that they utilize the public police for their special expertise and knowledge of offenders.

Table 10 – Occasions when Public Police were Involved

1	Only in "serious" circumstances	8
2	For their authority	5
3	For their knowledge of the offender	4
4	When store owner felt threatened about the safety of clientele	4
5	For insurance purposes- make a claim	3
6	Only as a last resort	2
7	Always deal with the Public police	1
8	When Private Security is not available	1
9	To seek criminal prosecution	1

* Multiple responses, will not add to 17

The most common response was that business owners would only deal with the public police in serious circumstances as the " public police deal with a lot of issues that

are more serious and important than dealing with panhandlers and kids". In addition, the degree of legal seriousness appears to determine whether business owners utilize the public police for their authority and knowledge. Two of the business owners indicated that they were frustrated with the lack of police presence on Spring Garden Road and would only contact the police as a last resort. "I feel abandoned by the police… They abandoned us". This quote is significant as it is consistent with postmodern ideologies of policing regarding the withdrawal of government support from the provision of public services.

Level of Satisfaction - Public Police

When respondents were asked how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with their dealings with the public police, the majority of respondents indicated that they were "Very Satisfied" (N=6).

Table 11 - Public Police -Level of Satisfaction

Very Satisfied	6
Satisfied	4
Dissatisfied	4
Very Dissatisfied	2

N=16

Factors that were mentioned regarding the level of satisfaction included: police did the job to the best of their ability; police had a quick response time; police officers were efficient in follow up calls; and do what they can do… very busy dealing with more serious issues.

Those who stated that they were "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with the public police (N=10) acknowledged that the police were governed by the criminal justice system and thus were limited in the scope of their abilities. As one individual expressed, " there is only so much they can do within their legal powers… they do what they can", while

another stated that the "frustrating part is that we can't call the police for the small stuff". It would appear that for some store owners, the limits and failures of police services in relation to their security needs are not seen as their fault and are accepted as an inevitable part of public policing due to resources and institutional limits.

Four respondents mentioned that the level of satisfaction was dependent upon the police officer they were dealing with. For example, two of the respondents who were "very dissatisfied" with the public police explained that the officer they were dealing with handled their call in an unprofessional manner.

Other explanations for the dissatisfaction with public police included: police do not take issues serious enough; there is no follow up; poor response time; police can not do anything even when called ; police have a poor attitude; and, there is no community policing "no beat cop anymore".

Of the six respondents who indicated they were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the public police, 2 business owners expressed their anger and resentment in having to pay for increased protection by hiring private security, " we pay taxes but don't get protection". Both of the business owners mentioned that if the public police were unable to provide an authoritative presence on the street, then the municipal government should financially contribute to the cost of private security.

One dissatisfied business owner even went so far as to say that he only deals with the public police in order to try to convince them that protection is required along the street. He feels that the crime statistics for Spring Garden Road are inaccurate and encourages other business owners to call the public police for the smallest of crimes. " I report to the police for recording purposes and that's it, but I know nothing will be done".

Although 17 business owners represent a small number of the total businesses on Spring Garden Road, it is significant that the majority of merchants surveyed indicated they were generally satisfied with the public police. The Spring Garden Road Business Association and the publicity surrounding their outcry regarding dissatisfaction with the public police has augmented the perceived inabilities of the public police along the street. In addition, it appears that the merchants who indicated they were dissatisfied with the public police were more dissatisfied with the postmodern rationalization of police resources and the criminal justice system and held strong traditional views of the policing functions.

Attitudes toward Private Security

When small business owners were asked open-ended questions regarding various scenarios in which they would only involve private security, the most common responses are indicated in the table below.

Table 12 - Private Security Involvement

Low degree of "seriousness"	12
Private security is more proactive	4
Close vicinity – quick response time	3
"That's what we pay them for"	3
Use as a deterrent	2
If I can't handle the situation myself	2

*Multiple answers will not add to 17

From these responses, it appears that the business owners would generally involve private security for crime and disorder issues that were perceived as not being serious. "Serious" in this circumstance seems to be defined as those incidents that are criminal in nature but not necessarily a major security problem. Many respondents indicated

that if they contacted private security as their first response to a serious issue, they felt

confident that private security would have the knowledge and foresight to contact the

public police if required.

Level of Satisfaction with Private Security

When business owners were asked how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with

private security, all respondents indicated that they were either "satisfied" or "very

satisfied" with the performance of private security. No one mentioned that they were

"dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" although there were a few negative comments such as

"50% of the time private security is not trained or qualified to do their jobs".

Table 13 - Private Security - Level of Satisfaction

Very Satisfied	7
Satisfied	7
Dissatisfied	0
Very Dissatisfied	0

* N=14

Business owners who stated that they were "very satisfied" with private security

specified that it is more effective than public policing as they are more proactive, they

take their jobs seriously, are good at their jobs, knowledgeable about the *Protection of*

Property Act and know the limitations of their abilities. In addition, business owners

stated that the private guard projects a presence of authority on the street (which they

believe the public police do not) and works directly for the merchants and their interests.

Those who stated that they were "satisfied" but not "very satisfied" with the overall

performance of private security indicated that private security guards are not taken

seriously by offenders, not always on the street and that they have limited powers and

abilities to solve any serious issues. In general, as per the table below, there appears to be

a higher level of satisfaction with private security.

Table 14 – Level of Satisfaction -Comparison, Public and Private

	Private Security	Public Policing
Very Satisfied	7	6
Satisfied	7	4
Dissatisfied	0	4
Very Dissatisfied	0	2

Effectiveness of Private Security

When business owners were asked how effective private security was on Spring

Garden Road, 7 respondents indicated that they were very effective and nine indicated

that they were somewhat effective.

Table 15 – Effectiveness, Private Security

Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Effective
7	9	0

The seven individuals who revealed that private security was "very effective" listed the

following reasons: private security is a great visual presence of authority on the street;

they increase feelings of safety and security which helps to attract business; the guards

are very professional and knowledgeable about the street and its occupants; private

security "Allows business owners to concentrate on running their businesses"; and

"panhandling has definitely decreased since we started with the private security guard".

The nine respondents who stated that private security was "somewhat effective"

mentioned that availability was an issue. Due to the cost of hiring security to patrol the

street, security guards were only available during peak shopping hours during the summer and holidays. Offenders were becoming aware of these times and subsequently committed crimes and acts of disorder when they knew that the security guards were not available. This could also indicate that potential offenders perceive private security as a threat thus providing evidence that private security is effective as a deterrent. The security company has responded to this issue and have rotated shifts accordingly.

Visible private security in front of stores provides merchants and consumers with an image of public safety and security. The majority of business owners believe that the private guard is able to promote a safe and secure environment, which according to a few merchants, the public police are unable to provide; "we are just another street to public policing". The responses in this study regarding the effectiveness of private security mirror the findings of The Chapman Report on Law Enforcement and Private Security (1992). This report, in conjunction with the Angus Reid Group Inc. surveyed Canadians in order to gauge their attitudes toward the security industry in Canada. It revealed that 2/3 of Canadians surveyed stated that security personnel are "somewhat" or "very effective" in carrying out their duties.

While examining the responses regarding public police as well as private security, it would appear that private security functions are defined differently from that of the public police. For example, business owners indicated they would only utilize the public police in serious situations where as they would involve private security in less serious situations. As one respondent indicated, "if you want someone with real authority, I would call the police". This statement is indicative of the differing status held by the public police and that of private security. It is clear that the business owners in this

survey are aware of the limitations and the capabilities of both public and private police and accordingly, respond to various situations. Although the abilities of both types of policing are recognized, one respondent believes that for low-level security issues, private security should have the same legal capabilities as the public police. As he stated, "Private security should have the same abilities as the public police when dealing with minor offences, specifically if its small stuff that the public police do not want to deal with".

Impact of Private Security on Business

In the next section I examined whether business owners thought their business has changed since the implementation of the private security guard. As such, they were asked if they thought business has "increased", "decreased", "stayed the same", or "don't know".

Table 16 – Impact of Private Security

Increased	Decreased	Stayed the same	Don't Know
6	0	8	3

Six people indicated that their business increased, but many could not directly attribute the increase to the activities of the private security guard. Other factors such as increased tourism and population growth may have also contributed to the improvement of their business revenue. Despite these possible growth factors, many indicated that private security has decreased the number of loitering kids, which in turn appears to have reduced the perception of disorder. As one respondent expressed, "private security keeps

the kids in check" and there is "not as much crime on Spring Garden Road since their arrival".

Comments such as " we would be worse if we didn't have them", "I certainly feel safer knowing that they are around" and "people feel safer on Spring Garden Road since private security", are evidence that the environment of the street has changed since the introduction of private security. Business owners responded that they feel safer and are more satisfied with the image of the street.

Contrary to the view of some authors, (Drennan, 2002), and numerous police unions who argue that private security is encroaching on the status of public police, this does not appear to be the case within this specific sample. From a small business owner's perspective, there does not appear to be a blurring of roles as Johnston (1992) *et al.* argue, but rather, as Ericson and Haggarty (1997) propose, public and private police appear to be loosely co-existing and occasionally co-operating in the larger strategy of risk management.

Self Policing and Protection

Respondents were asked why they chose to deal with various situations themselves rather than calling private security or the public police. The most common response was that the incident was not serious enough to warrant calling either of these parties.

Table 17 – Self Policing -Dealing with Situations Yourself

Incident was not serious enough	12
Police can't do anything about the situation	6
Poor publicity	4
Employee issues should be handled internally	1
Negative experience with the police	2
Too time consuming	2
Private security too expensive	1

* Multiple responses, will not add to 17

Similar to the beginning of this section where respondents were asked to indicate what their first response would be to a series of scenarios, Twelve business owners reported they would attempt to handle the situation themselves dependent upon the level of seriousness. Six indicated that they felt the police were unable to do anything about panhandling, loitering or any other small incident due to other priority calls and thus would not involve the police at all because " we complain but get no action, so you do it yourself". In addition, they believed that it was their responsibility to handle small situations and as one interviewee stated, " as a business owner the onus is on me to protect myself and protect my business". This quote is consistent with theories regarding postmodern notions of "responsibilization", where increasingly individuals are engaging in self-policing and are managing their own security concerns thus not relying on governmental support. Further, many of the respondents indicated that they handled the responsibility in order to send a prompt message to the offenders to let them know that their business would not tolerate inappropriate actions. To quote one respondent, " I deal

with the situation myself to get rid of the problem quickly... I am not going to let these people walk all over me".

Four business owners were reluctant to involve the public police due to negative publicity that police presence may signify that the area is crime ridden and unsafe, impinging upon the retail market. This observation was also noted in the study conducted by Hermer, Shearing and Stenning (2001) in Vancouver's Downtown East Side where the researchers observed the reluctance of office and business complex owners to involve the public police in all circumstances except those where such actions were unavoidable.

Two other respondents indicated that involving the public police or private security was extremely time consuming and interrupted the daily operation of their businesses. The response time of the public police is perceived as slow and when they arrive there is a lot of paper work to complete. If business owner felt that the situation could be dealt with immediately by simply asking people to move away from the front of the store, then they would handle it themselves.

In general, most business owners felt that they should deal with low risk security situations themselves, as many of them are not serious enough to warrant calling the public police or involving private security. This is consistent with the 1998 Environics survey where 46% of respondents believed that the average citizen should be doing more to detect and deter crime in their neighbourhoods. (Juristat, Nov. 2001).

In this section, merchants on Spring Garden Road have expressed that their attitudes and expectations of private security and public policing are indeed different. Although there are certain functions of the two kinds of 'policing' that overlap, it appears

that private security is an important part of crime prevention and image management, but is not perceived as a replacement for the authority and experience of the public police.

Crime prevention and situations of disorder appear to be managed based upon a continuum of actions. For example, business owners call upon private security for low-level issues that they feel they cannot handle themselves and then proceed to call the public police for the more serious situations.

CHAPTER FIVE
Future Roles of Policing

Future Security Requirements

With the growth of privatization and increasing consumer demand for safety and security, new provisions of policing services have developed and are being provided by a host of both public and private agencies. As this trend increases, how will small business owners deal with future security needs? From the list of options outlined in Table 18 below, respondents were asked to indicate how they would deal with their future security needs.

Table 18 – Future Security Requirements

Do nothing- keep security at current level	3
Increase Self Security – handle more situations yourself	5
Increase the use of Private Security	10
Increase the use of Public Police	1

* Multiple responses, will not add to 17

Many of the respondents indicated that in the future they would approach security issues in a variety of stages. For example, one business owner replied that he would handle more situations himself as well as increase the use of private security. Three respondents indicated that they would keep security at the current level but would adapt or alter their security measures if required. All three commented that their future security needs would depend on whether the degree of seriousness of offences or disorder against the business had increased.

Of the 10 owners who indicated that they would increase the use of private security in the future, the most common statement heard was that business owners did not want to deal with the issues of security themselves as it takes time away from operating the business. Only one respondent indicated that he would increase the use of public police while the majority of respondents felt that they could not depend on the public police because they are overburdened. As one respondent stated, "you can not depend on the public police now or in the future…they are maxed out ".

One business owner whose establishment operates on a 24 hour basis, is contemplating closing at night due to various security and safety issues in relation to his staff. According to the manager, the store cannot get the protection that they require from the public police and it is too expensive to hire a security guard to watch the premises every night. The only alternative for this store owner is to close at night thus eliminating the store as a potential target for thieves.

Although ten merchants indicated that they would increase the use of private security in the future, the role of the police was still an important consideration. As one respondent said " I will probably increase the use of private security in the future, but the role of the private police must be to compliment the public police". This statement supports the notion that public and private police are viewed as having delineated roles and specific functions within this community. Although the roles are perceived as different, it is believed that they are working toward the same objectives of public safety and security, albeit in different capacities. It is interesting to note however, that only one store owner indicated that he/she would increase the use of public police in the future.

This is significant in that it suggests a shift in expectation from the public to the private realm.

Future Investment in Policing

When respondents were asked whether they would invest more on private security or public police in the future, 13 of 17 business owners indicated that they would allocate more of their expenses toward private security. All stated that they would increase the use of private security in the future for the following reasons: private security promotes increased feeling of security as they are working directly for the business and their concerns; less expensive than hiring the public police; there is more willingness to pay for private security as they are there for small business needs; security is not a job for the public police due to the low degree of seriousness; private security is effective as a deterrent as they are more visible and they have a faster response time; and you see immediate results from private security ie. Less panhandling and fewer kids loitering.

Of the four respondents who stated that they would increase the use of public policing, three believed that they could not depend totally upon the public police for protection in the future. In other words, they would prefer to use the public police but would utilize private security because they felt there was no alternative. As one respondent stated, "my choice would be to increase the use of public police, but we do not have that choice, so I would increase the use of private security at my own expense". Another stated they would "increase presence of public police, but that's not going to happen".

Role of Government

Many contentious issues have evolved around the growth of private security as the degree of the state's monopoly on policing has eroded and the presence of private agencies offering protection services has increased (Bayley, 1985, Murphy, 2001). For example, many questions have surfaced regarding the role of the government in the restructuring of policing and whether they should or should not be involved with the security industry. The lack of accountability, training, regulations and inconsistent standards among security companies has lead the public to question whether aspects of justice and equality are being served by free-market security companies (Bayley and Shearing, 2001). In relation to this line of thinking, respondents were asked whether or not they believed the government should have a role in private security.

Table 19 - Role of Government in Security

Government should have a role	Government **should not** have a role	Don't know
11	4	2

Although the majority of respondents indicated that private security is very effective and they recognize that private security has a legitimate role in the function of social control and policing, 11 of 17 respondents believed that the government should have a role in the private security industry. Many of the 11 respondents stated that the government should manage the industry by ensuring that all security guards are trained and monitored. As one respondent stated, "The government needs to regulate the security industry so they [security] are accountable for their actions", while another indicated that " Wage disparity should be monitored by the government".

Three respondents among the 11 who stated that the government should have a role in private security believed the government should monetarily assist the private security industry. Their rationale was that if the government is unable to provide safety and protection in the traditional form of policing and private security is "picking up the slack" then ..."The government should contribute to private security through subsidization". As one respondent stated, " if the government can't pay for public policing then they should contribute to private security". He continued by stating " if the city can't afford to have police officers on the street then they should pay for private security".

The above responses supporting government involvement are in consistent with Bayley and Shearing's examination of the role of government in <u>New Structures of Policing, 2001</u>. They conclude that the public interest in policing should be protected by government interaction in order to ensure justice, equality of protection and quality of service. They suggest that the governance of security should include three functions – namely, regulation of the industry, audits and monitoring and facilitating the growth of future types of policing.

Of the four respondents who stated that the government should not have a role in private security, all believe that the government is inadequate to regulate private policing. Statements such as; "The government is horribly inefficient... they have no business in *the business*... everything they touch goes down the tubes" suggest that the business owner is dissatisfied with the manner in which the government currently administers policing within Halifax Regional Municipality. Accordingly, these four respondents

believed that through handling situations themselves and the use of private security that there is no need for public police in minor situations. "We are

private companies and can take of ourselves... leave the government to take care of the other stuff... they are involved in enough as it is".

Similar to the findings outlined above, the policy discussion paper conducted by The Police Futures Group (2000) noted that 62% of private security managers believed that the security industry should be regulated by the government and 25% believed that the industry should be self regulated. In other words 25% of the private security industry surveyed stated that the government should not have a governance role and as suggested by Toronto's Intelliguarde Security, a separate entity such as the Private Security Industrial Advisory Committee should be created to oversee and manage the industry (Police Futures Groups 2001).

Increase of Private Security

As noted earlier, the ratio of private security personnel to public police officers in Canada is reported to be 2:1. This number is expected to rise with the growing dominance of market forces and further deconstruction of the nation state. As described in the discussion paper by the Law Commission of Canada "In Search of Security" (2002), a complex network of policing is developing in Canada that reflects a mix of public and private security providers and as such, it is predicted that businesses and individuals will increasingly turn to private measures for their policing requirements.

In this questionnaire, when respondents were asked their opinions regarding the reasons why they believe more businesses are turning to private security to meet their security needs, seven recurring answers became evident and are are outlined in Table 20.

Table 20 –Increase Use of Private Security

1	Level of policing has deteriorated	11
2	Dissatisfaction with police	9
3	Private security works directly for business	4
4	Private security is readily available	3
5	Budget restraints	3
6	Private security is cost effective	3
7	Private security is an excellent deterrent	3

* Multiple answers, will not add to 17

Consistent with the literature on postmodern policing (Murphy 2001), the above

table implies that the majority of respondents believe that the rise in the use of private

security among business owners is due to the deterioration in the level of public policing.

In other words, many believe that the growth in private sector has occurred because the

state has been unable to meet public expectations regarding safety and security. As one

respondent stated, "On Spring Garden Road the concern for safety has increased but the

response from police has decreased...there has been an increase in theft, graffiti and

kids". In addition, others said that " public police are not a factor on the street anymore"

and " the police are not living up to what they are suppose to do".

Although the majority of people have indicated that dissatisfaction with the public

police and the changes in level of policing have lead to the increased use of private

security, it is interesting to recall from the previous section that 10 of 16 respondents

indicated that they were "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with the public police. Again, it

appears that respondents are dissatisfied with the government's response to public safety

and security rather than the police themselves.

CHAPTER SIX
Conclusion: Core Findings and Significance of Research

In this study I have sought to address the gap within current sociological literature surrounding the policing and security choices of small business owners in an attempt to obtain empirical evidence to validate the post- modern thesis regarding the pluralization of policing. Having examined the security needs, concerns and choices of small business owners in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the following four areas of study are of significance to this thesis.

Relevancy and Importance of "Security" and "Risk" to Small Business Owners

As mentioned throughout this thesis, small businesses are typically overlooked when discussing security and risk management. From the responses, it was discovered that the majority of small business owners are overwhelmingly concerned about the safety and security of their clients, employees and businesses. Significant time, effort and resources are spent on ensuring that appropriate measures are in place to safeguard the integrity of their business. As such, many business owners manage security risks by investing heavily in security strategies and physical devices. These self-preservation techniques are perceived as vital for the protection of assets and maintaining the viability of small businesses. Revenue spent on implementing security and risk management are regarded as a necessary part of operating a business.

When respondents were asked about the relative importance attached to the level of safety and security to their business, most respondents indicated that safety and

security was not the most important aspect of running a business rather customer service and sales were deemed more significant. This concentration on safety and security supports the postmodern thesis (Murphy, 2001, Ericson & Haggarty 1997), regarding the increase in perceptions of risk and the notion that security and risk management have become a daily and important factor of conducting business.

Security Response and Choices

In Chapter Four I examined the manner in which small business owners responded to security concerns and discovered that many businesses have a variety of ways they handle security issues. It was evident that there were three major responses to security issues: a *public* police response, i.e., small business owners contacted the public police for various security issues, a *private* security response, and a *self-protection* response where business owners take responsibility for their own security issues by dealing with situations themselves. The nature of the insecurity and its degree of seriousness dictated which response a business owner chose. For example, how a security situation was handled by the business owner, appears to be dependent upon whether the security issues were perceived to be a public function or whether they were considered a private security function. Whether issues were clarified as public or private had little to do with their criminality but whether they would elicit an effective police response. Issues that required a public policing response were those that would be dealt through the courts whereas private security responses were those that required an immediate response and were less time consuming. In other words, the perceived degree of seriousness appears to have influenced the preferred security response. This is supported through the

data regarding credit card fraud, break and enter and vandalism which were all perceived to be a public concern and hence a "serious" issue in which respondents indicated they would require a public response from the police.

The responses from these small business owners supports the hypothesis that there has been a transition in public attitudes toward the use of public police in a postmodern era. Many small business owners stated that government cutbacks, the lack of public police visibility, and heightened feelings of fear and insecurity, have all led small businesses to adopt various modes of security and rely less on the use of public policing and increase the use of private security or self security. Therefore, with the increased rationalization of policing functions and increasing use of private security, it is questionable to think that the public police are the main suppliers of security in a postmodern society. This is particularly evident in the choices made by small business owners.

Private Security

The review of literature outlined how government fiscal restraint theories coupled with structural theories involving the increase in the amount of public life taking place in privately owned spaces and the commodification of security have all combined to contribute to a dramatic rise in the use of private security. In addition, the decline in confidence and lack of ability of the public police in providing security has led small business owners to perceive private security as a preferred choice to handle security needs. Private security appears to have become a necessity in the post-modern era rather than just a desire.

In this study the majority of respondents perceived that the public police have had a limited response to business requirements. To some, the public police were viewed as inadequate, inaccessible and sometimes inefficient. An important aspect to note however, is that the majority of small business owners who perceived that the public police were inadequate or inaccessible recognised and acknowledged the limitations of the public police. For example when asked about the level of satisfaction toward public policing, the majority of respondents indicated that they were either "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with their performance. Respondents acknowledged that the police are governed by the criminal justice system and thus are limited in the scope of their abilities. As one individual expressed, " there is only so much they can do within their legal powers... they do what they can". From this, one can deduce that the failures of public police services are accepted and an inevitable part of policing due to financial restraints and institutional limits. But these responses also indicate that business owners, while accepting that the limitations of public policing are perhaps inevitable, have moved on to find other policing solutions to many of their security problems. This is a significant micro level transition that reflects the larger thesis of the gradual movement toward privatization in policing and security.

Future Projections of Private Security

The dramatic growth and reliance on private security to meet security needs has restructured the organization and function of so called modern policing. The shift in social control from a traditional model of policing focusing on a centralized monopolistic state has become antiquated and insufficient. Global shifts in the nature of property

relations, governmental restraints and economic changes related to capitalist development are a few factors that have lead to the pluralization and development of a postmodern 'risk management' society.

As police departments continue to rationalize their resources and public demands for safety and security increase, new modes of social control and networks of policing will continue to arise. As this occurs, it is clear that businesses and the public are increasingly turning to private measures for their policing requirements (Law Commission of Canada, 2001). The findings in this study strongly support this observation. 10 of 17 respondents indicated that they would increase their use of private security in the future, while only one respondent indicated that they would increase their use of the public police. Again, this signifies a shift in expectations from the public to the private realm and suggests that small businesses will continue to rely less on public police in the future.

Although the majority of respondents indicated that they would increase the role of private security in the future, the function of the public police was still considered an important factor. According to the respondents in this study, each agency has a specific task and an important role to play in a risk management society, but clearly the role of the public police is diminishing within the risk management paradigm.

The Public-Private Policing "Tipping Point" and Implications

In the introduction I defined the "tipping point" as a series of individual processes and events that lead to a moment in which a reaction occurs. I asked whether there were varying degrees of insecurities that lead to a "tipping point" in which small business

owners abandoned "public" policing and sought private or their own policing alternatives. The responses gathered from the questionnaire lead me to believe that the "tipping point" has already occurred. The pluralization of the policing function, rationalization of public policing and specific events such as amalgamation, coupled with changing perceptions of the role of both public policing and private security are all the sum of elements that have resulted in a "tipping point" for Spring Garden Road merchants. The "tipping point" appears to be a shift in public sentiment from the public police to private security. For many respondents, police amalgamation appears to have precipitated the shift. As one respondent stated, "Before amalgamation the police force was committed to Spring Garden Road. There was a dedicated police officer proactively walking the beat and bike patrol. When the new chief was put on, we lost all of those things". At this juncture, public perceptions regarding the role of the police, appears to have changed. The small business owners along the street chose to take matters into their own hands by hiring a private security company to ensure the safety and security of employees, merchants and the public.

However, there has not been a complete abandonment of the public police, rather a significant decrease in their use. The authority and function of the police has shifted from being the primary source of protection to a secondary option with the rationalization of 'policing' activities. With these changes in activities it becomes even more important that the public police pay attention to the changes occurring within the function of policing. The public police need to be aware of the varying policing activities that private security are currently performing and work with the security industry. As it stands, in Halifax Nova Scotia there is no established formal relationship between public

and private policing. As examined by Murphy and Clarke (2001) in their research on policing communities in Halifax, there is an ad hoc relationship between the private security sector and the public sector. In order to produce a more integrated and coordinated policing response, the public police must learn to accept and utilize private security and other measures as part of the public policing mandate (Murphy, Clarke, 2001).

In conclusion, although this thesis utilized a small sample size, the responses provided by merchants on Spring Garden Road are concurrent with larger global shifts in the role and capacity of the welfare state. In addition, the data confirms the postmodern thesis regarding a shift toward a risk management society, an increase in the concentration upon safety and security resulting in the growth of private security. Whether the ongoing micro-level transition from public to private policing will continue as demonstrated in this thesis is uncertain. What is clear from the findings is that this transition is well underway for small business owners in the Spring Garden Road area of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

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APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>

Business Name _____

Location (street front or Mall) _____

Years in Business _____

Lease or Own? _____

If Lease, from whom? _____

How many employees at this location?   Type of Business

Full Time   _____   Retail   _____

Part Time   _____   Wholesale   _____

Casual   _____   Industrial   _____

Other   _____   Services   _____

                                      Other   _____

In order to ascertain general information of small businesses in Halifax, N.S. please choose one of the following that best describe the Gross Revenue per year of your business.

Under $500,000   _____

$ 500,000 –$ 1,000000   _____

$ Over 1,000000   _____

89

PART I

<u>*Security & Policing Concerns*</u>

<u>In this section, I would like to ask you a series of questions pertaining your security and policing concerns</u>

1) How would you rate the current level of general security on Spring Garden Road ? Is it
Excellent, Good, Fair, Poor or *Very Poor?*
a) Excellent
b) Good
c) Fair
d) Poor
e) Very Poor

2) In your opinion, what is the biggest security concern for store owners on Spring Garden Road?

_____

_____

_____

_____

3) What is your stores biggest security concern?

_____

_____

_____

_____

4) What, if anything, are you doing to deal with your biggest security concern?

_____

_____

_____

_____

5) Please rank the following according to the level of importance regarding your business. Please check one box in each row

	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Advertising	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Marketing	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Customer Service	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Safety & Security	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Information Technology	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Sales	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Loss Prevention	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

6) From the list below, please indicate your level of concern regarding the following on your business? Please check one box in each row

	Very Concerned	Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Not Concerned
Employee theft	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Shoplifting	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Pan Handling	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Loitering	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Public Intoxication	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Break and Enter	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Cheque/Credit Card Fraud	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Property Damage / Vandalism	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Robbery	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Are there any other aspects regarding the security of your business that we have not covered that concern you at the moment? If so, please describe.

_____

_____

_____

_____

7) In the past 12 months, has your business been effected by any of the following? Please check appropriate box

	Never	Once	2-5 times in 12 mths	6-8times in 12 mths	10+ times in 12 mths
Employee Theft					
Shoplifting					
Cheque/Credit Card Fraud					
Pan Handling					
Loitering					
Public Intoxication					
Break and Enter					
Property Damage / Vandalism					
Robbery					
Other (Please describe)					

8) In the past 12 months, what percentage of your revenue have you invested in security for your store?

_____

_____

_____

_____

0 – 5 %
6% - 10%
11% - 15%
16% - 20%
21% -25%
Over 25%

PART II

Response to Security Concerns & Requirements

In this section, I would like to ask you a series of questions pertaining your responses to security issues

1) Thinking of your business, please indicate whether you have used any of the following security measures and the effectiveness of each.

	Yes/No	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Effective
Employee awareness training (ie. Shoplifting prevention)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Loss Preventions checks or sales audits	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Background checks on potential employees	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Store Layout (maximizing visual contact)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Locks / Bars on windows	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Alarm systems	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Electronic Tagging (ink tags)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
CCTV	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Lighting	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Merchandise chains	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Contracted security guard	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Floor Walkers (secret shoppers)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Uniformed Guard within store premises	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Uniformed Guard outside of store	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Other, (Please list)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

2) Which of the security measures listed above are *MOST Effective* and which are *LEAST Effective?*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3) Within a work, week, how much of your time do you estimate is spent on security related issues?

_____	Under 1 hour / week
_____	1 to 3 hours /week
_____	4 to 7 hours /week
_____	8 to 10 hours /week
_____	More than 10 hours/week

PART III

Attitudes & Expectations: Public and Private Policing

In this section, I would like to ask you a series of questions pertaining to public and private policing choices

1) How would you deal with the following incidents? Would your **FIRST** response be to *Do Nothing, Deal with the matter yourself, Call Private Security or Call the Public Police? Please indicate by checking the appropriate box in each row*

a) Employee Theft	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
An employee steals $10 worth of merchandise	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
An employee steals $100+ worth of merchandise	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

WHY?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

b) Shoplifting	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
You have seen a repeat customer shoplifting an Item worth $10 dollars	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
You have seen a repeat customer shoplifting an Item worth $100 dollars	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

WHY?_____

_____

_____

c) Credit Card Fraud	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
You know that the credit card used to purchase a large ticket item does not belong to the customer	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

WHY?_____

_____

_____

_____

d) Loitering	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
Teens are repeatedly loitering outside of your store	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
After 3 warnings, a pan-handler still insists on sitting directly outside	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
There is an individual who is intoxicated loitering outside of your store	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

WHY?_____

_____

_____

e) Break and Enter	Do Nothing	Deal with it Myself	Private Security	Public Police
You have discovered that someone has broken in and has stolen a large amount cash and merchandise	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
You have discovered that an employee has broken into the safe and stolen a large sum of money	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

WHY?_____

_____

_____

2) In which instances would you only involve the **public police? WHY ?** *(prompt, why not private security)*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3) When the public police were involved, how satisfied or dissatisfied were you with the way in which your complaint was handled?
    a)   Very Satisfied   _____
    b)   Somewhat Satisfied   _____
    c)   Dissatisfied   _____
    d)   Very Dissatisfied   _____

4) What factors lead to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of with public police?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(prompts for dissatisfaction)
I felt my complaint was trivialized (not taken seriously)
Poor response time – took too long
I was not kept informed of the progress of the incident
I had to complete too many forms
There was no follow up on the incident
The police had no time for me
They did not charge the offender

5) Which instances would you only involve the *private police? WHY ?*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6) When Private Security were involved, how satisfied or dissatisfied were you with the way in which your complaint was handled?

    e) Very Satisfied   _____

    f) Somewhat Satisfied   _____

    g) Dissatisfied   _____

    h) Very Dissatisfied   _____

7) What factors lead to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction with private security?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

8) Please indicate why you chose to deal with the situation yourself. Please check all that apply.

_____

_____

_____

(prompts)

Incident was not serious enough
I did not want police involved as they cannot /do not do anything
Too time consuming
Too expensive to have the police or private security deal with the situation
Fear of reprisal from offender
Previous negative experience with the police
Poor publicity for the business
Other, please explain

9) In your opinion, has the private security guard on Spring Garden Road been *Very effective, Somewhat effective,* or *not effective* in increasing public safety and security?

    (a) Very effective   _____
    (b) Somewhat Effective   _____
    (c) Not Effective   _____

Please explain how and why the private security guard has been Very Effective and/or Not Effective

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

10) Since the implementation of the security guard on Spring Garden Road, would you say that your business has:

(a) Increased   _____
(b) Decreased   _____
(c) Stayed the same _____
(d) Don't know   _____

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

PART IV
Future Roles: Private Security & Public Police
In this section I would like to examine your views on the future roles of Public and Private policing

1) How will you/ your business deal with your future security needs? Will you:
a) Do Nothing - i.e. keep security at the level it is now
b) Increase Self Security- i.e. handle more situations yourself
c) Increase the use of Private Security
d) Increase use of Public Police

WHY?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) If you have to allocate more of your business costs/expenses on security issues, would you invest more on private security or public policing? WHY?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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_____

3) In your opinion, what role if any, should the government have regarding private security? Please explain.
(Prompts) Increase Training, Regulating, Licensing , Accountability

_____

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_____

_____

4) In your opinion, why do you think businesses are turning more to private security to meet their security needs?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5) Do you belong to a Business Community Watch Program? For example, an association where merchants join together to address problems of safety and security that directly effects their business operations

                                          YES   NO

If Yes, what are the major security concerns that are discussed ?

_____

_____

_____

_____