

Neoliberal Squad Deployment?

Nonprofits policing urban Germany

The Federal Programme "Socially Integrative City" as Quarter Police



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Outline

1. Neoliberal globalisation, workfare regimes, and the growing importance of "the local"
2. The German federal programme "Socially Integrative City" and its local variations
3. District/neighbourhood management...
 - ... as a workfare taskmaster
 - ... as the "eyes and ears" of the police
 - ... as the new (dis)order power
4. Some (preliminary) conclusions

“Schumpeterian Workfare Post-National Regimes”

(Bob Jessop)

- **Neoliberalism**
- **Neostatism**
- **Neocorporatism**
- **Neocommunitarianism**



"Adjusting Neoliberalism"

- **Variations on a theme park I:
Neoliberalism**
 - Liberalisation – promote free competition
 - Deregulation – reduce role of law and state
 - Privatisation – sell off public sector
 - Market proxies in residual public sector
 - Internationalization – free inward and outward flows
 - Lower direct taxes – increase consumer choice

"Adjusting Neoliberalism"

- **Variations on a theme park II:**
 - Neostatism**
 - From state control to regulated competition
 - Guide national strategy rather than plan top-down
 - Auditing performance of private and public sectors
 - Public-private partnerships under state guidance
 - Neo-Mercantilist protection of core economy
 - Expanding role for new collective resources

"Adjusting Neoliberalism"

- **Variations on a theme park III:
Neocorporatism**
 - Rebalance competition and cooperation
 - Decentralised "regulated self-regulation"
 - Widen range of private, public, and other "stakeholders"
 - Expand role of public-private partnerships
 - Protect core economic sectors in an open economy
 - High taxation to finance social investment

"Adjusting Neoliberalism"

- **Variations on a theme park IV:
Neocommunitarianism**
 - Deliberalisation – limit free competition
 - Empowerment – enhance role of third sector
 - Socialisation – expand social economy
 - Emphasis on social use-value and social cohesion
 - Fair trade not free trade; think global, act local
 - Redirect taxes – citizens' wage, carers' allowances

The global & the local

- Growing international, national, inter-regional, inter- & inner-urban competition
- *Location! Location! Location!*
- Neoliberalism
 - *proto*
 - *roll back*
 - *roll out*
- Globalisation & localisation = **Glocalisation**
- Both have effects on policing (*state, private, and “civil society”*)



Moths' attack –*Miniermottenbefall*
(*Cameraria ohridella*)

Quarter Management as an integrated approach

Central (cl)aims of the government

- social stabilisation of "disadvantaged" neighbourhoods
- *Empowerment* of "disadvantaged" residents
- cross-administrative, gentle use of (fiscal) resources, readjusting administration
- management from *case to case* and from *place to place*

Examples for integrated socio-spatial programs in Germany

- **Germany**

Federal-*Länder*-Programme "Social City" (1999)

("Quarters with particular development needs – the Socially Integrative City")

- **North Rhine-Westphalia**

"Quarters with particular renewal needs" (1993)

- **Berlin**

"Quarter management" (1998)

Fields of operation within the
"Socially Integrative City" programme
Germany I

Strategic fields of operation
Grouping of resources
Integrated operational concepts
Quarter management
Activation and participation
Evaluation

Fields of operation within the "Socially Integrative City" programme **Germany II**

Content fields of operation

- Employment
- Qualification und training
- Economic activity within quarter
- Social activity and social infrastructure
- Schools and education
- Health advancement
- Environment and traffic
- quarter culture
- Sports and recreation
- Cohabitation within the quarter
- Housing market and tenement management
- (social) housing and public space *
- Image and public relations
- Competency, articulation and political participation

* in 2003 supplemented with "security"

Fields of operation within the "Socially Integrative City" programme **North Rhine-Westphalia**

- Children and youngsters
- Labour market and adjustment policy
- Integration/cohabitation
- Urban regeneration
- Resident's participation/activation
- Social networks
- Cultural activities
- Social infrastructure/
neighbourhood meeting places
- Environment/ecology
- Sports
- quarter marketing/image improvement
- Schools in the quarter
- Organisation and coordination
- Women
- Business development/local economy
- **Crime prevention**
- Health advancement
- Elderly
- Social housing
- Private housing

Fields of operation within the
"Socially Integrative City" programme
Berlin

- **More chances on the labour market**
- **More advanced training**
- **Improvement of housing and living space**
- **Social infrastructure adequate to residents**
- **Improve quarter's culture**
- **Higher level of health**
- **Higher level of security**
- **Permissive cohabitation/supportive social arrangement**
- **More participation of residents and stakeholders**



Digression

New crime policies

- (crime) prevention
- (socio) spatial orientation
- new penology
("punitive state")
- new forms of cooperation
("public-private partnerships")
- techno prevention
(CCTV, RFID, GIS)

New policing family members:



"Blue Cherry", Chicago



Who is policing Germany?

Selected state and non-state (in)security and (dis)order personnel (<i>pluralization of policing</i>)		
State	“Civil society”	Commercial
State police	Nonprofits	Rent-a-cops
Federal police	Civil wardens	Detectives
Financial police (custom)	Militias	Body-guards
Municipal order service	Neighborhood Watch	Bouncer
Security watch	Security partner	Plant security
Order partnerships	Voluntary police service	

Employees (rounded off):

State police: 265.000; federal police: 40.000; custom: 4.000 (clandestine employment)



Policing entities in Berlin

(main railway station, July 2006)



»Projekt Gelbe Engel«

[Project Yellow Angels]

»[Our concept of nonprofit policing]...after all has been successful, because some of them have been sitting on park benches before and can say to the others now: "Come on, you can take your bottle of beer with you." For me that is a social-political sign too. That's much better than to continue to pay welfare and to have a discussion, whether begging should be allowed or not.«

(Mayor of Stuttgart, Schuster 1998)

[1] Quarter management as the local "workfare master"

- Enforcement of new workfare regime (Hartz IV)
- Quid pro quo: "No service without return service"
- Focus on low-wage sector
- "Kicking-out" beneficiaries of the welfare system
 - *»We took care that a youths nonprofit did not get any subsidies from the employment office any longer, because the nonprofit refused to work together with the police.«*

(Quarter management, Berlin-Neukölln, 2005)

[2] Quarter management as "eyes & ears" & "helping hand" of the police

- adoption of the police's logic and of a(n) (dis)order focus
- classification & redefinition of socio-political problems into a security und order context
- uncritical commitment to *broken windows* approach
- (in part) fusion with crime prevention projects
- (in part) substitution of police officers on the beat

[3] Quarter management as a new (dis)ordering power

- out-factoring of parliamentary & democratic procedures
- praxis data bank of Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik (DIfU) with 431 examples:^[1]

- 52 strikes for "security"^[2]
- 15 strikes for "cleanliness"
- 44 strikes for "order"



– [1] See <http://www.sozialestadt.de/praxisdatenbank/suche/index.php> (Sep 27, 2006).

– [2] "Security feeling" leads to 13 strikes.

- *»There are no more withdrawal spaces for alcoholics, they will never again feel good in our areas.«*

(Quarter management, Berlin-Wedding, 2003)

"Kiezläufer" in Berlin

Nonprofit security & order patrols



Poor policing the poor

Selected local security and order patrols in Berlin's quarter management areas

quarter	name, numbers (nonprofit)	additional security patrols
Wrangelkiez	"Green Cops", n.a. (Jahreszeiten gGmbH)	Operative groups (OG) "SO 36" (police)
Neues Kreuzberger Zentrum	"Kiezläufer", 11 (Internationaler Bund e.V.)	OG "SO 36" (police); SEZ "U7" (police); TS Security GmbH; Concierge-Dienst
Soldiner Straße/ Wollankstraße	"Kiezläufer", 2 (Berlin macht mit e.V.)	n.a.
Schöneberg-Nord	„no name", 65 (Internationaler Bund)	crime preventio; OG "Potse" (police); Gegenbauer-Bosse Sicherheitsdienste GmbH

Berlin, total: about 100 nonprofit security patrols



Nonprofit park patrols in Berlin

Photo: © Schiemann

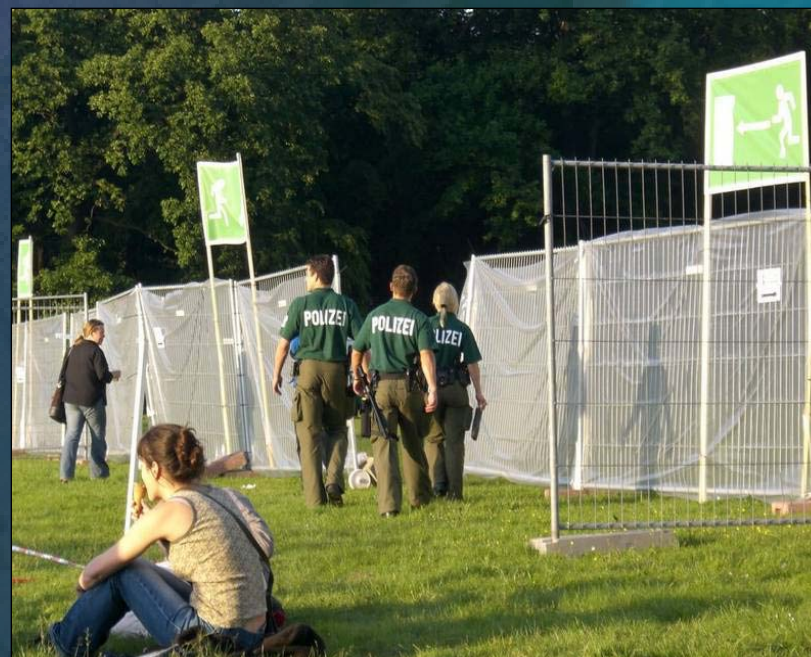
New methods of governance

»[Those programmes of urban renewal] attempt to "empower" the inhabitants of particular inner-city locales by constituting those who reside in a certain locality as "a" community, by seeking out "community groups" who can claim to speak "in the name of community" and by linking them in new ways into the political apparatus in order to enact programmes which seek to regenerate the economic and human fabric of an area by re-activating in "the community" these "natural" virtues which it has temporarily lost.«

Nikolas Rose 1996: 336, accentuation in original.

Some (preliminary) conclusions

- aim of self regulated deprived" quarters
- only marginally tackling of socio-political problems
- channelling of protest
- production & redefinition of security and order
- "new" in/exclusion processes
- **the poor policing the poor**





TF-24'59

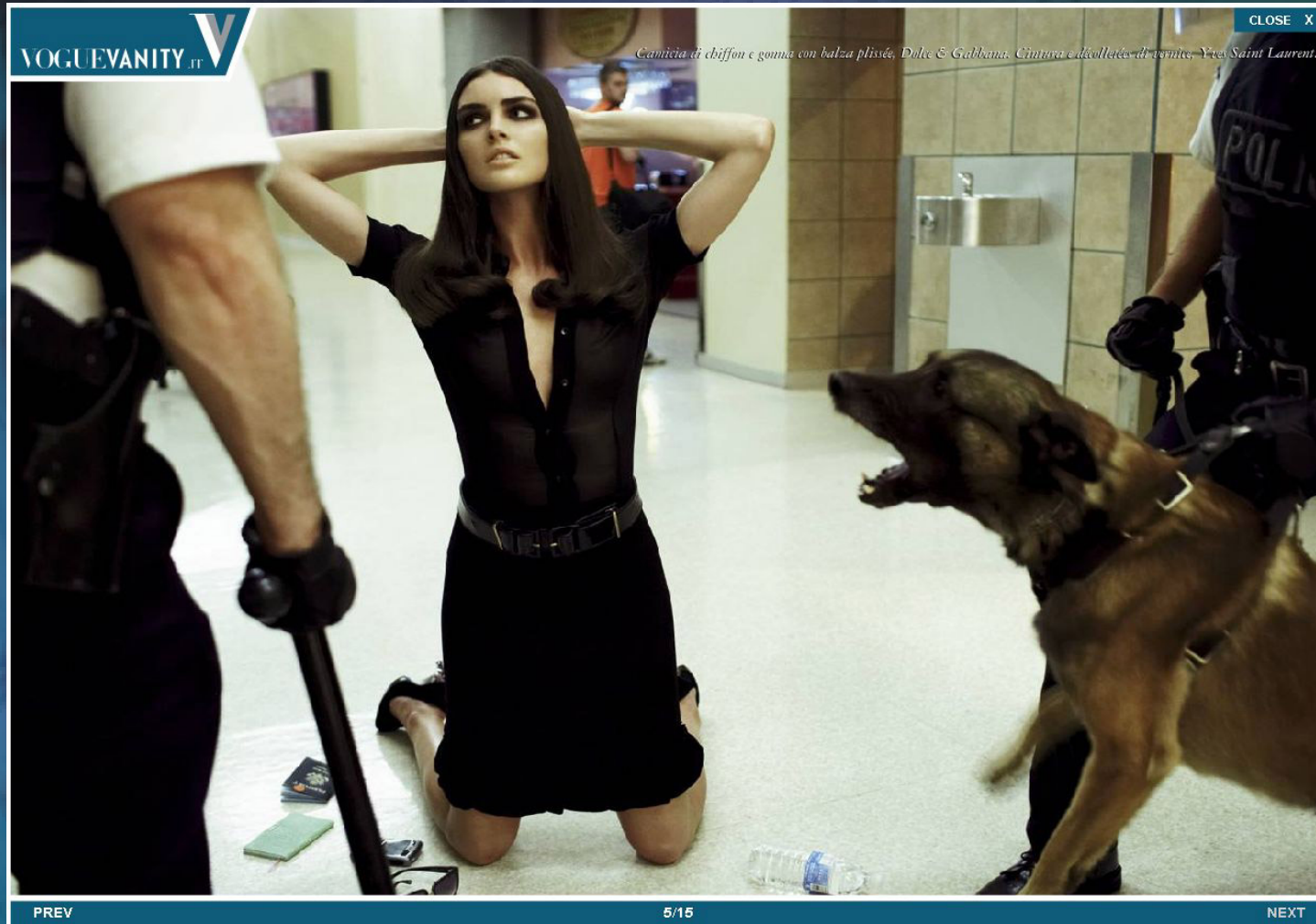
*Neuartiger Tonfa - Handgriff
ausgesteift mit einem "Herzchen"*

TR-24/59

Klassischer Tonfa

Thanx.

“State of Emergency” – new fashion line of *Vogue*, September 2006



Many thanx.