

»Disciplining the (urban) poor...«

Rent-a-cops and the neoliberal glocalization of Berlin's periphery



© Julien Michels, Les Policiers (2000)

Policing Crowds – Privatizing Security
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Outline

1. Rent-a-cops in Europe and Germany
2. Current fields of activity
3. Exemplifying rent-a-cops in...
 - ... Social Housing Estates
 - ... Inner-city Areas
4. The City as an Entrepreneur

General starting points

- **Globalization & Localization**
= **Glocalisation**
- **Neoliberalization**
(*proto, roll-back, roll-out*)
- **Both have Effects on Policing**
(*state, private, and “civil society”*)

Strategies to promote or adjust to global neoliberalism

Neoliberalism

1. Liberalization – promote free competition
2. Deregulation – reduce role of law and state
3. Privatization – sell off public sector
4. Market proxies in residual public sector
5. Internationalization – free inward and outward flows
6. Lower direct taxes – increase consumer choice

Neostatism

1. From state control to regulated competition
2. Guide national strategy rather than plan top-down
3. Auditing performance of private and public sectors
4. Public-private partnerships under state guidance
5. Neomercantilist protection of core economy
6. Expanding role for new collective resources

Neocorporatism

1. Rebalance competition and cooperation
2. Decentralized "regulated self-regulation"
3. Widen range of private, public, and other "stakeholders"
4. Expand role of public-private partnerships
5. Protect core economic sectors in open economy
6. High taxation to finance social investment

Neocommunitarianism

1. Deliberalization – limit free competition
2. Empowerment – enhance role of third sector
3. Socialization – expand social economy
4. Emphasis on social use-value and social cohesion
5. fair trade not free trade; think global, act local
6. Redirect taxes – citizens' wage, carers' allowances

Counting „Condottieri“ I

Employees and turn over of private security companies in Europe 2004

Country	No. of companies	Turnover (Mill. €y)	Rent-a-cop employees	Police staff (1997)
Denmark	413	n.a.	5.000	12.230
France	3.000	1.356	107.000	227.000
Germany	3.000	4.000	145.000	263.000
Greece	400	n.a.	5.000	39.350
Italy	800	1.100	45.000	279.000
Poland	6.000	n.a.	200.000	102.000
Spain	990	2.367	90.000	180.000
Turkey	4.000	1.300	82.000	175.000
UK	2.000	1.300	220.000	185.000

Source: Arnim, 1999: 81-82; Olschok, 2004: 24.

Counting „Condottieri“ II

Employees and turn over of private security companies in Germany 1970-2005

Jahr	1970	1980	1990	1997	1998	2002	2005
Companies	325	542	835	2.065	2.100	3.000	3.000
Employees	47.400	61.700	105.000	121.329 (200.000)	138.000 (260.000)	145.000 (280.000)	200.000 (280.000)
Turn over, bill. €	0,3	0,51	1,2	2,0	5,1	4,0	6,0



(in brackets: staff including short-term contract employees without social insurance; estimations)

Legal basis:

- Trade, Commerce and Industry Regulation Act (*Gewerbeordnung*, § 34a GewO), license necessary to start business;
- No discrete law on private security's fields of activity and/or competence;
- Same rights as all citizen – self-defense (*Notwehrrechte*, §§ 32 ff StGB), *Jedermannrechte* and provisional seizure (*Recht auf vorläufige Festnahme*, § 127 stop)

What Else in Policing? (beyond rent-a-cops)

Selected State and Non-state Security Actors <i>(pluralization of policing)</i>		
State	“Civil society”	Commercial
State police	Nonprofits	Rent-a-cops
Federal police	Neighborhood Watch	Detectives
Custom (<i>Zoll</i>)	Militias	Body guards
Municipal Order Service <i>(Ordnungsämter)</i>	Civil Warden <i>(Bürgerwachten)</i>	Bouncer
Security Warden <i>(Sicherheitswachten)</i>	Security partner <i>(Sicherheitspartnerschaft)</i>	Plant security <i>(Werkschutz)</i>
Order partnerships	Voluntary Police Services	

Employees (rounded off):

State police: 265.000; Federal police: 40.000; *Zoll*: 30.000 (4.000 against “allicit work”/*Schwarzarbeit*)

Fields of Activity (selection)

Recent fields of activity		
airport services	elevator control	mercenaries/military training
alarm persecution	escort services	money/asset transport
building site guards	event/show services	reception services
data security	factory fire brigades	security analysis
district control patrols	factory security (spying)	security transports
door opening services	fair/ museum services	special services
doormen service	fire protection	technical reports
electronic room protection	guarding of real estate	vehicle/vessel protection
emergency services	holiday services	workplace security
New fields of activity		
Asylum management	District management	Public transport
City Guards	Facility management	Security Points
Criminal investigation	Psychiatric clinics	Subsidized Labor Market
Deportation management	Prison management	Traffic control

Social Housing Estates



- **Berlin-Hellersdorf**

- *Flash Security* (also: Strausberg)
- „nasty neighbors“ (wanted poster)
- CCTV
- bounty (Graffiti)
- physical attacks
- *Gated community*
- problem: Neo-fascists

- **Berlin-Karow**

- *CM-security service*
- “gumshoe” Axel Geldschläger
- Re-hiring of *CM security*
- „Russian Germans“
- problem: former secret service (MfS)

Einsatz in der Innenstadt

• Variation I:

- Expulsion
- »Fixerjogging« (OG)
- Migrants (QM)

• Variation II:

- Exclusion
- Shopping Malls
- the homeless/alcoholics (QM)

• Variation III:

- Containment
- cooperation
- Public Private Partnerships

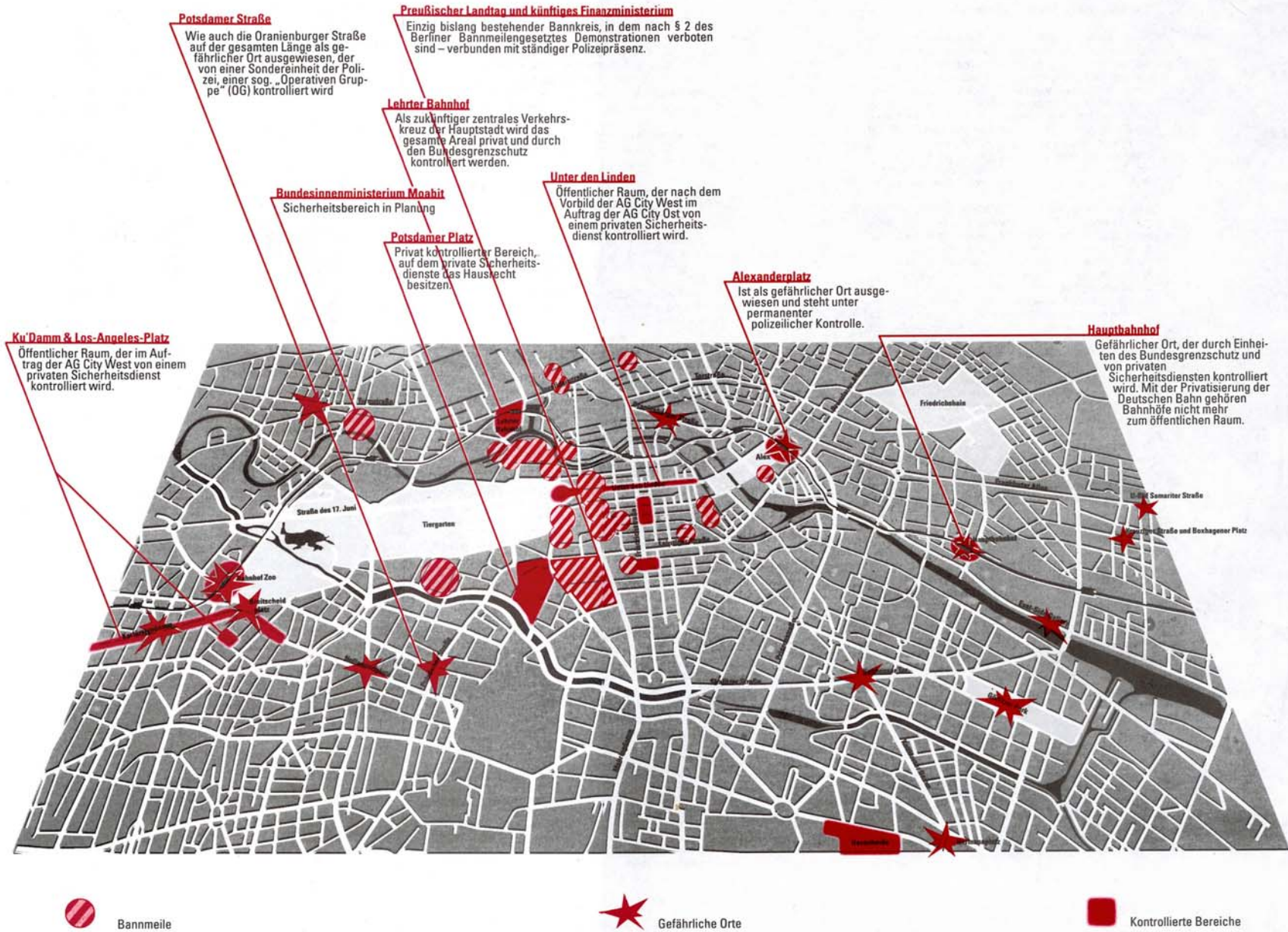


Subtotal:

- segmentation of urban space
- particular norms
- different regulation/behavior claims & demands

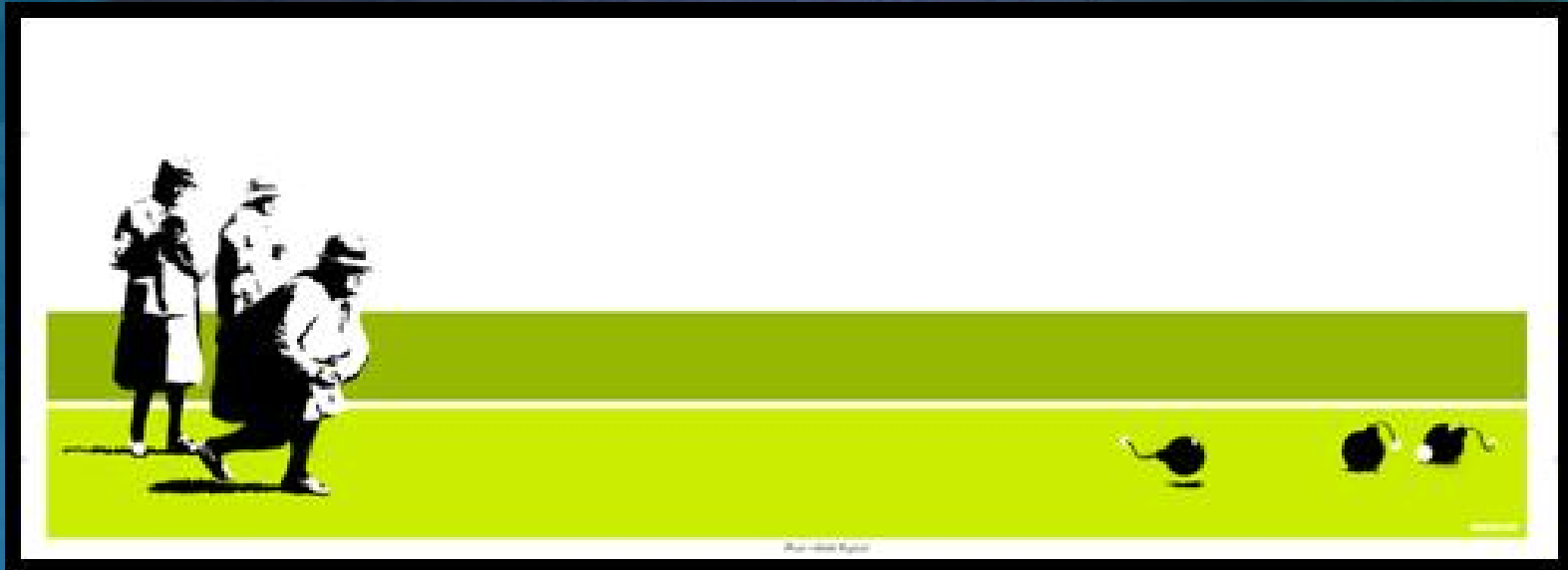
DER gefährliche STADTPLAN

Berlin 1997



»The City as an Entrepreneur«

- globalization
- neoliberalisierung (proto, roll back, roll out)
- *Deutschland AG*
- *Unternehmen Stadt*
- activating welfare state (Workfare)
- *(Poor) Policing the Poor*
- particular norms
- disciplinary -/control societies
- racism
- **reconnaissance/protest/resistance**



Thankx.